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ACTES AND MONVMENTS OF MATTERS

most speciall and memorable, happening in the Church, with an vniuersall *historie of the same.*

Wherein is set forth at large the whole race and *course of the Church, from the primitiue age to these latter* times of ours, with the bloody times, horrible troubles, and great persecutions against the true Martyrs of Christ, sought and wrought as well by Heathen *Emperours, as now lately practised by Romish Prelats, especially in this Realme of England and Scotland.*

Now againe, as it was recognised, perused, and recommended to the studious Reader, by the Author, Master *John Foxe*: the sixth time newly imprinted, with certaine *additions thereunto annexed: Anno* 1610. *Mense Octobri.*

APOC. VII.
Salus sedenti super thronum & agno.

AT LONDON,
Printed for the Company of Stationers.
Anno Domini, 1610.

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MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

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The Kalender.

¶ Ianuary hath 31. daies. The Moone xxx.				Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
3	A	1	Circumcision.		
	b	2	*Iohn Wickliffe Preacher, martyr.*		1387
11	c	3	Iohn Alfon, confessor.		1382
	d	4	William Sawtry priest martyr.		1400
19	e	5	Swinderby a Priest, martyr.		
8	f	6	Epiphanie.		
	g	7	*Sir Roger Acton knight, martyr.*		1401
16	A	8	Iohn Browne Gentleman, martyr.		1413
5	b	9	Iohn Beuerley preacher martyr.		1413
	c	10	Richard Silbecke, martyr.	14	1413
13	d	11	Iohn Castellane doctor, martyr.	12	1521
2	e	12	Thomas Whittle, Minister, martyr.	27	1525
	f	13	Bartlet Greene Gentleman, martyr.	27	1556
10	g	14	Iohn Tudson, martyr.	27	1556
	A	15	Thomas Went, mart.	27	1556
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	27	1556
7	c	17	Iſabel Foſter, martyr.	27	1556
	d	18	Ioane Warne, aliâs Lathford, martyr.	27	1556
15	e	19	Iohn Lomas, martyr.	31	1556
4	f	20	Anne Albright, aliâs Champnes, martyr.	31	1556
	g	21	Ioane Catmer, mart.	31	1556
12	A	22	Agnes Snoth, martyr. Ioane Sole, martyr. Will. Waterer, mart.	31	1556
	b	23	Conuerſion of Paul.	31	1556
1	c	24	Stephen Kempe, martyr.	15	1556
9	d	25	William Hay, martyr.	15	1557
	e	26	Thomas Hudſon, martyr.	15	1557
17	f	27	William Lowicke, martyr.	15	1557
6	g	28	William Prouting, martyr.	15	1557
	A	29	Nicolas Finall, mart.	15	1557
14	b	30	Matthew Bradbridge, martyr.	15	1557
3	c	31	*Iohn Philpot, martyr.* Thomas Steuens, martyr.	16	1557

February hath 28. daies. The Moone xxix.				Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	d	1	William Thorpe priest, confessor.		1407
11	e	2	Purification of our Ladie.		
	f	3	Iohn Claidon, martyr.		1413
19			Richard Turmine, martyr.		1413
8	g	4	Zisca a confessor.		1416
	A	5	*Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, martyr.*		1418
16	b	6	Richard Houenden, martyr.		1430
5	c	7	Thomas Bagley priest, martyr.		1431
	d	8	Paul Crawes, martyr.		1431
13	e	9	Thomas Rhedon, martyr.		1436
2	f	10	Rainold Pecocke, bish. confessor.		1437
	g	11	*Sir Roger Oneley Prieſt, martyr.*		1441
10	A	12	Elenor Cobham gentlewoman, confessor.		
	b	13	Mother of the lady Pong, martyr.		1490
18	c	14	Thomas Norice, martyr.		1507
7	d	15	Thomas Eckles martyr.		1510
	e	16	Thomas Bungay martyr.		1511
15	f	17	*D. Martin Luther, confeſſor.*	18	1546
4	g	18	Pope of Eay, martyr.		1512
	A	19	Peake, martyr.		1512
12	b	20	George Carpenter, martyr.	8	1527
1	c	21	*Iohn Rogers Preacher, Martyr.*	4	1555
	d	22	*Laurence Sanders preacher, martyr.*	8	55
9	e	23	*Iohn Hooper biſhop, martyr.*	9	55
	f	24	Matthias Apoſtle.		
17	g	25	*Rowland Taylor Doctor, martyr.*	9	55
	A	26	*Robert Farrar biſhop, martyr.*	22	55
6	b	27	Agnes Potten, martyr.	19	1556
14	c	28	Trunchfields wife, martyr.	19	1557

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The Kalender.

March hath 31. dayes
The Moone xxx.

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
3	d	1	William Taylour martyr.	2	1422
	e	2	John Weselianus a doctor, martyr.		1479
11	f	3	Doctor Weselus, aliàs Basilius, confessor.		1490
	g	4	Henrie Sutphen, martyr.		1524
19	A	5	John Hougley, martyr.		1526
8	b	6	Petrus Flesedius, martyr.		1528
	c	7	Adolphus Clabachus, martyr.		1528
16	d	8	Patrike Hamelton martyr.		1528
5	e	9	Thomas Hitton, martyr.		1530
	f	10	*Thomas Rilney, martyr.*		1531
13	g	11	Dany Foster, martyr.		31
2	A	12	Edward Freese, confessor.		31
	b	13	Valentine Freese, and his wife, martyr.		
10	c	14	Father Bate, confessor.		
18	d	15	Rawling White, martyr.	5	31
	e	16	Thom. Tomkins, martyr.	15	1555
7	f	17	Thomas Higbed gentleman, martyr.	25	55
	g	18	Thomas Cawston gentleman, martyr.	25	55
15	A	19	William Hunter, martyr.	25	55
4	b	20	William Pigot, martyr.	28	55
	c	21	Stephen Knight, martyr.	28	55
12	d	22	John Laurence Minister, martyr.	29	55
1	e	23	*Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canturburie, martyr.*	21	55 1556
	f	24	Robert Spicer, martyr.	24	56
9	g	25	Annuntiation of our Ladie.		
	A	26	William Coberley, martyr.	24	56
17	b	27	Saunderell martyr.	24	56
6	c	28	Rich. Crashfield, martyr.	15	1557
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, martyr.	28	1558
14	e	30	Hugh For, martyr.	28	58
3	f	31	John Deuenish, martyr.	28	58

¶ Aprill hath 30. dayes
The Moone xxx.

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	g	1	Robert Hatches martyr.		
			Archer martyr.	4	1519
			Howkins martyr.		
11	A	2	Thomas Bound, martyr.	4	1519
	b	3	Wrigsham martyr.	4	1519
19	c	4	Lansdale martyr.	4	1519
8	d	5	Pilkris Smith widow, martyr.	4	1519
16	e	6	James Baynham gentleman, martyr.	30	1532
5	f	7	John Awcocke Confessor.	2	1555
	g	8	George Marth preacher martyr.	24	55
13	A	9	William Flower Minister, martyr.	24	55
2	b	10	Robert Drakes Minister, martyr.	24	1556
	c	11	Thomas Tyms, martyr.	24	56
10	d	12	Richard Spurge, martyr.	24	56
	e	13	Thomas Spurge, martyr.		56
18	f	14	John Cauell, martyr.	24	
			George Ambrose martyr.	24	56
7	g	15	John Harpole, martyr.		
	A	16	Joane Bech, martyr.	1	56
15	b	17	John Hullier Minister, martyr.	2	56
4	c	18	Christopher Lister Minister, martyr.	28	56
	d	19	John Mace, martyr.	28	56
12	e	20	John Spencer, martyr.	28	56
			Simon Joyne, martyr.	28	56
1	f	21	Richard Nicholl martyr.	28	56
	g	22	John Hamond, martyr.	28	56
9	A	23	S. George, martyr.		
	b	24	Thomas Loseby, martyr.	12	56
17	c	25	Marke Euangelist.		
6	d	26	Henr. Ramsey, martyr.	12	1557
	e	27	Thomas Thyrtle, martyr.	12	1557
4	f	28	Margaret Hyde, martyr.	12	1557
	g	29	Agnes Stanley, martyr.	12	1557
		30	William Nicholl martyr.		1558

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¶ May hath 31. dayes. *The Moone xxx.*

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
11	b	1	Philip and Iacob, Apostles.		
	c	2	*Iohn Hus martyr.*		1415
19	d	3	Hieronymus Sauonarola martyr.	23	1499
8	e	4	Dominike, martyr.	23	1499
	f	5	Silueſter, martyr.	23	1499
16	g	6	Frier Roy, martyr.		1531
5	A	7	Robert King, martyr.		1532
	b	8	Robert Debnam, martyr.		32
13	c	9	Nicolas Parſy, martyr.		32
2	d	10	*Iohn Cardmaker,* aliâs *Taylour, Preacher, martyr.*	31	1555
	e	11	Iohn Warne, martyr.	31	1555
10	f	12	Margaret Ellis, confeſſor.	13	1556
	g	13	Hugh Lauerocke, martyr.	15	56
18	A	14	Iohn Apprice, martyr.	15	56
7	b	15	Katharine Hut widow, martyr.	16	56
	c	16	Elizab. Thackwell, martyr.	16	56
15	d	17	Ioane Hornes, martyr.	16	56
4	e	18	A blind boy, and another with him, martyrs.	5	56
	f	19	Thomas Spicer, martyr.	21	56
12	g	20	Iohn Denny, martyr.	21	56
1	A	21	William Poole, martyr.	21	56
	b	22	Iohn Sleth, confeſſor.	30	56
9	c	23	William Hozant, martyr.	29	1557
	d	24	Stephen Gratwike, martyr.	29	57
17	e	25	Iohn Thurſtone, confeſſor.		57
6	f	26	William Seaman, martyr.	19	1558
	g	27	Thomas Carman, martyr.	19	58
14	A	28	Thomas Hudſon, martyr.	19	58
3	b	29	William Harris, martyr.	26	58
	c	30	Richard Day, martyr.	26	58
11	d	31	Chriſtian George, martyr.	26	58

¶ Iune hath 30. dayes. *The Moone xxix.*

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	e	1	*Hierome of Prage martyr.*	1	1416
			Anne Aſkew, martyr.		1546
19	f	2	Iohn Laceis, gent. mar. Nicolas Belman, mart.		
			Thomas Hawkes, mar.	10	1555
8	g	3	Thomas Wats, mart. Iohn Simpſon, martyr. Iohn Ardley, martyr.		
			Nic. Chamberlaine, mar.	14	55
16	A	4	Thomas Holmond, mar.	15	55
			Will. Bramford mart.		
			Thomas Harland, mar.	6	1556
5	b	5	Iohn Diward, martyr. Thomas Read, martyr.		
	c	6	Thomas Abington, mar.	20	
13	d	7	Thomas Wood Miniſter, martyr. Thomas Milles, mart.		
			William Adherall Miniſter, confeſſor.	23	
2	e	8	Iohn Clement, confeſ.	25	
	f	9	A merchants ſeruant, martyr.	26	56
10	g	10	Henrie Adlington, mar. Laur. Pernam, martyr.	27	
	A	11	Henrie Wice, martyr. Will. Halliwell, mart.	27	
18	b	12	Thomas Bowyer, mar. George Serle, martyr. Edmund Hurſt, mart. Lion Calwch, martyr.	27	56
7	c	13	Ralph Jackſon, martyr.	27	
	d	14	Iohn Derifall, martyr. Iohn Roth, martyr. Elizabeth Pepper, mar.	27	
15	e	15	Agnes George, martyr. Thomas Parret, confeſ.	27	56
4	f	16	Hunt and Ambroſe, conf. Iohn Horice, confeſſor.	28	
	g	17	Roger Bernard, mart. Adam Foller martyr.	29	
12	A	18	Robert Lawſon, mart. Walter Apleby and Petronill his wife, mart.	30	1557
			Edmund Allen, and Katharine his wife, mar.	18	
1	b	19	Iohn Bradbridge, mart.		
	c	20	Iohn Manning, mart. Eliz. a blind maid, mar.	18	57
9	d	21	Thomas Hore, martyr. Nicolas White, martyr. Nicolas Pardue, mart.		
	e	22	Iohn Fitchcocke, mart. Barbara Finall, mart.	19	57
17	f	23	Bradbridges wid. mar. Bendens wife, and Wilſons wife, martyrs.	19	57
6	g	24	Rich. Woodman, mart. *Nat. of S. Iohn Baptiſt.*		
	A	25	G. Stephens, W. Maynard, Alexander Holmans man, martyrs.	22	57
14	b	26	Tomaſin Woods maid, Margerie Horice, Iam. Horice ſonne, Dennys Burges, Aſdowns wife, Groues wife, martyrs.	22	57
3	c	27	Henrie Pond, martyr.	27	58
	d	28	Richard Eſſland, mart. Robert Southam, mar. Matthew Ricarby, mar.		
11	e	29	*Peter and Paul.* Iohn Lord, martyr.		
	f	30	Iohn Holiday, martyr. Roger Holland, martyr.	27	58

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¶ July hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Years of our Lord.
19	g	1	Henrie Voz, martyr. John Esch, martyr.	1	1522
3	a	2	*John Frith, martyr.*	4	1523
	b	3	Andrew Hewet, martyr. Anthonie Person, martyr.		
16	c	4	Robert Testwod, martyr.	18	1543
	d	5	H. Fimmes, martyr.		
5	e	6	*John Bradford preacher, martyr.*	1	1555
13	f	7	John Leafe, martyr.		
2	g	8	John Belley, martyr.		
	a	9	William Wing Minister, martyr. Richard Yoke, martyr.	2	55
10	b	10	John Bland Preacher, martyr. John Franke, martyr.	12	55
	c	11	Humfrey Middleton, martyr.	12	55
18	d	12	Nicolas Shetterden, martyr. William Dighel, martyr.	12	55
7	e	13	Dirike Carver, martyr.	12	55
	f	14	John Launder, martyr.		
15	g	15	Thomas Iueson, martyr. Nicolas Hall, martyr.	13	55
4	a	16	John Kelworth, confessor.		
	b	17	John Catcleffe confessor	1	1556
12	c	18	John Gwin, martyr. Iulius Palmer a schoolemaster, and Aleins, martyrs.	16	56
1	d	19	Katharine Cauches, and Beratine Waly, with her child not one hower old, and Guillemine Gilbert, Martyrs.	17	56
	e	20			
9	f	21	Thomas Dungate, mar. John Fozeman, martyr.	18	56
	g	22	Simon Miller, martyr.		
17	a	23	Elizabeth Cooper, martyr.	15	56
6	b	24	Marie Magdalene.		
	c	25	Richard Yeoman, Minister, martyr.	10	1558
14	d	26	William Pikes, martyr.	14	1558
3	e	27	Iames Apostle.	14	58
	f	28	Stephen Cotton, martyr.	14	58
11	g	29	John Slade, martyr.	14	58
	a	30	Stephen Wight, mart. Robert Willes, martyr.	14	58
19	b	31	Robert Dines, martyr. Thomas Benbriche gentleman, martyr.	9	58

¶ August hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Years of our Lord.
8	c	1	Leonard Keyser, martyr.	16	1527
16	d	2	James Abbes, martyr.		1555
	e	3	Iohn Denly gentleman martyr.	8	55
5	f	4	John Newman, martyr.	28	55
	g	5	Patrike Patingham, martyr.	28	55
13	a	6	William Coker, mart.	23	55
2	b	7	William Hopper, martyr.	23	55
	c	8	Henrie Laurence, martyr.	23	55
10	d	9	Richard Coker, martyr.	23	55
	e	10	William Steere, martyr.	23	55
18	f	11	Richard Wright, martyr.	23	55
7	g	12	Elizabeth Warne, martyr.		
	a	13	Geor[illegible] Tamberfield, martyr.	26	55
15	b	14	Richard Smith, martyr.	8	55
4	c	15	Stephen Yarlwod, martyr.	30	55
	d	16	Thomas Fretle, martyr.	30	55
2	e	17	William Hale, martyr.	31	55
1	f	18	Robert Samuel Preacher, martyr.	31	55
	g	19	Ioane Waste, martyr.	1	1556
9	a	20	William Bongeor, martyr.	2	1557
	b	21	Robert Pureas, martyr.	2	57
17	c	22	Thomas Bernold, martyr.	2	57
6	d	23	Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, martyr.	2	57
	e	24	Bartholomew Apostle.		
14	f	25	Ellin Swyking, martyr.	2	57
3	g	26	Elizabeth Folkes maid, martyr.	2	57
	a	27	William Hunt, martyr.	2	57
11	b	28	Alice Hunt, martyr.	2	57
19	c	29	Rose Allin, maid, martyr.	2	57
	d	30	John Johnson, martyr.	2	57
8	e	31	George Eyles, martyr. One Frier and the said George Eyles sister, martyrs.	2	57

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Septemb. hath 30. dayes.
The Moone xxix.

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
16	f	1	Father Abraham, martyr.		1428
			William Wright priest martyr.		1428
5	g	2	John Waddon Priest, martyr.		1428
	A	3	William Gardiner, martyr.		1552
13	b	4	William Allen, mart.		1556
			Thomas Cob, martyr.		1555
2	c	5	Thomas Cob, martyr.		
			William Andrew, confessor.		55
	d	6	Thomas King, confessor.		
10	e	7	Thomas Leis, confessor.	5	55
	f	8	George Tanner, martyr.	6	55
18	g	9	Robert Streater, martyr.		
7	A	10	Anthonie Burward, martyr.		55
	b	11	George Bradbridge, martyr.		
15	c	12	James Tutty, martyr.	6	55
			Thom. Hayward mart.		55
			John Gosway, martyr.		55
4	d	13	Robert Glouer, martyr.	20	55
	e	14	Cornelius Bungay, martyr.		55
			Edward Sharpe, mart.	8	1556
12	f	15	John Hart, martyr.		
			Thomas Rauensdale a Shoomaker, or a Currier, martyr.	24	1556
1	g	16	John Horne and another woman, martyrs.	25	1556
	A	17	John Kurd, martyr.	20	1556
9	b	18	Cicelie Ormes, martyr.	23	1557
			Joyce Lewis, martyr.		
	c	19	Ralph Allerton, martyr.	10	1557
			Richard Roth, martyr.	17	1557
17	d	20	Matthew Apostle.		
6	e	21	James Auko and Margerie his wife, martyrs.	17	1557
	f	22	Agnes Bongeor, martyr.	17	1557
14	g	23	Mar. Thurstone, martyr.		
3	A	24	John Warren, martyr.		57
	b	25	Christian Grouer, martyr.		
11	c	26	Thomas Acboth, martyr.		57
19	d	27	John Adsone, martyr.		
	e	28	Thomas Spurdaunce, martyr.		57
8	f	29	Michael Archangell.		
	g	30	John Fortune martyr.		57

October hath 31. dayes.
The Moone xxx.

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
6	A	1	Bartholet Millon, martyr.		1534
	b	2	John de Burge a rich merchant, martyr.		34
3	c	3	The receiuer of Naunts martyr.		34
2	d	4	Henry Poile, martyr.		
			Catelle a schoolemistris, martyr.		34
	e	5	Stephen de la Foarge, a merchant, martyr.		34
10	f	6	*William Tyndall martyr.*		34
	g	7	William Leyton, martyr.		1536
8	A	8	Puttedew, martyr.		1537
			John Lambert, alias Nicolson, martyr.		
7	b	9			1537
	c	10	Collins, martyr.		1538
			Colwbridge, martyr.		
15	d	11	Peter a Germane, martyr.		1538
					1539
4	e	12	Lancelot, martyr.		39
			John a Painter, mart.		
	f	13	Giles Germane, martyr.		39
12	g	14	Robert Barnes martyr.		39
			Thomas Garrard, martyr.		39
1	A	15	William Hierome, martyr.		1541
	b	16	William Wolsey, martyr.	4	1555
9	c	17	Robert Pigot, martyr.	4	
	d	18	Luke Euangelist.		55
17	e	19	*Nicolas Ridley Bishop, martyr.*	16	55
6	f	20	*Hugh Latymer Bishop, martyr.*		
	g	21	John Web, gent. mar.	31	55
14	A	22	George Roper, martyr.		
			Gregorie Parke, martyr.		
3	b	23	Adam Walles, martyr.	12	51
			Parke Burges, martyr.		
	c	24	William Hooker, martyr.		1556
11	d	25	Simson priest, Benerech Frier, Keyler blacke Frier, Dauy Stratton, gentleman, Norman Gorley Vicar of Dolor, a blacke Canon, with foure other, martyrs.		
19	e	26			
	f	27			
8	g	28	Simon and Iude.		
	A	29	Three died in prison at Cicester, confes.	18	56
16	b	30	Mother Seaman, confessor.		56
5	c	31	Mother Bennet, confessor.		56

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Nouemb. hath 30. daies. *The Moone xxix.*				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	d	1	The feast of all Saints.		
13	e	2	Richard Yekings, martyr.		1541
2	f	3	Richard Spenser, martyr.		41
	g	4	Andrew Hewet, martyr.		41
10	A	5	John Potter, confessor.		1542
	b	6	Thomas Bernard, martyr.		1542
18	c	7	James Morton, martyr.		1542
7	d	8	George Wizard gentleman, martyr.		1546
	e	9	John Kerby, martyr.		1546
15	f	10	Roger Clarke, martyr.		1546
4	g	11	Richard Baifield, aliâs Somersam, martyr.	20	1531
	A	12	John Clarke, confessor.		1556
12	b	13	Dunstane Chittenden, confessor.		1556
					1556
1	c	14	William Foster, martyr.		1556
	d	15	Alice Potkins, confessor.		1556
9	e	16	John Archer, confessor. Hooke, martyr.		1556
	f	17	John Hallingdale martyr.	18	1557
17	g	18	William Sparow, martyr.	18	1557
6	A	19	Richard Gybson gentleman, martyr.	18	1557
	b	20	Saunder Gouch, martyr.	4	1558
14	c	21	Elizabeth Dyuer, martyr.	4	58
3	d	22	Philip Humfrey, martyr.	5	58
	e	23	John Dauy, martyr.	5	58
11	f	24	Henrie Dauy, martyr.		
19	g	25	John Corneforth, martyr.	5	58
	A	26	Christopher Browne, martyr.	10	58
8	b	27	John Herst, martyr.	10	58
	c	28	Alice Snoth, martyr.	10	58
10	d	29	Katherine Knight, martyr.	10	58
5	e	30	Andrew Apostle.		

December hath 31. daies. *The Moone xxx.*				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	f	1	William Tracie Esquier, confessor.		1534
13	g	2	Peter Sapience, martyr.		1545
2	A	3	George Bucker aliâs Adam Damlip, martyr.		
10	b	4	An old man of Buckinghamshire, martyr.		1531
	c	5	Two gray Friers, martyrs.		1381
18	d	6	John Hilton, confessor.		1513
			John Coignes, confessor.		1517
7	e	7	Robert Ward, confessor.		1517
	f	8	A Scholer of Abbeuille, martyr.		1522
15	g	9	A Jew, martyr.		1528
			Richard Hunne, martyr.	4	1515
4	A	10	John Tewkesbury, martyr.	20	1531
	b	11	James Goze, confessor.	7	1555
12	c	12	William Wiseman, confessor.	13	55
1	d	13	*Iohn Philpot Preacher, martyr.*	18	1557
	e	14	John Rough, Preacher, martyr.	22	57
9	f	15	Margaret Mering, martyr.	22	1558
	g	16	Thomas Tyler, confessor.		58
17	A	17	Matthew Withers, confessor.		58
			Dale, confessor.		1550
6	b	18	Thomas Apostle.		
			William Plaine.		
	c	19	Elizabeth Lawson, confessor.		50
			John glouer, confessor.		
14	d	20	Nicolas Burton, martyr.	22	1562
3	e	21	Natiuitie of our Lord.		
	f	22	Stephen, martyr.		
11	g	23	Iohn Euangelist.		
19	A	24	Childermasse.		1436
	b	25	Thomas Rhedonensis, an Earle, martyr.		1497
8	c	26	Picus Mirandula, confessor.		1513
	d	27	Erasmus Roterodamus confessor.		1549
16	e	28	Martin Bucer, confess.		1551
			Paulus Phagius, confessor.		1559
5	f	29	Philip Melanchon, confessor.		1562
	g	30	Peter Martyr, confessor.		1553
5	A	31	*King Edward the sixth, confessor.*		

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AD DOMINVM IESVM CHRI-
STVM SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSI-
MVM, EVCHARISTICON

Ioannis Foxi.

COnfecto nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auſpicijs ac voluntate aggreſſus (ſumme & adorande Ieſu, idemque Seruator clementiſſime) inchoaui, quodque tuo demum beneficio ac fauore exegi atque abſolui, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: ſupereſt itaque pro officio meo, vt animula hæc, ceu pro votiua tabula, gratias, ſi non quantas debeat (vtinam enim id poſſet) at quantas queat maximè, munificentiſſimæ tuæ perſoluat maieſtati: quæ tam miſerum homuncionem, vel ſyphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantiſque iſtis, qui vel aſellum quemuis ἀχθοφόρον poſſent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno ſucceſſu ac ſolatio tam clementer ſuffulſerit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic cauſari attinet, quæ vix æſtimari à multis poterit: tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens maieſtas, huius, qualecunq; ſit, negotij confectio quibus quanque non ferendis curis, vigilijs, moleſtijs conſtitit: Quibus nullo modo pares futuri eſſemus, niſi fauentis gratiæ tuæ numen affulſiſſet, ac ſaſe quodam modo admiſcuiſſet operi. Quidni enim fatear ac teſter ingenuè, quod re ipſa experti ſumus? Perſenſimus enim, peneque oculis ipſis conſpeximus, ſingularem excelſæ dexteræ tuæ ἐπιρροὴν, non modò in ſucceſſu negotij prouehendo, ſed in vita etiam ſpirituque inter labores conſeruando. Tui igitur muneris eſt (clementiſſime Ieſu) quòd opus tuis ſuſceptum auſpicijs huc vſque prouectum ſit. Nos viciſſim, quod noſtri ſit officij, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cùm noſtro priuatim, tum publico quodammodo eccleſiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti cauſam Martyrum tuorum æſtimes, quando eorum illuſtrando nomini tanta faueas propenſione. Quanquam verò ſi nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non poſſent non omnibus modis eſſe illuſtriſſimi, quorum ſint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inſcripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare maieſtas, nobiſque innoteſcere hominibus, quàm honorificum ſit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo ſic vindicas, ſic cauſam tueris, ſic dignitatem illuſtras, vt eandem multo cum gloriæ fœnore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm ſi ipſi nunquam alioqui perdidiſſent. Habet ſiquidem peculiare hoc ſibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longe à mundo hoc diuerſum, quòd in caſtris tuis militantes ſiue viuant, tibi viuant, ſiue moriantur, multò clareſcant a funere felicius, quàm ſi vixiſſent maximè.

Auxilium Christi in concinando hoc opere.

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Iohannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, cæteroſque eiuſdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto maiore occubuiſſe cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quam ſi relicta ſtatione in qua erant collocati, ſaluti ipſi ſuæ cauſam tuam poſtpoſuiſſent. Quæ enim gens, quæ lingua, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetuſtas, quæ hominum poſteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoſcet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wicleuum vnquam, aut Cobhamum natum fuiſſe exiſtimaſſet, niſi tua in cauſa tam egiſſent ſtrenuè? Quanto honori illud Huſſio Bohemenſi, noſtroque Tindallo fuit, quòd vitam in Euangelij tui cauſa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipſi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diuerſa parte aduerſarios tuos, quorum tam multas eſſe conſtat cædes, iniurias, crudelitates aduerſus tuos, multaque item occultè & ſceleſtè ab ijſdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam ſperabant fore palam: Et tamen quid vnquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis eſt deſignatum tam occultè aduerſus Eccleſiam, quod non in apricum tua produxit producetq; prouidentia? atque ita produxit, vt vnde ipſi laudis ſibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde ſummum ſibi ipſis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte vnquam finire poterint. Quis Guiſios, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non nouit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterabit dies, aut ſepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tanta multitudine hoſtium tuorum recenſeo? Cui vnquam proſpere ceſſit tuo rebellare numini, aut hoſtem ſe eccleſiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & glorioſum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probroſius? Cardinalitium faſtigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multaque proſequi reuerentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum collegia ſuum quondam habebant plauſum apud plebem ſimplicem & credulam. At poſtquam ſpreta veritate tua cœperunt graſſari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem ſunt prolapſi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) vt reliqua fex nihil aliud iam eſſe præter vocabula quædam ad ignominiam relicta videatur.

Felix ac glorioſum pro Christo mortem oppetere.

Papæ nomen nunc probroſum.

Cardinalium Monachorum, Nonnarum nomina ad ignominiam nunc relicta.

Hæc nimirum (ſanctiſſime domine ac deus noſter) iuſtiſsimi iudicij tui ſunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æſtimare ſit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi ſint, quos in hoc ipſo ſeculo, hoc eſt in ſuo ipſorum regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omiſſis his, ad ſanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine, meritò à nobis perenne velut ſacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuæ debetur, ſimul & habetur, bonitati. Primùm, quòd in eccleſiæ tuæ cauſa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem ſpiritum omnibuſque tormentis maiorem aduerſus parricidas Papiſtas ſubminiſtraſti. 1

Deinde, quòd & nobis in illorum deſudantibus hiſtoria propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ fauor affuerit. 2

Debetur & hoc priuatim meo quoque nomine ſingulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, quantam tu ſolus nouiſti, laboris immenſitate conſeruatam tuo volueris beneficio. 3

Verùm illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effuſiſſimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi huius ad flammas & cineres adegerit peruerſitas, cauſam & innocentiam velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiamq; eccleſiæ tuæ reuocare ac patefacere dignatus ſis. Etſi enim dubium non eſt, quin in ſupremo illo iudicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum mouebuntur, omnis eorum ad amuſſim 4

excutietur

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excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quoque in ecclesia tua, causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos vberior gloria, ad nos interea maior redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia constare poterit, non quid ipsi solùm fecerint, sed quid & nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Deploratio nostrorum morum & temporum.

Sed hic rursus (dulcissime Iesu) opus est benigno fauoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filij Martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè maiores nostros imitari conueniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: qua etiam ipsa nimium abutimur intemperanter, vt iam periculum sit, ne non filij modò Martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim intersit discriminis, quamque prorsus disconuenit ordine toto nostra consuetudo ab illorum vestigijs & disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cuius nihil non perspicit maiestas ac intuetur? Quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui, cætera quæq;, adeoq; seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptũ abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desiderijs flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula vndiq; imminentia opibus congerendis, multoq; minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisq; adeò contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorũ aucupium videtur & ambitus? At illi quam præclarè secum actum putassent, si vel viuere modò licuisset. Ideoq; multi fuere eorum, qui Mariæ Reginæ facultates & possessiones omnes aduſque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec vnus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, sacerdotijs, censuiq; dilatãdo inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non vt viuamus solùm, verùm vt sublimes viuamus & honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quanta cõstantia, qua animi alacritate perpessi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem deo remittentes, cui & causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos aduersariorum deijcere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria mouere, non pericula, non tormenta vlla consternere, nec delinire blanditia potuerunt.

Quanta degeneratio nostrorum nunc hominum, ab exemplis superiorum Martyrum.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam leuis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipites ac transuersos rapiat in auaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam leuis obijci poterit iniuriola, pro qua non cœlum terræ miscemus, mariáque turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, vt mortem simus vnquam, tua causa subituri, si quando res Martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare iussu velimus. Quapropter vt Martyrum quidem illorum causa gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto: ita nostra vicissim causa deprecamur, vt qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires: sicque ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, necubi seducti huius mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinenda Euangelij tui victoria, quàm illi in comparanda strenui, videamur. Postremò, quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in ea re operam studiumq; posuimus, quo facta gestaque sanctorum tuorum (sanctissime Iesu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulq; historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus: cui & opus ipsum, totumque meipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima, totisque viribus commendo, dedico, consecroque; cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox & lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes ecclesias tribuat personétque. Amen.

Necessaria precatio.

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TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS, MOST EXCELLENT AND NOBLE PRINCESSE, QVEENE ELIZABETH, OVR DREAD LADIE, BY THE grace of God, Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of Christs faith and *Gospell, and principall Gouernor both of the Realme, and also ouer the said Church of* England and *Ireland*, vnder Christ the Supreame head of the same, &c *Iohn Fox* her humble subiect wisheth daily increase of Gods holy Spirit and Grace, with long raigne, perfect health, and ioyfull peace to gouerne his flocke committed to her charge, to the example of all good Princes, the comfort of his Church, and glorie of his blessed name.

CHRIST the Prince of all Princes, who *hath placed you in your throne of Maiestie, vnder him to gouerne the Church and Realme of England, giue your roiall Highnes long to sit, and many yeeres to raigne ouer vs, in all flourishing felicitie, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting ioy of all your subiects: Amen.*

When I first presented these ACTS *and* MONVMENTS *vnto your Maiestie (most deare Soueraigne, Queene* ELIZABETH, *our peaceable* SALOME) *which your Maiesties rare clemencie receiued in such gentle part: I well hoped that these my trauels in this kind of writing had bin well at an end, whereby I might haue returned my studies againe to other purposes after mine owne desire, more fit then to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certaine euill disposed persons, of intemperant tongues, aduersaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising vp such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would haue thought Christ to haue bin new borne againe, and that Herod with all the Citie of Ierusalem had been in an vprore. Such blustring and stirring was then against that poore booke, thorow all quarters of England, euen to the gates of Louaine: so that no English Papist almost in all the Realme thought himselfe a perfect Catholike, vnlesse he had cast out some word or other to giue that booke a blow.*

Whereupon, considering with my selfe what should moue them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to ouerlooke againe that I had done. In searching whereof, I found the fault both what it was, and where it lay: which was indeed, not so much in the booke it selfe (to say the truth) as in another certain priuie mysterie and working of some: of whom Ioannes Auentinus *shall tell vs in his owne words, and shew vs who they bee:* Quibus, *inquit,* audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est: nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, vbi opus, nihil verentur: hic, vbi nihil opus est, ibi verentur, &c. *Who being ashamed belike to heare their worthie stratagems like to come to light, sought by what meanes they might, the stopping of the same. And becaus they could not worke it* per brachicum seculare, *by publike authoritie (the Lord of heauen long preserue your noble Maiestie) they renewed againe an old wonted practise of theirs: doing in like sort herein as they did sometimes with the holy Bible in the daies of your renowmed father of famous memory king* Henry *the eight; who when they neither by manifest reason could gainestand the matter contained in the booke, nor yet abide the comming out thereof, then sought they by a subtill deuised traine to depraue the translation, notes and prologues thereof; bearing the king in hand and all the people, that there were in it a thousand lies, and I cannot tell how many moe. Not that there were such lies in it in very deed: but because the comming of that booke should not bewray their lying falshood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselues against it: playing in their stage, like as* Phormio *did in the old Comedie, who being in all the fault himselfe, began first to quarrell with* Demipho, *when* Demipho *rather had good right to lay* Phormio *by the heeles.*

With like facing brags these Catholike Phormiones *thinke now to dash out all good bookes, and amongst others, also these Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly martyrs, as they could not abide being aliue, so neither can they now suffer their memories to liue after their death, lest the acts of them being knowne, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruell murthers to detestation: and therefore spurne they so vehemently against this booke of histories, with all kind of contumelies and vprores, railing and wondering vpon it; much like as I haue heard of a company of theeues, who in robbing a certaine true man by the high waies side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more then he would be acknowne of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, maruelling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.*

Euen so these men deale also with me: for when they themselues altogether delight in vntruths, and haue replenished the

¶ *whole*

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whole Church of Christ with fained fables, lying miracles, false visions, miserable errors contained in their Missals and Portuses, Breuiars, and Summaries, and almost no true tale in all their Saints liues and Festiuals, as now also no great truths in our Louanian bookes, &c. Yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceiue them, they pretend a face and Zeale of great veritie: And as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but onely this historie of Acts and Monuments, with tragicall voices they exclaime and wonder vpon it, sparing no cost of Hyperbolicall phrases to make it appeare as full of lies as lines: &c. much after the like sort of impudencie as sophisters vse sometimes in their Sophismes to doe (and sometimes is vsed also in Rhetorike) that when an argument commeth against them which they cannot well resolue indeed, they haue a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragicall admiration, whereby to dash the opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand, the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that euer was heard, not worthy to be answered, but vtterly to be hissed out of the Schooles.

With like sophistication these also fare with me, who when they neither can abide to heare their owne doings declared, nor yet denie the same, which they heare to be true, for three or foure escapes in the booke committed (and yet some of them in the booke amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly vnderstanding that they read, inueigh and maligne so peruerslie the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other storie false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my accusers, I doe not so excuse my selfe, nor defend my booke, as though nothing in it were to bee sponged or amended. Therefore I haue taken these paines, and reiterated my labours in trauelling out the storie againe; doing herein as Penelope did with her web, vntwisting that she had done before: Or as builders doe sometimes, which build and take downe again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recognising this History I haue imploied a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand: partly also to assay, whether by any paines taking I might pacifie the stomacks, or satisfie the iudgements of these importune quarrellers: which neuertheless I feare I shall not doe, when I haue done all I can. For well I know that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will neuer be cut off, though I were as strong as Hercules. And if Apelles the skilfull Painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning vpon a piece of worke, which no good artificer would or could greatly reproue, yet was not without some controlling Sutor, which tooke vpon him Vltra crepidam, much more may I looke for the like in these controlling daies.

Ne sutor vltra crepidam.

Neuertheless committing the successe thereof vnto the Lord, I haue aduentured againe vpon this storie of the Church, and haue spent not onely my paines, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did: so againe I exhibit and present the same vnto your Princely Maiestie, blessing my Lord my God with all my heart: first for this libertie of peace and time which through your peaceable gouernment he hath lent vnto vs for the gathering both of this and other like bookes, tractations and monuments requisite to the behoofe of his Church, which hitherto by iniquitie of time could not be contriued in any Kings raigne since the conquest, before these Alcyon daies of yours.

Secondly, as we are all bound with publicke voices to magnifie our God for this happie preseruation of your roiall estate: so priuately for mine owne part, I also acknowledge my selfe bound to my God and to my Sauiour, who so graciouslie in such weake health, hath lent me time, both to finish this worke, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your Maiestie: desiring the same to accept in worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthines of the thing giuen, yet as a testification of the bounden seruice and good will of one, which by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to giue.

Profit to be taken by examples of Christian martyrs. Gods workes to be obserued in histories. What vse commeth by reading of Histories.

And though the storie being written in the popular tongue, serueth not so greatly for your owne peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned: yet I shall desire both you and them, to consider in it the necessitie of the ignorant flocke of Christ committed to your gouernment in this Realme of England. Who, as they haue bin long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindnesse for lacke especially of Gods word, and partly also for wanting the light of historie, pity I thought but that such should bee helped, their ignorance relieued, and simplicitie instructed. I considered they were the flocke of Christ, and your subiects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and hauing as deare soules to the Lord as other. And though they be but simple and vnlearned, yst not vnapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore, what inconuenience groweth of ignorance, where knowledge lacketh, both I considered, and experience daily teacheth.

And therefore, hearing of the vertuous inclination of your Maiestie, what a prouident care and zeale full of solicitude you haue, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all quarters and countries of this your Realme with the voice of Christs Gospel, and faithfull preaching of his word, I thought also not vnprofitable to adioine vnto this your godly proceedings, and to the office of the ministerie, the knowledge also of Ecclesiasticall historie, which in my mind ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and precepts of doctrine: so by the other they may haue examples of Gods mightie working in his Church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of Christian life. For as we see what light and profit commeth to the Church by histories in old times set forth of the Iudges, Kings, Machabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christs time: so likewise may it redound to no small vse in the Church, to know the Acts of Christs martyrs now since the time of the Apostles.

Besides other manifold examples and experiments of Gods great mercies and iudgements in preseruing his Church, in ouerthrowing tyrants, in confounding pride, in altering states and kingdomes, in conseruing Religion against errours and dissensions, in releeuing the godly, in brideling the wicked, loosing and tying vp againe of Satan the disturber of commonweales, in punishing transgressions as well against the first Table as the second: wherein is to be seene Idolatrie punished, blasphemie plagued, contempt of Gods holie name and Religion reuenged, murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers and Wedlock breakers destroied, periuries, extortions, couetous oppressions, & fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent works of the Lord: the obseruing and noting wherof in histories, minister to the readers therof wholesome admonitions of life: with experience and wisdome both to know God in his works, and to worke the thing that is godlie: especially to seeke vnto the sonne of God for their saluation, and in his faith onely to find that they seeke for, and in no other meanes. The continuance and constancy of which faith, the Lord of his grace and goodnes grant to your noble Maiesty, and to his whole beloued Church, and al the members of the same, to euerlasting life:

Amen.

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AD DOCTVM LECTOREM;

IOANNES FOXVS.

COgitanti mihi, verſantique mecum in animo, quàm periculoſa res aleæ ſit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculóſq; multorum ſubeat, his præſertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibúſque, vbi tot hominum diſſidijs, tot ſtudijs partium, tot moroſis capitibus, tam rigidis cenſuris, & Criticorum ſannis feruent fere omnia, vt difficillimum ſit quicquam tam circumſpectè ſcribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profectò fœlicéſque videntur ij, quibus eum vitæ curſum tenere liceat, vt in otio viuentes cum dignitate, ſic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro otioſi ſedentes ſpectatores, vt nullam interim ipſis vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum ſit. Me verò, neſcio quo pacto, longe diuerſa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam fœlicitatem, in cuius complexibus tam multos ſuauiter foueri video, nec otij amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam deguſtare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum feruore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror quam ſemper contempſi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, ſi modò labores ij, tantum vel prodeſſe vel placere cæteris poſſent hominibus, quantũ me priuatim atterunt incommodántq;. Nunc ad meæ infœlicitatis cumulum accedit inſuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod præter lugubrem rerum ipſarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro autorem ipſum redigit anguſtiæ, vt neque falſa narrare ſine iniuria hiſtoriæ, nec verum dicere ſine magna ſua inuidia odióque multorum liceat. Nam cùm in eo hiſtoriæ argumento mihi verſandum fuit, quod non ad ſuperiorum modò temporum res geſtas alteq; repetitas pertineat, ſed hanc ipſam ætatem noſtram, noſtræq; gentis nunc homines etiamnũ præſentes, viuóſq; ſic attingat, ſic perfricet, ſic deſignet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere neceſſariò faciundũ fuit: quæſo, quid hic mihi aliud expectandum ſit, niſi poſtquam fruſtra me defatigando, valetudinem attriuerim, oculos perdiderim, ſenium acciuerim, corpus exhauſerim, demum, vt poſt hæc omnia multorum me hominum odijs, ſibilis, inuidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot iſtis aſperitatibus cùm nihil me tutum præſtare poterit, non Cæſar, non Monarchæ, non Rex, non Regina, non vlla huius mundi præſidia, præter ſolam diuini numinis potentem dexteram: principiò igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutiſſimum aſylum me recepi, huic me librúmque commendaui & commendo. Tum vero inſuper in eodem domino tuum illum candorem (docte piéq; Lector) eamq; tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis ſtudijſque te ſcio præditum, quo noſtris his ſudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut ſi approbationem non mereamur, ſaltem ne fauoris deſit benignitas: cui ſi approbatum iri hanc hiſtoriæ noſtræ farraginem ſenſerimus, cæterorum iudicia obtrectatorum leuius feremus.

Nam alioquì non defuturos ſat ſcio qui varijs modis nobis faceſſent moleſtiam. Habebit hîc Momus ſuos morſus, Sycophanta ſuos ſibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori ſua lingua & aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet hiſtoriæ: Ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus iudicium deſiderabit. Illi forſan operis diſplicebit moles, vel minus diſpoſita ſeruataque temporum ratio. Et ſi nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta religionis pugna, in tanta iudiciorum, capitum, ſenſuum varietate, vbi ſuæ quiſq; fauet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè aut circumſpectè enarrari poteſt, quod placeat vniuerſis? Quin & iam nunc muſſitari etiam audio a nonnullis, qui longa ſeſe teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandẽ (*Legenda noſtra*, vt appellant; *Aurea*) euulganda ſit: qui ſi noſtram primùm in eo tarditatem reprehenſam velint, næ ego ſuaues iſtos homines viciſſim rogatos velim, vt ipſi prius in edendis ſuis ſe præbeant expeditiores, quã alienã inceſſant lentitudinem.

Deinde, ſi tardius exeat ipſorum opinione volumen, meminerint prouerbiali præcepto, lentam eſſe feſtinationem oportere: Et bos dicitur laſſus fortiùs pedẽ figere. Egimus in hac quidẽ re pro virili noſtra: egimus ſpero & pro officio, ſi non ſatis pro tẽporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addã porro, egimus ſupra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipſorum venia adijcere liceat, egiſſe nos maturiùs quàm ipſis forſan expediet, qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatiùs egimus, quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conueniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque poſtulabat, cùm a nobis vix integros datos eſſe menſes octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendiſque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, reſcribendis his quæ ſcripto mandata erant, caſtigandis formulis, concinandæ hiſtoriæ, & in ordinem redigendæ, &c. nouerunt ij qui teſtes adfuerint, & temporis conſcij, & laboris ſocij. Quod ſi autem *Legendæ ſuæ aureæ* titulum huc eò accomodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc ſimiliter fabuloſam putent hiſtoriam, hincq; odioſo vocabulo eius præiudicent veritati, quid his reſpondeam aliud quã quòd ingenuè ſuam ipſi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam nouerint. Atq; interim quidem illud bene habet, quòd ipſis tandem aliquando *Aureæ ſuæ legendæ* pudeat tam fabuloſæ. Et tamen fabellis illis non puduit mundum tam diu lùdificare, periculum etiam inentantes his, ſi qui *Legendæ illi*, hoc eſt, mendaciſſimis illorum nugis, auderent detrahere. Quare nihil magis eſſe poſſit impium, quàm ſacroſanctam eccleſiæ fidem fabulamentis huiuſmodi confictiſque præter omnem veri fidem delirijs commaculare; tamen ineptiſſimi iſti nugatores ex ſuo ingenio cæteros quoſque ſcriptores metientes, nec ipſi verum adferre ſatagunt, nec afferentibus alijs fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet ſuis aureis ſomnijs ſimilia exiſtimantes? Quin apage cum *Aurea tua legenda*, nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum ſcimus, nec ipſe ignoras prodigioſis mendaciorum portentis & vaniſſimis vndique commentis ſcatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim: tantum abeſt vt eum verè ſerijs grauibuſque eccleſiæ hiſtorijs quicquam commune

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habeat. Quid? an quia Papistis illis tuis & impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis in epitre, tu protinus nullam grauem historiæ authoritatem putas in ecclesia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de Eusebij ecclesiastica, & tripartita Sozomeni & Socratis cæterorúmque historijs iudicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quædam de Sanctis & Diuis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen ne quaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, vt *Legendæ illi papisticæ* annumerentur, etiam quæ suspectissimæ sunt fidei Quanquam de scriptoribus cæteris meâ nihil interest censuram ferre. Quòd ad hanc verò nostram τῶν μαρτύρων attinet, testatum id velim vniuersis, datam esse à nobis operam sedulò, ne quid vsquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut eiusmodi, quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legendæ illi aureæ* (magis dicam plumbeæ) non vndique foret dissimilimum. Id quod res ipsa & natiua historiæ facies testari poterit, cuius tota textura ex ipsis Episcoporum Archiuis atque Regestris, partimque ex proprijs martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In qua historia etsi neque id exigam vt singula hic pro oraculis habeantur, at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, vt si non plenè assequeremur, accederemus tamen quàm proxime ad veterem illam historiæ legem, vt duas res, præcipuas historiæ pestes, vitaremus, timorem videlicet & assentationem: quarum altera sæpe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit quàm par est, narrationi. Sed huius rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam & natiuam faciem, quam non erit difficile non muccosis naribus lectori, ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, siue alijs circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris prouerbij experientia: faciunt quippe mendaces vt ne vera etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in Martyrologicis sanctorum legendis vitísque describendis mendacia, ac nugacissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit vt & cæteræ eiusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, vt vix iam quicquam legi diciue in ecclesia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos præstitisse. Quod superest, diuinæ curandum prouidentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatéque historiæ hæc hactenus: quæ vtinam ne tam vera quidem certáque esset, quàm isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, consimilísque huic, quam dicunt, *Aureæ ipsorum Legendæ*, aut Vitis patrum, aut Festiuali, aut Dormi-secure; cæterísq; Papisticis istis τῶν τῶν λεγομένων λεγομένων foret. Nunc verò martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, sed inflicta à vobis supplicia, atroxque cædes veriorem hanc comprobant historiam, plurésque suæ veritatis testes habent quam vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio iam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ *de Calendario* fortassis obijcietur. Audio enim & hic mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè a me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris ecclesiæ Diuis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, Virginibúsq;, nouos eorum loco Martyres ac Confessores infulciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum Diuorum hoc facto præiudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter Diuos a me referuntur isti, quòd inferuntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Porro, neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, vt nouam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam ecclesiæ: Tum multò minus cultum sancti alicuius instituo. Festorum dierum iam plus satis erat in mundo. Vtinam dominicum solum sabbatum dignè, atque vt par est, transigeremus. Habeãt per me suum papistæ Calendarium. Habeat & ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim ijdem ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti, tàm verè etiam sancti sint.

Verùm enimuero cum non dubitauit sua etiam ætatæ Hieronymus multos existimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis haberent in ecclesia: quid hîc tum diceret Hieronymus, si modò superstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluuiem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Episcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt *pro Indice* duntaxat, suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad priuatum Lectoris seruiret vsum. Et tamen si in templis etiam fas sit singulorum mensium dies proprijs sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare; quî minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere Martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tanta sibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiserunt? Si non pœna, sed causa Martyrem faciat, cur non vnum *Cranmerum* sexcentis Becketis Cantuarienſibus non conferam, sed prætulerim? Quid in Nicolao Ridleo videtur cum quouis Diuo Nicolao non conferendum? Qua in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marsheus, Simpsonus, cæterique Christiani martyrij Candidati, inferiores summis maximísque illis papistici Calendarij Diuis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sanctíque viri (modò qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari.

Sed missis hisce aduersariorum calumnijs, ad te, docte candidéque Lector (quoniam hæc ad te instituta est epistola) tempus est vt recurrat oratio, cuius in his rebus iudicium vt pluris æstimo, ita egeo magis hîc quoque patrocinio. Scio enim in vasta hac congerie reperies nonnulla, ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facilè potuit, præsertim in tanta operis præcipitatione, vt cuncta ad amussim atq; ad vnguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret authori alquid, vel ex festinatione eueniret, quod cani solet in prouerbijs nimium præ studio properanti, cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte simul & humanissime Lector, ante operis ingressum libuit προοιμιάζεσθαι, vt si quid inter euoluendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleantis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum Theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus alioqui acutisimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data esse, sed meæ, hoc est, crassioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam iudicantur. Aut si ne id quidem grauissimæ tuæ sententiæ fecerit satis, liceat illa mihi vti lege, qua semper permissum est, opere in magno scriptori obrepere somnum. Quod si verò tuam hac in re facilitatem impetrauero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obstrepant, Græci memor prouerbij, cuius & ipsos commeminisse velim: μωμήσονται με

θεασόμενοι ἢ μιμήσονται.

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TO THE TRVE AND FAITHFVLL CONGREGATION OF CHRISTS VNIVERSALL CHVRCH,

with all and ſinguler the members thereof, whereſoeuer congregated or diſperſed *thorow the realme of England*; *a Proteſtation or Petition of the Author, wiſhing to* the ſame abundance of all peace and tranquillity, with the ſpeedie com-*ming of Chriſt the Sponſe, to make an end of all mortall miſerie.*

Salomon the peaceable prince of Iſrael, as we reade in the third of Kings, after he had finiſhed the building of the Lords Temple (which he had vij. yeeres in hand) made his petition to the Lord for all that ſhould pray in the ſaid Temple, or turne their face toward it. And his requeſt was granted, the Lord anſwering him, as we reade in the ſaid book, cap. 6. *I haue heard* (ſaith he) *thy prayer, and haue ſanctified this place, &c.* Albeit, the infinite maieſtie of God is not to be compaſſed in any materiall walles, yet it ſo pleaſed his goodnes to reſpect this prayer of the King, that not onely hee promiſed to heare them which there prayed, but alſo repleniſhed the ſame with his owne glory. For ſo we reade again in the book aforeſaid: *Et non poterant miniſtrare propter nebulam, quia repleuit gloria domini, domum domini:* 3. *Reg.* 7.

Vpon the like truſt in Gods gracious goodneſſe, if I ſinnefull wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but following the zeale of the builder, might either be ſo bold to aske, or ſo happie to ſpeed, after my vij. yeeres trauell about this Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, moſt humbly would craue of almighty God, to beſtow his bleſſing vpon the ſame, that as the prayers of them, which prayed in the outward Temple, were heard: ſo all true diſpoſed minds, which ſhall reſort to the reading of this preſent hiſtorie, containing the Acts of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may by example of their life, faith and doctrine, receiue ſome ſuch ſpirituall fruit to their ſoules through the operation of his grace, that it may be to the aduancement of his glory, and profit of his Church, through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord: Amen.

But as it happened in that Temple of *Salomon*, that al which came thither, came not to pray, but many to prate, ſome to gaze and ſee newes, other to talke and walke, ſome to buy and ſell, ſome to carpe and find fault, and finally, ſome alſo at the laſt to deſtroy and plucke downe, as they did in deed: For what is in this world ſo ſtrong, but it will be impugned? what ſo perfect, but it will be abuſed? ſo true, that will not be contraried? or ſo circumſpectly done, wherein wrangling *Theon* will not ſet in his tooth? Euen ſo, neither doe I look for any other in this preſent hiſtory; but that amongſt many well diſpoſed Readers, ſome Waſpes neſt or other will bee ſtirred vp to buzze about mine eares. Such a dangerous thing it is now adaies to write or doe any good, but either by flattering a man muſt offend the godly, or by true ſpeaking procure hatred with the wicked. Of ſuch ſtinging Waſpes and buzzing Drones I had ſufficient triall in my former edition before; who if they had found in my booke any iuſt cauſe to carpe, or vpon any true zeale of truth had proceeded againſt the vntruths of my ſtory, and had brought iuſt proofes for the ſame, I could haue right well abid it. For God forbid, but that faults whereſoeuer they be, ſhould be detected and accuſed. And therefore accuſers in a common-wealth, after my mind, do ſerue to no ſmall ſtead.

But then ſuch accuſers muſt beware they play not the dog, of whom *Cicero* in his Oration ſpeaketh, which being ſet in *Capitolio* to fray away theeues by night, left the theeues, and fell to barke at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and barke is not amiſſe. But to carpe where no cauſe is, to ſpie in other ſtrawes, and leape ouer their own blocks: to ſwallow Camels, and to ſtraine Gnats: to oppreſſe truth with lies, and to ſet vp lies for truth: to blaſpheme the deare Martyrs of Chriſt, and to canonize for Saints, whom Scripture would ſcarce allow for good Subiects; that is intollerable. Such barking curs, if they were well ſerued, would be made a while to ſtoope. But with theſe brauling ſpirits I intend not at this time much to wraſtle.

Wherefore to leaue them a while, till further leaſure ſerue me to attend vpon them, thus much I thought in the meane ſeaſon, by way of proteſtation or petition, to write vnto you, both in generall and particular the true members and faithful congregation of Chriſts Church, whereſoeuer either congregated together, or diſperſed thorow the whole realme of England; that forſomuch as al the ſeeking of theſe aduerſaries is to doe what they can, by diſcrediting of this hiſtory with ſlanders and ſiniſter ſurmiſes, how to withdraw the readers from it: this therefore ſhall be in few words to premoniſh and deſire of all and ſinguler of you (all well minded louers and partakers of Chriſts Goſpel) not to ſuffer your ſelues to be deceiued with the big brags, and hyperbolicall ſpeeches of thoſe ſlandering tongues, whatſoeuer they haue or ſhall hereafter exclame againſt the ſame: but indifferently ſtaying your iudgement till truth bee tried, you will firſt peruſe, and then refuſe: meaſuring the vntruths of this hiſtorie, not by the ſcoring vp of their hundreds and thouſands of lies which they giue out, but wiſely weighing the purpoſe of their doings, according as you find, and ſo to iudge of the matter.

To reade my books I allure neither one nor other. Euery man as he ſeeth cauſe, ſo like as he liſt. If any ſhall think his labour too much in reading this ſtory, his choice is free either to reade this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof ſhall recompence the readers trauell, then would I wiſh no man ſo light eared, to be carried away for any ſiniſter clamour of aduerſaries, who many times depraue good doings, not for the faults they find, but therfore find faults becauſe they would depraue. As for me and my hiſtory, as my will was to profit all and diſpleaſe none: ſo if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpoſe bin ſimple, and certes the cauſe no leſſe vrgent alſo, which mooued me to take this enterpriſe in hand.

For firſt, to ſee the ſimple flock of Chriſt, eſpecially the vnlearned ſort, ſo miſerably abuſed, and al for ignorance of hiſtorie, not knowing the courſe of times, and true deſcent of the Church, it pitied me, that part of diligence ſo long to haue bin vnſupplied in this my countrie Church of England. Againe, conſidering the multitude of Chroniclers and Storie-writers, both in England and out of England, of whom the moſt part haue bin either Monkes or Clients to the ſee of Rome, it grieued me to behold how partially they handled their ſtories. Whoſe painefull trauell albeit I cannot but commend, in committing diuers things to writing, not vnfruitfull to bee knowne, nor vnpleaſant to be read: yet it lamented me to ſee in their Monuments the principall points, which chiefly concerned the ſtate of Chriſts Church, and were moſt neceſſarie of all Chriſtian people to bee knowne, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inſerted, yet were all things drawne to the honour ſpecially of the Church of Rome, or elſe to the fauour of their owne ſect of Religion. Whereby the vulgar ſort, hearing and reading in their writings no other Church mentioned or magnified, but only that Church which here floriſhed in this world in riches and iollity, were drawne alſo to the ſame perſwaſion, to thinke no other Church to haue ſtood in all the earth, but only the Church of Rome.

The partiall dealing of ſtorie writers.

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In the number of this ſort of writers, beſides our Monks of England (for euery Monaſtery almoſt had his Chronicler) I might alſo recite both Italian, and other countrie authors, as *Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Polyd. Virgilius*, with many moe, who taking vpon them to intermeddle with matters of the Church, although in part they expreſſe ſome truth in matters concerning the biſhops and See of Rome: yet in ſuppreſſing another part, they play with vs, as *Ananias & Saphira* did with their money, or as *Apelles* did in *Pliny*, who painting the one halfe of *Venus* comming out of the ſea, left the other halfe vnperfect. So theſe writers, while they ſhew vs one halfe of the biſhop of Rome, the other half of him they leaue vnperfect, and vtterly vntold. For as they paint him out on the one part gliſtering in wealth and glorie, in ſhewing what ſucceſſion the popes had from the chaire of S. *Peter*, when they firſt began, and how long they ſate, what Churches, and what famous buildings they erected, how far their poſſeſſions reached, what lawes they made, what Councels they called, what honour they receiued of Kings and Emperors, what Princes and Countries they brought vnder their authoritie, with other like ſtratagems, of great pomp & roialty: ſo on y other ſide, what vices theſe popes brought with them to their ſeat, what abominations they practiſed, what ſuperſtition they maintained, what Idolatrie they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the expreſſe word of God, to what hereſies they fell, into what diuiſion of ſects they cut the vnity of Chriſtian religion, how ſome practiſed by Simonie, ſome by Necromancie and Sorcerie, ſome by poiſoning, ſome indenting with the diuell to come by their papacie, what hypocriſie was in their liues, what corruption in their doctrin, what warres they raiſed, what bloudſhed they cauſed, what treacherie they trauerſed againſt their Lords and Emperours, impriſoning ſome, betraying ſome to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other vnder their feet, alſo in beheading ſome, as they did with *Fredericus* and *Conradinus*, the heires and offſpring of the houſe of *Fredericus Barbaroſſa*, an. 1269. Furthermore, how mightily almightie God hath ſtood againſt them, how their wars neuer proſpered againſt the Turk, how the iudgements of the godly learned from time to time haue euer repugned againſt their errors, &c. of theſe and a thouſand other moe, not one word hath bin touched, but all kept as vnder *Benedicite* in auricular confeſſion.

This partiall dealing and corrupt handling of hiſtories, when I conſidered, I thought with my ſelfe nothing more lacking in the church, then a ful and a complete hiſtorie, which being faithfully collected out of al our Monaſtical writers and written Monuments, ſhould containe neither euery vaine written fable, for that would be too much, nor yet leaue out any thing neceſſary, for that would be too little: but with a moderate diſcretion taking the beſt of euery one, ſhould both eaſe the labor of the Reader from turning ouer ſuch a number of writers: and alſo ſhould open the plaine truth of times lying long hid in obſcure darkeneſſe of antiquitie. Whereby all ſtudious Readers, beholding as in a glaſſe the ſtate, courſe, and alteration of religion, decay of doctrin, and the controuerſies of the Church, might diſcerne the better between antiquitie & nouelty. For if the things which be firſt (after the rule of *Tertullian*) are to be preferred before thoſe that be latter, then is the reading of hiſtories much neceſſarie in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therfore not without cauſe *Hiſtoria, in old authors is called the witnes of times, the light of veritie, the life of memorie, teacher of life, and ſhewer of antiquitie, &c.* Without the knowledge whereof mans life is blind, and ſoone may fal into any kind of error, as by manifeſt experience we haue to ſee, in theſe deſolate latter times of the Church, when as the biſhops of Rome vnder colour of antiquitie haue turned truth into hereſie, and brought ſuch new found deuices of ſtrange doctrin and religion, as in the former age of the church were neuer heard of before, and all through ignorance of times, and for lacke of true hiſtorie.

Primum quodque veriſſimum eſt: Tertul.

For to ſay the truth, if times had been well ſearched, or if they which wrote hiſtories had without partialitie gone vpright betweene God and Baal, halting on neither ſide, it might well haue been found, the moſt part of all this catholick corruption intruded into the Church by the Biſhops of Rome, as tranſubſtantiation, eleuation, and adoration of the ſacrament, auricular confeſſion, forced vowes of Prieſts not to marrie, veneration of images, priuat and ſatisfactorie maſſes, the order of *Gregories* maſſe now vſed, the vſurped authoritie, and *Summa poteſtas* of the See of Rome, with all the rout of their ceremonies and weeds of ſuperſtition ouergrowing now the Church; all theſe (I ſay) to be new-nothings lately coined in the mint of Rome without any ſtampe of antiquity, as by reading of this preſent hiſtorie ſhal ſufficiently, I truſt, appeare. Which hiſtory therfore I haue here taken in hand, that as other ſtorie-writers heretofore haue imploied their trauel to magnifie the church of Rome, ſo in this hiſtorie might appeare to all Chriſtian Readers the Image of both Churches, as wel of the one as of the other; eſpecially of the poore oppreſſed and perſecuted Church of Chriſt. Which perſecuted Church, though it hath been of long ſeaſon trodden vnder foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in hiſtories, & almoſt ſcarſe viſible or known to worldly eies, yet hath it bin the true Church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto in preſeruing the ſame in al extreme diſtreſſes, continually ſtirring vp from time to time faithfull miniſters, by whom alwaies hath been kept ſome ſparks of his true doctrine and religion.

Image of both Churches.

Now forasmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with ſome other Church or Chapell of the diuell to deface and maligne the ſame, neceſſarie it is therefore, the difference betweene them to be ſeene, and the deſcent of the right Church to be deſcribed from the Apoſtles time. Which hitherto in moſt part of hiſtories hath been lacking, partly for feare, that men durſt not: partly for ignorance, that men could not diſcerne rightly betweene the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be ſo viſible & glorious in the eies of the world, ſo ſhining in outward beautie, to beare ſuch a port, to carry ſuch a traine and multitude, and to ſtand in ſuch high authority, ſuppoſed the ſame to be only the right Catholicke mother. The other, becauſe it was not ſo viſiblie knowne in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Chriſt. Wherein they were farre deceiued. For although the right Church of God be not ſo inuiſible in the world, that none can ſee it; yet neither is it ſo viſible againe, that euery worldly eie may perceiue it. For like as is the nature of truth; ſo is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none ſeeth it, but ſuch onelie, as bee the members and partakers thereof. And therefore they which require that Gods holy Church ſhould bee euident and viſible to the whole world, ſeeme to define the great ſynagogue of the world rather then the true ſpirituall Church of God.

The deſcent of Chriſts Church from the Apoſtles time deſcribed.

How the true Church of Chriſt is viſible and not viſible.

In Chriſts time who would haue thought but the congregations and councels of the Phariſies had been the right Church? and yet had Chriſt an other Church in earth beſides that; which albeit it was not ſo manifeſt in the ſight of the world, yet was it the onely true Church in the ſight of God. Of this Church meant Chriſt ſpeaking of the Temple, which hee would raiſe againe the third day. And yet after that the Lord was riſen, hee ſhewed not himſelfe to the world, but onelie to his elect, which were but few. The ſame Church after that increaſed and multiplied mightily among the Iewes, yet had not the Iewes eles to ſee Gods Church, but did perſecute it till at length all their whole nation was deſtroyed.

After the Iewes, then came the Heathen Emperours of Rome, who hauing the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could doe, to extinguiſh the name and Church of Chriſt. Whoſe violence continued the ſpace of three hundred yeeres. All which while the true Church of Chriſt was not greatly in ſight of the world, but rather was abhorred euery where, and yet notwithſtanding the ſame ſmall ſilly flocke ſo deſpiſed in the world, the Lord highly regarded and mightilie preſerued. For although many then of the Chriſtians did ſuffer death; yet was their death neither loſſe to them, nor detriment to the Church: but the more they ſuffered, the more of their bloud increaſed.

In the time of theſe Emperours, God raiſed vp then in this Realme of Britaine diuers worthy Preachers and Witneſſes, as *Elnanus, Meduinus, Meltiuianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Iulius*, and other moe. In whoſe time the doctrine of faith without mens traditions was ſincerely preached. After their death and martyrdome, it pleaſed the Lord to prouide a generall quietneſſe to his Church, whereby the number of his flocke began more to increaſe.

The antiquity of the Church here in England, with the deſcent of the ſame.

In this age the followed here in the ſaid land of Britain, *Faſtidius, Niuianus, Patricius, Batchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, Dauid, Daniel, Sampſon, Elnodugus, Aſaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Ninius*. and a great ſort mo, which gouerned y Church of Britain by Chriſtian doctrin a long ſeaſon; albeit the ciuil gouernors for the time, were

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were then diſſolute and careleſſe, as *Gildas* very ſharply doth lay to their charge, and ſo at length were ſubdued by the Saxons.

All this while about the ſpace of foure hundred yeeres, Religion remained in Britaine vncorrupt, and the word of Chriſt truely preached, till about the comming of *Auſten* and of his companions from Rome, many of the ſaid Britaine Preachers were ſlaine by the Saxons. After that began Chriſtian faith to enter and ſpring among the Saxons, after a certaine Romiſh ſort, yet notwithſtanding ſomewhat more tollerable, then were the times which after followed, through the diligent induſtrie of ſome godly teachers, which then liued amongſt them: as *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, *Coleman* Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Beda*, *Iohn of Beuerlay*, *Alcuinus*, *Noetus*, *Hucharius*, *Serlo*, *Achardus*, *Ealredus*, *Alexander Neckam*, *Negellus*, *Fenallus*, *Alfricus*, *Sygeferthus*, and ſuch other: who, though they erred in ſome few things, yet neither ſo groſſely, nor ſo greatly to be complained of in reſpect of the abuſes that followed. For as yet, all this while, the errour of tranſubſtantiation and eleuation, with auricular confeſſion, was not crept in for a publike doctrine in Chriſts Church, as by their owne Saxon Sermon, made by *Aelfricus*, and ſet out in the ſecond Volume of this preſent hiſtory may appeare, pag. 1402. During the which meane time although the Biſhops of Rome were had here in ſome reuerence with the clergie: yet had they nothing as yet to doo in making lawes touching matters of the Church of England: but that onely appertained to the Kings and Gouernours of the land, as is in this ſtorie to be ſeene: page 714.

Tranſubſtantiation not yet receiued for a publicke doctrine.

And thus the Church of Rome albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet during all this while it remained hitherto in ſome reaſonable order, till at length after that the ſaid Biſhops began to ſhoot vp in the world through the liberalitie of good Princes, and eſpecially by *Mathilda* a noble Duches of Italie. Who at her death made the pope heire of all her lands, and indued his ſee with great reuenewes. Then riches begat ambition: Ambition deſtroied religion, ſo that all came to ruine. Out of this corruption ſprang forth here in England (as did in other places more) another Romiſh kind of Monkery, worſe then the other before, being much more drowned in ſuperſtition and ceremonies, which was about the yeere of our Lord, 980. Of this ſwarme was *Egbertus*, *Aigelbert*, *Egwine*, *Boniface*, *Wilfrede*, *Agathon*, *Iames*, *Romaine*, *Cedda*, *Dunſtane*, *Oſwold*, *Athelwold*, *Athelwine* Duke of Eaſtangles, *Lanfraucke*, *Anſelme*, and ſuch other.

The Church when it began to fall from God.

Æneas Siluius ſaith, that Mathilda made the pope heire of thoſe lands, which is called the Patrimony of S. Peter. *Ex Auen. l. 6.*

Monkery, when it began to raigne in England.

And yet in this time alſo through Gods prouidence, the Church lacked not ſome of better knowledge and iudgement, to weigh with the darkneſſe of thoſe daies. For although King *Edgar*, with *Edward* his baſe ſonne being ſeduced by *Dunſtane*, *Oſwold* and other monkiſh clerks, was then a great author and fautor of much ſuperſtition, erecting as many Monaſteries, as were Sundaies in the yeere: yet notwithſtanding, this continued not long. For eſtſoones after the death of *Edgar* came King *Ethelreds* and Queene *Elfthred* his mother, with *Alferus* Duke of Merceland, and other Peeres and Nobles of the Realme, who diſplaced the Monks againe, and reſtored the married prieſts to their old poſſeſſions and liuings. Moreouer, after that followed alſo the Danes, which ouerthrew thoſe monkiſh foundations as faſt as King *Edgar* had ſet them vp before.

And thus hitherto ſtood the condition of the true Church of Chriſt, albeit, not without ſome repugnance and difficultie, yet in ſome mean ſtate of the truth and verity, til ỹ time of pope *Hildebrand* called *Gregorie* 7. which was neere about the yeere 1080. and of pope *Innocentius* 3. in the yeere 1215. By whom all together was turned vpſide downe, all order broken, diſcipline diſſolued, true doctrine defaced, Chriſtian faith extinguiſhed. In ſtead whereof was ſet vp preaching of mens decrees, dreames and idle traditions. And whereas before truth was free to be diſputed amongſt learned men, now libertie was turned into law, argument into authoritie. Whatſoeuer the Biſhop of Rome denounced, that ſtood for an oracle, of all men to be receiued without oppoſition or contradiction: whatſoeuer was contrary, *ipſo facto* it was hereſie, to be puniſhed with fagot and flaming fire. Then began the ſincere faith of this Engliſh Church, which held out ſo long, to quaile. Then was the cleere Sunſhine of Gods word ouerſhadowed, with miſts and darkeneſſe, appearing like ſackecloth to the people, which neither could vnderſtand that they read, nor yet permitted to reade that they could vnderſtand. In theſe miſerable daies, as the true viſible Church began now to ſhrinke and keepe in for feare: ſo vpſtart a new ſort of plaiers to furniſh the ſtage, as Schoole-Doctours, Canoniſts, and foure orders of Friers. Beſides other Monaſticall ſects and fraternities of infinit varietie. Which euer ſince haue kept ſuch a ſtirre in the Church, that none for them almoſt durſt rout, neither Cæſar, King, nor ſubiect. What they defined, ſtood: What they approued, was catholick: What they condemned, was hereſie: whomſoeuer they accuſed, none almoſt could ſaue. And thus haue theſe hitherto continued or raigned rather in the Church, the ſpace now of foure hundred yeeres and od. During which ſpace, the true Church of Chriſt, although it durſt not openly appeare in the face of the world, oppreſſed by tyrannie: yet neither was it ſo inuiſible or vnknowne; but by the prouidence of the Lord, ſome remnant alwaies remained from time to time, which not onely ſhewed ſecret good affection to ſincere doctrine, but alſo ſtood in open defence of truth againſt the diſordered Church of Rome.

The true Church when it began firſt to decay.

In which Catalogue, firſt, to pretermit *Bartramus* & *Berengarius*, which were before P. *Innocent* 3. a learned multitude of ſufficient witneſſes here might be produced, whoſe names neither are obſcure nor doctrin vnknown: as *Ioachim* Abbat of Calabria, *Almericus* a learned Biſhop, who was iudged an hereticke for holding againſt Images, in the time of the ſaid *Innocentius*. Beſides the martyrs of Alſatia, of whom we reade, an hundred to be burned by the ſaid *Innocentius* in one day, as writeth *Hermanus Mucius*. Adde likewiſe to theſe, the *Waldenſes* or *Albingenſes*, which to a great number ſegregated themſelues from the Church of Rome. To this number alſo belonged *Reymundus* Earle of Tholoſe, *Marſilius Patauius*, * *Gulielmus de S. Amore*, *Simon Tornacenſis*, *Arnoldus de noua villa*, *Iohannes Semeca*, beſides diuers other Preachers in Sueuia, ſtanding againſt the Pope: anno 1240. *Ex Cranz.* *Laurentius Anglicus* a maſter of Paris, anno 1260. *Petrus Iohannes* a Minorite, who was burned after his death: anno 1290. *Robertus Gallus* a Dominick Frier, anno 1291. *Robert Groſthead* Biſhop of Lincolne, which was called *Malleus Romanorum*: anno 1250. *Lord Peter de Cagnerijs*: anno 1329. To theſe we may adde moreouer, *Gulielmus Ockam*, *Bongratius Bergomenſis*, *Luitpoldus*, *Andreas Laudenſis*, *Vlricus Hangenor* Treaſurer to the Emperor, *Ioannes de Ganduno*, anno 1330. mentioned in the Extrauagants; *Andreas de Caſtro*, *Buridianus*, *Enda*, Duke of Burgundy, who counſelled the French king, not to receiue the new found conſtitutions, and extrauagants of the pope into his realme: *Dantes Alligerius*, an Italian, who wrote againſt the Pope, Monks, and Friers, and againſt the donation of *Conſtantine*: anno 1330. *Taulerus* a Germaine preacher, * *Conradus Hager*, impriſoned for preaching againſt the maſſe: an. 1339. The author of the booke called, *Pœnitentiarius Aſini*, compiled about the yeere 1343. *Michael Ceſenas* a Gray Frier, *Petrus de Corbaria*, with *Iohannes de Poliaco*, mentioned in the Extrauagants, and condemned by the Pope; *Ioannes de Caſtilione*, with *Franciſcus de Arcatara*, who were burned about the yeere of our Lord 1322. * *Ioannes Rochtaylada*, otherwiſe called *Haybalus*, with another Frier martyred about the yeere 1346. *Franciſcus Petrarcha*, who called Rome the whore of Babylon, &c. an. 1350. * *Georgius Ariminenſis*, an. 1350. *Ioannes de Rupe Sciſſa*, impriſoned for certaine prophecies againſt the Pope, an. 1340. *Gerhardus Ridder*, who alſo wrote againſt Monks and Friers a booke called *Lacryma Eccleſiæ*, anno 1350. *Godfridus de Fontanis*, *Gulielmus de Landuno*, *Iohannes Monachus Cardini*, *Armachanus*, *Nicolaus Orem*, Preacher, anno 1364. *Militzius* a Bohemian, which then preached that Antichriſt was come, and was excommunicate for the ſame, anno 1366. *Iacobus Miſnenſis*, * *Matthias Pariſienſis* a Bohemian borne, and a writer againſt the Pope, an. 1370. *Ioannes Montziger*, Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Vlme, an. 1384. *Nilus* Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, *Henricus de Iota*, *Henricus de Haſſia*, &c.

The true Church contlnueth in the middeſt of their enemies.

Extrauagant. cap. Non ſine multa.

Ex Nicolao Emerico, lib. Inquiſitionum.

Ex Ioan. Auenſino, lib. 7.

Extrauagant. cap. Licet infra doctrinam.

Ex Bullis quibuſdam Oſhonis Epiſc. Herbipolenſis.

Extrauagant. Ioan. 22. Ex Ioan. Froſiardo, volum. 1. cap. 211.

Ex Triſemio.

Ex Bulla Gregorij, cap. 11.

Ex Illyrico.

Ex Bruſhio.

Ex Chriſtiani Maſſeo.

Ex Ioan. Bacon, Diſt. 2. Quæſt. 1.

I doe but recite the principall Writers and Preachers in thoſe daies: How many thouſands there were which neuer bowed their knees to *Baal*, that is knowne to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one * *Bruſnius*, that xxxvi. Citizens of Maguntia were burned, an. 1390. Who following the doctrine of the Waldenſes, affirmed the Pope to be the great Antichriſt. Alſo *Maſſæus* recordeth of one hundred and fortie, which in the Prouince of Narbon were put to the fire, for not receiuing the decretals of Rome: beſides them that ſuffered at Paris to the number of xxiiij. at one time, anno 1210. and the next yeere after were foure hundred burnt vnder the name of heretikes. Beſides alſo a certaine good heremit, an Engliſhman, of whom mention is made in *Iohn Bacon*, *Diſt. 2. Queſt. 1.* who was committed for diſputing in Pauls Church, againſt certaine Sacraments of the Church of Rome: anno 1306.

To deſcend now ſomewhat lower in drawing out the deſcent of the Church. What a multitude here commeth of faithfull wit-

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neſſes in the time of *Iohn Wickliffe, as Ocliffe, Wickliffe:* anno 1376. *William Thorp, White, Purney, Patſhall, Paine, Gower, Chaucer, Gaſcoyne, William Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Santry,* about the yeere 1400. *Iohn Badby:* an. 1410. *Nicolas Tailer, Richard Wagſtaffe, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldſmith,* with an Anchreſſe called *Mathilde* in the citie of Leiceſter, Lord *Cobham,* Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, *Iohn Beuerley* Preacher, *Iohn Huſſe, Ierome* of Prage, Schoolemaſter, with a number of faithfull Bohemians, and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might alſo adioyne *Laurentius Valla,* and *Ioannes Picus,* the learned Earle of Mirandula. But what doe I ſtand vpon recitall of names, which almoſt are infinite?

Wherefore, if any be ſo farre beguiled in his opinion to thinke the doctrine of the Church of Rome (as it now ſtandeth) to be of ſuch antiquity, and that the ſame was neuer impugned before the time of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* now of late, let them reade theſe hiſtories: or if he thinke the ſaid hiſtorie not to bee of ſufficient credit to alter his perſwaſion, let him peruſe the Acts and Statutes of Parliaments, paſſed in this Realme of ancient time, and therein conſider and conferre the courſe of times; where he may find and reade, *Anno 5. Regis Richardi* 2. in the yeere of our Lord, 1386. of a great number (which there bee called euil perſons) *going about from towne to towne in freeſe gownes, preaching vnto the people, &c.* Which preachers although the words of the Statute doe terme there to be diſſembling perſons, preaching diuers Sermons containing hereſies and notorious errours, to the emblemiſhment of Chriſtian faith, and of holy Church, &c. as the words doe there pretend: yet notwithſtanding euery true Chriſtian Reader may conceiue of thoſe Preachers to teach no other doctrine, then now they heare their owne preachers in pulpits preach, againſt the biſhop of Rome, and the corrupt hereſies of his Church.

Statut. in an. 5. Rich. 2. an. Dom. 1390.

Furthermore, he ſhall find likewiſe in *Statut. An. 2. Henr. 4. cap.* 15. in the yeere of our Lord 1402. another like companie of good preachers and faithfull defenders of true doctrine againſt blind hereſie and errour. Whom albeit the words of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, doe falſely terme, to be falſe *and peruerſe Preachers, vnder diſſembled holineſſe, teaching in thoſe daies openly and priuily new doctrines and heretical opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy Church, &c.* Yet notwithſtanding, whoſoeuer readeth hiſtories and conferreth the order and deſcent of times, ſhall vnderſtand theſe to be no falſe teachers, but faithful witneſſes of the truth, not teaching any new doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church: but rather ſhall find that Church to be vnholy, which they preached againſt, teaching rather it ſelfe hereticall opinions, contrary both to antiquity, and verity of Chriſts true Catholicke Church.

Ex Statut. in an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. anno Dom. 1402.

Of the like number alſo, or greater, of like true faithfull fauorers and followers of Gods holy word, we find in the yeere of our Lord 1422. ſpecified in a letter ſent from *Henrie Chicheſlie* Archbiſhop of Canturburie, to pope *Martin* 5. in the fifth yeere of his popedome, where mention is made *of ſo many here in England infected:* (as he ſaid) *with the hereſies of Wickliffe and Huſſe, that without force of an armie they could not be ſuppreſſed, &c.* Whereupon the pope ſent two Cardinals to the Archbiſhop, to cauſe a tenth to be gathered of al ſpiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the chamber Apoſtolicke, and if that were not ſufficient, the reſidue to be made vp of chalices, candleſticks, and other implements of the Church, &c.

Ex literis Archiepiſcopi Cant. ad Martinum 5. anno domini 1422.

What ſhall need then any more witneſſe to prooue this matter, when you ſee ſo many yeeres agoe whole armies and multitudes, thus ſtanding againſt the pope? who though they be termed here for heretikes and ſchiſmatickes, yet in that, which they call hereſie, ſerued they the liuing Lord, within the Arke of his true ſpirituall and viſible Church.

And where is then the friuolous brag of the Papiſts, which make ſo much of their painted ſheath, and would needs beare vs downe, that this gouernment of the Church of Rome which now is, hath been of ſuch an old ſtanding, time out of mind, euen from the primitiue antiquitie, and that neuer was any other Church demonſtrable here in earth for men to follow, beſides the ſaid only Catholike mother Church of Rome? when as we haue ſufficiently prooued before by the continuall deſcent of the Church til this preſent time, that the ſaid Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter, but euen the old continued Church, by the prouidence and promiſe of Chriſt, ſtill ſtanding: which albeit it hath been of late yeeres repreſſed by the tyrannie of Roman Biſhops, more then before: yet notwithſtanding it was neuer ſo oppreſſed, but God hath euer maintained in it the truth of his Goſpell, againſt hereſies and errours of the Church of Rome, as in this hiſtory more at full is to be ſeene.

Let vs now proceed farther as we began, deducing this deſcent of the Church vnto the 1501. yeere. In which yeere the Lord began to ſhew in the parts of Germany wonderfull tokens, and bloudie markes of his Paſſion, as the bloudie croſſe, his nailes, ſpeare, and crowne of thornes, which fell from heauen vpon the garments and caps of men, and rocks of women, as you may further reade in this booke, pag. 769. By the which tokens almightie God (no doubt) preſignified, what grieuous afflictions and bloudie perſecutions ſhould then begin to inſue vpon his Church for his Goſpels ſake, according as in this hiſtory is deſcribed, wherein is to be ſeene what Chriſtian bloud hath been ſpilt, what perſecutions raiſed, what tyrannie exerciſed, what torments deuiſed, what treachery vſed, againſt the poore flock and Church of Chriſt; in ſuch ſort as ſince Chriſts time greater hath not been ſeene.

Bloudie marks of Chriſts paſſion ſeene on mens garments in Germany: *an.* 1501.

And now by reuolution of yeeres, we are come from that time of 1501. to the yeere now preſent, 1570. In which the full ſeuentie yeeres of the Babyloniſh captiuity draweth now wel to an end, if we count from the firſt appearing of theſe bloudy markes aboue mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of *Luther,* and his perſecution, then lacketh yet xvj. yeeres. Now what the Lord will doe with this wicked world, or what reſt he will giue to his Church after theſe long ſorrowes, he is our Father in heauen, his will be done in earth, as ſeemeth beſt to his diuine maieſtie.

Seuenty yeres of captiuity well neere expired.

In the meane time, let vs for our parts with all patient obedience waite vpon his gratious leiſure, and glorifie his holy name, and edifie one another with all humilitie. And if there cannot be an end of our diſputing, and contending one againſt another: yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And foraſmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Satan thus ſhould be let looſe amongſt vs for a ſhort time: yet let vs ſtriue in the meane while what we can to amend the malice of the time with mutuall humanitie. They that be in error, let them not diſdaine to learne. They which haue greater talents of knowledge committed, inſtruct in ſimplicitie them that be ſimple. No man liueth in that common-wealth where nothing is amiſſe: but yet becauſe God hath ſo placed vs Engliſhmen here in one common-wealth, alſo in one Church, as in one ſhip together: let vs not mangle or diuide the ſhip, which being diuided periſheth: but euery man ſerue in his order with diligence, wherein he is called. They that ſit at the helme, keepe well the point of the needle, to know how the ſhip goeth, and whither it ſhould. Whatſoeuer weather betideth, the needle wel touched with the ſtone of Gods word will neuer faile. Such as labour at the oares, ſtart for no tempeſt, but do what they can to keepe from the rocks. Likewiſe, they which be in inferiour roomes, take heed they moue no ſedition, nor diſturbance againſt the rowers and mariners. No ſtorme ſo dangerous to a ſhip on the Sea, as is diſcord and diſorder in a weale publike. What Countries and Nations, what Kingdoms and Empires, what Cities, Townes, and houſes diſcord hath diſſolued, in ſtories is manifeſt: I neede not ſpend time in rehearſing examples. The Lord of peace, who hath power both of land and Sea, reach forth his mercifull hand to helpe them vp that ſinke, to keepe them vp that ſtand, to ſtill theſe winds and ſurging ſeas of diſcord and contention among vs: that we profeſſing one Chriſt, may in one vnity of doctrine gather our ſelues into one Ark of the true Church together, where we continuing ſtedfaſt in faith, may at the laſt luckely be conducted to the ioyfull port of our deſired landing place, by his heauenly grace. To whom both in heauen and in earth be all power and glory, with his father and the holy ſpirit for euer.

Amen.

Exhortation to the Church of England.

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THE VTILITIE OF THIS Storie.

SEeing the world is replenished with such an infinite multitude of bookes of all kind of matters, I may seeme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand superfluous and needlesse, at this present to set out such volumes, especially of histories, considering now adaies the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plentie thereof, but of all other Treatises, so that bookes now seeme rather to lacke Readers, then Readers to lack bookes: In which multitude of bookes, I doubt not, but many do both perceiue, and inwardly bewaile this insatiable boldnesse of many now adaies both in writing and printing; which to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament, as any man else beside: and would therefore no man should thinke that vnaduisedly or with rashnesse I haue attempted this enterprise, as one being not only doubtfull, but also both bashfull and fearefull within my selfe for setting the same abroad. And why? first I perceiued how learned this age of ours is in reading of bookes, neither could I tell what the secret iudgements of readers would conceiue, to see so weake a thing, to set vpon such a weightie enterprise, not sufficiently furnished with such ornaments able to satisfie the perfection of so great a storie, or sufficient to serue the vtilitie of the studious, and the delight of the learned. Which abilitie the more I perceiued to be wanting in me, the lesse I durst be bold to become a writer.

Multitude of bookes lamented.

But againe on the other side, when I weighed with my selfe what memorable acts and famous doings this latter age of the Church hath ministred vnto vs by the patient sufferings of the worthie Martyrs; I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious Monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registred in bookes, should lie buried by my default vnder darkenesse of oblition. We thought somewhat was to be said of them for their well deseruing, and something againe of our parts for benefits by them receiued. But aboue all other things, nothing did so much stirre me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and speciall regard of the common vtilitie which euery man plentifully may receiue by the reading of these Monuments or Martyrologe: which historie as I haue taken in hand chiefly for the vse of the English Church: so haue I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best vnderstand.

Now if men commonly delite so much in other Chronicles which intreat only vpon matters of policie, and reioyce to behold therein the variable euents of worldly affaires, the Stratagems of valiant Captaines, the terror of foughten fields, the sacking of cities, the hurly burlies of Realmes and people: And if men thinke it such a gay thing in a common wealth, to commit to history such old antiquities of things prophane, and bestow all their ornaments of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserue in remembrance the liues, acts and doings, not of bloodie warriers, but of milde and constant Martyrs of Christ, which serue not so much to delight the eare, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Christian godlinesse? As first, by reading thereof, we may learne a liuely testimonie of Gods mightie working in the life of man, contrarie to the opinion of Atheists, and all the whole nest of Epicures. For like as one said of Harpalus in times past, that his doings gaue a liuely testimonie against God, because he being so wicked a man escaped so long vnpunished: so contrariwise, in these men we haue a much more assured and plaine witnesse of God, both in whose liues and deaths appeared such manifest declarations of Gods diuine working, whiles in such sharpnesse of torments we behold in them strength, so constant aboue mans reach, such readinesse to answere, such patience in imprisonment, such godlinesse in forgiuing, thereto such courageous in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the holy Ghost, which they in their liues so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, as in reading of their letters euidently we may vnderstand. Ouer and besides this, the milde deaths of the Saints do not a little auaile to the stablishing of a good conscience, to learne the contempt of the world, and to come to the feare of God. Moreouer, they confirme faith, increase godlinesse, abate pride in prosperitie, and in aduersitie do open an hope of heauenly comfort. For what man reading the miserie of these godly persons, may not therein, as in a glasse behold his owne case, whether he be godly or godlesse? For if God giue aduersitie vnto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselues, or the euill not feare? And whereas by reading of prophane stories, we are made perhaps more skilfull in warlike affaires: so by reading of this we are made better in our liuings, and besides are better prepared vnto the like conflicts, (if by Gods permission they shall happen hereafter) more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example.

Comparison betweene worldly souldiers, and the souldiers of Christ.

To be short, they declare to the world what true Christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, me thinkes I haue good cause to wish, that like as other subiects, euen so also Kings and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall stories, would diligently pertise such Monuments of Martyrs, and lay them alwaies in sight, not alonely to reade, but to follow, and would paint them vpon their walles, cups, rings and gates. For doubtlesse such as these, are more worthie of honor then an hundred Alexanders, Hectors, Scipions, and warlike Iulies. And though the world iudgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Iudge, certes such are to be reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods cause, do retaine an inuincible constancie against the threats of tyrants, and violence of tormentors. Such as these, are indeed the true Conquerours of the world, by whom we learne true manhood, so many as fight vnder Christ, and not vnder the world. With this valiantnesse did that most milde Lambe and inuincible Lion of the tribe of Iuda first of all go before vs, of whose vnspeakeable fortitude we heare this Prophetical admiration: Who is this (saith he) which walketh so in the multitude of his strength? For soth the high Sonne of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the same maner he was conquered.

Esay 63.

The like dance did all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the ancient antiquitie of the Church did attribute so great honor, as neuer king or emperour could purchase in this world with all their images, pillers, high spires, triumphs, temples, and all their solemne feasts. In probation whereof we see, with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the memorie, but also the reliques of those good Martyrs were receiued and kept amongst the ancient Christians. We haue also for witnesse the learned Hymnes and songs of Prudentius and Nazianzen, wherewith Pindarus did neuer so much set out his triumphs of Olympia and Nemea. I need not heere rehearse the learned Orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chrysostome, Ambrose and Hierome, who neuer shewed their eloquence more, then when they fell into the commendations of the godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to Martyrs: with what gratulation, reioyce, mirth, and common ioy the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christs quarrell, were sometime receiued and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the Church did well consider how much she was beholding to their benefits, by whose death she vnderstood her treasures to increase. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our time deserue any lesse commendation, then the other in the Primitiue Church; which assuredly are inferiour vnto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatnesse of their torments, or their constancie in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of posteritie, and increase of the Gospell. They did water the truth with their blood, that was newly springing vp: so these by their deaths restored it againe, being sore decayed and fallen downe. They standing in the forward of the battell, did receiue the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught vs by that meanes to ouercome such tyrannie: these with like courage againe, like old beaten souldiers did winne the field in the rereward of the battell. They like famous husbandmen of the world did sow the fields of the Church, that first lay vnmanured and waste: these with fatnesse of their blood did cause it to batten and fructifie. Would to God the fruit might be spedily gathered into the barne; which only remaineth behind to come.

Comparison betweene the Martyrs of the Primitiue Church, and of the latter Church.

Now

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Now, if we aſcribe ſuch reputation to godly Preachers (and worthily) which diligently preach the Goſpell of Chriſt, when they liue not withſtanding by the benefit of time, without all feare of perſecution: how much more reaſonable cauſe haue we to praiſe and extoll ſuch men as ſtoutly ſpend their liues for the defence of the ſame? All theſe premiſſes duely of our parts conſidered and marked, ſéeing we haue found ſo famous Martyrs in this our age, let vs not faile then in publiſhing and ſetting forth their doings, leſt in that point we ſéeme more vnkind to them, then the writers of the Primitiue Church were vnto theirs. And though we repute not their aſhes, chaines and ſwords in the ſtead of reliques: yet let vs yéeld thus much vnto their commemoration, to glorifie the Lord in his Saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like conſtancie, or their liues at the leaſt with like innocencie. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors: and is it ſo great a matter then for our part, to mortifie our fleſh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the riches and glorie of the world for the loue of Chriſt, but alſo their liues: and ſhall we then kéepe ſo great a ſtirre one againſt another, for the tranſitorie trifles of this world? They continued in patient ſuffering, when they had moſt wrong done vnto them, and when their verie hearts blod guſhed out of their bodies: and yet will not we forgiue our poore brother, be the iniurie neuer ſo ſmall, but are readie for euery trifling offence to ſéeke his deſtruction, and cut his throat. They wiſhing well to all men, did of their owne accord forgiue their perſecutors: and therefore ought we, which are now the poſteritie and children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former ſteps, but being admoniſhed by their examples, if we cannot expreſſe their charity toward al men, yet at leaſt to imitate the ſame to our power and ſtrength. Let vs giue no cauſe of offence to any. And if any be giuen to vs, let vs ouercome it with patience, forgiuing and not reuenging the ſame. And let vs not only kéepe our hands from ſhedding of blod, but our tongues alſo from hurting the fame of others. Beſides, let vs not ſhrinke, if caſe ſo require, martyrdom or loſſe of life, according to their example, to yéeld vp the ſame in the defence of the Lords flock. Which thing if men would do, much leſſe contention and buſines would be in the world then now is. And thus much touching the vtilitie and fruit to be taken of this hiſtorie.

TO

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TO ALL THE PROFESSED FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS OF THE POPES proceedings, foure Queſtions propounded.

TO you all and ſinguler, which profeſſe the doctrine and religion of the Pope, your holy father, & of your mother Church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholikes, commonly tearmed Papiſts, whereſoeuer abiding in the Realme of England, theſe foure Queſtions or Problemes hereunder following I would moue, deſiring you al either to muſe vpon them, or to anſwere them at your leiſure.

Foure demands or queſtions put forth to the Papiſts.

¶ The firſt Queſtion.

The firſt queſtion. Eſay 11.65.

FIrſt, for ſo much as mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Eſay, the hill of his holineſſe) beareth in the Scripture an vndoubted type of the ſpirituall Church of Chriſt: and for ſo much as the ſaid Eſay, chapter eleuenth, and fiftie fifth, propheſying of the ſaid mount Sion, ſaith in theſe words: *Non nocebunt, neque affligent in omni monte ſancto meo, dicit Dominus*, &c. That is, They ſhall not kill nor hurt, in all my holy hill, ſaith the Lord, &c. And againe in the ſame chapters, thus we reade: *Habitabit Lupus cum Agno, & Pardus cum Hœdo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo & Ouis vnà commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos*, &c. That is, The Wolfe ſhall dwell with the Lambe, and the Leopard with the kid: the Calfe, the Lion and the Sheepe ſhall feed together, and a yong child ſhall rule them. The Cow alſo and the Beare ſhall abide together with their yong ones, and the Lion ſhall eat chaffe and fodder like the Oxe, &c.

Obiection.

Upon theſe premiſſes now followeth my queſtion; How the Church of Rome can be anſwerable to this hill of Sion; ſeeing in the ſame Church of Rome is, and hath been now ſo many yeeres ſuch killing and ſlaying, ſuch crueltie and tyrannie ſhewed, ſuch burning and ſpilling of Chriſtian blod, ſuch malice and miſchiefe wrought, as in reading theſe hiſtories may to al the world appeare.

Refutation.

To this if they anſwere, and expound theſe words of the Prophet, as pertaining to the Church triumphant; thereunto I replie againe: that by the words in the ſame place and in the ſame ſentence expreſſed, that ſenſe cannot ſtand, for as much as the Prophet in the very ſame place, where he propheſieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy mountaine without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, and ſheweth alſo the cauſe of that godly peace. Becauſe (ſaith he) the earth is replenished with knowledge and ſcience of the Lord, &c. *ibid.* And furthermore, the Prophet ſpeaking of the ſame day when this ſhall be, addeth, ſaying: In that day the rot of Jeſſe ſhall ſtand for a ſigne to the people, for the Gentiles to be conuerted, and to ſeeke vnto him, &c. Which day in no wiſe can be applied to the Church in heauen triumphant, but only heere militant in earth.

Publike execution of lawes not forbidden in Scripture. The conditions and properties of the true Church of Chriſt. Rom. 15. Galath. 6.

Touching which place of Eſay, further heere is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the ſtates, as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall) is not reſtrained the publike penaltie of good lawes needfull to be executed vpon publike malefactors; but heere is reſtrained the fiercenelle, reuenge, crueltie, and violence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly ſubiect by nature, through grace and working of the Goſpell are altered, reformed, and changed to another diſpoſition: from ſtoutneſſe to ſoftneſſe, from violence to ſufferance, from fiercenelle to forbearing, from pride to humilitie, from crueltie to compaſſion, from wilineſſe to ſimplicitie, from ſolemne ſingularitie to humanitie and meekeneſſe. Which vertues, if they had been in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of Saint Paul, which willeth men that be ſtronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the ſpirit of meekeneſſe, &c. Rom. 15. Galath. 6.) I ſhould not haue needed now at this time to write ſuch a long hiſtorie, as this, of the ſuffering of ſo many Martyrs.

¶ The ſecond Queſtion.

The ſecond queſtion.

MY ſecond queſtion is this; to demand of you Catholike profeſſors of the Popes ſect, which ſo deadly maligne and perſecute the Proteſtants profeſſing the Goſpell of Chriſt; What iuſt or reaſonable cauſe haue you to alleage for this your extreame hatred ye beare vnto them, that neither you your ſelues can abide to liue with them, nor yet will ſuffer them to liue amongſt you? If they were Jewes, Turkes or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any idolatrous impietie, or deteſtable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly deſtruction, or priuie conſpiracies to oppreſſe your liues, or by fraudulent dealing to circumuent you; then had you ſome cauſe to complaine, and alſo to reuenge. Now ſeeing in their doctrine ye haue neither blaſphemie, idolatrie, ſuperſtition nor miſbeliefe to obiect vnto them: ſeeing they are baptiſed in the ſame beliefe, and beleeue the ſame articles of the Creed, as ye do: hauing the ſame God, the ſame Chriſt and Sauiour, the ſame Baptiſme, and are readie to conferre with you in all kind of Chriſtian doctrine, neither do refuſe to be tried by any place of the Scripture: how then riſeth this mortall malice of you againſt them? If you thinke them to be heretikes, then bring forth, if ye can, any one ſentence which they arrogantly hold, contrarie to the mind of holy Scripture: expounded by the cenſure of moſt ancient Doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confeſſe the ſame? See and trie the order of their liues and doings; what great fault find you? They ſerue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be tranſgreſſors toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deſerued, why you ſhould be ſo bitter againſt them?

The deadly hatred of the Papiſts againſt the Proteſtãts, grounded vpon no iuſt cauſe for deſtruing.

Malice and crueltie of Papiſts againſt the countrie of Merindoll and Cabriers.

What offended the poore inhabitants of Merindoll and Cabriers, when the Biſhop of Air, the Cardinall of Turon, and other Biſhops of France, wreſting from Francis the French King a Commiſſion, ſent Minerius with his Captaine John de Gay, to deſtroy their countrey, anno 1530. who driuing the poore people there into a Barne full of ſtraw, ſet the Barne on fire, and burned vp men, women and children? And likewiſe in a Church, exerciſed the like crueltie vpon them, where were murdered the ſame time to the number of a thouſand yong and old, women, children and yong infants, beſides ſeuen whole townes, with the moſt part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the ſaid countrie of Prouince.

Malice of Papiſts againſt the Citizens of Tholouſe in France.

Alſo before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouſe and Auinion, when Pope Gregorie the ninth ſet Lewes the French King to warre againſt them, and againſt Raymundus their Earle, without cauſe; where alſo the ſaid King died at the ſiege?

Malice and crueltie of Papiſts againſt the Proteſtãts in the towne of Maſſy.

Or to ſpeake of latter yeeres, what hurt or harme did the poore Proteſtants in the towne of Maſſy, who peaceablie being at a Sermon, were miſerablie ſlaine and cut, men, women and children, by the Duke of Guyſe and his armed ſouldiers? beſides other infinite examples almoſt not to be numbred of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other countries moe.

Clemencie and mercie ſhewed to Papiſts in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth.

But to let other countries paſſe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernment in this realme of England, vnder this our ſo milde and gratious Queene now preſently raigning. Vnder whom you ſee how gently you are ſuffered, what mercie is ſhewed vnto you, how quietly ye liue. What lacke you, that you would haue, hauing almoſt the beſt roomes and offices in all the realme, not only without any loſſe of life, but alſo without any feare of death. And though a few of your Arch-clerkes be in cuſtodie; yet in that cuſtodie ſo ſhrewdly are they hurt, that many a good Proteſtant in the realme would be glad with all their hearts to change roomes and diet with them, if they might. And albeit ſome other for their pleaſure haue ſlipt ouer the ſeas; if their courage to ſee countries abroad did ſo allure them, who could let them? yet this is certaine, no dread there was of death that draue them. For what Papiſt haue you ſeene in all this land to loſe either life or limbe for Papiſtry, during all theſe twelue yeeres hitherto ſince this Queenes raigne? And yet all this notwithſtanding, hauing no cauſe to complaine, ſo many cauſes to giue God thankes, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleaſed with peace, nor ſatiſfied with ſafetie, but hope for a day, and faine would haue a change. And to preuent your deſired day, ye haue conſpired, and riſen vp in open rebellion againſt your Prince, whom the Lord hath ſet vp to be your Gouernour.

The trayterous murdering of the Lord James, Regent of Scotland, Martyr.

And as you haue ſince that, now of late diſturbed the quiet and peaceable State of Scotland, in murdering moſt trayterouſly the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in ſparing the Queenes life there when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore loſt his owne); ſo with like furie, as by your rebellion appeareth, would diſturbe the golden quiet and tranquillitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your willes. Which the merciſull grace of the Almightie, for Chriſt his Soones ſake our Lord, forſend and vtterly diſappoint: Amen.

The chiefe cauſe of all theſe latter perſecutions in the Church, is only the priuate quarell of the Biſhop of Rome.

Wherefore theſe premiſes conſidered, my queſtion is to aſke of you and know, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe ye haue of theſe your vnreaſonable doings, of this your ſo mortall and deadly hatred, furie and malice you beare againſt theſe your euen-chriſtened, of theſe your tumults, coniurations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders, wherewith you trouble and diſquiet the whole world? Of all which miſchiefes, if the true cauſe were well knowne, the truth would be found doubtleſſe to be none other but only the priuate cauſe of the Biſhop of Rome, that he is not receiued, and the dignitie of his church exalted.

Touching

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Touching which cause how vnreasonable and vniuſt it is, more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord willing) in replie, according as I ſhall ſee their anſwere, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe them, or any of them to anſwere this queſtion. In the meane time, this for a briefe note ſhall ſuffice: that it ſtandeth not with the Scripture, but contrarie to the Scripture, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould ſo reuenge his owne priuate cauſe. If his title and plantation be good and of God, why doth he not referre it vnto God? And no doubt, but if it be ſo, God will maintaine it, though the whole world ſaid no. If it be otherwiſe, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world ſaid yea. Yea the greateſt argument to proue this plantation of the Popes ſupremacie not to be of God, is, that the Pope fighting in his owne priuate cauſe, by outward and worldly force ſeeketh his owne glorie. Chriſt our Sauiour being heere refuſed himſelfe, yet neither reuenged his owne cauſe, nor ſought his owne glorie, but only the glorie and will of his Father, thus ſpeaking of himſelfe: *Si ego glorifico meipſum, gloria mea nihil eſt; Pater meus eſt, qui glorificat me, &c.* Ioh. 8. That is; If I glorifie my ſelf, my glorie is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me, &c. Euen ſo I ſay with Scripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not ſo wraſtle for his glorie, as he doth. But for ſo much as he ſeeketh by ſuch crueltie and bloodſhed to exalt himſelfe, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he ſhall be brought low, &c. Luke 18.

The plantation of the Popes ſupremacie proued not to be of God. Ioh. 8. Luke 18.

¶ The third Queſtion.

The third queſtion. Apocal. 13.

My third queſtion I take of the thirteenth Chapter of the booke of Reuelation. Which booke as it containeth a Prophetical hiſtorie of the Church; ſo likewiſe it requireth by hiſtories to be opened. In this hiſtorie mention is made, firſt, of a certaine beaſt comming out of the ſea, hauing ſeuen heads and ten hornes, with ten diademes of blaſphemie. Vnto the which beaſt, the dragon, the diuell, gaue his ſtrength, and great power to fight againſt the Saints, and to ouercome them, and to make fortie two moneths: of the which beaſt, one of his heads was wounded at length to death, &c.

The two beaſts in the booke of Reuelation deſcribed.

After this immediatly in the ſame Chapter, mention followeth of another beaſt, riſing out of the land, hauing two hornes like a lambe, and ſpake like a dragon, and did all the power of the former beaſt before his face, and cauſed all dwellers of the earth to worſhip the beaſt: whoſe head was wounded, and liued. Who alſo had power to giue ſpirit and life to the ſaid former beaſt, to make the Image of the beaſt to ſpeake, and to cauſe all men from the higheſt to the loweſt, to take the marke of the beaſt in their hands and foreheads; and whoſoeuer worſhipped not the Image of the beaſt, ſhould be killed, &c.

The ſecond beaſt with the hornes like a Lambe.

Vpon this deſcription of theſe two beaſts riſeth my queſtion; wherein I deſire all Papiſts, from the higheſt to the loweſt, either to anſwere, or to conſider with themſelues, what the ſpirit of the prophecie meaneth by the ſaid two beaſts. Neither is the myſterie of this prophecie ſo obſcure, but being hiſtoricall, by hiſtories it may be explained and eaſily expounded. Writing therefore to the Papiſts, as men expert in hiſtories, my queſtion is this: that ſeeing the prophecie of theſe two beaſts muſt needs prefigure ſome people or dominion in the world, of ſome high eſtate and power; they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this ſhould be. Which if they will do plainly and truly, according to the markes and properties of the ſaid two beaſts heere ſet forth, they muſt needs be driuen of force, inuitable to grant and confeſſe, the ſame only to agree to the Citie and Empire of Rome, and to no other: Which by theſe reaſons following of neceſſitie muſt needs be concluded.

The myſterie of the firſt beaſt riſing out of the ſea, applied.

Firſt, the beaſt which came out of the ſea, hauing the ſtrength, the ſeat, and power of the great Dragon (the Diuell, called the Prince of this world) committed to him, who alſo had power giuen ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people and countries in the earth, muſt néeds be an Empire or Monarchie of great force, paſſing all other Monarchies in the world beſides: and this muſt néeds argue the Empire of Rome and none other.

The Image of the beaſt reſembled to the Monarchie of Rome. Apocal. 13.

Secondly, in that the beaſt had ſeuen heads, and ten hornes, with ten diademes full of blaſphemie vpon them: thoſe ſeuen heads being expounded in the ſaid booke, chapter ſeuenteenth, for ſeuen hilles, notoriouſly importeth the citie of Rome, wherein were ſeuen hilles contained. The like alſo may be thought of the ten hornes, being there expounded for ten Kings (ſignifying belike the ten Prouinces or Kingdomes of the world ſubdued to the Roman Empire) with ten crownes of blaſphemie vpon their heads: all which conueniently agrée to the citie of Rome.

Of theſe fortie two months, and the expoſition thereof, reade page 90.

Thirdly, where the ſaid beaſt had power to make fortie two months, and to fight againſt the Saints, and to ouercome them, &c. thereby moſt manifeſtly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the heathen perſecuting Emperours, which had power giuen the ſpace of ſo many months, (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, 294. yéeres) to perſecute Chriſts Church, as in the Table of the primitiue Church hereafter following, is diſcourſed more at large.

The wounded head of the beaſt in the Reuelation, what it meaneth.

Fourthly, where the Prophet ſpeaketh of the one of the heads of the beaſt to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured againe: by that ye haue to vnderſtand the decay and ſubuerſion of the citie of Rome and of Italy, which being one of the heads of the Roman Monarchie, was ſubdued by the Gothes, Vandals, and Lombards, and the citie of Rome thrice ſackt and taken, betweene the raigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the time of Iuſtinian Emperour of Conſtantinople; and ſo remained this head of Rome wounded a long time vnder the dominion of the Lombards, til at length this wound was cured againe, as the ſequele of this prophecie declareth: For ſo it followeth in the foreſaid chapter of the Reuelation: And after this I ſaw (ſaith he) another beaſt riſing out of the land, hauing two hornes like the Lambe, and ſpake like the Dragon. Who practiſed all the power of the firſt beaſt before his face, and cauſed all the inhabitants of the earth to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe head was wounded and cured againe, &c. And to him it was giuen to giue life to the Image of the beaſt, and to make it ſpeake: and alſo to make all them that wil not worſhip the image of the beaſt, to be ſlaine, and cauſed all from the moſt to the leaſt, both rich and poore, free men and bond men, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand and in their foreheads, ſo that none ſhould buy or ſell, vnleſſe he had the beaſts marke about him, &c.

The ſecond beaſt riſing out of the land, pretending the hornes of a Lambe, what it meaneth.

The deſcription of this ſecond beaſt being well viewed; it cannot be auoided, but needs muſt be applied to the Biſhop of Rome, and to none other; as by hiſtorie and order of times is euident to be proued. For who elſe repreſenteth the hornes of the Lambe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, but only he? who ſpeaketh with the voice of the Dragon ſo proudly, as he? The voice of the Dragon ſpake once to Chriſt: That all the glorie of the world was his to giue to whom he would, and that he would giue it, &c. And doth not this falſe horned lambe, ſpeaking in the ſame voice of the Dragon, ſay by the mouth of Pope Gregorie the ſeuenth, that all the kingdomes of the earth were his, and that he had power in earth to loſe, and take away Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what elſe ſoeuer mortall men may haue, and to giue them where he would? &c. *Ex Platina in Vit. Gregorij 7.*

Apocal. 13. The myſterie of the thirteenth chapter of the Reuelation, expounded. *Ex Platina in vita Gregorij 7.*

Furthermore, at what time the declining ſtate of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought vnder ſubiection of the Lombards, then the Pope ſtirred vp Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part againſt the Lombards, and to reſtore againe the old glorie of that Monarchie to his former ſtate. And therefore who cured the wounded head of this beaſt againe, but only he? who gaue life and ſpéech to the image of the beaſt, but he? who after that by helpe of the French Kings, had ſubdued thoſe Lombards with other aliens, and had gotten the poſſeſſion of Rome into his owne hands, he ſo repaired and aduanced the fame and name of Rome, that ſince that time all perſons from the higheſt to the loweſt, both rich and poore, haue béen glad to ſend and ſéeke to Rome, yea Kings, Emperours, Quéenes and Dukes haue béen glad to kiſſe that Biſhops fét, and to lead his horſe by the bridle: So that the Maieſtie of Rome in the old heathen Emperours daies was neuer more terrible, nor glorious, nor neuer had more power to perſecute and ouercome Gods Saints, then theſe lambe-like Biſhops of Rome haue had, and haue exerciſed theſe fiue hundred yéeres in Chriſtendome. And therefore who elſe in all the world hath ſo much power to do the workes of the firſt beaſt, before his face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poore, free and bond, to receiue the ſeale, and to become loyall to the citie and ſée of Rome: ſo that whoſoeuer hath not the marke whereby to be knowne to hold of the Church of Rome, ſhall haue no place to buy and ſell, nor to occupie in all Chriſtendome.

The Image of the old Monarchie reuiued by the Biſhop of Rome.

Power to do the workes of the beaſt before his ſight. Apocal. 13.

Now if any Papiſt whatſoeuer, in anſwering to this my queſtion, can applie this propheticall myſterie of theſe two beaſts otherwiſe then thus, I would hartily deſire him, to take ſo much paines to ſatiſfie this doubt at his good pleaſure and leaſure. In the meane ſeaſon let this ſtand for a Corolarium, that the Biſhop of Rome by his deſcription muſt be that ſecond beaſt propheſied to come in the latter time of the Church vnder a falſe pretenſed lambe, to reſtore againe the old perſecutions of Rome, and to diſturbe the whole Church of Chriſt, as this day too truly is come to paſſe.

The fourth Queſtion.

As touching my fourth queſtion, although I could vrge you with another like propheticall place of Scripture, no leſſe euident againſt the Biſhop of Rome, taken out of the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Theſſalonians, where mention is made of the ſon of perdition, ſitting in the Temple of God, as God, and aduancing himſelfe aboue all that is called God, &c. which place ye can by no reaſonable euaſion auoid: yet notwithſtanding to let this paſſe, I turne my queſtion to aſke this of you; Whether the religion of Chriſt be méere ſpirituall, or elſe corporall? If ye affirme it to be corporall, as was the old religion of the Iewes, conſiſting in outward rites, ſacrifices, and ceremonies of the law: then ſhew if ye can, what any ons outward action or obſeruation is required in Chriſtian

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Christian religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a Christian man, for remission of sinnes and saluation, saue onely the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptisme, and of the Lords Supper: Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporall, that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sinnes, nor saluation, but onely are visible shewes of inuisible and spirituall benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom wee serue, be spirituall; how can his religion and seruice be corporall, as we are taught by the mouth of our Sauiour, saying: God is a spirit, and therefore they that worship him, must worship in spirit and verity, &c. Iohn 4.

Religion of Christ spirituall, and not corporall.

Now if ye grant (as ye must needs) this our Christian religion to be spirituall, and not a corporall religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point of all these things which ye striue for so much with vs, to be spirituall, but altogether corporall, and externe matters and ceremoniall obseruations, nothing conducing to any spirituall purpose, as your outward succession of bishops, garments, vestures, gestures, colours, choice of meates, difference of daies, times and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, talking, numbring of beades, gilding and worshipping Images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloisters, abstaining from flesh and white meate, fasting in Lent, keeping Imberdaies, hearing masse, and diuine seruice, seeing and adoring the body in forme of bread, receiuing holy water, and holy bread, creeping to the crosse, carying palmes, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage going, ceiling, kneeling, knocking, altars, superaltars, candlesticks, pardons: In orders, crossing, anointing, shauing, forswearing mariage: In baptisme, crossing, salting, spetling, exorcising, washing of hands: At Easter, eare confession, penance doing, satisfaction: And in receiuing, with beards new shauen, to imagine a body, where they see no body: and though hee were there present to be seene, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of it selfe, without faith, conduceth no more, then it did to the Iewes. At Rogation daies, to carrie banners, to follow the crosse, to walke about the fields. After Pentecost, to goe about with Corpus Christi play. At Halowmas to watch in the church, to say a dirige, and commemorations, and to ring for all soules, to pay tithes truely, to giue to the high altar. And if a man will be a priest, to say masse and mattens, to serue the saint of that day, and to lift well ouer his head, &c. In sickenesse to be annelled, to take his rites; after his death to haue funerals, and obites said for him, and to bee rung for at his funerall, moneth mind, and yeere mind, &c. Adde moreouer to these the outward sacrifice of the masse, with *opus operatum sine bono motu vtentis, &c.*

The pope turneth the spirituall religion of Christ to a corporall religion.

The whole summe of the popes Catholicke religion set forth in parts.

All which things aboue recited, as they containe the whole summarie and effect of all the popes catholicke religion: so are they all corporall exercises, consisting in the externe operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholicke Christian, then it may be said, that men may bee made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that flesh and blood of his strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the holy Ghost did worke?

A man may be Catholicke by the popes religion without any working of the holy Ghost.

But now the order of our religion, and way of saluation consisteth not in such corporall or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spirituall gifts, which farre exceed the capacitie of flesh and blood: of the which gifts the chiefest and onely maine cause that saueth man, and remitteth sinnes, is his faith in Christ. Which faith I thus define; for a man to beleeue by the bloodshedding of Iesus the sonne of God, his sinnes to be forgiuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, and himselfe to be iustified perfectly from all accusations that can be laid vnto him, &c. And though the papists make a light matter of this, to beleeue in Christ; and when they heare vs say, that faith onely iustifieth, they obiect to vs againe and make it a small matter to be saued, if faith only iustifie vs: yet notwithstanding, this faith, if it bee well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attaine thereto, vnlesse Gods holy spirit from aboue doe draw him.

The nature of true Christian religion described.

Moreouer, besides this faith, many other things are incident also to the doctrine of our saluation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as Sacraments and seales of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same. So Baptisme, and the supper of the Lord be as testimonies and proofes; that by our faith onely in Christ wee are iustified; that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine: so by the blood of Christ, our sins be purged, and the hunger of our soules relieued by the death of his body.

Saluation of man, standeth onely in faith of Christ.

Faith in Christ no light matter to flesh and blood.

Many things incident to saluation besides faith: but not as causes thereof.

Workes of sanctification, how they come and follow faith.

Esay 58. Matth. 25.

Vpon the same faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration therof. Other things also as fruits and effects do follow after faith, as peace of conscience, ioy in the holy Ghost, inuocation, patience, charity, mercy, iudgement, and sanctification. For God for our faith in Christ his sonne, therefore giueth into our hearts his holy spirit of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby mans heart is moued to a godly disposition to feare God, to seeke him, to call vpon him, to trust vnto him, to sticke to him in all aduersities and persecutions, to loue him; and for his sake also to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compassion vpon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to breake bread to them, if they be hungrie: and if they be burdened to ease them: to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseleslle, Matth. 25. with such other spirituall exercises of piety and sanctification as these. Which therefore I call spirituall, because they proceed of the holy spirit and law of God, which is spirituall.

And thus haue ye a Catholicke Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the Gospell. Now conferre these antitheses together, and see whether of these is the truer Christian, the ceremoniall man after the church of Rome, or the spirituall man with his faith and other spirituall fruits of piety following after the same. And if ye say that ye mixe them both together, spirituall things with your corporall ceremonies: to that I answere againe, that as touching the end of remission of sinnes, and saluation, they ought in no case to be ioyned together, because the maine cause of all our saluation and remission, is only spirituall, and consisteth in faith, and in no other.

And therefore vpon the same cause I come to my question againe, as I began, to aske whether the religion of Christ be a meere spirituall religion: and whether in the religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but onely meere corporall things required, to make a catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your answere.

IN turning ouer the first leafe of this booke, which is page 2. col. 2. and in the beginning of the same columne, thou shalt find, gentle Reader, the argument of Pighius and Holus, wherein thus they argue: That forsomuch as Christ must needs haue a Catholicke church euer continuing here in earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort: and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the Apostles, visible here in earth, but only the church of Rome: they conclude therefore, the church onely of Rome to be the right Catholicke church of Christ, &c.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said: that forsomuch as the *medius terminus* of this argument both in the Maior & Minor, consisteth onely in the word (visible and vnknowne) if they meane by this word (visible) in the Maior, that Christs church must bee seene here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false: Likewise, if they meane by the same word (visible) in the Minor, that no other church hath beene seene and knowne to any, but onely the church of Rome, they are likewise deceiued. For the true church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but onely they which haue spirituall eyes, and bee members thereof: nor yet so inuisible againe. but such as bee Gods elect, and members thereof, doe see it and haue seene it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot so doe, &c. Whereof reade more in the protestation aboue prefixed to the church of England.

Foure

FOVRE CONSIDERATIONS GIVEN OVT TO CHRISTIAN PROTESTANTS PROfessors of the Gospell, with a briefe exhortation inducing *to reformation of life.*

¶ *The first consideration.*

AS in the page before, foure questions were moued to the Catholike Papists, to answere them at their leisure: so haue I heere to the Christian Gospellers, foure considerations likewise, for them to muse vpon, with speed conuenient.

THe first consideration is this, euery good man well to weigh with himselfe the long tranquillitie, the great plentie, the peaceable libertie, which the Lord of his mercie hath bestowed vpon this land, during all the raigne hitherto of this our Soueraigne and most happie Queene ELIZABETH, in such sort as the like example of Gods abundant mercies is not to be seene in any nation about vs; so as wee may well sing with the Psalme in the church, *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, & opes gloriæ suæ non manifestauit eis:* first in hauing the true light of Gods Gospell so shining among vs, so publikely receiued, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; hauing withall a Prince so vertuous, a Queene so gratious giuen vnto vs, of our owne natiue countrie, bred and borne amongst vs, so quietly gouerning vs, so long lent vnto vs, in such peace defending vs, against such as would else deuoure vs: briefly, what could we haue more at Gods hand, if wee would wish? or what else could we wish in this world, that we haue not? if this one thing lacked not, grace to vse that well which wee haue.

¶ *The second consideration.*

AS these things first are to bee considered concerning our selues: so secondly let vs consider likewise the state and times of other our countrimen, and blessed Martyrs aforepast: what stormes of persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what enemies they were matched, with what crosses pressed, vnder what princes, vnder what prelats they liued, or rather died, in the daies of king Henry the 4. king Henry 5. king Henry 7. king Henry 8. queene Mary, &c. vnder Boner bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Cholmley, Storie, bishop Arundell, Stokesley, Courtney, Warrham. At what time children were caused to set fire to their fathers: The father adiured to accuse the sonne, the wife to accuse the husband, the husband the wife, brother the sister, sister the brother, examples whereof are plentie in this booke to be seene, pag. 751. &c.

¶ *The third consideration.*

THirdly, let vs call to mind, considering thus with our selues: These good men and worthie Martyrs in those dangerous daies, tasting as they did, the heauie hand of Gods sharpe correction, beginning commonly with his owne house first; if they were aliue now in these Alcyon daies, vnder the protection of such a peaceable prince, O what thankes would they giue to God, how happie would they count themselues, hauing but halfe of that wee haue, with freedome onely of conscience, and safety of life! Or if in case we our selues had beene in those times of theirs, so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in consistories, pinched in prisons, sequestred from wife, house and children, looking for nothing but death; what would we say? what would we thinke? what would we doe? Much otherwise doubtlesse, then we doe now; God grant we may doe better, for worse I thinke wee cannot if we would. Iohn Wickliffe, W. Swinderby, Thorpe, Sawtrie, with a number of godly men moe, being then glad, in frieze gownes, going barefoote, to preach where they could; if they were now aliue, how glad would they be of these daies, what paines would they take, yea what paines would they not take in preaching the Gospell, not for lucre, nor for mony, nor passing for promotions or dignities of the church? Sir Iohn Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, with diuers worshipful gentlemen a great number, if they being in our state might enioy with vs their houses & lands, with the good fauour of their prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they haue contented themselues, though they neuer raised their rents and fines to the vndoing of their poore tenants? Likewise in the time of Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage, the nobility and gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might haue had halfe this tranquillity which we haue, to enioy the liberty of Gods word, and true vse of the Sacraments without molestation of Romish prelats, what would they haue cared how simplie they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pompe in pranking vp themselues, as we Englishmen in these reformed daies walke now, more like players on a stage, then Gods children in his church?

¶ *The fourth consideration.*

WHerefore, welbeloued, these things being so, let vs call our selues to mind, considering the times that haue beene, the times that bee, and times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the fauour of God onely that doth support vs in the middest of so many enemies, let vs beware in no wise we prouoke his indignation. If it be his truth and Gospell that we professe, let vs walke in the light of his truth, and keepe our selues within the compasse of his Gospell. What the Gospell requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? And yet who followeth that he knoweth? If Saint Paul willeth euery one to depart from iniquitie, which nameth the Lord Iesus: And if the Lord Iesus himselfe testifieth plainly, his kingdome not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that kingdome so spirituall, and our conditions so worldly match well together? To rip vp all our deformities in particular, I mind not here, neither need I, the same being so euident to al mens eyes, that who cannot see our excessiue outrage in pompous apparell, our carnall desires and vnchast demeanors, without feare of God, our careless securitie without conscience, as though there were no iudgement to come, our studies so vpon this world, as though there were no other heauen? what pride and idlenesse of life, double dissembling in word and deed without simplicitie, auarice vnsatiable, little regard to heare Gods word, lesse to reade it, least of all to follow it, euery man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, little or no mercie to the poore, racking of rents and fines, bribing and taking vnmeasurable? What should I speake of the contentions and vnbrotherly diuision amongst vs most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seene which may or is like to follow vpon the same? Such were the times once of the Church before the horrible persecution of Diocletian; for so we reade, such hatred and disdaine, through much peace and prosperitie of the Church, to creepe in amongst the Church-men: Reade page 69.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Wherefore, let vs be exhorted (dearely beloued) to reclaime our selues, while time doth serue. If we find the Lord so gratious in sparing vs, as he doth, let that not make vs worse, but better. It is a leaud child, which will not learne without beating. A well minding man will be good, not forced by coaction, but of voluntarie office induced. As aduersitie if it come, ought not to dismay vs: so neither prosperitie now present ought not to puffe vs vp in securitie, considering what commonly is wont to follow: As Plato well writeth: *Summa atq; effrenata libertatis seruitutem plerumq; assequi esse:* Of immoderat libertie, and too much securitie, followeth most commonly extreame seruitude. And as Hippocrates saith: Dispositions of bodies when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subiect to danger of sickenesse, &c. Let vs therefore hauing light giuen vs, walke like children of light.

Plat. de rep. 8. Hippocrates.

Otherwise, if we walke like children of disobedience, God hath his rods to scourge vs: if we will needs be rebels, hee hath his Pharaos and Nabuchodonosors to plague vs. Or if we will be so inordinate, and (with reuerence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish, one to another, the Lord lacketh not his dogstrikers to whip vs. And would God our liues were such, that the destruction and ruine here of late seene amongst vs, may portend nothing against vs, as I trust there is no cause for vs to feare, but rather to feare the Lord and walke in his obedience, and amend that is amisse amongst vs:

Amen.

¶ The grace of our Lord Iesus blesse thee gentle Reader, that long mayest thou reade, and much mayest thou profit: *Amen.*

Constantinus.

¶ *Pax Prædicantibus, Gratia Audientibus, Gloria Iesu Christo:* Amen.

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In Martyrologium Ioan. Foxi,
Laurentius Humfredus.

TRistes Iliadas docti miramur Homeri:
Quas scite studuit texere τυφλὸς ἀνήρ.
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæc madidis spectant mœsta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, sed vatum somnia multa,
Fictis intexunt vera, probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ,
Quam stabulum Augeæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem Sanctorum narrat, vt errat?
Vt pingit, fingit, Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, noua, vera Legenda:
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris historia.
Authorem commendat opus, fic rursus adornat
Author opus: simul hæc vtraque felle carent.
Authorem specta: pius est, & tersus, & amplus,
Iudicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem consideras, casus, cædesque bonorum
Tractat, & immeritæ stigmata sæua crucis.
Illudant alij, carpant, at Zoilus olim
Dum perijt, quid sit rodere, iam docuit.
Hic discas Lector, quam sit furiosa tyrannis
Romanæ caulæ, cornigerique gregis:
Vt lupus innocuos semper grassetur in agnos:
Vt fremat, atque auidis faucibus ossa voret.
Nonne satis fuerat Christi pia membra cremare?
Et viuos flammis perdere, nonne satis?
Nonne satis damnasse senes, pueroſque, viroſque,
Fœmellas, omni ex ordine, nonne satis?
Cur iuuat, heu, Manes scriptis lacerare iacentes,
Et Diuos Foxi dicere stercoreos?
Ah miser, ah Christi teneros compungis ocellos,
Pupillam tangis, quisquis es ergo sape.
Hæc est progenies cuius stola lota cruore
Agni, per Christum candida tota niter.
Apoc. 6. Illa sub altari querulatur, Christe quousque?
Christe veni propere, Christe quousque feres?
Extra tela tua est, & prædicat illa Tonantem:
Mors pretiosa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabiose Satan? quid spicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniásque pios?
Frustra carnifices, carcer, tormenta, faceſque.
In Cœlo regnant membra caputque simul.
Corpora sanctorum mundus consumpsit, in altum
Migrarunt animæ, nomina Foxus habet:
Nomina Foxus habet totũ celebranda per orbem,
Nomina iam nullo contumulanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus Foxus, cum numine viuent
Nomina, cumque suo stirps generosa deo.
Ad Christum precatio. Monstra, Christe, tuis portum, compescito fluctus
Iactatæ naui sit sua, Christe, quies.
Sanguine fraterno posthæc ne terra madescat:
Ne pergat Foxus scribere Martyria.
Perdita decurtes sceleratæ tempora vitæ,
Tandem mortiferus transeat iste calix.
Sit finis, veniatque tuum, pater optime, regnum:
Sit tibi, sit Christo, Spirituique decus.

In Sanct. Martyrum historiam,
Abrah. Hartwelus.

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non Μάρτυρα ipsi *Papa.*
Sed nos: non Cœlum, Foxe, sed orbis eget,
Illorum creuisse malis læthoque putatum est
Quos nunc ipse vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, historia velut ignibus antè
Calsset quod nunc friget Euangelium.
Certabitque ætas veniens milleſima, quorum
Fortia facta leget, fortia facta sequi.
Et calamo seruata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,
Funera tot, lacrymas, damna, pericla, neces,
Nulla dies tollet, non qui malus intulit hostis:
Non quamuis omni cum Phlegetone velit.
Non renuente deo, quondam qui sæuijt hostis,
Non, renuente deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremat: innocuo rapietur cum grege pastor,
Grex cadet & pastor, spesque futura gregis.
Nullus restabit laceris in ouilibus agnus,
Nulla, deus, recta simplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus: alma
Simplicitas fuco, perfidiæque fides:
Iniusto, falso, scelerato, sanguineoque
Virtutum sacer Euangelidumq; chorus. *Bonérus.*
Quid facient disce ex factis: ventura probantur
præteritis.
Ni tua de cœlo veniat Clementia, cuius
Tolluntur digito parua, superba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, inuicte, triumphans:
Sic, vt in Ægypto vel Babylone, veni.
Non tanti Babylone Draco Beluſque fuere,
Cultusque insani, & fœda superstitio. *Ad Martyres.*
Et licet Ægypti crudelia facta legentur,
Ægyptus non tam sæua minaxque fuit.
Vtraque, nec satis est, monstrum concreuit in vnum.
Et si qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, styliue magister?
Doctæ quid poterunt veriparæque scholæ?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus sanguisluusque liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui viuos vndique testes,
Factores viuos, & modò gesta canit?
Scilicet vt monstret sanctorum Ecclesia qualis,
Collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Vt doceat, firmet, soletur corda piorum:
Dedoceat, vincat, excrucietue malos.
Vt tibi parta, deus, stet semper gloria, nati
Vt possit tecum gloria stare tui:
Sanguinis vt sacri, non occultanda trophæa.
Vtraque posteritas, sancta, maligna, sciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæsita labore,
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exantlata tot, & sudata diebus,
Tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos.
Christi, non hominum, laudes sparsura per orbem
Factaque (credo) æras qualia rara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobisque secundet,
Numinis in laudem perpetuumque decus.
Inuideat Satanas, & Zoilus ilia rumpat,
Obtrectet mendax cum grege Roma suo.

In idem argumentum.
Rob. R.

ENiterum in magnos noua commentaria vates:
Auctius & plus est, quàm fuit antè decus.
Sanctorum historias, & nostri perfida secli
Tempora, lector habes, terrificumque scelus.
Dignum certè opus est, quamuis sit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat posteritasque probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) maius: numerosa sophorum est
Littera, sed similis pondere & arte stylus.
Crede mihi historiam hanc quondam lectura vetustas:
Suspiciet genium (Foxe diserte) tuum.
Non tamen insani finit hæc dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patiturue viros.
Histrio, scurra, dicax, parasitus, hypocrita, mimus,
Vappa mage arrident, leno, papista, placent.
Nescis adulari, nec verum (Foxe) silere.
Scriptáque miraris non placuisse tua?

Eiusdem.

QVisq; bonus te (Foxe) colit, tua scripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc studij tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat, doctorum concio laudat,
Vnde ergo in libros inuidia ista tuos?
Vnde Papizantis subita hæc conuersio sectæ:
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud puduit.
Vnde tot Harpiæ, nempe Hardyngique Copique.
Vnde hæc Louanij garrula turba scholæ?
Causa patet: furiæ Musas, nec sacra Papismus,
Nec Christi athletas rasa farina probat.
Nec te adeò oderunt puto, sed verumque fidemque:
Heu bene nulla potest lingua maligna loqui.

In Acta Martyrum, Carmen.
Thom. Drant.

ERgone sic Papæ potuit vox improba iussu
Tam dirum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Contumulasse rogis, cineres sine honore sepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? quæue hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit gens vlla, pios sine lege necari,
Torque simul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabiesque furorque,
Corpora tam diris sanctorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miseere hominum, tot plectere ciues,
Vastare & toto diuisos orbe Britannos?
Dic quid nostrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuêre, quibus tot maxima passis
Vix pars vlla manet terræ qui panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata est frausque dolusque,
Et κολυπραγμοσυνη, & amor sceleratus habendi?
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem sonat: ergo
Rite putabamus Papam cacodæmone natum?
An quod cum Christo nos conspirare dolebas?
Quod te cum Christo non conspirare videmus?
Quòd te Romanam crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus, vt sceleris magni, vit ijque ministrum?
Hinc illud quod se versat dirisque minisque,
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus vsit.
Sis miser & nulli cuiquam miserabilis. Huius
Tu cladis tantæ pars magna Bonere fuisti:
Mactator pecudum Christi, dispersor ouilis,
Triste malum stabulis, & nil nisi pessima clades.
Vos quoque, vos omnes Ihouæ tetigisse prophetas,
Et calcasse pios, numen spreuisse benignum
Quèis ioculare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.
Iam satis est (proh) plus satis est, resipiscite serô,
Sera nimis non vlla dies, nunc discite tandem,
Discite vel tandem moniti non temnere Christum.
Oscula libetis gnato, ne sæuiat vltor,
Et male vos sparsos deturbet tramite vitæ
At vos qui læti quiduis superastis acerbum,
Cœlicolæ, quidduis æternum licet esse beatis,
Dulce decusque Dei, Christum quia morte decora
Ornásti, clari superi, cœtusque triumphans.
Non caro non mundus, nõ vos turcæ, papa, dæmon,
Non phœbe pernox vexabit, soluè diurnus.
Et vos ô cuncti, scanso qui culmine cœli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relicta:
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes: tormenta, cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tale? quid ignes?
Scilicet vt fuluum spectatur in ignibus aurum:
Sic vos mactarunt spectata holocaumata Christo.
Interitus vester Domini, preciosus ocellis,
Horum (Foxe) pijs, dum tu sic nomina scriptis.
Et mortem, & mores longum diffundis in ævum,
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipso.
Ergo tu doctis pergis pallescere chartis
Nocturna versans lumina manu, versando diurna,
Athlas clarorum gnauus gnarusque laborum
Et studijs, dum magna cohors sua commoda captans
(Auspice non Christo) mundi venatur honores.
Vel tu Romano, vel tu sermone Britanno
Scribito præteriti vel produc temporis acta,
Patre Deo monstrante viam, data fata secutus:
Omne feres punctum, si misces vtile dulci. *Ad deum de inundantibus bellorum procellis.*
Magne Deus, Cœlique fator, mundique monarcha,
Quem nos terrarum tempestatumque potentem
Credimus, & solum scimus venerabile numen,
Aspicis insano vexari cuncta tumultu,
Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volui?
Parce gregi paruo, pacem te poscimus omes.
Sis bonus (ô) Fœlixque tuis, vel parcito Christo,
Cuius membra nimis iam mundus lædit & odit.
Per tibi dilectam sponsam promissaque pacta,
Per passum Christum, per dulcia pignora passi,
Per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

Contra Papistas incendiarios.

SI fas cædendo cœlestia scandere cuique est,
Papicolis cœli maxima porta patet.

I.F.

In idem argumentum Ægidius
Fletcher Cantabrigiensis.

IAm tua ter magnum spatijs emensa laborem
Æquora lustrauit puppis, ter littora vidit,
Foxe.
Dumque fugas, enseſq; canis, consumptaq; flammis
Corpora, consumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent
Membra, sed vtilior nobis tibi noxia soli
Indefessa manet virtus. Quin otia carpis
Mollia, iam solare tuos (diuine) labores.
Non potes, & semper mentem tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparatque nouas in pectore vires.
Ergo age quãdoquidem nobis memoranda piorum
Facta canis sacro properans indulge labori.
Iam veniet magni seriem dum colligit æui
Posteritas, quam longa tenet custodia famæ,
Dumque tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimósque duces, medioſque petita per ignes
Sydera, te ventura simul mirabitur ætas,
Et veterum sacras imitabitur æmula laudes.
Scilicet æthereas ardentia pectora flammas,
Non ignes alij, non ipsa potentia Regum,
Nec vis vlla domat ferri, non tela, nec enses.
Qualis vbi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert munus, cineréſque paternos,
Dúmq; rogum, flammáſq; parat sibi, maior, ab igne
Egreditur, quaque illa nouis volitauerit alis,
Indignæ volucres læto clamore sequuntur:
Fœlices animæ vobis super alta beatis
Sydera calcatur quicquid mortalia tangit
Pectora, nec iam noster honor, nec præmia curæ:
Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus inuida tellus.
Ecce tamen, quales poterit, persoluet honores
Posteritas, dum facta legens ingentia, vires
Miratur, plausúque fidem super astra sequetur
Victricem (Hoc siquid debent mortalibus) ipsi
Sanctorum cineres tibi se debere fatentur,
Foxe.
Tempus erit, cum tu post fata, piósque labores,
Auctus rus superos fœlix super alta videbis
Sydera iam quorum transcribis nomina famæ,
Insignes heroas, & ipse videberis illis.
Iamque patres superans mundo labente sequetur
Progenies, Cœlo se clarior exeret alto
Religio, humani generis decus, optima custos
Imperij, quam sancta fides comitatur euntem,
Et circum lætis crescet pax aurea terris:
Tum quoque diuini passim monumenta laboris,
Et sacrum florebit opus, fructúque beabit,
Et populum, & populi per secula longa nepotes.

In idem argumentum Thom.
Ridely Cantabrigiensis.

COrpora quæ quondam iusto caruere sepulchro
Ossáque per campos vndique sparsa pia.

Collegit

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Collegit magna cum sedulitate peritus
Foxus, & in vnum conglomerauit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna Papistæ,
Fruſtra tam ſanctum perſequerentur opus:
Auxit, & ex vno, idem bina volumina fecit,
Obſtruxítque ſuis hoſtibus ora pius.
Nec ſic contentus, rurſus limauit, & auctum
Arctauit, populi commoditate ſui:
Nequaquam veritus ſtolidæ conuitia linguæ,
Dum veſtra ô ſancti fortia facta ſonet.
O vos fœlices animæ, quæ ſanguine veſtro
Cœleſtes nobis teſtificaſtis opes.
Et tu qui tali decoraſti funere ſanctas
Relliquias, peragens triſte miniſterium:
Sed tibi præclarum, nobiſque nec inutile, vt iſtis
Exemplis fortes poſſumus eſſe fide.

M. M. S.

PErlege, quæ faſtis ſignata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Angligenûm & feruida fata virûm.
Admiranda tibi gemini ſpectacula cœtus,
Pugnantéſque ſuo diſpare marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbens ſæuo ferus impete Sathan
Tartareas præfert in ſua regna faces.
Illinc Rex ſuperûm, trans flammas, tranſq; cruentas
Mille neces, Chriſtus ſternit ad aſtra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lacrymæ, ieiunia templis
Iuſſus honos ſummi iuſſáque ſacra patris.
Conciliúm hoc Cyclopum rabies, fera corda fatigat
Eumenides, triſti pectora ſenta ſitu.
Miſſa volat flammis, & ſanguinis ebria riuis
Ante, gradúm retrò Roma maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat Foxus certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit:
Interea veri vis ſtat ſata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato iam Phlegetonte ſuper.
Poſt alios fœtus, alios poſt deinde labores
Hæc extrema ſubit vindicis ira manus;
Tertiaque iſta patri ſuſpendimus arma Quirino,
Parua prius, iam nunc qualia, quanta, vides:
Qualia fatalis iam tum miracula ſaxi
Prodidit Aſſyria regius exul humo.
Exiguus lapis hic, ſed qui ſe attollere in auras
Iuſſus Atlantæos æquiparare ſinus.
Nunc quoq; qui impleuit ſinuoſo fragmine mundũ
Ætherioque ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipſe tonans flagranti diſtulit axe
Imperia, & vertit Regna ſuperba ſolo.
Sæua Silex quid nam flammantibus incita fundis
Vrbium & elatis perniciоſa minis?
Coctilibus muris Romana Semiramis audax,
Proſpice, iam Babylon iam ruit illa tua.
Saxea iam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas ſtrages miſeris horrida Romulidis?
Vltimus hic labor eſt montis rapientis auari
Puppicolaſque papas papicolaſque popas.
At vos fœlices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Sæcla, pias puro funditis ore preces.
Aligeræque acies, ciues ſtellantis Olympi,
Plaudite: Roma fuit Babela, papa fuit.

In ſanguiſſugas Papiſtas,
Philippus Stubbes.

QVi ſacrum Chriſti ſatagit conuellere verbum,
Vulnificum contra calcitrat hic ſtimulum.
Florida quæ nimio compreſſa eſt pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta ſuis.
Auricomanſque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit
Hoc magis, excreſcit, floret eóque magis.
Sic Εὐαγγέλιον quantumuis turba papalis
Conſpuat, exurat, creſcit vbique tamen.

FINIS.

IN IO. FOXVM THEOLOGVM CELEBERRIMVM, cum Chriſto exultantem.

IN quiet peace thou ſleepeſt now at reſt
O learned Foxe, *the Phenix of our age;*
Moſt happie thou with crowne of glorie bleſt,
For euer freed from perſecuting rage:
With comfort great thou gained haſt the ſhore,
And ſtormie tempeſts now needſt feare no more.

Thy life not ſtain'd with ſpot of foule defame,
Thy learning great, who dare the ſame deny?
Thy worthie Workes abroad doe ſound thy name,
And ſhall for euer to poſterity.
So long as learning and the learned liue,
Thy Works to thee immortall praiſe will giue.

Thy famous Worke of thoſe that witneſſe bare
To Chriſt his truth, and ſeald it with their blood,
That with Alcides *labors may compare,*
Shall witnes ſtill thy zeale for churches good:
Shall witneſſe ſtill to ages yet to come,
Thy hatred iuſt againſt that whore of Rome.

Thy hand was alwaies ſtretched out to giue,
Thy eie from poore was neuer turn'd aſide:
What one of thee might not haue learn'd to liue?
Who in thy life ſo many waies waſt tride:
And yet the ſame didſt alwaies ſtill endure,
No change thy heart to change could once procure.

The afflicted ſoule by thee did comfort find,
The conſcience weake by thee did ſtrength attaine;
Thy Sermons ſweet raiſd vp the feeble mind,
And many a ſoule from hell to Chriſt did gaine:
Such care thou hadſt Gods mercies ſtill to preach,
Such grace thou hadſt the truth of Chriſt to teach.

Thy tongue and pen the truth did ſtill defend,
Thou baniſhment for Chriſt didſt gladly bide;
In him thou liu'dſt, in him thou mad'ſt thy end,
Moſt happie thou that hadſt ſo good a guide.
Moſt happie thou while life thou didſt retaine,
Moſt happie now that doeſt with Chriſt remaine.

Io. Hopkins.

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Acts and Monuments of the Christian

Martyrs, and matters Ecclesiasticall, passed in the Church of Christ, from the Primitiue beginning, to these *our dayes, as well in other Countries, as namely in this* Realme of England, and also of Scotland, *discoursed at large.*

And first, the difference betweene the church of Rome that now is, and the ancient church of Rome that then was.

CHRIST our Sauiour in the gospel of S. Matth. ca. 16. hearing the cõfession of Simõ Peter, who first of all other openly acknowleged him to be the son of God, & perceiuing the secret hand of his father therin, answered again & alluding to his name, called him a rock, vpon which rock he would build his church so strong that the gates of hell should not preuaile against it, &c. In which words 3. things are to be noted. First, that Christ will haue a church in this world. Secondlie, that the same church should mightily be impugned, not only by the world, but also by the vttermost strength & powers of all hel. And thirdly, that the same church notwithstanding the vttermost of the diuell and all his malice should continue. Which prophecie of Christ we see wonderfullie to be verified. Insomuch that the whole course of the church to this day, may seem nothing else but a verifieng of the said prophecie. First, that Christ hath set vp a church needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and sorts of men, of princes, kings, monarchs, gouernors, & rulers of this world, with their subiects publikely & priuatly, with all their strength and cunning haue bent themselues against this church. And thirdly, how the said church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden his owne. What stormes and tempests it hath ouerpast, wonderous it is to behold. For the more euident declaration whereof, I haue addressed this present historie, intending by the fauourable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the eares of my country in reading of newes, as most specially to profit the hearts of the godlie in perusing antiquities of ancient times, to the end that the wonderfull works of God, first in his church, might appeare to his glory. Also that the continuance and procéedings of the church from time to time being set forth in these Acts & Monuments, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby to the profit of the reader, and edification of christian faith.

Matth. 16.

Three things noted in Christes words.

The order of the disposition of this historie.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute the matter, as may best serue to the profit of the reader: I haue thought good first, beginning from the time of the primitiue church, and so continuing (by the Lords grace) to these latter yeares, to run ouer the whole state and course of the church in generall, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this historie, into fiue sundrie diuersities of times.

The suffering time of the church.

1. First I will intreat of the suffering time of the church, which continued from the Apostles age about three hundred yeares.

The florishing time of the church.

2. Secondlie, of the florishing time of the church, which lasted other three hundred yéeres.

The declining time of the church.

3. Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the church, which comprehendeth other three hundred yeares, vntill the losing out of Sathan, which was about the thousand yeare after the ceasing of persecution. During which space of time, the church, although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the simple sinceritie of the primitiue time, yet in outward profession of doctrine and religion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a church: notwithstanding some corruption of doctrine, with superstition and hypocrisie was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that as followed after, it might séeme (as I said) something sufferable.

The time of antichrist in the church.

4. Fourthlie, followeth the time of antichrist, and losing of Sathan, or desolation of the church, whose full swinge conteineth the space of foure hundred yeares. In which time, both doctrine and sincerity of life was vtterly almost extinguished: namely, in the chiefe heades and rulers of this west church, through the meanes of the Romane Bishops, especially counting from Gregorie the seauenth called Hildebrand, Innocentius the third, and friers which with him crept in, till the time of John Wickliffe & John Husse, during foure hundred yeares.

The reformation of the church.

5. Fiftlie, and lastly, after this time of antichrist, reigning in the church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation and purging of the church of God, wherin antichrist beginneth to be reuealed, and to appeare in his colours, and his antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his church decreasing, and the number of the true church increasing. The durance of which time hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred and fourescore years, and how long shall continue more, the Lord and gouernor of all times, he only knoweth. For in these fiue diuersities and alterations of times, I suppose the whole course of the church may well be comprised. The which church, because it is vniuersall, & sparsedlie through all countries dilated, therefore in this historie standing vpon such a generall argument, I shall not bee bound to anie one certeine nation, more than another: yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I haue purposed principallie to tarrie vpon such historicall acts and records, as most appertéine to this my countrie of England and Scotland.

The church of Rome.

And forsomuch as the church of Rome, in all these ages aboue specified, hath chalenged to it selfe the supreme title, and ringleading of the whole vniuersall church on earth, by whose direction all other churches haue beene gouerned: in writing therefore of the church of Christ, I cannot but partlie also intermeddle with the acts & procéedings of the same church, forsomuch as the doings and orderings of all other churches from time to time, as well here in England, as in other nations, haue this long season chiefely depended vpon the same. Wherfore, as it is much néedfull and requisit to haue the doings and orderings of the said church to be made manifest to all christian congregations: so haue I framed this historie, according to the same purpose. First in a generall description briefly to declare, as in a summarie table, the misguiding of that church, comparing the former primitiue state of the forenamed church of Rome, with these latter times of the same. Which done, then after in a more speciall tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so farre forth as shall séeme not vnprofitable for the publick instruction of all other christian churches, to behold and consider the maner and dealing of this one. In the which one church of Rome foure things, as most speciall points, séeme to me chiefelie to be considered. To wit, title, iurisdiction, life, and doctrine. Wherin I haue here to declare, first cõcerning the title or primacy of the church, how it first began, and vpon what occasion. Secondly, concerning the iurisdiction and authoritie thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend. Thirdlie, touching the misorder of life and conuersation, how inordinate it is, and fourthly the forme of doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath beene. Of the which foure the first was preiudiciall to all Bishops, the second derogatory

Foure things to be considered in the church of Rome.
1. Title.
2. Iurisdiction.
3. Life.
4. Doctrine.

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to kings and emperors. The third detestable to all men. The fourth iniurious against Christ.

The title of the Pope.

For first, the title and stile of that church was such, that it ouerwent all other churches, being called the holie vniuersall mother church, which could not erre; and the bishop thereof holy father the pope, bishop vniuersall, prince of priests, supreame head of the vniuersall church, and vicar of Christ here in earth, which must not bee iudged, hauing all knowledge of Scripture and all lawes contained within the chest of his brest.

The iurisdiction of the Pope.

Secondly, the iurisdiction of that bishop was such, that challenging to himselfe both the swords, that is, both the keies of the spiritualtie, and the scepter of the laitie: not onely he subdued all bishops vnder him, but also extended himselfe aboue kings and emperors, causing some of them to ly vnder his feet, some to hold his stirrup, kings to leade his horse by the bridle, some to kisse his feet, placing and displacing emperors, kings, dukes and earles, whom and when hee listed, taking vpon him to translate the empire at his pleasure; first from Græce to France, from France to Germanie, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also being emperor himselfe Sede vacante, pretending authoritie or power to inuest bishops, to giue benefices, to spoile churches, to giue authoritie to binde and loose, to call generall councels, to iudge ouer the same, to set vp religions, to canonize saints, to take appeales, to bind consciences, to make lawes, to dispense with the lawe and word of God, to deliuer from purgatorie, to command angells, &c.

The properties of life in the Romish clergie.

Thirdly, what was the life and conuersation of the court of Rome, hereafter in the processe of this history followeth to bee seene and obserued.

The Doctrine of the Pope.

Fourthly, such was his doctrine in like manner, tedious to students, pernicious to mens consciences, iniurious to Christ Iesus, and contrarie to it selfe. In lawes more diuers, in volume more large, in diligence and studie more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainefull, than euer was the studie and learning of the holy scripture of God.

All which foure points well considered and aduised in this present historie set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent christian reader, sufficient instruction to iudge, what is of this see and church of Rome to be esteemed.

But heere by the way is to be noted, that all these deformities aboue touched of vaine title, of pretensed iurisdiction, of hereticall doctrine, of schismatical life, came not into the church of Rome all at one time, nor sprang with the beginning of the same church, but with long wearing, and continuance of time by little and litle crept vp, through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly of pope Syluester, partly of pope Gregorie the seauenth, in the yeare of our Lord 1170. partly of Innocentius the third, and finally of pope Boniface the eight in the yeare of our Lord 1300: Of the which foure popes, the first brought in the title in the yeare of the Lord 670. which was neuer in such ample wise before publikely exacted, and receiued publikely in the said church of Rome. The second brought in iurisdiction. The third, which was pope Innocent with his rable of monks and friers (as Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Johannes Scotus) and with such other bishops as succeeded in the same see after him, corrupted and obscured the sinceritie of Christs doctrine and manners also. And lastly, pope Bonifacius the eight, and after him pope Clement the fift, ouer & besides the iurisdiction, sufficiently aduanced before by pope Hildebrand, added moreouer the temporall sword to be carried before them. And that no emperour were he neuer so well elected) should bee sufficient and lawfull, without the popes admission, in the yeare of our Lord 1200: whereby the popes power was brought now to his full pride and perfection. And thus came vp the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of yeares by degrees, and not altogither, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularlie (Christ willing shall be expressed.

Pope Syluester the second. Pope Gregorie the seauenth called Hildebrand. Pope Innocentius the third. Pope Bonifacius the eight.

Wherefore, whosoeuer shall haue hereafter to doe with any aduersaries, about the antiquitie or authoritie of the church of Rome, let him here well consider when and how, the title, iurisdiction, and corruption of doctrine first began in the popes see. And so shal he see, that the church of Rome, as it is now gouerned with this manner of title, iurisdiction, and institution of doctrine, neuer descended from the primitiue age of the Apostles, or from their succession, Nisi tantùm æquiuocè, & non vniuocè: Like as Sancta Maria picta non est sancta Maria, & homo pictus non est homo, as the schooles do say: that is, As the picture of the holy virgine, is not the holy virgin, and as a man painted on the wall is not a man: so it is to be said of the church of Rome (the institution and doctrine of the church of Rome I meane) that although it haue the name of the church apostolicall, and doth bring forth a long genealogie of outward succession from the apostles, as the Pharisets did in Christs time bring their descent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I said) but only Aequiuocè, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the apostolicall church in deed, for as much as the definition of the apostolicall church, neither agreeth now with this present church of Rome, nor yet the maner, forme, and institution of the said Romish church, as it now standeth with this title, iurisdiction and doctrine, had euer any succession or springing from the primitiue church of the apostles. But as Christ said by the Pharisets, that they were the children not of Abraham, but of the diuell: in semblable wise may be answered, that this church of Rome now present, with this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine now vsed, cannot be fathered vpon the apostles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of an other author, whom here I will not name.

Aequiuocè, That is in name onely and not in very deed.
Vniuocè. That is, both in name and also in definition and effect agreeing with the name.
The Church of Rome as now it is, is not apostolical, but only *æquiuocè*.

The argument of Pighius, Hosius, & Eccius for the authoritie of the church of Rome.

And here now commeth in the argument of Pighius, Hosius, and Eccius, to be answered vnto, who arguing for the antiquitie and authority of the church of Rome, reason on this manner.

Da- That for somuch as an ordinary and a knowne church visible must here be knowen continually on earth, during from the time of the Apostles, to the which church all other churches must haue recourse:

ri- And seeing then there is no other church visible, orderlie knowen to haue indured from the apostles time, but onely the church of Rome:

j. They conclude therefore that the church of Rome, is that church, whereunto all other churches must haue their recourse, &c.

Answere. *Fallacia æquiuoci.*

To the which paralogisme I answere thus: that this word Durans ecclesia, the during church in the Minor, hath Fallaciam æquiuoci. For although the name of the church and outward succession of Bishops haue had their durance from time of the apostles, yet the definition & matter which maketh a true apostolicall church indeed, and Vniuocè, neither is now in the church of Rome, nor yet the forme and institution of the church now vsed in Rome was euer from the apostles: which apostles were neuer authors or fathers of this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies euer to the same.

The minor examined.

The maior examined.

Againe to the Maior, which standeth vpon two parts, I answer. First although the necessity of the church during from the apostles, may and must be granted; yet the same necessity was not bound to any certaine place, or person but only to faith: so that whersoeuer, that is to say, in whatsoeuer congregation true faith was, there was the church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs euer remaine in earth: therefore the church also must needs remaine in earth. And God forbid that the said true faith of Christ should onely remaine in one city in the world, and not in other as well. And therefore to the second part of the Maior is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so giuen, to remaine firstly in one place or citie alone: so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained and appointed of God, that all other churches should haue their recourse vnto it, for determination of their causes and controuersies incident, &c. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hosius, &c.

A distinction. The church of Rome distincted into a double consideration of times. The church of Rome, how it was commended of the old doctors.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the auncient doctors and holy fathers in the commendation of the church of Rome, here commeth in also to be noted, that whosoeuer will vnderstand rightly their authorities, and answere to the same, must first learne to make a difference and distinction of the said church of Rome, from that it was, to that it is: for as much as the church of Rome is not the same church now, which it was then, but only Aequiuocè: otherwise as touching the very property and definition of a church, it is another church, and nothing agreeing to that it was then, saue only in outward name and place. Therfore by this distinction made, I answere the place of Ireneus, Cyprianus, and other famous doctors, commending the church of Rome as catholike and apostolicall, and say that these doctors speaking of the church of Rome which then was, said not vntrue, calling it catholike & apostolicall, for that the same church tooke their ordinary succession of bishops, ioined with the ordinarie doctrine and institution from the Apostles. But speaking of the church of Rome, which now is, we say the said places of the doctors are not true, neither doe appertaine to the same: all which Doctors neither knew the church of Rome that now is, neither if they had, would euer haue iudged any thing therin worthy such commendation.

The principall obiection of the papists against the protestants.

Answer to the obiection.

Ouer and besides, our aduersaries yet more obiect against vs, who heauing and shouing for the antiquitie of the Romish church, for lacke of other sufficient reason to proue, are driuen to fall in scanning the times and yeares. What (say they) where was this church of yours before these fiftie yeares? To whom briefly to answer, first we demaund what they meane by this, which they call our church? If they meane the ordinance and institution of doctrine and sacraments, now receiued of vs, and differing from the church of Rome, we affirme and saie, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet euer see any light: that is, in the time of the Apostles, in the primitiue age, in the time of Gregory the first, and the old Romane church, when as yet no vniuersall pope was receiued publikely, but repelled in Rome; nor this fulnesse of plenarie power yet knowen, nor this doctrine, and abuse of sacraments yet heard of. In witnesse wherof we haue the olde acts and histories of ancient time to giue testimonie with vs, wherein sufficient matter we haue for vs, to declare the same form, vsage, and institution of this our church refor-

reformed now, not to be the beginning of anie new church of our owne, but to be the renewing of the old ancient church of Christ: nor to be anie swaruing from the church of Rome, but rather a reducing to the church of Rome. Whereas contrarie the church of Rome which now is, is nothing but a swaruing from the church of Rome, as partlie is declared, and more shall appeare (Christ willing) hereafter.

The church of Rome reuolted from the church of Rome.

Another obiection of the papists.

And where the said our aduersaries do moreouer charge vs with the faith of our fathers and godfathers, wherein we were baptised, accusing and condemning vs, for that we are now reuolted from them and their faith, wherin we were first christened: To this we answer, that we being first baptised by our fathers and godfathers, in water, in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, the same faith wherein wee were christened then, we do retaine: & because our godfathers were themselues also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we haue forsaken the faith of our godfathers, &c. As for other points of ecclesiasticall vses and circumstances considered, besides the principall substance of faith and baptisme, if they held any thing which receded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, therein we now remoue our selues; not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remoue from the rule of Christs doctrine. Neither doth the sacrament of our baptisme bind vs in all points to the opinions of them that baptised vs, but to the faith of him, in whose name we were baptised. For as if a man were christened of an heretike, the baptisme of him notwithstanding were good, although the baptiser were naught: so if our godfathers or fathers, which christened vs, were taught any thing, not consonant to christian doctrine in all points, neither is our baptisme worse for that, nor yet we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselues did not follow the true church of Christ.

An answer to the obiection.

No man bound to follow the opinions of his godfathers in all points vnlesse they bee consonant in all things.

The church of Rome distincted from the church of Rome.

Wherefore as it is false, that we haue renounced the faith of our godfathers wherein we were first baptised, so is it not true that we are remoued from the church of Rome: but rather say and (by the leaue of Christ) will proue that the church of Rome hath vtterly departed from the church of Rome, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more euidently to declare, I will here compare the church of Rome with the church of Rome; and in a general description set forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the churches, that is, of both the times of the church of Rome: to the intent it may be seene, whether we or the church of Rome haue more apostated from the church of Rome. And here first I diuide the church of Rome in a double consideration of time, first of those first fiue hundred yeeres which were immediately after Christ: and secondly of the other fiue hundred yeeres, which now haue been in these our latter daies: and so in comparing these two together, will search out what discrepance is betweene them both. Of the which two ages & states of the Roman church, the first I call the primitiue church of Rome, the other I call the latter church of Rome, counting this latter church from the thousand yeeres expired after the binding vp of satan, to the time of his losing againe, according to the prophesie of the twentith chapter of saint Johns Reuelation; counting these thousand yeeres from the ceassing of persecution, vnder Constantinus Magnus, to the beginning of persecution of the church againe vnder Innocentius the third, and Ottomannus the first Turcian emperour. And thus haue yee the church of Rome parted into two churches, in double respect and consideration of two sundrie states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let vs see whether the church of Rome hath swarued from the church of Rome more than we, or no.

Two times of the church of Rome considered and examined.

The first point.

AND to begin first with the order and qualities of life; I aske here of this Romane clergie, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the old ancient time of the primitiue church of Rome, with this pompe and pride, with this riches and superfluitie, with this *Gloria mundi*, and name of cardinals, with this prancking dissolutenesse and whoring of the curtisans, with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spirituall dignities, these annats, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practises for mony, this auarice insatiable, ambition intollerable, fleshly filthinesse most detestable, barbarousnesse and negligence in preaching, promise breaking faithlesse, poisoning and supplanting one another, with such schismes and diuisions, which neuer were more seene than in the elections and court of Rome these seuen hundred yeeres, with such extreame crueltie, malice, and tyrannie in burning and persecuting their owne brethren to death?

The enormities of life in the latter church of Rome described.

Policies and practises of Rome to get monie.

It were too long, & a thing infinit, to stand particularly vpon these aboue rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the schismes that haue been in the church of Rome since the time of Damasus the first, which are counted to the number of eightéene schismes; what a volume would it require? Or if here should be recorded all that this see hath burned and put to death since the losing out of satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleights to get mony should be described as processe of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principall grounds are reckoned at least to foureteene or fifteene sleights.

Fifteene practises of the new church of Rome to get monie.

First for annats, or vacācies of archbishoprikes, bishoprikes, abbacies, priories conuentuall, and other benefices elective. 1

Secondly, for the holding and reteining of all other spirituall liuings whatsoeuer, besides this which now the incumbent paieth for, or which he may hold hereafter. 2

Thirdly, new annats for all the same are required againe, ned to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chanced diuers times three or foure annats to be paied for one benefice. 3

Toties quoties any one of all his spirituall liuings be, or are fal-

Fourthly, for guiing out preuentions of benefices before they fall, and many times some one preuention to be giuen to diuers and sundrie persons by the office for monies sake. 4

Fiftly, for resignations vpon fauour, which in many cases the pope challengeth to be reserued to himselfe. 5

Sixtlie, for commendams. 6

Seuenthly, for compounding with such as be absent from their charge, and giue their attendance about the court. 7

Eightly, for infinite dispensations, as to dispense with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as if the number bee full, if the house be of such or such an order. Item dispensation for irregularitie, for whoredome and adulterie, for times of marriage, for marring in degrées forbidden, or in affinitie canonicall, for gossips to marrie, for the which it hath been séene in France a thousand crownes to be paid to Rome at one time, for dispensing with this canonicall affinitie of gossips, as we call it, the same being yet not true, but fained. Item dispensing for eating meates in times prohibited. 8

Ninthlie, for innumerable priuiledges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a proctor, for confirmations of priuiledges, for transactions made vpon speciall fauor of the pope, for permutations of benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of pensions, with such like. 9

Tenthly, for mandats granted by the pope, to ordinaries, whereof euery ordinarie, if he haue the collation or presentation often, may receiue one mandat; if he haue fiftie, he may receiue two mandats: & for euery mandat there comes to the pope about twentie ducats. And yet notwithstanding so many are sold, as will come buiers to pay for them. 10

Eleuenthly, for the popes penitentiarie, for absolution of cases reserued to the pope, for breaking & changing of vowes, for translation from one monasterie to another, also from one order to another, for licence to enter into certaine monasteries, to carrie about altars, with many other things of like deuice, pertaining to the office of the popes penitentiarie. 11

Twelfly, for giuing and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, to be read not onely in publike temples, but also to be bought in priuate houses, and of priuat persons, in diuers and sundrie respects. 12

Thirteenthly, for making notaries, and protonotaries, and other offices of the court of Rome. 13

Fourteenthly, for granting out buls and commissions of new foundations, or for changing of the old, for reducing regular monasteries to a secular state, or for restoring againe into the old, and for other infinite rescripts and writs about matters depending in controuersie, and otherwise might and ought by the ordinarie to be decided. 14

Fifteenthlie, for giuing the pall to archbishops newlie elected. By reason of all which deuices (besides the first of the annates) it hath been accounted out of the kings records in France, in the time of Ludouike the ninth (as testifieth Molineus) to the number of two hundred thousand crownes, onelie out of France paied and transported to Rome. Which summe since that time hath been doubled and tripled, besides annats and palles, which all together are thought to make the totall summe, yeerely going out of France to the popes coffers of late yeeres, ten myriades, or millions, euery myriad mounting to ten thousand crownes. Now what hath risen besides in other realmes and nations, let other men coniecture. 15

Summa totalis.

Wherefore if the gospell send vs to the fruits to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the church of Rome, with these fruits of life? Or if we will séeke the church in length and number of yeeres, where was this church of Rome with these qualities then, at what time the church of Rome was a persecuted church, not a persecuting church? And when the bishops therof did not make martyrs, as these doe now, but were made martyrs themselues, to the number of fiue and twentie, in order one after another? Or when the bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring, not by power or parts taking, not by monie or friends making, as they be now; but by the free voices of the people and of the clergie, with the consent of the emperour ioyned withall, and not by a few conspired cardinals, closed vp in a corner, as they be now, &c.

AND yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerat, or els impute to the common fragilitie of man, & charge them no further therein, than we might charge our selues. Now ouer and beside this deformitie of life, wherein they are cleane gone from the former steps of the true church of Rome, we haue moreouer to charge them in greater points, more neerely touching the substantiall ground of the church, as in their iurisdiction presumptuouslie vsurped, in their title falselie grounded, and in their

The iurisdiction and power of this new church of Rome examined.

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This new church of Rome in three points challenged.

doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this latter pretensed church of Rome hath vtterly sequestred it self from the image and nature of the ancient and true church of Rome, and haue erected to themselues a new church of their owne making, as first vsurping a iurisdiction neuer knowne before to their ancient predecessors. For although the church of Rome in the old primitiue time had his due authoritie & place due vnto that see, among other patriarchall churches, ouer and vpon such churches as were within his precinct, and bordering neere vnto it, as appeareth by the acts of Nicen councell: yet the vniuersall fulnesse and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spirituall and temporall, in depossing & dispensing matters of the church, not to him belonging, in taking appeales, in giuing elections, inuesting in benefices, in exempting himselfe from obedience and subiection of his ordinarie power and magistrate, with his coactiue power newly erected in the church of Rome, was neuer receiued nor vsed in the old Romane church, from the which they disagree in all their doings.

Nicen. con. cap. 6.

Victor stopped from his excommunication by Ireneus.

For although Victor then bishop of Rome, Anno 200. went about to excommunicat the east churches, for the obseruation of Easter day: yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by Ireneus so to do. And although Boniface the first likewise, writing to the bishops of Carthage, required of them to send vp their appellations vnto the church of Rome, alleaging moreouer the decree of Nicen councell for his authoritie: the bishops and clergie of Carthage assembling together in a generall councell (called the first councell of Carthage) to the number of two hundred and seuentéene bishops, after that they had perused the decrees in the authentike copies of the foresaid Nicen councell, and found no such matter by the said Bonifacius alleaged, made therefore a publike decree, that none out of that countrie should make any appeale ouer the sea, &c. And what maruell if appeales were forbidden them to be made to Rome, when as both here in England the kings of this land would not permit any to appeale from them to Rome, before king Henrie the second, because of the murther of Thomas Becket, being thereunto compelled by pope Alexander the third? And also in France the like prohibitions were expressly made by Ludouicus Pius, Anno 1268, which did forbid by a publike instrument, called *Pragmatica sanctio*, all exactions of the popes court within his realme. Also by king Philip named *Le bel*, An. 1296. the like was done, which not onely restrained all sending or going vp of his subiects to Rome, but also that no monie, armour, nor subsidie should be transported out of his realme. The like also after him did king Charles the fift surnamed the wise, & his sonne likewise after him Charles the first, who also punished as traitors, certain seditious persons for appealing to Rome. The like resistance moreouer was in the said countrie of France, against the popes reseruations, preuentions, & other like practises of his vsurped iurisdiction in the daies of pope Martin the fift. An. 1418. Item, when K. Henrie the first in England, & king Charles the seuenth in France, did both accord with the pope, in inuesting and in collation of benefices: yet notwithstanding the high court of parlement in France did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberties & customs of the French church. Insomuch that when the duke of Bedford came with the kings letters patent to haue the popes procurations & reseruations admitted, yet the court of parlement would not agree to the same, but the kings procurator generall was faine to goe betwixt them, as is to bee seene in their registers, An. 1425. the fift day of March. In the dates of the which king Charles the seuenth, was set forth in France, *Pragmatica sanctio*, as they call it, against the annats, reseruations, expectatiues, & such other procéedings of the popes pretensed iurisdiction, An. 1438. Wherefore what maruel if this iurisdiction of the popes court in excommunicating, taking appeales, & giuing of benefices, was not vsed in the old church of Rome, when as in these latter daies it hath bin so much resisted?

Ex Antonio de gestis Francorum, lib. 3. cap. 33.

The popes iurisdiction resisted in France.

Pragmatica sanctio.

The popes iurisdiction concerning elections examined.

And what should I speake of the forme and manner of elections, now vsed in the church of Rome, cleane conuerted from the manner of the old church of their predecessors? For first in those ancient daies, when as yet the church remained in the apostles onely, and a few other disciples, the apostles then with prayer and imposition of hands elected bishops and ministers, as by the apostles James was made bishop of Hierusalem, Paul in Creta elected Titus, and Timothe in Ephesus. Also Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome, &c. After which time of the apostles, when the church began more to multiplie, the election of bishops and ministers stood by the clergie and the people with the consent of the chiefe magistrat of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitiue church, till the time, and after the time of Constantine the fourth emperour, which emperour (as writeth Platina and Sabellicus, Enead. 8. lib. 6.) published a law concerning the election of the Romane bishop, that he should be taken for true bishop, whom the clergie and people of Rome did chose and elect, without any tarying for any authoritie of the emperour of Constantinople, or the deputie of Italie: so as the custome and fashion had euer been before that day, Anno 280. And here the bishops began first to wriche out their elections and their necks a little from the emperours subiection, if it be so as the said Platina and Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many coniectures there be, not vnprobable, rather to thinke this constitution of Constantine to be forged and vntrue: First, for that it is taken out of the popes bibliothecarie, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and master of the popes librarie, a suspected author, who whatsoeuer feined writings or apocrypha he could find in the popes chests of records, making any thing on his masters side: that he compiled together, and thereof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratianus take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected, &c.

Platina Sabel. Enead. 8. lib. 6.

Constantine the fourth emperor of Constantinople.

The popes bibliothecarie suspected.

The constitution of Constantine the fourth emperor of Constantinople examined.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus say that Constantine moued with the holinesse of pope Benedict the first made that constitution: how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the emperour was so farre off from him being at Constantinople, and also for that the said pope reigned but ten moneths? Which was but a small time to make his holinesse knowne to the emperor so farre off. And giue he were so holy, yet that holinesse might rather be an occasion for the emperor so to confirme and maintaine the old receiued maner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third coniecture is this, for that the said constitution was not obserued, but shortly after by the said Benedict was broken in the election of pope Conon. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the people, and limited to the clergie onely, and much lesse might be taken away from the clergie, and be limited onely to the cardinals, without the consent of their prince and ruler, according to their owne rubric in their decrées, where the rubric saith: De ordinatione episcopi: Nullus inuitis detur episcopus, cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & desiderium requiratur, &c. That is: Let no bishop be giuen to any people against their wils: but let the consent and desire both of the clergie and of the people, and of the order, be also required, &c. And in the same Dist. also, cap. Sacrorum, we read the same libertie and interest to be granted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his sonne, not to a few cardinals onelie, but to the order as well of the clergie, as of the people, to chose not onely the bishop of Rome, but any other bishop within their owne diocesse whatsoeuer, and to the monks likewise to chose their owne abbat, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, onely for the worthinesse of life, and gift of wisdome, so as might be most profitable for doctrine, and example vnto the flocke, &c. And this continued till the time of the foresaid Carolus Magnus & Ludouicus his sonne, An. 810. of the which two, Carolus the father receiued expressie of pope Adrian the first, full iurisdiction & power to elect & ordaine the bishop of Rome, like as pope Leo the ninth did also to Otho the first Germane emperor, An. 961. The other, that is, Ludouicus, son to the foresaid Charles, is said to renounce againe, & surrender from him selfe and his successors, vnto pope Paschalis and the Romans the right and interest of chosing the Romane bishop, and moreouer to giue and grant to the said Paschalis the full possession of the citie of Rome, and the whole territorie to the same belonging, Anno 821. as appeareth by the decrée, Ego Ludouicus, Dist. 63. But admit that fained decrée to bee vnfeinedly true (as it may well bee suspected for many causes, as procéeding out of the same fountaine, with the constitution of Constantine afore mentioned, that is, from the master of the popes librarie, of whom both Gratianus and Volaterane, by their owne confession take their ground) yet the same decrée doth not so giue away the frédome of that election, that he limiteth it only to the cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the Romans: neither doth he simplie and absolutely giue the same, but with condition, so that, Omnes Romani vno consilio, & vna concordia, sine aliqua promissione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent: that is, Whom as all the Romans with one counsell, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall chose to be bishop of Rome. And moreouer in the same decrée is required, that at the consecration of the same bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the French king concerning the same.

Rubrica de ordinatione episcopi. ex Cælestino Papa dist. 63. Cap. Cleri. dist. 63. cap. Sacrorum.

Libertie granted to the clergie, and to the people to choose their bishop.

Carolus Mag. Ludoni. Pius.

Gratianus and Volaterane, what ground they haue of their records. *Dist. 63. ca. ego Ludouicus.*

The decree, *Ego Ludouicus, dist. 63.* suspected.

Election of the bishop of Rome standeth vpon the consent of the clergie, and the people of Rome.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although pope Stephan the fourth, and pope Paschalis the first, in Ludouicus time were impaised through discord without election of the emperour, yet they were faine by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugenius the second, which succeeded next to Paschalis, Lotharius sonne of Ludouicus, and emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed lawes and magistrats ouer the citie. Whereby may appeare the donation of Ludouike, in giuing away the citie of Rome to the pope, to be feined. And after Eugenius, pope Gregorie the fourth, who following within a yeere after Eugenius, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said emperour Ludouicus. And so in like manner his successors pope Sergius the second, pope Leo the fourth, pope Nicholas the first, and so orderlie in a long tract of time, from the foresaid Nicholas the first, to pope Nicholas the second, Anno 1061. (which Nicholas in his decree beginning, *In nomine Domini, dist. 23.* ordained also the same) so that in the election of the bishops of Rome, commonlie the consent of the emperour and the people with the clergie of Rome was not lacking. After which Nicholas came Alexander

The decree ego Ludouicus, proued false.

Dist. 23. ca. In nomine Domini.

under the second, and wicked Hildebrand, which Alexander being first elected without the emperours will and consent, afterward repenting the same, openly in his preaching to the people declared that he would no longer sit in the apostolike sée, vnlesse he were by the emperour confirmed. Wherfore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand & his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the emperor, then the lay people, after that the clergie also began to be excluded. And so the election by little & little was reduced to the hands of a few cardinals, contrarie to all ancient order, where euer since it hath remained.

The iudiciarie power of the pope examined.

And like as in elections, so also in power iudiciary, in deciding and determining of causes of faith, and of ecclesiasticall discipline, the state of the church of Rome, now being, hath no conformitie with the old Romane church heretofore. For then bishops debated all causes of faith only by the scriptures, and other questions of ecclesiasticall discipline they determined by the canons, not of the pope, but of the church, such as were decréed by the ancient councels, as writeth Greg. Turonensis in Francorum historia. Whereas now both the rule of scripture, and sanctions of the old councels set aside, all things for the most part are decided by certaine new decretall or rather extradecretall and extrauagant constitutions, in the popes canon law compiled, and in his consistories practised.

Georg. Turonens. in Francorum hist. lib. 10. ca. 18.

The popes iurisdiction vsurped in giuing and disposing ecclesiasticall promotions.

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the common law, as of the sacred councels, and institution of ancient fathers haue giuen to bishops and other prelats, also to patrons and doctors of ecclesiasticall benefices euerie one within his owne precinct and dominion, also to cathedrall churches and other; to haue their frée elections and to prosecute the same in full effect, ordering and disposing promotions, collations, prouisions and dispositions of prelacies, dignities, and all other ecclesiasticall benefices whatsoeuer, after their owne arbitrement, as appeareth by the first generall councell of France 16 q. 7. cap. Omnes Basilicæ, by the first generall councell of Nice cap. 6. Also by the generall councell of Antioch cap. 9. and is to be séene in the popes decrées 9. q. 3. Per singulas. And likewise beside these ancient decrées, the same is confirmed againe in more latter yéeres by Ludouicus the ninth French king in his constitution called Pragmatica sanctio, made and prouided by full parlement against the popes exactions, in the yéere of our Lord 1228. in these words as follow. Item exactiones & onera grauissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam ecclesiæ regni nostri impositas vel imposita (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) siue etiam imponendas vel imponenda leuariaut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & vrgentissima causa, vel ineuitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, & spontaneo iussu nostro, & ipsius ecclesiæ regni nostri, &c, that is: Item all exactions and importable burdens of mony, which the court of Rome hath laid vpon the church of our kingdome (wherby the said our kingdome hath béen miserablie hitherto impouerished) or hereafter shall impose or lay vpon vs, we vtterly discharge and forbid to be leuied or collected hereafter for any maner of cause, vnlesse there come some reasonable, godly, and most vrgent, and ineuitable necessitie; and that also not to be done without the expresse and voluntarie commandement of vs, and of the church of the same our foresaid kingdome, &c. Now contrarie to and against these so manifest and expresse decrées of generall councels, and constitutions synodall, this latter church of Rome of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of their elders, haue taken vpon them a singuler iurisdiction by themselues, and for their owne aduantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing churches, colleges, monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goods and lands to the same belonging, by reason and example whereof haue come in these impropriations, first fruits, and reseruations of benefices to the miserable despoiling of parishes, and horrible decay of christian faith, which things among the old Romane elders were neuer knowne. For so much then did it lacke, that due necessities were pluckt from the church, that emperours, kings, and princes plucking from their owne, did rather cumulate the church with superfluities.

Impropriations and first fruits of benefices.

Againe, when such goods were giuen to the church by those ancestors, they were neither so giuen, nor yet taken, to serue the priuat vse of certaine churchmen taking no paines therein, but rather to serue the publike subuention of the néedie, as is contained in the canonicall institutions by the emperour Ludouicus Pius, set forth in the yéere of our Lord 830. The words be these: Res ecclesiæ vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum, that is: The goods of the church be the vowes and bequests of the faithfull, prices to ransome such as be in captiuitie or prison, and patrimonies to succour them with hospitalitie, that be néedie.

Institutiones canonicæ sub Ludouico Pio.

The words of Prosper.

Whereunto agréeth also the testimonie of Prosper, whose words be these: Viros sanctos ecclesiæ res non vendicasse vt proprias, sed vt commendatas pauperibus diuisisse: that is, Good men tooke the goods of the church not as their owne, but distributed them as giuen and bequeathed to the poore. And saith moreouer: Quod habet ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune: that is, what soeuer the church hath, it hath it common with all such as haue nothing, &c.

Adde to the worthy testimonie of S. August. ad Bonif. Si autem priuatim, quæ nobis sufficiant possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed paupérum, quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis vsurpatione damnabili vendicamus, &c.

Aug. ad Bonifac.

Likewise vowsons and pluralities of benefices were things then as much vnknowne, as now they are pernicious to the church, taking away all frée election of ministers from the flocke of Christ.

Vowsons and pluralities of benefices.

All which inconueniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretensed authoritie and iurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome: so it cannot be denied, but the said latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it selfe much more, than either the limits of Gods word doe giue, or standeth with the example of the old Romain church, in these three things especiall. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

Three points wherein the popes church erreth in his iurisdiction.

1

Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction falsely restrained and impropriate to the church of Rome, which ought to be generally equall to all churches christian.

The first is in this, that whatsoeuer the scripture giueth and referreth, either to the whole church vniuersally, or to euery particular church seuerally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to it selfe absolutely and onely, both doing iniurie to other churches, and also abusing the scriptures of God. For albeit the scripture doth giue authoritie to bind and lose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the citie of Rome onely, more than to other cities; nor to the sée of Peter, more then to other apostles, but giueth it clearelie to the church, whereof Peter did beare the figure, so that whatsoeuer the true church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and lose, giuen and taken méerely as from Christ, and not mediatlie by the pope or bishop of Peters sée.

2

Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction abused and extended in the church of Rome further than the word limiteth.

The second point wherein this present church of Rome abuseth his iurisdiction contrary to the scripture and steps of the old Romane church, is this, for that it extendeth his authoritie further and more amplie, than either the warrant of the word, or example of time will giue. For although the church of Rome hath (as other particular churches haue) authoritie to bind and absolue, yet it hath no such authoritie to absolue subiects from their oth, subiection and loialtie to their rulers and magistrats, to dispense with periurie, to denounce remission, where no earnest repentance is seene before, to number remission by dates and yeeres, to dispense with things expressely in the word forbidden, or to restraine that which the word maketh frée, to diuide religion into religions, to bind and burthen consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicat for worldly matters, as for breaking of parkes, for not ringing bels at the bishops comming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fées and rents, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their princes side in princely cases, for not going at the popes commandement, for not agréeing to the popes election in another princes realme, with other such things mo, and more vaine then these, &c. Againe, although the scripture giueth leaue and authoritie to the bishop and church of Rome to minister sacraments: yet it giueth no authoritie to make sacraments, much lesse to worship sacraments. And though their authoritie serueth to baptise men, yet it extendeth not to christen bels: neither haue they authoritie by any word of God to ad to the word of God, or take from the same, to set vp vnwritten verities vnder paine of damnation, to make other articles of beléefe, to institute strange worship, otherwise than he hath prescribed, which hath told vs how he would be worshipped, &c.

Christening of bels.

3

The iurisdiction of the pope abused and vsurped in temporall matters where he hath nothing to doe.

The third abuse of the popes iurisdiction standeth in this, that as in spirituall iurisdiction they haue vehemently exceeded the bounds of scripture, so they haue impudently intermedled themselues in temporall iurisdiction, wherein they haue nothing to doe. Insomuch that they haue translated the empire, they haue deposed emperors, kings, princes, rulers, and senators of Rome, and set vp other, or the same againe at their pleasure, they haue proclamed warres, and haue warred themselues. And whereas emperors in ancient time haue dignified them in titles, haue inlarged them with donations, and they receiuing their confirmation by the emperors, haue like ingratefull clients to such benefactors, afterward stampt vpon their necks, haue made them to hold their stirrop, some to hold the bridle of their horse, haue caused them to séeke their confirmation at their hand, yea haue béen emperors themselues, Sede vacante, & in discordia electionis, and also haue béen senators of the citie; moreouer haue extorted into their owne hands the plenarie fulnesse of power and iurisdiction of both the swords, especially since the time of pope Hildebrand: which Hildebrand deposing Henricus the fourth emperour, made him giue attendance at his citie gate. And after him pope Bonifacius the eight, shewed himselfe vnto the people on the first day like a bishop, with his keies before him, and the next day in his robes imperiall, hauing a naked sword borne before him, like an emperor, in the yéere of our Lord 1298. And for so much as this inordinate iurisdiction hath not onely been vsed of them, but also to this day is maintained in Rome; let vs therefore now compare for vsage hereof to the old maner in times past, meaning the primitiue and first age of the church of the Romans. Wherin the old bishops of Rome in those daies, as they were then subiect to their emperors, so were other bishops in like maner of other nations subiect euery

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one to his king and prince, acknowledging them for their lords, and were ordered by their authority and obeied their lawes, and that not onely in causes ciuill, but also in regiment ecclesiasticall, as appeareth Dist.10.cap.1. & 2.Dist.97.cap.De illicita.

Popes submitted in the old time to emperours.

Also 24.q.3. So was Gregorius surnamed Magnus, subiect to Mauricius, and to Phocas, although a wicked emperour. So also both pope and people of Rome tooke their lawes of the emperours of Constantinople, and were submitted to them not only inthe time of Honorius an hundred yeres after Constantine the great, but also in the time of Martianus, Anno 451. and so further vnto the time of Iustinian and of Carolus Magnus, and also after the daies of them. In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the imperiall law of Martian did rule and bind in Rome, both in the daies of Iustinian, Anno 150 yeeres after, till the time of the empire being translated from Greece vnto France. Whereby it may appeare false, that the citie of Rome was giuen by Constantine the first, vnto the bishop of Rome to gouerne: for that pope Bonifacius the first writing to the emperour Honorius, calleth in the same place Rome the emperours citie. Dist. 97.cap.1. And Lotharius also emperour appointed magistrats and lawes in Rome, as is aboue mentioned. Moreouer, for further probation hereof, that both the bishop of Rome and all other ecclesiasticall persons were in former time, and ought to be subiect to their emperours and lawful magistrates, in causes as well spirituall as ciuill, by many euidences may appeare, taken out both of Gods law, and mans law. And first by Gods law, we haue example of godly king Dauid, who numbred all the priests & leuits, & disposed them into foure & tweentie orders or courses, appointing them continually to serue in the ministerie euery one in his proper order & turne, as came about: which institution of the clergie also good king Ezechias afterward renewed, of whom it is written; He did that was right in the sight of the Lord according to all things as his father Dauid had done before; he tooke away the high groues, and brake downe images: &c. 4.Reg.8. The said Ezechias also reduced the priests and Leuits into their orders, prescribed by Dauid before, to serue euerie one in his office of ministration. 2.Paralip.30.31. And this order from Dauid still continued till the time of Zacharie at the comming of Christ our Lord, being of Abias course, which was the eight order of ỳ priests appointed to serue in the tabernacle, Luke 1. To passe ouer other lighter offices translated from the priests to the kings authoritie, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the temple, and reparations of the Lords house, king Salomon displaced Abiathar the high priest by his kingly power, and placed Sadoch in his stead: 3.Reg.cap.6. Also dedicating the temple of the Lord with all the people, blessed the whole congregation of Israel. 3. Reg.8. Iudas Machabeus also elected priests, such as being without spot had a zeale to the law of the Lord, to purge the temple, which the idolatrous gentiles had before prophaned: 1.Mac.4.

Dist.97.cap.1.

Plat.in vita Euge.2. Euidences prouing ecclesiasticall persons to haue been subiect to their magistrates in causes both ecclesiasticall and temporall. Euidences out of the scripture. Dauid. 1.Par.c.30.31. Ezechias, 4 Reg.18. The order of Abias was the eight order among the priests. 1.Par.24. Salomon. Iudas Machabeus.

Also king Alexander writing to Jonathas, appointed him chiefe priest in his countrie, 1.Mac.10. Demetrius ordained Simon and Alchimus in the like office of priesthood. Iosaphat likewise as in the whole land did set iudges; so also in Jerusalem he appointed Leuits and priests, and heads of families to haue the hearing of causes, and to minister iudgement ouer the people: 2.Paral.19. By these and many other is to be séene, that kings and princes in the old time, as well when priests were borne priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in ecclesiasticall matters, as in calling the people to Gods seruice, in cutting downe groues, in destroying images in gathering tithes into the Lords house, in dedicating the temple, in blessing the people, in calling downe the brasen serpent within the temple, in correcting and deposing priests, in constituting the order and offices of priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the seruice and worship of God, and in punishing the contrarie, &c. And in the new testament what meaneth the example of Christ himselfe both giuing and teaching tribute to be giuen to Cesar: to Cesar I say, and not to the high priest. What meaneth his words to Pilate not denying power to be giuen to him from aboue?

1.Mac.10. 1.Mac 14. Iosaphat. 2.Par.19. John 19.

And againe declaring the kings of nations to haue dominion ouer them, and willing his disciples not so to do, giuing vs to vnderstand the difference betweene the regiment of his spirituall kingdome, and of the kingdome of this world, willing all worldly states to be subiect vnder the superior rulers and magistrates, in whose regiment is dominion and subiection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the doctrine of S. Paul, where it is written: Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, vnder whose obedience neither pope, cardinall, patriarch, bishop, priest, frier nor monke is excepted, nor exempted. as Theophylactus exponding the same place declareth, and saith: Vniuersos erudit, siue sacerdos sit ille, siue monachus, siue apostolus, vt se principibus subdãt: that is, He teacheth all sorts, whether he be priest, or monke, or else apostle, that they should submit themselues vnder their princes. &c. And saint Augustine writing ad Bonifacium, saith in much like sort: Quicunque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium: that is, Whosoeuer refuseth to obey the lawes of the emperour, which make for the veritie of God, incurreth the danger of great punishment, &c. Also in another place, writing Contra Cresconium, hath these words: In hoc enim reges sicut eis diuinitùs præcipitur, Deo seruiunt, in quantum reges, si in suo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non solùm quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinam religionem &c: that is, Kings according as it is inioyned them of God, do serue God in that they are kings, if they in their kingdome command those things that be good, and forbid things that be euill, such as appertaine not onely to humane societie, but also to Gods religion, &c. And yet to come more neere to the popes owne doctors, Thomas Aquine not much discrepant from the iniunction of the apostle aboue alleaged, thus describeth the office of a king: Hoc, inquit, officium rex se suscepisse cognoscat, vt sit in regno, sicut in corpore anima, & sicut Deus in mundo, &c: Let a king (saith he) vnderstand, that he hath taken this office vpon him, to be as the soule within the bodie, and as God in the world. In like agréement with the holy apostle saint Paul ioyneth also saint Peter: Be you subiect (saith he) to euerie humane creature, whether it be to the king, as most preeminent, or to other set ouer you, &c. Where the common glosse addeth thereto, To obay the same, whether they be good or euill. These places rightly pondered, let any man now iudge whether the pope hath done open wrong to the emperour, in surprising aboue the iurisdiction of his lawfull prince and magistrat, notwithstanding what soeuer his owne canon law saith to the contrarie.

Aug.contra Cresconium li.3.cap 5.

Thomas de regim.princip. lib.1.cap.32.

1.Peter.2.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto prooued by Gods law, that all ecclesiasticall persons owe their due subiection to their lawfull princes, in matters as well temporall, as spirituall: so no lesse euidences may also be inferred out of mans law, and examples of the oldest fathers, to proue the same. And first to begin with the example of Gregorie the great, who in his epistle to Mauricius writeth thus: Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: ecce per me seruum vltimum suum & vestrum respondebit Christus, &c: that is: You were then my lord, when you were not the lord of the whole empire, behold Christ himselfe shall make you answere by me, which am his most simplest seruant and yours, &c. And before him Eleutherius his predecessor bishop of Rome, writing to Lucius, K. of this realme, calleth him by the name of Christs vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the popes decrees and canons be full of records hereof, testifying how the ancient church of Rome not onely receiued, but also required of the emperors, lawes and constitutions to be made, touching not onely such causes, but also such persons as were ecclesiasticall. And here to omit by the way the chap. Principes seculi, also chap. Administratores, 23. quæst.5. with diuers other beside, I will recite out of the epistle of Boniface the first, to the emperor Honorius, so much as serueth for our purpose, written Dist.92.cap.Ecclesiæ, cap. Victor. Where it is mentioned that the said Bonifacius bishop of Rome sent an humble supplication to the forenamed emperor, desiring him by his authoritie to prouide some remedie against the ambitious contentions of the clergie, concerning the bishoprik of Rome. Which emperor Honorius incontinent at his request, directed & stablished a law, that none should be made bishop of Rome through ambition, charging all ecclesiasticall ministers to surcease from ambition; appointing moreouer, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be taken, but the election to proceed further to another to be chosen by a full consent of voices, as is expressed, Dist.79.cap.Si duo.

Greg.ad Mauric.Aug.lib.3. epist.61.

The pope calleth king Lucius Christs vicar.

23.q.ca.5. principes, cap. Administratores. Dist.97.cap. ecclesiæ.cap. Victor.

Dist.79.cap. si duo.

To this I adioyne also the law and constitution of Iustinian the emperor, ratified and renewed afterward in the counsell of Paris, in time of king Ludouicus Pius. Where al bishops and priests be expressie forbidden not to excommunicate any man, before his cause was knowne and proued to be such, as for the which the ancient canons of the church would him to bee excommunicate. And if any should otherwise proceed contrarie to the same, then the excommunicate person to be absolued by the authoritie of an higher degree, and the excommunicate to be sequestred from the communion, so long as should seeme conuenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expressed, 24.q.3. De illicita. The same Iustinian moreouer in his lawes and constitutions, how many things did he dispose and ordaine in church matters, as to haue a determinate number of churchmen or clerks in churches, const.3. Also concerning monasteries and monks, const.5. how bishops & priests should be ordained, const. 6. concerning remouing of ecclesiasticall persons from one church to another. Also concerning the constitution of the churches in Afrike. And that the holy mysteries should not be done in priuate houses; so that whosoeuer should attempt the contrarie, should be depriued, const. 57. Moreouer concerning clerks leauing their churches, const. 58. Also concerning the order and manner of funerals, const. 59. And that bishops should not keepe from their flocke, const.67. The same Iustinian granted to the clergie of Constantinople the priuiledge of the secular court, in cases onely ciuill, and such as touched not the disturbance of the bishop, otherwise in all criminall causes he left them to the iudgement of the secular court, const.83. He giueth also lawes and decrees for breach of matrimonie, const. 117, and in diuers other places. And in his const. 123. after the doctrine of saint Paul, he commandeth

24.q.3.cap. de illicita.

Ex Nouel. of Iustinian.

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Diuine ſeruice vſed in the vulgar tongue.

deth all biſhops and prieſts to ſound out their ſeruice, and to celebrate the myſteries, not after a ſecret manner, but with a loud voice, ſo as they might not onely be heard, but alſo be vnderſtood of the faithful people, what was ſaid and done. Whereby it is to be gathered, that diuine prayers and ſeruice then, was in the vulgar tongue.

And as the ſaid Iuſtinian, and other emperours in thoſe daies had the iuriſdiction and gouernment ouer ſpirituall matters and perſons, the like examples alſo may be brought of other kings in other lands, who had no leſſe authoritie in their realmes, than emperours had in their empire. As in France, Clodoueus the firſt chriſtened king at Orleance cauſed a councell of thirtie three biſhops, where thirtie three canons were inſtituted concerning the gouernment of the church, within two hundred yéeres after Chriſt: Ex primo tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus, beſide his other lawes and edicts politicall, called fiue ſynods, one at Mentz, the ſecond at Rome, the third at Rhemes, the fourth at Cabilone, the fift at Arelate, where ſundrie rites and ordinances were giuen to the clergie, about eight hundred and ten yéeres after Chriſt. The ſame Carolus alſo decréed, that onely the canonicall bookes of ſcripture ſhould be read in the church, and none other. Which before alſo was decréed Anno 417. in the third generall councell of Carthage. Item hee exhorteth and chargeth biſhops and prieſts to preach the word, with a godly intunction: Epiſcopi verò vt ſiue per ſe, ſiue per vicarios, pabulum verbi diuini ſedulò populis annuncient. Quia, vt ait beatus Gregorius: iram contra ſe occulti iudicis excitat ſacerdos, ſi ſine prædicationis ſonitu incedit. Et vt ipſi clerum ſibi commiſſum in ſobrietate & caſtitate nutriant. Superſtitiones quas quibuſdam in locis in exequijs mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent, that is: That biſhops either by themſelues, or their deputies, ſhall ſhew forth the ſod of Gods word to the people with all diligence. For as Gregorie ſaith, the prieſt procureth againſt him the wrath of the ſecret iudge, which goeth without the ſound of preaching. And alſo that they bring vp their clergie to them committed in ſobernelſe and chaſtitie. The ſuperſtition which in certaine places is vſed of ſome, about the funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and plucke vp by the rootes, &c.

Clodoueus.

Concilium Aurelienſ.

Carolus Magnus.

Canonicall ſcripture onely to be read in churches.

Conc. Carthag. 3. cap. 47.

Biſhops and prieſts charged to preach with diligence.

Superſtition in funerals forbidden.

Ex Anſegiſo abbate. lib. 1. cap. 76.

Moreouer, inſtructing and informing the ſaid biſhops and prieſts in the office of preaching, willeth them not to ſuffer any to faine or preach to the people any new doctrine of their owne inuention, and not agréeing to the word of God, but that they themſelues both will preach ſuch things as lead to eternall life, and alſo that they ſet vp other to doe the ſame, and withall a godly exhortation. Ideo, dilectiſſimi, toto corde præparemus nos in ſcientia veritatis, & mox: Vt diuina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & creſcat, & multiplicetur, in profectum eccleſiæ Dei ſanctæ, & ſalutem animarum noſtrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, Amen. Furthermore, the ſaid Carolus in his conſtitutions diuideth the goods giuen to the church ſo, that in the more wealthie places, two parts ſhould goe to the vſe of the poore, the third to the ſtipend of the clergie. Otherwiſe in poorer places an equall diuiſion to be made betwéene the pouertie and the clergie, vnleſſe the gift had ſome ſpeciall exception. Ex Anſegiſo. lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the ſame booke a little after, cap. 83. the author declareth, by the ſaid Carolus to be decréed, that no eccleſiaſtical perſon or perſons from thenceforth ſhould preſume to take of any perſon, any ſuch gift or donation, whereby the children or kinſfolkes of the ſaid donor ſhould bee defeated of their inheritance duely to them belonging. Ludouicus Pius king of France, and after emperor, was ſonne to the foreſaid Charles, who being ioyned together with the ſaid Charles his father in the empire, ordained alſo with his father ſundrie acts and obſeruances touching the gouernment of the church, as in the author before alleaged may appeare. As firſt, that no entrie ſhould bee made into the church by ſimonie: againe, that biſhops ſhould be ordained by the frée election of the clergie and of the people, without all reſpect of perſon or reward, onely for the merit of life, & gift of heauenly wiſdome.

Ludouicus Pius.

Ex Anſ. lib. 1. cap. 20.

Alſo the ſaid kings and emperours forbad that any freeman or citizen ſhould enter the profeſſion of monkerie, without licence aſked of the king before, and added a double cauſe therefore. Firſt, for that many not for meere deuotion, but for idleneſſe and auoiding the kings wars, doe giue themſelues to religion: Againe, for that many be craftily circumuented and deluded by ſubtill couetous perſons, ſeeking to get from them that which they haue, Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Item that no young children or boies ſhould be ſhauen or enter any profeſſion without the will of their parents. And no young maidens ſhould take the vale or profeſſion of a nun, before ſhe came to ſufficient diſcretion of yeeres to diſcerne and chooſe what they will follow. That none ſhould be interred or buried thenceforth within the church: which alſo was decréed by Theodoſius and Valentinianus, fortie yeeres before them. Item the ſaid Carolus two and twentie yéeres before this emperour, enacted that murtherers and ſuch as were guiltie of death by the law, ſhould haue no ſanctuarie by flying into the church, &c: which alſo was decreed by Iuſtinian three hundred yeeres before this Carolus. Ex Nouel. Iuſtiniani.

Lib. 1. C. de ſacro eccle. Iuſtin. in Nouel.

Moreouer the foreſaid Ludouicus Pius, with his ſonne Clotharius (or as ſome call him, Lotharius) ioyned with him, among other eccleſiaſticall ſanctions, ordained a godly law, for laimen to communicate the ſacrament of the bodie and bloud of the Lord, in theſe words: Vt ſi non frequentiùs, vel ter, laici homines communicent: niſi fortè grauioribus quibuſdam criminibus impediantur: That laimen doe communicate at leaſt thrice, if not ofter, except they be let perchaſe by ſome more hainous and grieuous offences. Anſeg. lib. 2. cap. 43. Item they enacted that no goods of the church ſhould be alienated vnder the paine Leoninæ conſtitutionis. Vnto this Lotharius French king and emperour, pope Leo the fourth writeth, that Romana, lex, that is, the Romane law (meaning the law of the French emperours) as it hath hitherto ſtood in force: Ita & nunc ſuum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat, that is: So now it may continue ſtill in his vigour and ſtrength. Ino Carnotenſis, lib. 11. Decretorum. About the yéere of the Lord 848. after this Lotharius, ſucceeded his ſonne Ludouicus the ſecond in the kingdome and empire of France, before whom the foreſaid pope Leo was brought into iudgement, and pleaded his cauſe of treaſon, and there was before the emperour quit and releaſed. Which declareth that popes and biſhops all this while were in ſubiection vnder their kings and emperors.

Ludouicus and Clotharius.

Anſeg. lib. 2. cap. 43.

Clodouicus. 1.

Ex Inon Carnotenſi lib. 11. decretorum.

The pope pleadeth his cauſe at the bar before the emperour.

2. Quæſt. 7. cap. Hos ſi inconſtanter.

Moreouer, deſcending yet to lower times, Anno 1228. Ludouicus the ninth, called holy Ludouike, made a law againſt the peſtiferous ſimonie in the church, alſo for the maintenance of the libertie of the church of France, eſtabliſhed a law or decree, againſt the new inuentions, reſeruations, preuentions, and exactions of the court of Rome, called Pragmatica ſanctio, S. Ludouici, the which ſanction was alſo practiſed long after in the kingdome of France againſt the popes collectors and vndercollectors, as appeareth by the Areſtum of the councell of Paris Anno 1463. Ex Molinæo in Commentarijs. Furthermore king Philip le Bel. 1303. ſet forth a law, called Philippina, wherein was forbid any exaction of new tithes and firſt fruits, and other vncuſtomed collections, to be put vpon the church of France. Carolus the fift named Sapiens, Anno 1369. by a law commanded, that no biſhops nor prelats, or their officials within his kingdome of France, ſhould execute any cenſure of ſuſpenſe, or excommunication, at the popes commandement, ouer or vpon the cities or townes, corporations, or commons of his realme. Ex regiſt. antiquarum conſt. chart. 62. Item Carolus the firſt Anno 1388. againſt the cardinals & other officials, and collectors of the pope, reuoking againe the power which he had giuen to them before, prouided by a law, that the fruites and rents of benefices, with other penſions, and biſhops goods that departed, ſhould no more be exported by the cardinals and the popes collectors vnto Rome, but ſhould be brought to the king, and ſo reſtored to them to whom they did rightly appertaine.

Pragmatica ſanctio, S. Ludouici.

Areſtum Senatus Pariſien. ex Molinæo.

Philippus Pulcher.

Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus 6.

The like alſo may be inferred and proued by the ſtories and examples of our kings here in England, as king Offa, king Egbertus, Edgarus, Alnredus, Athelwoldus, Canutus, Edwardus, William Conquerour, William Rufus, Henrie the firſt, Henrie the ſecond, til the time of king John and after. Whoſe dealing as well in eccleſiaſticall cauſes, as in temporall, is a ſufficient demonſtration, to proue what iniurie the popes in theſe latter daies haue done vnto the emperours their lawfull gouernours and magiſtrates: in vſurping ſuch fulneſſe of power and iuriſdiction ouer them, to whom properly they owe ſubiection, contrarie to the ſteps and example of the old Romane biſhops their anceſtors, and therefore haue incurred the danger of a præmunire, worthie to be depriued. Although it is not to bee denied, but that eccleſiaſticall miniſters and ſeruitours haue their power alſo committed vnto them, after their ſort of the Lord: yet it becommeth euery man to know his owne place and ſtanding, and there to keepe him, wherein his owne precinct doth pale him, and not raſhly to breake out into other mens walks. As it is not lawfull for a ciuill magiſtrate to intermeddle with a biſhops or a preachers function: ſo vnſeemelie and vnorderlie it is againe that Boniface the eight ſhould haue borne before him the temporall mace, and the naked ſword of the emperour: or that any pope ſhould beare a triple crowne, or take vpon him like a lord and king. Wherefore let euery man conſider the compaſſe and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a biſhop or ſeruitour eccleſiaſticall, was in the old law to offer ſacrifice, to burne incenſe, to pray for the people, to expound the law, to miniſter in the tabernacle, with which office it was not lawfull for any prince or man elſe to intermeddle, as we read how Ozias was puniſhed for offering incenſe, and another for touching the arke: ſo now the office of chriſtian miniſters is to preach the word, to miniſter ſacraments, to pray, to bind and looſe, where cauſe vrgently requireth, to iudge in ſpirituall cauſes, to publiſh and denounce frée reconciliation and remiſſion in the name of Chriſt, to erect and comfort troubled conſciences with the rich grace of the goſpell, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the law and the goſpell, whereof the one belongeth to ſuch as be not in Chriſt, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true beleeuers in the ſonne of God; to admoniſh alſo the magiſtrates erring or tranſgreſſing in their office, &c.

The office of the eccleſiaſticall miniſter.

And

The office of ciuill rulers and magistrats.

And as these properly belong to the function of the ecclesiasticall sort: so hath the ciuill gouernour or magistrate againe his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of iustice and iudgement, to defend with power the right of the weake that suffer wrong, to deffend from oppression the poore oppressed, to minister with equalitie that which is right and equall to euery man, to prouide lawes good and godly, to see the execution of the same as cause moueth: especially to see the law of God maintained, to promote Christs glorie and gospell, in setting vp and sending out good preachers, in maintaining the same, in prouiding bishops to bee elected that be faithfull, in remouing or els correcting the same being faultie or negligent, in congregating the clergie, when néed is of any councell or election, to heare their learning in causes propounded, and according to the truth learned, to direct his iudgement in disposing such rites and ordinances for the church, as make to edification, not to the destruction thereof; in conseruing the discipline of the church, and setting all things in a congrue order. Briefly, the office of the ciuill ruler and magistrate extendeth to minister iustice and iudgement in all courts as well temporall as ecclesiasticall: to haue correction ouer all transgressours, whether they be laimen or persons ecclesiasticall. And finally all such things as belong to the mouing of the sword, whatsoeuer, that is to say, all outward punishment is referred to the iurisdiction of the secular magistrate, vnder whose subiection the ordinance of God hath subiected all orders and states of men.

Héere we haue the witnesse also of Hormisda bishop of Rome, which being well weied, maketh the matter plaine, that princes haue to deale in spirituall causes also, not onely in temporall: where the said Hormisda writeth to Epiphanius patriarch of Constantinople in this sort: Clara cœlestis misericordiæ demonstratio procedit, quando reges seculi causas de fide, cum gubernatione politiæ coniungunt, &c. ex Act. v. vniuers. concil. Constantini secundi, An. 528. And thus much & too much peraduenture concerning the matter of iurisdiction, in which point this new church of Rome hath swarued from the ancient church of Rome which was, as is sufficiently proued.

The third point wherein the church of Rome is altered from the church of Rome.

THe third point wherein the church of Rome hath broken and is departed from the church of Rome, is the forme of stile and title annexed to the bishop of that see. As where he is called pope, most holy father, vicar generall, & vicar of Christ, successour of Peter, vniuersall bishop, prince of priests, head of the church vniuersal, Summus orbis pontifex, Stupor mundi, head bishop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor man, but a thing betweene both, &c: for all these terms be giuen him in popish bookes. Albeit the name pope, being a Greeke name, deriued of πάππας, which soundeth as much as Father in the Syracusane speech, may peraduenture seeme more tolerable, as which hath been vsed in the old time among bishops, for so Austen was called of the councell of Aphrike, Hierome, of Boniface and other. Also Cyprian bishop of Carthage was called Papa. 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur & dist. 50. cap. De eo tamen. Item Clodoueus or (as Rhenanus calleth him) Ludouicus, first christian king of France, calleth a certaine simpler bishop Papam. Hierome also in his epistle to Chromatius calleth Valerianus by the name of pope; and likewise writing to Eustachium and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius Beatum papam. In the apologies of Athanasius, we read oft times that he was called Papa, and Archiepiscopus. Ruffinus also lib. 2. cap. 26. calleth him Pontificem maximum. Also Aurelius president in the first councell of Carthage was called of the said councell Papa, ex cap. 4. vi. Concil. Carthag. And before this Eleutherius bishop of Rome, writing to king Lucius the first christian king in this land, calleth him in his epistle, the vicar of Christ, &c. But that any of these tearmes were so peculiarly applied to the bishop of Rome, that other bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one bishop aboue the rest had the name of oecumenicall, or vniuersall, or head, to the derogation of other bishops, or with such glorie as is now annexed to the same: that is not to be found neither in histories of the old time, nor in any example of the primitiue church, nor in the testimonies of ancient approued doctors. First, before the councell of Nice, it is euident by pope Pius the second that there was no respect had to the church of Rome, but euery church then was ruled by his owne gouernance, till the yéere of our Lord 340. Then followed the councell of Nice, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole vniuersitie of Christs church, which was now far spread ouer all the world, certaine prouinces or precincts to the number of foure were appointed, euery one to haue his head church, and chiefe bishop, called then metropolitane or patriarch, to haue the ouersight of such churches as did lie about him. In the number of which patriarchs or metropolitans, the bishop of Rome had the first place: the bishop of Alexandria was the second; the bishop of Antioch the third; the bishop of Hierusalem was the fourth patriarch. Afterward in the number of these patriarchs came in also the bishop of Constantinople in the rowme of the bishop of Antioch. So these foure or fiue metropolitans or patriarchs, had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them should not deale within an others precinct, and also that there should be among them equalitie of honour, whereupon we read so oft in the decrées of the old councels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῆς θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς, that is, Equall degrée of thrones, and of honour among priests and ministers. Againe, speaking of the said patriarchs or primats, wee read in the second and third chapter of the councell of Constantinople, ἐπισκόπους τοὺς ὑπὸ ἑτέρους ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, that is, That bishops should not inuade the diocesse of other bishops without their borders, nor confound together churches, &c. Moreouer, the old doctors for the most and best part doe accord in one sentence, that all bishops placed wheresoeuer, in the church of God, be Eiusdem meriti & honoris, & successores apostolorum, that is, To be of one merit, of like honour, and all to be successors together of the apostles. Also, he that is the author of the booke called Dionysius Areopagita, calleth all the bishops ὁμοταγεῖς καὶ ἰσοτίμους, that is, Of equall order, and of like honor, &c. All this while the bishop of Rome was a patriarch, and a metropolitane or bishop called of the first see, but no oecumenicall bishop, nor head of the vniuersall church, nor any such matter. Insomuch that he, with all other bishops, was debarred from that, by a plaine decree of the councell of Carthage, Can. 39. in these words: ὥστε τὸν πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τινα τίθεσθαι, that is, That the bishop of the first seat shall not be called the prince of priests, or the high priest, or any such thing.

Ex Epist. Pij secundi. 103.

24. q. 1. cap. Loquitur. Dist. 50. ca. De eo tamen. Papa, a common name in the old time to all bishops of higher knowledge and vertue.

Hierony. ad Chromatium, Epist. Idem ad Eustachium & Fabiolam.

The foure patriarchs appointed by the councell of Nice.

Ex Concil. Nicen. Ex Concil. Constantinop. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Carthag. Can. 39.

Ex Concil. Calcedon. ca. 28.

Ex Gabr. Biel. sect. 25.

The popes decree prooued false.

Boniface 8. Extrauag. de maiorit. & obedient. cap. vnam.

And lest any here should take occasion of cauilling, to heare him called bishop of the first seat, here is to be expounded what is meant by the first seat, and wherefore he was so called, not for any dignitie of the person, either of him which succéedeth, or of him whom he is said to succéede, but onely of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainely proued by the councel of Calcedon, chapter 28. Wherein is manifestly declared the cause why the sée of Rome among all other patriarchall sées is numbred for the first sée by the ancient fathers. For why, saith the councel, καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀπεδέδοκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα, that is: For that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chiefe degrée of honor to ỳ sée of old Rome, because the principall reigne or emperie was in that citie, &c. The same also is confirmed by Eusebius Cæsariensis, declaring, Quòd excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Rom. pontificis supra alias ecclesias; That the excellencie of the Romane emperie did aduance the popedome of the Romane bishop aboue other churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Moreouer, saith the said Cæsariensis: Nicena synodus hoc contulit priuilegium Rom. pontifici, vt sicut Romanorum rex Augustus præ cæteris appellatur: ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris episcopis papa vocaretur. That is, The councell (saith he) of Nice gaue this priuiledge to the bishop of Rome, that like as the king of the Romans is named emperour aboue all other kings, so the bishop of the same citie of Rome should bee called pope aboue other bishops, &c. By these places hitherto alleaged (and such other, many more than be here alleaged) it appeareth, that though these titles of superioritie had been attributed to the bishop of Rome, yet it remaineth certaine, that the said bishop receiued that preferment Iure non diuino, sed humano, by mans law, not by the law of God. And so is the distinction of the popes prooued false, where is said: Romanam ecclesiam non a concilio aliquo, sed a diuina voce primatum accepisse, That the church of Rome tooke not his primacie by any councell, but onely by the voice of God. And this is to be said, although it were true, that these titles and tearmes were so giuen to the bishop of Rome in the old time, yet how and by whom they were giuen, yee see. Now to trie this matter, as ioyning an issue with our aduersaries, whether these foresaid titles of soueraignetie were applied in the old time of the primitiue church to the bishop of Rome, as to be called the vicar generall of Christ, the head of the whole church, and vniuersal bishop, remaineth to be proued. Whereunto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the bishops of Rome (of some peraduenture) were so called by the names of higher preéminence of that citie, of some going about to please them, or to craue some helpe at their hands, yet that calling: 1 Was vsed then but of a few. 2, Neither was giuen to many. 3, Was rather giuen then sought for, of the most. 4, Was not so giuen that it maketh or can make any generall necessitie of law, why euery one is so bound to call them, as the bishop of Rome now séeketh to be taken and called, and that by necessitie of saluation, as the decrée of pope Boniface the eight witnesseth, where is said, Quòd sit de necessitate salutis, vt credatur primatus ecclesiæ Rom. & ei subesse: That it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation, to beléeue the primacie of the church of Rome, and to be subiect to the same, &c.

As touching therefore these titles and tearmes of preeminence aforesaid, orderly to set forth and declare what histories of times doe say in that matter, by the grace of Christ: 1. First we will see what be the titles, the bishop of Rome doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When they first came in, whether in the primitiue time or not, and by whom. 3. How they were first giuen to the Roman bishops, that is, whether of necessarie dutie, or voluntarie deuotion, whether

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whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the citie, or else of the worshipfull of the bishop which there sat. 4. And if the foresaid names were then giuen of certaine bishops, vnto the bishop of Rome: whether all the said names were giuen, or but certaine, or what they were. 5. Or whether they were then receiued of all bishops of Rome, to whom they were giuen, or else refused of some. 6. And finally, whether they ought to haue been refused being giuen, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertaine to the profession rather of diuines than historicians, & would require a long and large debating: yet for so much as both in these, and diuers other weightie controuersies of diuinitie, the knowledge of times and histories must needs helpe diuines disputing about the same, so much as the grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will ioyne to the seeking out of truth, such helpe as I may.

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What names and titles be attributed to the bishop of Rome.

Ex. 6. decret. lib. 1. de elect. & electi potestat. tit. 6. in ca. 17. in proæmio. glossa.

The forme of the popes regalitie to his titles appertaining.

Regalia sancti Petri.

Ex fra. Barth. & alijs.

Cap. quando. de transl. & epis. tit. 7.

Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

And first to begin with the names and titles, now claimed and attributed to the see and bishop of Rome, and what they be, is sufficiently declared aboue, that is, the Chiefe priest of the world, the Prince of the church, Bishop apostolicall, the Vniuersall head of the church, the Head & bishop of the vniuersall church, the Successor of Peter, Most holie pope, Vicar of God on earth, Neither God nor man, but a mixt thing betweene both: the Patriarch or Metropolitane of the church of Rome, the Bishop of the first see, &c. Vnto the which titles or stiles is annexed a triple crowne, a triple crosse, two crossed keies, a naked sword, seuenfold seales, in token of the seuenfold gifts of the holy Ghost, hee being carried pickbacke vpon mens shoulders, after the maner of the heathen kings, hauing all the empire and the emperour vnder his dominion: and that it is not conuenient for any terrene prince to reigne there, where he sitteth, hauing the plenarie fulnesse of power, as well of temporall things as spirituall things in his hands, that all things are his, and that all such princes as haue giuen him any thing, haue giuen him but his owne, hauing at his will and pleasure to preach indulgences, and the crosse against christian princes whatsoeuer: and that the emperour and certaine other princes, ought to make to him confession of subiection at their coronation: hauing authoritie to depose, and that hee De facto, hath deposed emperors and the king of France: also to absolue the subiects from their allegiance to their princes, whom kings haue serued for fourmen to lead his horse, and the emperour to hold his stirrop; that he may and doth giue power to bishops vpon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to haue prisons, without whose authoritie no generall councell hath any force. And to whom appellations in all manner of causes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equall with the decrees of Nicen councell, and are to be obserued and taken in no lesse force, than if they had been confirmed with the heauenly voice of saint Peter himselfe. Ex fra. Barth. & alijs. Item that the said bishop of Rome hath the heauenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another. cap. Quando de transl. Epis. tit. 7. Item that he can of nothing make something, and cause the sentence, which before was none to stand in effect, and may dispense aboue the law, and of iniustice make iustice, in correcting & changing lawes, for he hath the fulnesse of power. And againe, dist. 40. cap. Si Papa: If the pope doe lead with him innumerable soules by flocks vnto hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faults in this world. Item that it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation to beléeue the primacie of the see of Rome, and to be subiect to the same, &c.

These things thus declared, now let vs see whether these names and titles, with the forme and maner of this authoritie and regalitie aboue rehearsed, were euer attributed of any in the primitiue time to the bishop of Rome. For all these he doth challenge and claime vnto him by old possession from the time of S. Peter. And héere a question is to be asked of our aduersaries the papists, Whether they will auouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole forme and tenour of regalitie to the same belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their allegations, which they neuer haue done yet, nor euer shall be able. If they will not, or cannot auouch them all together in maner as is specified, then why doth the bishop claime them all together so stoutly, vsurpe them so falsely, and obtrude them vpon vs so strictly? Moreouer if the said our aduersaries, being conuicted by plaine euidence of history, and example of time, will yéeld vnto vs (as they must néeds) in part, and not in the whole, let vs come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regalitie they will defend, and deriue from the ancient custome of the primitiue church, (that is, from the first fiue hundred yeeres, I meane after Christ.) First, in the councell of Nice, which was the yeere of our Lord 340. and in the first canon of the said councell, we find it so decréed: that in euery prouince or precinct some one church, and bishop of the same, was appointed and set vp to haue the inspection and regiment of other churches about him, Secundùm morem antiquum, that is, After the ancient custome, as the words of the councell doe purport: so that the bishop of Alexandria should haue power of Lybia, and Pentapolis in Egypt, for as much as the bishop of the citie of Rome hath the like or same maner. And in like sort also in Antioch, & in other countries, let euery church haue his due honour, and consequentlie that the bishop of Ierusalem haue also his due honour to him reserued, so that such order be kept, that the metropolitane cities be not defrauded of their dignitie which to them is due and proper, &c. In this councell and in the same canon first and seuenth, where the bishops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are ioyned together in one like maner of dignitie, first there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein. Secondly for so much as in the said two canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no bishops should be made without consent of their metropolitans, yea and that the city also of Hierusalem should be vnder his metropolitane, and that the metropolitane should haue the full power to confirme euery bishop made in his prouince: therefore it may be well suspected, that the third epistle decretall of pope Anacletus, and of pope Stephanus, with other more, are forged, wherein these bishops, & especiallie the bishop of Rome, is exempted and disseuered from the name of a metropolitane or an archbishop, to the name of a patriarch or primat: as appeareth in the decrees, Dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta. Wherefore as wee must needs grant the bishop of Rome to bee a metropolitane or an archbishop by the councell of Nice: so we will not greatly sticke in this also, to haue him numbred with patriarchs or primats. Which title seemeth in the old time to be common to mo cities than to Rome, both by the epistle of Anacletus, of pope Stephanus, of pope Julius, and Leo, &c.

Ex concilio Nicæ. cano.

Dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta.

The bishop of Rome called metropolitane, archbishop, patriarch, primat.

After this followed a generall councell in Aphrike, called the first councell of Carthage, An. 420. where were congregated two hundred & seuentéene bishops, among whom was also Augustinus, Prosper, Orosius, with diuers other famous persons. This councell continued the space of fiue yeeres, wherein was great contention about the supremacie and iurisdiction of Rome: the bishop whereof then was Zosimus. This Zosimus the Romane bishop had receiued the same time into the communion of the church without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Aphrike, named Apiarius, a priest whom Aurelius the metropolitane with the councell of Aphrike had worthilie excommunicated for his detestable conditions before. Vpon this Zosimus after that he had receiued and shewed such fauour to Apiarius, for that he did appeale to him, sendeth to the councell his messengers, to wit, Faustinus bishop of Potentine, and two priests of the church of Rome named Philippus and Asellus, with these foure requests: first, that Apiarius, whom hee had absolued might bée receiued of them againe, and that it might be lawfull for bishops or priests to appeale from the sentence of their metropolites, and also of the councell to the see of Rome.

The first councell of Carthage.

Ex conciliorum tom. 1. in sexta synod. Carthag.

Secondly, that bishops should not saile ouer importune lie Ad comitatum. Thirdlie, that if any priest or deacon were wrongfullie excommunicate by the bishops of their owne prouince, it should be lawfull for them to remooue the hearing and iudging of their cause to their neighbour bishops. Fourthlie, that Vrbanus their bishop, either should be excommunicated, or else sent vp to Rome, vnlesse he would correct those things that were to be corrected, &c. For the approbation whereof, the said Zosimus alleaged for him the words (as hee pretended) taken out of Nicene councell. The councell of Carthage hearing this, and remembring no such thing in the councell of Nice to be decreed, and yet not suspecting the bishop of Rome, to dare wrongfully to falsifie the words of that councell, writeth againe to Zosimus, declaring that they neuer read to their remembrance, in their common Latine exemplar of Nicen councell any such canon; yet notwithstanding for quietnesse sake, they would obserue the same till time they might procure the originall copies of that councell to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to pope Boniface, which then succeeded Zosimus. And thirdly also to Celestinus, which shortly after succeeded Boniface.

Vrbanus episcopus Siccensis.

The popes of Rome taken with the maner in falsifying the decrees of Nicene councell.

In the meane time this foresaid councell sent their legates, Marcellus and Innocentius to Atticus patriarch of Constantinople, and to Cyrillus patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentike copies in Greeke of Nicen councell, which being sent vnto them, and they finding in the true originals no such canon, as the bishop of Rome had falsely forged, they wrote a sharpe and an handsome letter to Celestinus bishop of Rome, calling him in the said letter by the way; Domine frater: declaring to him, how they had perused all the copies of the councell of Nice, & could find no such canon as hee and his predecessours had falsely alleaged, and therewithall reciting the first canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrées of Nicen councell had committed all and singuler persons ecclesiasticall, as well bishops as other, vnto the charge of their metroplitans. Moreouer expounding the same decree, they shewed the reasons thereof.

The bishop of Rome called *Dominus frater.* that is, brother bishop.

Bishops of Rome procured falsifiers of Nicen councell.

Fiue reasons why matters of controuersie ought not to be had out of other countries vnto Rome.

1 For that (said they) the fathers of that councell did well foresee, to be most iust and conuenient, that all controuersies there be ended (In ijsdem locis) where they begin.

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2 For that it is not to be supposed contrarie, but that the grace of God will be as prest & readie in one prouince as in an other, to instruct his ministers both prudently to vnderstand iudge-

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Ex Concil. Nicæ. cano.

Dist. 65. cap. Mos antiquus.

iudgement, and constantly to maintaine the same.

3 3 For that there is no néed to séeke further to any outlandish helpe, because specially that the party whosoeuer is not contented with the determination of his iudges or commissioners, may lawfully appeale either to the prouinciall or to any generall councell.

4 4 That way to be better, than to runne to any forren iudge, it must néeds be granted; because it is not like that our God will inspire his iustice and truth of examining vnto one bishop, and deny it to a multitude congregated in a whole councell.

5 Euery countrie to appeale first to his own: metropolitane, secondly to a prouinciall or generall councell.

5 Neither can it be, that any such outlandish iudgement in hearing and determining causes, can stand perfect and vpright, for that the necessary persons of witnesses, either for infirmitie of sex, of age, of sickenesse, or some other impeachment, are not able to be present, by whom the truth of the sentence should be directed. Wherefore as by these and other reasons they thought it not conuenient from them to bring their matters ouer vnto Rome: so neither was it to be found, said they, by any councell of the old fathers decréed, that any legates should be sent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said bishop of Rome, that he would not induce Fumosum typum (or rather as I may call it) typhos seculi, in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis præfert ijs qui Deum diligunt, that is, That he would not induce the swelling pride of the world into the church of Christ, which church sheweth and giueth the light of simplicitie and of humilitie to such as loue to sée God, &c. In these foresaid letters moreouer is signified, how the forenamed malefactor Apiarius, whom the bishop of Rome before had absolued and receiued to the communion of the church, was afterward found culpable, and therefore the councell procéeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so inioined him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the bishop of Rome before procéeding.

Fumosum typhos seculi.

Summarie notes gathered out of the councell of Carthage against the pope.

1 In sum, out of this councell of Carthage these are to be noted. First, how glad the bishops of Rome were to receiue such as came to them for succour.

2 2 What pride they tooke by the occasion thereof, thinking and séeking thereby to haue all vnder their subiection.

3 3 To the intent to allure other to séeke to them, how ready they were to release and quit this Apiarius as guiltlesse, wich after was tried culpable by his owne confession.

4 4 How contrary to the acts and doings of the Romish bishop, this councell condemned him, whom the said bishop of Rome before had absolued, little respecting the procéedings of the Romish church.

5 5 How the bishops of old time haue been falsifiers of ancient councels and writings, whereby it may be suspected that they which shamed not to falsifie and corrupt the councell of Nice, much lesse would they sticke to abuse and falsifie the decretall epistles and writings of particular bishops and doctors for their owne aduantage, as no doubt they haue done many one.

6 6 In this foresaid councell, whereat Augustine himselfe was present, and where Aurelius president of the same was called Papa, the bishop of Rome was called erpressie in their letters, but bishop of the citie of Rome, and Dominus frater, that is, Brother bishop.

7 7 Seuenthly, the dominion of this Roman patriarch, in the said councell of Carthage, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of Afrike to appeale ouer the sea to him, nor for him to send ouer his legates to them for ending their controuersies. Whereby it may sufficiently appeare, that the Bishop of Rome in those daies was not fully admitted to be the chiefe of all other bishops, nor the head of the vniuersall church of Christ in earth, &c.

8 8 We heare in this councell, fiue causes or reasons giuen, why it is not necessarie nor yet conuenient for all forren causes to be brought to one vniuersall head or iudge, as is before recited.

9 9 Lastly, by the said councell of Carthage, we heare a vertuous exhortation to be giuen to the bishop of Rome, that he would not induce into the méeke and humble church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the world, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other councell of Carthage, it was moreouer prouided by expresse law, and also specified in the popes decrees, that no bishop of the first seat, should be called the prince of priests, or the chiefe priest, or any such like thing; but only the bishop of the first seat, as followeth more in the said decrée: Vniuersalis autem, nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur, that is, Be it enacted, that no bishop, no not the bishop of Rome be called vniuersall bishop, &c. And thus much concerning this foresaid councell of Carthage.

Dist. 99. cap. sedes episc.

The highest title belonging to a bishop is to be called the bishop of the first seat.

The bishop of Rome forbidden to be called vniuersall bishop.

Synodus Mileuitana.

Not long before this councell, was celebrate in Afrike an other councell, called Synodus Mileuitana, about the yéere of our Lord 442, at the which councell also S. Augustine was present, where it was decréed vnder paine of excommunication, that no minister or bishop should appeale ouer the sea to the bishop of Rome. Whereby it may appeare that the bishop of Rome all this space was not vniuersally called by the terme of oecumenicall or vniuersall bishop, but bishop of the first seat: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reuerence of the place, and not in the authoritie of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the citie of Rome onely, but the first seat then was called metropolitan church, as by the words of the Nicene councell, and other constitutions mo is to be séene, where the foure patriarchs were called πρωτοι, or πρωτεύοντες, or πρωτεσῶτες, as namely, by the words of the councel of Carthage may appeare, which be these: εἰ μὴ μετὰ ἐφίσματος τοῦ πρώτης καθέδρας τὸ ἴδιος ἑκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπου: τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος κατεξαίρετον λάβῃ, that is, Except he haue some special licence or exception, by the consent of the first seat of the proper bishop in euery countrie, that is, of him that is the primat in the said countrie, &c. Also the words of the can. 39. of the councell of Carthage, before touched be these, ὥστε τὸν πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λεγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἀκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ποτε, that is, That the bishop of the first seat be not called prince of priests, or head priest, or else any such like. Againe Anicetus the tenth bishop of Rome, and pope Stephan and pope Felix, making a difference betweene primate and metropolitane, writeth thus: Let no archbishops be called primates, but onely such as haue the first seat, &c. Thus it is made plaine, how the bishop of the first seat, or first bishop, or primate is none other, but he which was called patriarch, and belonged not onely to the church of Rome, but to all such cities and places, where as before among the Gentiles were Primi flamines, &c. dist. 80. cap. vrbes & loca, & in illis. Where, by the way is to be noted the repugnance or contrarietie of such as craftily but falsely haue counterfeited the popes decretall epistles, which besides other great and many coniectures also hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus, epi. 12. Anicetus and other, ioyning together the office of patriarches and primats doe diuide the same from the order of metropolitans or archbishops, alleaging therein the constitution of the apostles and their successors, that is to be found false by the canons of the apostles, by the councell of Nice, and by the councell of Antioch with other mo. For in the canons of the apostles, where in euerie canon almost, mention is made of bishops, priests, and deacons, no word is there touched, neither of any order aboue the bishop, or lower then the deacon, saue onely in the thirtie three canon, setting an order among bishops, the canon willeth the bishops of euery nation to know their first or chiefe bishop, and him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but the head of those bishops. And where? not in Rome onely, but plainely and expresse in euery nation, for so the words purport, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, that is, The bishops of euerie nation ought to know the first or chiefe among them, &c. Moreouer, the councell of Antioch reciting the foresaid canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainely, in stead of τὸν πρῶτον, writing τὸν ἐν μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον: which is as much to say, as metropolitan; and in the end of the said canon, calleth him τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, Id est, metropolitanum, 6. q. 3. per singulas. Whereby it is concluded, that to be false, that Clement and Anacletus, and Anicetus be reported (but falsedlie) to put a difference betweene primats or patriarches, and metropolitans, or archbishops. Whereas by sufficient authoritie it is to be prooued, that in the old church both primats, first bishops, bishops of the first seat, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops of the mother citie, and archbishops were all one. First, that primats and metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the canons of the apostles, and by the councell of Antioch aforesaid. Againe, that patriarchs and archbishops were all one, it is euident Ex Nouella Iustiniani. cap. 23. where the said constitution reciting the foure patriarchs (aboue mentioned) calleth them by the name of archbishops. And a little after calleth the patriarch of Constantinople, archbishop, by these words: οἱ τίνες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχην θεσίν: that is, Which be vnder the archbishop & patriarch of Constantinople. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, diuers from that of Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, in placing these foresaid persons, first beginning with bishops, then ouer them setteth the metropolitane, and ouer him againe, the archbishop, and there staieth, making no further mention of any other aboue him: whose words be these, εἴτε ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τοῦ τούτου μητροπολίτου ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τοῦ μακαριώτατου, ὑφ' ὃν τελεῖ. that is, If a bishop be accused, the metropolitane to haue the examination of those things that are brought against him; if the metropolitane be accused, then the archbishop to haue the hearing thereof, vnder whom he dwelleth and pertaineth, &c.

No bishop to appeale ouer the sea.

Bishop of the first seat what it meaneth. Concil. Car. cano. 23.

Concil. Car. Cano. 39.

Ex epist. decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.

Dist. 80. cap. Vrbes & loca. ibid. ca. in illis.

The papists in their decrees contrarie to themselues.

Cano. apo. 34.

Cano. apo. 33. The first bishop or head bishop expounded, how it is to be taken. Antioch. con. cap. 9. 6. q. 3. per singulas prouincias.

Dist. 99 cap. Anacletus.

Nouella Iustinian cap. 23:

Ex Nouel. Iu. stin. ibi.

And in the same constitution moreouer, εἰδὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικὸν ἢ ἄλλον οἱονδήποτε προσέλευσις γένηται ἐπισκόπου νινὸς, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω, καὶ εἴ τις τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντείποι, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα, &c.

If

Archbishop and Metropolitane not to be both one.

If any sute or supplication be brought against a bishop by a minister, first the metropolitane to haue the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the iudgement thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the archbishop, &c.

In this constitution of Iustinian, although the metropolitane bee placed aboue the bishop, and the archbishop aboue the metropolitane: yet notwithstanding by this is sufficientlie confuted the forged constitution of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephanus, and Felix: who in their epistles decretall, ioine together in one forme and order, both archbishop and metropolitane, and aboue them both do place the patriarch, and aboue the patriarch the apostolicall see, to wit the bishop of Rome, as may appeare in reading the first epistle of Clement: In illis autem ciuitatibus, &c. The second epistle of Anacletus, art. 4. prouinciæ. dist. 99. ca. Nulli archiepiscop. Also the epistle of pope Stephan the first, art. 5. (where note by the way, that Gratianus referreth this place of the epistle to pope Lucius) Item the epistle of pope Felix the second, art. 12. In all which foresaid epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the first and principall place is giuen to primats or patriarchs, the second to metropolitans, or archbishops, the third to bishops, and finally aboue all these is extolled the apostolicall see of the bishop of Rome, contrary to all that which before hath beene alleaged out of Iustinian, the councell of Nice and of Antioch, &c. Whereby it may appeare, that either Iustinian in preferring archbishops aboue metropolitans, did not read these epistles decretall, if they were vnfeined: or if they were forged, they which forged the said Epistles in their names, did not well aduise that Iustinian had written in this matter before.

An item against the forged epistles decretall.

Clement. epist. 1. Anaclet. epist. 2. art. 4. Anicet. epi. art. 2. Distinct. 39 cap. Nulli Archiepiscop. Stepha. epist. art. 5.

Repugnance betweene the constitutions of Iustinian, and the epistles decretall.

Thus then these titles aboue recited, as bishop, metropolitane, bishop of the first see, primat, patriarch, archbishop, that is to meane, chiefe bishop, or head bishop to other bishops of his prouince, we denie not but were in the old time applied & might bee applied to the bishop of Rome, like as the same also were applied to other patriarchs in other chiefe cities and prouinces.

Bishop Metropolitane Bishop of the first see, Primat, Patriarch, archbishop Chiefe Bishop: tearmes vsed in the primitiue time of the church.

As touching the name likewise of the high priest, or high priesthood, neither do I deny but that it hath bene found in olde monuments and records of ancient times, but in such wise and sort as it hath beene common to bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one bishop or see. Whereof testimony we haue out of the seuenth generall councell, dist. 38. ca. Omnes, where the bishops office is called Summũ sacerdotium, The hie priesthood, in these words: Substãtia summi sacerdotij nostri sunt eloquia diuinitùs tradita, i. vera diuinarum scripturarum disciplina, &c. that is, The substance (say they) of our high priesthood, is the word of discipline of holy scriptures giuen vs from aboue, &c.

Hie Priest or hie priesthood.

Dist. 83. ca. Omnes, Summus sacerdos, Summum sacerdotium.

And likewise the councell of Agatha maketh relation De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis, Of bishops set in the high priesthood, meaning not of any one, but indifinitelie and indifferently of whomsoeuer. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices. Also Fabianus bishop of Rome, in the yeare of the Lord 240. writing in generall to his brethren, and to all bishops and ministers ecclesiasticall, doth attribute to them the same title of Summum sacerdotium, in these words: Deus ergô, fratres, qui præordinauit vos, & omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur &c. God which hath preordained you brethren, & all them which beare the office of high priesthood, 3. q. cap. 1. Deus ergô. With like phrase of speech Anacletus also in his second epistle, speaking of bishops in generall, calleth them Summos sacerdotes: Vnde, inquit, liquet quòd summi sacerdotes. i. episcopi à Deo sunt iudicandi, &c. The high priests, that is, bishops saith hee. And moreouer in the same place calleth them apostles, and successours of the apostles, &c. So doth Innocentius the first, in the yeare of our Lord, 405. as appeareth dist. 61. cap. Miserum. Item Zosimus Bishop of the said cite of Rome, in the yeare of our Lord, 420. as witnesseth dist. 59. cap. 1. who speaketh De summo sacerdotio, that is, Of high priesthood, not onely of the church of Rome, but of all other churches. Urbanus the first, was bishop of Rome in the yeare of Christ 226. who in his writings alleaged by Grattan, referreth the name & place Summi pontificis, of the high bishop, not onely to the seat of Rome, but vniformely to euery bishop, as appeareth in the wordes of the dist. 51. cap, Si officia, &c.

Ex concilio Agathens. 12. q. 3. cap, Pontifices.

3. q. 1. cap. Deus ergò.

Ex Anaclet. epist. 2. 2. q. 7. cap. accusatio.

Bishops called the successours of the Apostles.

Dist. 61. c. miserum. Dist. 59. cap. 1.

Ex Vrba. 1. dist. 51. cap. Si officia.

And thus much as touching the name or title of high priest, or supreame bishop. Which title as I do not deny to haue beene vsed in manner and forme aforesaid: so do I deny this title and style of Summus orbis pontifex, as it is now vsed in Rome, to haue beene vsed, or vsually receiued during all the primitiue time of the church, that is fiue hundred yeares after Christ, after the manner and sort I meane of that authority and glorie, which in these daies now is vsed and is giuen to the same, vntill the time of Phocas, the wicked emperour, which was after the yeare of the Lord 608. The which title as it is too glorious for any one bishop in the church of Christ to vse: so is it not to be found in any of the approued and most ancient writers of the church, namely these, as Cyprianus, Basilius, Fulgentius, Chrysostomus, Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Agustinus, Tertullianus, but rather writeth against the same, especially of the last. And therefore not without cause it is written and testified of Erasmus, who speaking of the saide name of Summus orbis pontifex, denieth plainely, the same to bee heard of among the olde writers, whose words be these: Certè nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omnium scriptis licet colligere, &c. lib. epist. 3: epist. 1. art. 37. &c: as whosoeuer readeth the same authors shall find to be true.

Summus orbis pontifex.

Summus orbis pontifex.

Ex Eras. epist. lib. 3. epist. 1. art. 73.

The like is to bee affirmed also of other presumptuous titles of like ambition, as the head of the vniuersall church, the vicar of Christ in earth, prince of priests, with such like: which all be new found tearms, strange to the ears of the olde primitiue writers & councels, and not receiued openly and commonly before the time of Boniface the third, & Phocas the aforesaid.

Vniuersalis pontifex. Caput vniuersalis eccles. Christi in terris vicarius Princeps sacerdotum, &c.

Now remaineth the name of the pope, which of his nature, and by his first origine, being a word of the Syracusane speech called παππᾶς and signifieth as much as Pater, Father, was then vsed and frequented of them in the olde time, not so as proper onely to the bishop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other bishops or personages, whosoeuer were of worthie excellency, as is partly before declared. But now contrarilie, the generality of this name is so restrained and abused, that not only it is appropriate to the Bishop of Rome, but also distinacth and diseuereth the authority and preheminence of that bishop alone from all other bishops, for which cause it is now worthily come into contempt and execration. No lesse is to be reiected also the name of Vniuersalis or Oecumenicus pontifex, Summus orbis episcopus, Caput vniuersalis ecclesiæ, Christi in terris vicarius, Princeps sacerdotum &c. All which tearms and vocables, tending to the derogation of other bishops and patriarchs, as they were neuer receiued nor allowed in Rome (if wee beleeue Gregory) during the time of the primitiue church, so now are worthily of vs refused.

Papa.

Although it cannot be denied, but certaine were in the primitiue time, which began priuatly to pretend that proude and wicked title of vniuersall bishop, as Menna, and especially Ioannes patriarch of Constantinople, who calling a councell at Constantinople, went about to stablish and ratifie and to dignifie his throne by the consent of the councell, and the emperour of Constantinople, and obteined the same; as appeareth in the first generall councell of Constantinople, act. the first, where both Menna is named Oecumenicus patriarcharum, and also Ioannes in the said councell is titled Oecumenicus patriarcha: ex concil. general. 5. cap. Domino. Concerning the which title although it was then vsed in Constantinople through the sufferance of the emperours, beeing then willing to haue their imperiall citie aduaunced: yet notwithstanding this foresaid title, all this while was not in the citie of Rome. And in Constantinople it stood not then in force (Iure aliquo diuino) but onely by mans lawe. And thirdly it was then but onely Verbalis titulus: hauing no true domination vpon all other churches, or any reall subiection belonging to the same; Forasmuch as neither the bishop of Rome, nor anie of the west churches were subiect or did acknowledge seruice vnto them, but rather did repugne the same: namely Pelagius the second, and Gregorious the first both bishops at that time of Rome, which Pelagius writing to all Bishops, saith plainely in these words: that No patriarch should take the name of vniuersality at any time, because that if any be called vniuersall, the name of patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be far, saith he, from all faithfull men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honor of his brethren is diminished. Wherfore the said Pelagius chargeth all such bishops, that none of them in their letters will name any patriarch to be vniuersall, least hee take from himselfe the honour due to him, while they giue that which is not due to another. What can be more euident than these words of Pelagius, who was Bishop of Rome next before Gregorie, Anno 583. In like manner or more plainelie, and more earnestlie writeth also Gregorie of this matter in his register, proouing and disputing that no man ought to be called vniuersall bishop. Moreouer, with sharpe wordes and rebukes detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, peruerse, wicked, prophane, and such as to consent vnto it, is as much as to denie the faith. Hee addeth further and saith, that Whosoeuer goeth about to extoll himselfe aboue other bishops, in so doing followeth the fact of Sathan, to whome it was not sufficient to be counted equall or like vnto other angells. In his epistles how oft doth hee repeat and declare the same to repugne directly against the gospell, and auncient decrees of councels: affirming that none of his predecessours did euer vsurpe to himselfe that style or title, and concludeth that whosoeuer so doth, declareth himselfe to bee a forerunner of antichrist, &c. With this iudgement of Gregorie well agreeth also the words of S. Augustine, lib. 3. cap 3. de baptismo, where reciting the words of Cyprian, he thus saith: Neque enim quisquam nostrum se episcopum episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, &c. that is, For none of vs doth euer set himselfe to be bishop of bishops, or after a tyrannicall manner doth subdue and bring vnder his fellowes vnto the necessitie of his obedience, &c. By these words of Cyprian, and Augustine, it is manifest that in their time was no supremasie, or vniuersall title among bishops receiued, nor that anie great respect was had to the bishop of Rome (as Pius the second saith, epist. 201.) before the councell of Nice. And after in that councell the sayd bishop of Rome had no further authoritie to him limited, than onely

How they began first at Constantinople, to take the name of vniuersall Bishop.

Ex quinta synodo vniuersali, actione prima, cap. post. consulatum. Ibid. cap. dom. nostro.

Ex Pelagi. 20. dist. cap. 93. Nullus.

Gregory against the vniuersality of the Bishop of Constantinople.

Agust. lib. 3 cap. 3. de baptis. contra Ena.

To be bishops of bishops forbidden by Cyprian & Austin.

Ex Pio secundo. epist. 301.

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The popes primacie resisted.

onelie ouer his prouince, and places suburbane, bordering about the citie of Rome. Against whose primacie diuerse cities also did resist long after that, as the church of Rauenna, Mediolanensis, and Aquilegiensis. Also the Greeke churches long resisted the same, so did the churches of Asia, Rutenicæ, Molcouiticæ, Valachicæ, and other mo.

But to returne againe to Gregorie, who confirming the sentence of Pelagius his predecessor aboue mentioned, had no small conflicts about this title matter, both with the patriarch, and with the Emperour of Constantinople, as witnesseth Antonius, and other, &c. The history is thus. After that John beeing made of a monk, patriarch of Constantinople, by his flatterie and hypocrisie, had obtained of Mauricius the emperour to be extolled aboue other bishops, with the name of vniuersall patriarch, and that he would write to Gregorie bishop then of Rome, for his consent concerning the same: Gregory abiding still in his constancy, did set himselfe stoutly against that antichristian title, and would giue no place. At the same time the Lombards had inuaded the countrie of Italie, and the citie of Rome, the Emperor keeping then at Constantinople, and setting in Italie an ouerseer called Exarchus, to rule in Rauenna. Gregorie perceiuing the Emperor Mauricius to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Constantina the empresse, arguing and declaring in his letters, that presumption and pride of him to be vniuersall patriarch, was both against the rule of the gospel, and decrees of the canons, namelie, the first canon of ẏ Nicen councell, and the nouelti e of that newfound title to declare nothing else, but that the time of antichrist was neere. Upon this, Mauricius the Emperor taking displeasure with him, calleth home his souldiers againe from Italie, and inciteth the Lombards against the Romans: who with their king Agilulphus, therupon contrarie to their league made before, set vpon the city of Rome, and besieged it a whole yeare togither, Gregorie yet notwithstanding still remaining in his former constancie. After these afflictions thus ouerpast, Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the said Gregory in his letters, naming him vniuersall pope: vnto whom Gregorie refusing the same, answereth againe as followeth.

Ex Antonio 1. 12. cap. 3.

The letter of Gregory to the Patriarch *of Alexandria.*

The answere of Gregorie to Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria.

BEhold: in the preface of your epistle directed to me, ye haue vsed a word of a proud name, calling me vniuersall pope, which I pray your holines you will cease hereafter to doe, for that is derogated from you, whatsoeuer is attributed to another more than right and reason requireth. As for me I seeke not mine aduancement in words, but in manners: neither do I account that any honor, wherein the honor of my brethren I see to be hindered: for my honor I take to be the honor of the vniuersal church: my honor is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honor which to him belongeth. For if your holines cal me vniuersall pope, in so dooing you deny your selfe to bee that, which ye affirme me to be; vniuersall: but that God forbid. Let these words therefore go, which do nothing but puffe vp vanity, and wound charity, &c.

Dist. 99. cap. ecce.

Gregory refuseth the name of vniuersall pope.

It were too long here to infer all such letters and epistles of his, concerning this matter, written to the Emperor Mauricius and Constantina the Empresse, but that shal more largely appeare hereafter (Christ willing) in the bodie of the historie, when we come to the yeare and time of Gregorie, which was well nigh about fiue hundred yeares after Christ. In the meane season this is sufficient to declare, how the church of Rome with the forme and manner of their title of vniuersal supremacie now vsed and maintained, hath vtterly swarued from the ancient steps of the primitiue church of Rome.

Now let vs see what the aduersarie side hath to obiect againe for the title of their vniuersalitie, or rather singularitie. And first here commeth in a blinde cauillation of a certaine sophister, who glosing vpon the words of Pelagius aboue recited, laboureth to colour the plaine text with a subtile meaning, as though the sense of the canon were this, not to deny there the state of supremacie: Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse vniuersalem Episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quòd esset cuiusque ecclesiæ proprius rector, ita quòd nullus alius esset episcopus, &c. that is, But to denie there, that anie may bee vniuersall bishop after this sense and meaning onely, so that he should be the proper pastor of euerie church alone, and that there should be no other bishop beside himselfe, &c. Thus goeth this sophister about to dash out this text, but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did John the patriarch then seeke anie such thing, to be bishop and proper pastor of euerie church alone; nor if he had, the councell of Chalcedon and the emperor Iustinian would neuer haue agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, that this gloser denieth Pelagius, heere to forbid the primacie or supremacie of that patriarch, which indeed is the onely intent of Pelagius in that canon, witnessing as well other historiographers, as namely, Anton. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13. and also the glose ordinarie vpon the same canon, &c.

A sophisticall cauillation vpon the words of Pelagius and Gregory answered.

Out of the same fountaine springeth the like or verie same reason of late renewed by a certaine new start English clerke in these our daies, who answering to the places of Gregorie touching the said matter, laboureth to auoid the cleare authoritie of him, by a like blind cauillation, saying that John bishop of Constantinople, by this title of vniuersall bishop, vnderstood himselfe onely to be a bishop, and none else. And that Gregorie in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to proue this to be the verie meaning of Gregorie, he recited the words of Gregorie written to the said John archbishop of Constantinople as followeth: Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, vt episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quandóque perductus es, vt despectis fratribus episcopus appetas solus vocari: that it to saie, For thou (John bishop of Constantinople) which sometime didst grant thy selfe vnworthie the name of a bishop, art now come to this, that thou dost seeke to be called a bishop alone, &c. Upon this word Episcopus solus, this gloser would ground a surmise, that Gregorie did find fault with the archbishop, not for anie primacie which he sought for aboue other bishops, but onelie for that he coueted to be a bishop and pastor alone in euery church, in such sort, as there should be no other bishop nor pastor else, but himselfe onely. But as is saide, that was neuer the archbishops seeking, nor the matter of Gregories reprehension. For the said Archbishop of Constantinople went not about to be bishop alone (which was too much absurd, and also impossible) but to bee vniuersall alone: not to take awaie the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith Gregory, Vt despectis fratribus, not Depositis fratribus: so that this word Solus, here noteth a despising of other, not a deposing of other, and importeth a singularitie in condition aboue other, and not the office or substance of ministration without other, that is, to be vniuersall among manie, and not be one alone without anie, nor to diminish the number of them, but onlie to increase the honour to himselfe. For the more euident probation wherof (although the thing of it selfe is so euident, that it needeth no proofe) what can be more plaine, than the words themselues of Pelagius and Gregorie: wherewith they charge him for running before his brethren, for chalenging superiorittie aboue them, for diminishing their honour, by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the angell of pride in exalting himselfe, in admitting that to him, which the bishops of Rome and their predecessours had refused, beeing offered to them before &c. All which declare that he sought not to thrust out all other bishops out of their churches, and to be bishop himselfe alone. For that was neuer offered to the bishops of Rome by the councell of Chalcedon, that they should be bishops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer seeke to haue no mo angels in all heauen but himselfe, but he to be aboue all other alone.

An obiection of a certaine late English writer refuted.

A place of Gregorie examined.

Likewise the word Præcurrere, that is, To runne before other, in the epistle of Pelagius, declareth that John sought not to be bishop alone, but bishop vniuersall. Wee saie not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly Præcurrere, but Solus currere. Moreouer, in seeking to be superior to other bishops, hee seeketh not to take awaie other bishops, but to make other bishops inferior to him. For where no inferior is, there can be no superior, forsomuch as these togither are correlatiues, and inferre necessary respect mutually. And if it were true as this gloser saith, that he had sought to be bishop alone, how would that councell either haue granted that vnto him, or haue offered it to the bishop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serue all churches, without any fellow bishop to helpe him? And where this foresaide clearke standeth so much vpon the words of S. Gregory: Solus episcopus; Gregorie therfore shall expound Gregory, and one Solus shall declare another. Wherefore if this diuine (whatsoeuer he be, doctor or bachelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what (onely bishop) meaneth in this place: an other place of the said Gregorie may instruct him, where Gregorie writing to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, giueth this reason why he refused the same title offered to him (which then was offered to the said John patriarch of Constantinople) saying: Quia videlicet si vnus patriarcha vniuersalis dicitur, patriarcharũ nomen cæteris derogatur, sed absit hoc, &c. That is to say: For if one alone would bee called a patriarch vniuersall, then should the name of patriarchs be derogated from all other, &c. Whereby two things are to be noted: First, what thing it was which the patriarch of Constantinople did seeke, for Gregorie here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was giuen to John which was to be called patriarch vniuersall. The second thing to be noted, is the cause why Gregory did rebuke this title, both giuen to John, and offred to him, because (saith he) if one take vpon him the name of vniuersall patriarch, then is the name patriarch taken from the rest. As who would say: if I would take vpon me to be named vniuersall patriarch, then should there be no other patriarch, but I should be bishop patriarch alone. And here commeth in your Solus episcopus, &c.

Pelag. 2. epist. 2.

Ex epist. Greg. 36. lib. 4.

Ex epist. Greg. 38. lib. 4.

Furthermore the same Gregorie speaking of the said Solus, in an other place by, seemeth to declare there what he meaneth by this Solus here, in these words as follow: Vt & nulli subesse, & solus omnibus præesse videretur: that is to saie: So that

that he would be subiect to none, and would be chiefetaine to all other alone, &c. And so by this place may the other place be expounded, Vt solus episcopus sit is, qui solus inter episcopos præesse appetat, that is, He that seeketh to be as bishop alone, who alone seeketh to be extolled aboue other bishops. But to be short in a matter that needeth not many words: he that thus caulleth vpon this place Solus Episcopus in Gregorie, must be desired here not to take Solus alone, but ioyne withall the word going before, which is, Despectis fratribus. By the which might seeme sufficiently declared, what Gregory meant by Solus Episcopus, meaning, that to despise other bishops, and to diminish their honor, to set vp his owne, and to be subiect to none, but to preferre himselfe inequally before all others, is as much as to be counted bishop alone. And thus much touching this obiection.

Another obiection of our aduersaries is this: Although (say they) no bishop of Rome was euer called, or would bee called by the name of vniuersall bishop: yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be heads of the vniuersall church. Their reason is this:

Another obiection resolued.

As S. Peter had the charge of the whole church (by the testimonie of Gregorie) committed vnto him, although he were not called vniuersall apostle:

So no more absurd it is for the pope to be called the head of the whole church, and to haue the charge thereof, although he be not called vniuersall bishop, &c.

A double vntruth in one popish argument. Peter how he had charge and not charge of the church.

Wherein is a double vntruth to be noted, first in that they pretend Peter to be the head, and to haue the charge of the whole church: if we take here (charge or head) for dominion or maistership vpon or aboue the church, in all cases iudiciarie, both spirituall and temporall: for the words of the scripture be plain, Non dominantes in clerum, 1. Pet. Vos autem non sic. Luk. 22. that is, Not as maisters ouer the clergie, &c: But you not so, &c. Againe, that the church is greater, or rather the head of Peter, it is cleare: 1. Corin. 3. All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas: either the world, death, or life, you be Christs, Christ is Gods, &c. In which words the dignitie of the church no doubt is preferred aboue the apostles, and aboue Cephas also. Moreouer, as the dignity of the wife is aboue the seruant, so must needs the honour and worthinesse of the church (being the spouse of Christ) surmount the state of Peter or other apostles, which bee but seruants to Christ and to the church: yea and though they were princes of the church, yet after the mind of Baldus, Magis attenditur persona intellectualis, quam organica. Other wise if by this word (charge) he meant only the office and diligence of teaching; to that I answere: The same Lord that said to Peter, Feed my sheepe, said also to the other, Goe and preach this gospell to all nations. And he that said to Peter, Whatsoeuer thou losest, said also to the other, Whatsoeuer ye remit in the earth. Moreouer if the matter go by preaching, Paul the apostle laboured more therein, than euer did Peter by his owne confession, Plus laborauj: also suffered more for the same, Plus sustinui, neither was his doctrine lesse sound. Yea and in one point hee went before Peter, and was teacher and schoolemaster vnto Peter, whereas Peter was by him fullie corrected: Gal. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not alwaies nor in all things a point of maistership, but sometime a point of service. As if a Frenchman should be put to an Englishman to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kind of faculitie: yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulnesse of power vpon him, to appoint his diet, to rule his houshold, to prescribe his lawes, to stint his lands, and such other. Wherefore seeing in trauell of teaching, in paines of preaching, in gifts of tongues, in largenesse of commission, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receiuing the Holie ghost, in vehemencie of torments and death for Christs name, the other apostles were nothing inferiour to Peter: why Peter then should claime any speciall prerogatiue aboue the rest, I vnderstand no cause. As indeed he neuer claimed any, but the patrons of the apostolicall see doe claime it for him, which he neuer claimed himselfe; neither if he were here, would no lesse abhorre it with soule and conscience, than we doe now: and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or ony vantage to our selues, but onely the vehemencie of truth, and zeale to Christ and to his congregation. Moreouer, if these men would needs haue Peter to be the curat and ouerseer of the whole vniuersall church (which was too much for one man to take charge of) and to be prince of all other apostles, then would I faine learne of them, what meaneth (Dextræ societatis) the right hand of societie betweene Peter, Paul, and Barnabe, mentioned, Gal. 2. What taking of hands is there betweene subiects and their prince, in way of fellowship? Or where fellowship is, what maistership is there? Or againe, what state of maistership is it like that Christ would giue to Peter, who being indeed maister of all, tooke such little maistership vpon himselfe, and that not onelie in inward affection, but also in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that Peter in diuers places of the gospell hath his commendation, neither doe I denie Peter to be worthie of the same. But yet these words of commendation giue to him no state of superiorittie, or iurisdiction vpon all others, to haue all vnder his subiection. As if a schoolemaster should haue more speciall charge to some one of his scholers for his riper towardnesse: yet this giueth him no fulnesse of authoritie, or power coactiue vpon the rest, vnlesse by speciall admission he be deputed thereunto. Whereof, nothing can be gathered of Peter, for if it be true that S. Augustine saith, that such things as were spoken to Peter, haue no lightsome vnderstanding, except they be referred to the church, whereof Peter did beare a figure: then hath the person of Peter nothing to claime by these words, but all redoundeth to the church, which being meant by Peter, hath power by this reason, both ouer the person of Peter, and all other persons in the Lord.

Augustin in psal. 103.

But heere stumbleth in an argument of our aduersarie againe, which he in the margent of his booke calleth an inuincible argument drawne out of the bowels of S. John Chrysostome lib. 2. De sacerd. Whereby he supposeth to haue giuen a shrewd blow to protestants, and to haue gotten Hectors victorie vpon a certaine English prisoner taken in plaine field, and of all such as take his part. The text onely of Chrysostome he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an inuincible argument in the margent. But because he either will not, or list not to shew his cunning therein, I will forme that in argument for him which he would haue done, but did not: and so will forme it (the Lord willing) as he himselfe must of necessitie be driuen to doe, if the matter euer come to the triall of art, and not to the trifling of words. First, he taketh his text out of Chrysostome, as followeth: For what cause I pray you did Christ shed his blood? Trulie, to redeeme those sheep, whose charge he committeth to Peter, and to Peters successours. Upon this place of Chrysostome, this clerke taketh his medium, Christs suffering. His conclusion is, That all which Christ died for, were committed to Peter, wherefore the forme of the argument must needs stand thus in ỹ third figure:

Answer to an inuincible argument prouing by Chrysostome the whole church to be committed to Saint Peter.

Chrysost. lib. 2. de sacerd.

Christ suffered for all men:

Christ suffered for them whom he committed to Peter:

Ergo, All that Christ died for, were committed to Peter.

A popish perilous paralogisme.

If this be the forme of his insoluble argument, as it seemeth to be, by the order of his reasoning, and also must needs be, taking that medium, and making that conclusion as hee doth, (for else in the first figure, and first mood, the text of Chrysostome will not serue him) then must the forme and violence of this inexpugnable argument be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of Logik, making his conclusion vniuersal, which in that figure must needs be particular, either affirmatiue or negatiue. And so this argument inuincible, falleth into one of these two straits, either concluding thus, the forme will not serue him, or concluding in another figure, the words of Chrysostome will not answere to his purpose, to proone that all the world was committed to Peter. Which proposition as it is strange in scripture: so neither is it the proposition of Chrysostom. And though it were, yet both without inconuenience might be granted of vs, and being granted, serueth his purpose nothing, so long as the proposition is not exceptiue, excluding other apostles. For the words of Chrysostome do not so sound, that the whole world was committed to Peter only, and to none other. Likewise then as it may be wel affirmed of vs, that the world was committed to Peter, so can it not be denied of them that the world was also committed to John, James, Bartholomew, Paul, Barnabe, and other al and singuler apostles. For he that said to Peter feede my sheepe; said also to al and singuler his apostles, Go into all the world and preach, &c. Matth. vlt. Moreouer, for as much as this man collecteth out of Chrysostome, that the whole world was committed to Peter, how shall we then ioyne this meaning of Chrysostome with S. Paul, which saith that the gospell was committed to Peter ouer the circumcision, as was Paul ouer the vncircumcision? And heere an answere to this doughtie argument, both to the forme, and to the matter thereof, albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be said more of Peters successours in the text of Chrysostome. By the which successors is not meant the bishop of Rome only (as the papists would beare vs in hand) but all such true and faithfull pastors, whom the Lords calling sendeth, and setteth ouer his flocke, whersoeuer, or whatsoeuer they be. For as Peter beareth a representation of the church, by the testimony of August. in Ioan. tract. 124. Præfat. in Psal. 108. so the successours of Peter be all faithfull pastors and ouerseers of Christs church, to whom Christ our Lord hath committed the charge of his flock. Wherefore they are not a little deceiued, which loking vpon the rocke onely of the person, and not the rocke of confession (contrarie to the rule of Hilarie De trinit. lib. 6.) doe tie the apostleship or rocke of Peter to one onelie bishop, and the succession of Peter to one onlie see of Rome: whereas this being a spirituall office, and not carnall, hath no such carnall race or descent after any worldlie or locall vnderstanding: but hath a more mysticall meaning, after a spirituall sense of succession, such as Hierome speaketh of, Epist. ad Euagrium. Omnes, inquit, apostolorum successores sunt, &c: that is, All, (saith hee, speaking of bishops) be successours of the apostles, &c.

The world was committed as well to other apostles as to Peter.

A place of Chrysostome examined by S. Paul.

The successours of Peter.

August. in Ioan. tract. 124.

Hilarius, lib. 6.

Hierony. epist. ad Euagrium.

Of like forme and fashion, and out of the same figure, the same author patcheth moreouer another argument, prouing that the bishop of Rome was tituled the head of Christs church, in the primitiue time of the old ancestors, before the age of Gregorie. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure:

Saint Peter was called by the ancient fathers, head of

Vs. Christs

Another obiection reiected.

Peter in no point excelleth the rest of the apostles.

Dextræ societatis.

Vide Baldum consil. 169. lib. 3. secundum nouam impressionem & secund. vet. consil. 359. lib. 1.

Mookes and reasons that there was no inequalitie of preeminence among the apostles.

Office of teaching giueth no dominion further than in the booke.

Chriſts church:

An argument of the papiſts. Saint Peter was biſhop of Rome:

Ergo, the biſhop of Rome was called head of the church in the old ancient time.

Anſwer to the argument. This argument ſyllogiſtorie, being clouted vp in the third figure, and concluding ſingulerly, hath rather a ſhew of an argument, than maketh any neceſſarie concluſion, ſtanding vpon no mood in the ſaid figure, if the author thereof were put to his triall. Albeit to leaue the forme, and to come to the matter of the argument. Firſt, how well will he diſpatch himſelfe of the maior, and prooue vs that S. Peter although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome, and ſuffered at Rome: yet that he was biſhop and proper ordinarie of that citie and ſpeciall ſée of Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias, Oroſius, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Optatus, and Auguſtine brought forth for his moſt aduantage, to proue his maior: thus I anſwer concerning Oroſius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierom and Auguſtine, that where they ſpeake of S. Peters chaire, or planting the faith at Rome, ſtraightway this man argueth thereupon, that Peter was biſhop of Rome. But that doth not clerkelie follow. For the office of the apoſtles was to plant the faith in all places, and in euery region, yet were they not biſhops in euery region. And as for the chaire, as it is no difference eſſentiall that maketh a biſhop (for ſo much as a doctour may haue a chaire, and yet be no biſhop) ſo cannot he conclude by the chaire of Peter, that S. Peter was biſhop of Rome. For al this proueth no further, but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the faith of Chriſt, as Paul did alſo, and peraduenture in a chaire likewiſe: yet we ſay not that Paul was therefore biſhop of Rome: but that he was there as an apoſtle of Chriſt, whether he taught there ſtanding on his feet, or ſitting in a chaire. In the ſcripture commonlie the chaire ſignifieth doctrine or iudgement, as ſitting alſo declareth ſuch as teach or iudge, whether they ſit in the chaire of Moſes, or in the chaire of peſtilence. Planting likewiſe is a word apoſtolicall, and ſignifieth not onely the office of a biſhop. Wherefore it is no good conſequent, He ſat, he taught, he planted at Rome, his chaire and ſeat was at Rome; Ergò, he was biſhop of Rome. And thus much touching Oroſius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Auguſtine.

Oroſius. Tertul. lib. de præſcript. aduer. hæreſ. Cypri lib. 1. ep 8. Hier. in catal. & epiſt. 92.

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and ſuch others, although we ſhould haue much wrong offered, and neuer ſhould make an end, if we ſhould be preſt with the authoritie of euerie one that could or did moue pen, in all the whole firſt age of the church, to be our iudges in euery eccleſiaſticall matter: and much more wrong ſhould haue, if the authors either corrupted, or counterfeited, ſhould be laid vnto vs, ſpeaking not in the ſame ſenſe, or in the ſame tongue, or in the ſame time wherin they wrote: yet to helpe and to ſalue the authorities of theſe authors ſo much as we may, I anſwer to their allegations, with this diſtinction of a biſhop, which is to be taken either generallie or ſpeciallie. After the firſt, a biſhop is he to whomſoeuer the publike cure and charge of ſoules is committed, without any limitation of place. And ſo the name of biſhop is coincident with the office of apoſtle, or any publike paſtor, doctor, or curat of the vniuerſall flocke of Chriſt. And thus may Paul, Peter, or any other of the apoſtles be called biſhops. So alſo is Chriſt himſelfe by expreſſe word called ἐπισκόπος and ποίμην, that is, biſhop and paſtor, 1. Pet. 2. And thus may Peter well be named a biſhop of theſe foreſaid authors after this manner of taking. But this publike and generall charge vniuerſallie ouer the whole, without limitation, ceaſed after Chriſt and the apoſtles. For then were biſhops by places and prouinces appointed, to haue ſpeciall ouerſight of ſome particular flocke or prouince, and ſo to be reſident and attendant only vpon the ſame.

A double taking of the word biſhop.

Chriſt himſelfe a biſhop.

The other diuerſitie of this name biſhop, is to be taken after a more ſpeciall ſort, which is, when any perſon orderly called, is aſſigned, namely and ſpeciallie to ſome one certaine place, citie, or prouince, whereunto he is onely bound to employ his office and charge, and no where elſe, according to the old canons of the apoſtles, and of the councell of Nice. And this biſhop differing from the other, is called Epiſcopus intitulatus, hauing his name of his citie or dioceſſe. And thus we denie that Peter the apoſtle was euer biſhop elected, inſtalled, or intituled to the citie of Rome: neither doth Optatus, Abdias, Ado, or Hierome affirme the ſame. And if Ado ſay that Peter was biſhop of Rome fiue and twentie yéeres, vntill the laſt yéere of Nero, that is eaſilie refuted both by the ſcriptures and hiſtories: for ſo we vnderſtand by the declaration of S. Paul, Gal. 1. 2. that foureteene yéeres after his converſion, ſaint Paul had Peter by the hand at Hieruſalem.

Canon. Apoſt. 23 34. 34. Con. Nice. cap. 15. Concil. Antioch. cap. 2. 12.

Peters being at Rome.

Moreouer, the ſaid Paul in the foreſaid epiſtle witneſſeth, that the charge apoſtolicall was committed vnto Peter ouer the circumciſed, and ſo was he intituled. Alſo S. Paul writing to the Romans, in his manifold ſalutations to them in Rome, maketh no mention there of S. Peter, which doubtleſſe ſhould not haue been vnremembred, if he had been then in Rome. Againe S. Peter, dating his epiſtle from Babylon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, hiſtories do record, that Peter was at Pontus fiue yéeres, and at Antioch ſeuen yeeres. How could hee then be fiue and twentie yéeres at Rome? Finallie, where our aduerſarie alleaging out of Ado, ſaith, that S. Peter was there fiue and twentie yéeres, vntill the laſt yéere of Nero: how can that ſtand, when S. Paul ſuffering vnder Nero, was put to death the ſame day twelue moneth, that is, a whole yere after Peter? &c. But eſpeciallie how agreeth this with ſcripture, that Chriſt ſhould make Peter an apoſtle vniuerſall to walke in all the world? Ite per vniuerſum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi teſtes vſque ad fines terræ, &c. And our papiſts would néeds make him a ſitting biſhop, and intitle him to Rome. How accord theſe: Apoſtolus and Epiſcopus, Ire and ſedere, Omnes gentes and Roma together?

And thus haue I reſolued the firſt vntruth of that popiſh demonſtration before rehearſed, wherein they thinke to proue that as Peter, although he was not called vniuerſall apoſtle, yet was the head of the whole church: ſo the pope might and hath had after him the charge of the whole church, although he was not called vniuerſall biſhop in the old time, &c.

The ſecond vntruth of the argument aboue mentioned.

Now followeth the ſecond vntruth to bee touched in the ſame argument, which is, that becauſe Peter was the head of the church: ſo therefore the pope muſt alſo bee the head of the church, and was, albeit he was not called vniuerſall biſhop a long time. But this we do denie, yea the matter denieth it ſelfe by their owne poſition, for being granted by them, that the title of vniuerſall biſhop was not receiued at Rome, but refuſed to the time of Gregorie: then muſt it neceſſarilie be granted, that the biſhops of Rome before S. Gregorie, had not the charge of the whole church, neither could be admitted by that reaſon to be heads of the church. For ſo much as there can be no head, but which is vniuerſall to the whole bodie, neither can any haue charge of the whole, but he muſt needs be vniuerſall to all and ſinguler parts of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in ſciences, whoſoeuer hath knowledge and cunning in all the ſeauen liberall ſciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal knowledge, is ſaid to be an vniuerſall learned man: ſo in office, to whomſoeuer the publike charge of all churches doth appertaine, how is he not to be called biſhop vniuerſall? Now if before S. Gregories time, the name of vniuerſall biſhop was repealed in Rome: how then can the name be refuſed, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or els let our aduerſaries tell vs how they define an vniuerſall biſhop, ſeeing this word biſhop is properlie the name of office whereto is annexed charge. Wherefore, if a biſhop be he which hath the charge of al ſoules in his dioceſſe committed to him, and muſt render account for them all; then whoſe charge extendeth to al & ſinguler churches, & muſt render account for euery chriſtian ſoule within the whole world, to him cānot be denied the name of an vniuerſal biſhop, hauing the office of an vniuerſal biſhop. Or if he be not an vniuerſall biſhop, he cannot then haue the charge of the whole, that is, of all & ſinguler churches of Chriſt. For ſuch is the rule of true definition: Cui conuenit definitio, conuenit & definitum, & contra: Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur. Although this word vniuerſall, in the Greek writers, ſignifieth that, which we in our vulgar Engliſh tongue call catholike; yet I ſuppoſe our aduerſaries here will not take vniuerſall in that ſenſe. For after that meaning, as we do not denie that the biſhops of Rome may be vniuerſall biſhops, ſo neither can they denie but other biſhops alſo may be as vniuerſal, that is, as catholike as they. But ſuch as more diſtinctly and ſcholelike diſcuſſe this matter, define vniuerſall or catholike by three things: to wit, by time, place, and perſon. So that whatſoeuer extendeth it ſelfe to all times, all places, and all perſons, that is properlie vniuerſall or catholike. And contrariwiſe, what thing is to be called vniuerſal or catholike, reacheth to al thoſe three aforeſaid, comprehending all places, times, and perſons, and extendeth it ſelf of his owne nature to the ſame, or els it is not to be called properlie vniuerſall or catholike. And thus three things there be, which moſt commonlie we call catholike or vniuerſall: that is, the church, which is called the catholike church: faith, which is called the catholike faith: a man, whom alſo we cal a man catholike, becauſe theſe three of their own nature and diſpoſition (no contrarie obſtacle letting) extend themſelues ſo to all, ỹ no time, place, nor perſon is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concurre in the charge of the biſhop of Rome, then is it an vniuerſall charge, and he an vniuerſall biſhop: if not, then is his charge neither vniuerſall, nor he the head of the church, nor yet vniuerſall biſhop. For how theſe three can be ſeparated, I cannot ſée, except the aduerſarie part doe proue it more euidently than yet they haue done.

What is an vniuerſall biſhop.

Regula definitionis.

Cui conuenit definitio, & definitum.

Vniuerſall defined by three things, time, place, and perſon.

Three things commonlie called catholike or vniuerſall.

To haue vniuerſall charge to be head of the vniuerſall church, and to be vniuerſall biſhop are all coincident together.

And thus much to the obiection of our aduerſaries, arguing thus; that as S. Peter being not called vniuerſall apoſtle, yet was the head of the vniuerſall church: ſo the pope although he was not firſt called vniuerſall biſhop, had, and might haue the charge of the whole church, and was the vniuerſall head of the ſame. The which obiection containing (as is ſaid) a double vntruth, our aduerſaries yet notwithſtanding doe buſie themſelues greatlie to fortifie by ſundrie teſtimonies and allegations, patched out of old and ancient doctors, but ſpecially out of Theodoretus, Ireneus, Ambroſe and Auguſtine, proouing by them that the ſée of Rome hauing the preeminence & principalitie, hath been honored aboue all other churches. Whereupon the ſaid aduerſarie before minded, groundeth this conſequent:

Ireneus. lib. 3. Cap. 3. Amb. de doct. gent. lib. 2. cap. 6. Auguſt. epiſt. 162.

Ireneus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine and Theodoretus affirme, that the church of Rome is the chiefe of all other churches:

Ergò,

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The argument of the papists.

Ergo, the bishop and head of that church is chiefe and head ouer all bishops, and head of all other churches.

Answer.

But this consequent is to be denied, for that the excellencie of the church or place doth not alwaies argue the excellencie of the minister or bishop, nor yet necessarily doth cause the same. For in matters of the church which are spirituall, all preeminence standeth vpon spirituall & inward gifts (Spiritualia enim spiritualibus comparantur) as faith, pietie, learning and godlie knowledge, zeale and feruencie in the holie ghost, vnitie of doctrine, &c: which gifts many times may excell in a church, where the minister or bishop is inferior to bishops or ministers of other churches. As the most famous schole in a realme hath not alway the most famous schoolemaster, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in learning aboue all others. So if our aduersaries doe meane by this preeminence of the church of Rome, such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, vnitie and peace of religion; then say I, the excellencie hereof doth not inferre or argue the excellencie of the bishop. And thus concerning the principalitie of the church of Rome, commended at that time of the doctors, it may be true, and so well expounded one way.

Preeminence of a church esteemed after a double consideration.

And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and denie the consequent. But here will our aduersaries peraduenture replie againe and say, that the principalitie of the church of Rome which is commended by the doctors, is not meant here so much by inward gifts and indowments belonging to a christian church, as by outward authoritie and domination ouer other churches. Whereto is to be answered: first, what necessitie is there, or where did our papists learne, to bring into the spirituall church of Christ, this outward forme of ciuill regiment and policie: that as the Romane emperors in times past gouerned ouer all the world, so the Romane bishop must haue his monarchie vpon the vniuersall cleargie, to make all other churches to stoope vnder his subiection. And where then be the words of our Sauior: Vos autem non sic. If they hold their affirmatiue Quòd sic, where then is Christs negatiue Non sic? If they say, there must néeds be distinction of degrées in the church, and in this distinction of degrees, superioritie must necessarilie be granted for the outward discipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of schismes, for setting orders, for commensing of conuocations and councels, as need shall require, &c. Against this superioritie we stand not, and therefore we yéeld to our superior powers, kings, and princes, our due obedience, and to our lawfull gouernours vnder God of both regiments, ecclesiasticall and temporall. Also in the ecclesiasticall state, we take not away the distinction of ordinarie degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed, or by the primitiue church allowed; as patriarchs, or archbishops, bishops, ministers and deacons, for of these foure we specially reade as chiefe. In which foure degrees as we grant diuersitie of office, so we admit in the same also, diuersitie of dignitie: neither denying that which is due to each degrée, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singuler person. For as we giue to the minister place aboue the deacon, to the bishop aboue the minister, to the archbishop aboue the bishop: so we sée no cause of inequalitie, why one minister should be aboue another minister: one bishop in his degrée aboue another bishop to deale in his diocesse: or one archbishop aboue another archbishop. And this is to keepe an order duely and truly in the church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the authoritie of August. lib. De ciuit. Dei. Where he thus defineth that which we call order: Ordo est parium disparíumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio. Order (saith he) is a discretion or disposition giuen to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionallie to euery one his owne right and proper place.

Obiection. Outward preeminence belongeth vnto outward kingdomes, not to the church of Christ.

The first answere to the obiection.

Non sic, saith Christ: Quod sic saith the pope. Obiection. Answer.

Superioritie in the church. Distinction of degrees in the church. Diuersitie of dignities in degrees. Order kept in the church, and what true order is.

Aug lib. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 19. Order defined.

This definition of S. Augustine, standing with the things before premised: now here toyneth the question betweene vs and the papists, whether the metropolitane church of Rome, with the archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other metropolitane churches and archbishops, through vniuersall christendome or not? To the answere whereof, if the voice of order might héere be heard, it would say: Giue to things that be matches and like, like honour; to things vnlike, vnlike honour, &c. Wherefore, seeing the sée of Rome is a patriarchall sée appointed by the primitiue church, and the bishop thereof an archbishop limited within his owne bordering churches, which the councell of Nice calleth Suburbicas ecclesias, as other archbishops be: he ought therefore orderly to haue the honour of an archbishop (ordering himselfe thereafter) and such outward preéminence as to other archbishops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into presumption, and doth wrong vnto his fellowes; and they also doe wrong vnto themselues, whosoeuer they be, which séeding his humor of ambition, giue more vnto him then the foresaid rule of order doth require. For so much as they yéeld to him more then is his right, so much they take from themselues, which is due to them. And the same is the cause, why both Gregorie and Pelagius his predecessor reprehendeth them, which gaue to the archbishop of Constantinople, that, which now the bishop of Rome claimeth to himselfe, charging them with the breach of order in these words: Ne dùm priuatim aliquod daretur vni, honore debito sacerdotes priuarentur vniuersi, that is, Lest that while any singular thing is giuen to one person, all other priests be depriued of their due honour. And for the like case Pelagius exhorteth that no priest do giue to any one archbishop, the name of vniuersall bishop, Ne sibi debitum subtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert indebitum, that is, Lest (saith he) in so doing, he take from himselfe his due honour, while he yéeldeth that, which is not due to another. And also in the same epistle: Quia si summus patriarcha vniuersalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. For (saith he) if he be called the chiefe vniuersall patriarch, then is the name of patriarchs derogated from others, &c. Wherefore as is said, séeing the bishop of Rome is an archbishop, as others be, order giueth that he should haue the dignity which to archbishops is due; what soeuer is added more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrées, and order in giuing to euerie degrée his place and honour.

Ex epist. 2. Pelagij 2. dist. 99. cap. Nullus.

The second reason or answere to the obiection before moued, is this: That being granted to the papists, that the doctours aforesaid, speaking of the principalitie of the church of Rome, doe meane not onely of the inward vertues of that church, but also of the outward authoritie and iurisdiction of the same, aboue other churches: yet the cause wherefore they did attribute so much to ẏ church, is to be expended, which was this, as before was alleaged out of the councell of Chalcedon, ca. 28. διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, that is, For the rule and empere which that citie of Rome had then aboue other cities; which cause being outward and carnall, was neither then cause sufficient, and now ceasing, importeth not to vs the like effect, according as they say: Sublata causa tollitur effectus. So that by the reason thereof, the foresaid principalitie of the church of Rome, did not hold then Iure diuino sed humano. And as it holdeth by mans law, so by mans law may be repealed againe.

The second answer to the obiection before moued.

Ex concil. Chalcad. cap. 28.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the pope sitteth and succéedeth in the chaire of Peter, and also that he is the bishop of the greatest citie in the world: yet it followeth not thereby that hee should haue rule and lordship ouer all other bishops and churches of the world. For first touching the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered.

Certaine demands for the papists to answer vnto.

First, whether Peter sate, and had his chaire in Rome, or not?

Secondlie, whether he sate there as an apostle, or as a bishop?

Thirdly, whether the sitting in the outward seat of Peter, maketh successor of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he sitteth in the chaire and seat of Peter, which sitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fiftly, whether the succession of Peter maketh rather an apostle than a bishop, and so should we call the pope, the apostle of Rome, and not the bishop of Rome?

Sirtly, whether ecclesiasticall functions ought to be esteemed by ordinarie succession of place, or by Gods secret calling or sending?

Seuenthly and lastly, whether it stand by scripture, any succession at all to be pointed in Christs church, or why more from Peter than from other apostles?

All which interrogatories being wel discussed (which would aske a long processe) it should well appeare what little hold the pope hath to take this state vpon him, aboue all other churches as he doth. In the meane time, this one argument by the way may suffice in stead of many, for our aduersaries to answere to at their conuenient leisure. Which argument thus I forme and frame in Camestres.

An argument prooving the popes of this latter church of Rome not to be successors of Peter.

Ca- All the true successors of Peter sit in the chaire of the doctrine of Peter, and other apostles vniformlie:
me- No popes of this latter church of Rome sit in the chaire of S. Peters and other apostles doctrine vniformlie:
stres. Ergo, No popes of this latter church of Rome bee the true successors of Peter.

And when they haue wel perused the minor of this argument, & haue well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the popes, of iustification of a christian man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largenes of sinne, of mens merits, of frée will, of works of supererogation, of setting vp images, of seuen sacraments, of auricular confession, of satisfaction, of sacrifice of the masse, of communicating vnder one kind, of eleuating and adoring the sacramentall elements, of Latine seruice, of inuocation, of prohibition of meats and marriage, of vowing chastitie, of sects and rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardons: also with their doctrine taught now of magistrates, of the fulnesse of power, and regalitie of the sée of Rome, with many other like to these, &c: then will I be glad to heare what they will say to the premisses.

Secondly, if they would proue by the allegation of the doctors, Ireneus, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoretus aforesaid, the bishop of Rome to be the chiefe of all bishops therefore, because the citie whereof he is bishop is the chiefe and principall aboue all other churches, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking, as I said, the principalitie of that church to stand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν. that is, vpon the principall dominion of that citie) no more than this consequent followeth.

London is the chiefe citie in all England:

Ergo,

Ex registro Greg. lib. 4. epist. 32.

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Ergo, The bishop of London is the chiefest of all bishops in the realme.

Which argument were derogatorie to the bishop both of Canturburie and of Yorke.

Yea to grant yet more to our aduersaries (which is all they can require) the mind of the foresaid doctors, as Ireneus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoretus, in giuing principality vnto Rome, to haue respect vnto the vertue of succession from Peter, & not vnto the greatnesse of the citie: yet notwithstanding, for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered, to say:

A false consequent of the papists.

The apostolicall sée of Rome, hauing succession from Peter, with the bishops thereof, was chiefe then of all other churches in the primitiue time of these doctors:

Ergo, The apostolicall sée of Rome, with the bishops thereof, hauing succession from Peter, ought now to be chiefe of all other churches in these our daies.

Answere to the consequent.

This consequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if succession which gaue them the cause of principalitie, were the same now, which was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession in the time of these doctors was as well in doctrine apostolicall, as in place apostolicall. Now the succession of doctrine apostolicall hath long ceased in the sée apostolicall: and nothing remaineth but onely place, which is the least matter of true spirituall and apostolicall succession. And thus much to the authoritie and testimonie of these forenamed doctors.

Succession apostolicall double wise to be considered.

Besides these obiections heretofore recited out of Ireneus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoretus, our aduersaries yet obiect and heape vp against vs moreouer examples of the primitiue time of the church, testimonies of generall councels, and opinions of ancient writers taken out of the booke of councels, and epistles decretall, whereby their intent is to prooue the foresaid termes (of the head of the church, ruler of the church, chiefe of all other priests) to be applied not onely to Peter, but also to the bishop of Rome within the compasse of the primitiue time. And here commeth in the testimonie cited of Vincentius Lirinensis. Of the epistle of Paschasius and his fellowes, writing to Leo from the councell of Chalcedon. The testimonie also of Iustinian the emperour in his Codex: where Ioannes then pope was called Caput omnium ecclesiarum, epist. inter claras, cap. De summa trinit. & fide cath. The testimonie also of Athanasius, with his fellow bishops of Egypt, of Thebaida, and Lybia, in their epistles to pope Marcus, Liberius, and Felix. Likewise the testimonie of Ierome, In præf. in 4. Euang. Item epist. 42. tom. 1. Item epist. 41. tom. 2. Of S. Ambrose, 1. tom. 2. Of S. Augustine to Boniface. Ad Bonifac. contra duas epist. Pelagian. lib. 1. cap. 1. Item lib. 2. de baptism. ca. 1. Of Theodoretus in his epistle to pope Leo. epist. commentar. in Pauli epist. præfixa. Of Chrysostome, epist. ad Innocentium, tom. 5. &c. By which testimonies our aduersaries would proue S. Peter, and after him the bishop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the church, chiefe bishop, prince & ruler of the whole clergie. To all which obiections fullie and exactly to answer in order, would require a whole volume by it selfe. In the meane time, leauing the rest vnto them, vnto whom it doth more properlie appertaine, briefly with this one short distinction I answer these and all such other like places, where S. Peter with his successours are called, head of the church, chiefe of bishops, prince of the apostles, &c. In which places, this word head, chiefe, and prince of the apostles, may be taken two maner of waies: to note either dominion, or els commendation. For so we read sometime Caput & Princeps, to be words not of authoritie, but of excellencie, whereby is declared the chiefest and worthiest part among many parts, and not possessour and gouernour of the whole. Like as in the person of man, the head is the principall part of the whole bodie, being indued with reason, and furnished with most excellent senses, by the which the whole body of man is directed, so thereof is deriued by a metaphor, to what man or thing soeuer nature or condition hath giuen the greatest excellencie of gifts and properties aboue other parts or members, the same societie to be called of the said parties, Caput or Princeps, head or prince. And yet the same head or prince so called, hath not alwaies dominion or iurisdiction of the rest. So we call in our vulgar speech the head or chiefe men of the parish, who for their riches, wisdome, or place, are most spectally noted: after like phrase of speech we call the head man of the inquest, him that hath the first place: and yet neither they nor these haue any dominion or iurisdiction vpon the residue. In a schole the chiefest scholar in learning, is not therefore the master or gouernor of his fellowes. Neither hath M. Cicero any title thereby to claime subiection and seruice of all other orators, because hee is named Princeps eloquentiæ, & goeth before them in that kind of phrase. The same Cicero, lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippum principem huius ætatis philosophorum, as Homerus also may bee called Poetarum princeps: and yet neither philosophers to Cratippus, nor poets to Homer owe any thing else, but only fame and praise.

Testimonies alleaged for the principalitie of the pope.

How Peter is princeps apostolorum, princeps eloquentiæ Ciceronis, princeps philosophorum Cratippus.

Answere by a distinction.

Caput & princeps haue a double vnderstanding.

And what if S. Peter the blessed apostle be called and counted of the old ancient doctours, as head and prince of the apostles, which is as much as Coryphæus apostolorum, for his excellent faith, for his diuine confession and singular affection to the Lord Iesus: yet what interest or charge either hath he to challenge ouer the apostles, or the pope after him ouer all other bishops and the whole church of Christ, although the pope haue the like excellencie of Christs faith which Peter had, as would God he had! As concerning these allegations therefore out of the doctors, two things are to be obserued: first, that neither these names and titles though they be giuen to Peter, do giue him any state or dominion aboue other apostles: nor yet the succession of him doth further any whit this celsitude and regalitie of the pope to aduance him aboue his fellow archbishops, as he now doth.

Petrus princeps & coryphæus apostolorum.

And if our aduersaries would needes prouoke vs to the numbring of testimonies, and diuiding the house (speaking of the writers and councels of the primitiue age) for these aforesaid testimonies alleaged on their side, I could on the contrarie part recite out of the witnesse of doctors, out of the examples of councels, and practises of emperors, no lesse than sixtie voices, much more repugnant against their assertion, than there is for the pope. The tractation whereof for this present I do refer, either to them that haue more leasure at this time to discourse them, or else omit it to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be to grant me further leasure in another booke to intreat thereof at large, in such order, as (if the Lord so grant) shall appeare sufficient matter, to proue by the doctors, generall councels, examples and histories of time, that the bishops of Rome, during the first fiue hundred yeeres after Christ, although for the greatnesse of the empire, were somewhat more magnified than the other, and therefore were sought of many, and were flattered of some, and they themselues diuers did set forth themselues more than they should: yet by the common consent of churches were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consension of the most part, within the compasse of that age the bishops of Rome had not this regall state of title, iurisdiction, and fulnesse of power, which now they vsurpe, but were taken as archbishops, of equall honour, of equall merit with other archbishops and rulers of the church. And if any preferment was giuen vnto them something aboue the rest, yet neither was it so giuen of all, nor of the most part: secondly, neither was it so giuen of them for any such necessitie of Gods word, Aut iure aliquo diuino, as which did so bind them thereunto, nor yet so much for the respect of Peter, and his succession: as for certaine other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteene.

Thirteene causes of aduancing the see of Rome.

1 Of which, the first is the greatnesse of the citie and monarchie of Rome.

2 The second, is the authoritie of the emperour Constantine the great, first of the emperours conuerted to the faith, and ruling in the same citie, by whom the vniuersall libertie of the church was first promoted: and the causes of the bishops being then at variance, were committed partly to the bishop of Rome, partly to other bishops neere by, to be decided, as appeareth, Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

3 The third was the councell of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that church to haue the ouersight of the churches bordering about it.

4 The fourth cause of aduancing the church of Rome, was the vnquiet state of the Greeke church, much troubled in th se daies with sects, factions, and dissensions, whereof we may read, Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

5 The fift, when as synods were called by other metropolitans, then if it chanced the bishops of Rome to be absent, and their sentence being absent to be required, by the occasion thereof they began at length to take their sentence for a canon or rule ecclesiasticall, and thereby to refuse other synods, where their decree or sentence was not required.

6 Another cause was, that when any common matter was in hand in other places, whatsoeuer was done, commonly the manner was to write to the Roman bishop for his approbation in the same, for publike vnity & consent to bee had in Christs church, as appeareth, Lib. 10. epist. 78. Ambros. ad Theophil.

7 Item, for that the testimonie sometimes of the Roman bishop was wont in those daies also to be desired, for admitting teachers and bishops in other churches, whereof we haue example in Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.

8 Moreouer, this was a great setting vp of that church, when as their sentence not onely was required, but also receiued diuers times of other bishops. And when bishops of other prouinces were at any dissension among themselues, they of their owne accord appealed to the bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite vp both parties, and to haue the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Macarius and Helychius send to Julius then bishop of Rome, &c.

9 Item, in that certaine of the Arrians returning from their Arrianisme, offered vp and exhibited vnto the bishops of Rome their libels of repentance, and were of them receiued againe, as Vrsatius and Valens did to Julius. Socra. lib. 2. cap. 24.

10 The tenth cause was also, for that Gratianus the emperor made a law, that all men should retaine that religion which Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria did hold. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 4.

11 And also, if it happened the bishop of Rome to disallow the ordering of any minister or ministers, the popes perceiuing how

how diligent and readie they were to seeke their fauour, and to send vp their messengers to Rome for their purgation, take thereby no little maner of exaltation. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

12 Besides these aforesaid, the bishops of Rome had also an other artificiall practise, that in sending out their letters abroad, as they did to many, in all their epistles (if the epistles be theirs and not forged) euer they were harping of the greatnes of their name, and of their apostolike see, and of the primacie of S. Peter, their predecessor and prince of all the apostles, &c. And this they vsed in euery letter, whensoeuer they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretall, namely, in the letters of Miltiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, &c.

13 Againe, if any of the east church directed any writing to them, wherein any signification was contained of neuer so little reuerence giuen vnto them (as learned men commonly vse for modesties sake) that was taken by and by and construed for plaine subiection and due obedience, as declareth the letter of Damasus written to the bishops of the east church, beginning thus: Quòd debita reuerentia, &c. In English thus: But that your charitie yéeldeth due reuerence to the apostolicall see, you in so doing (deare children) doe much for your selues, &c. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9. where as the bishops of the east church notwithstanding had shewed little or no reuerence in their epistle to pope Damasus before.

Thus haue ye the first and original grounds, by the means whereof, ỳ archbishops of the Romish see haue atchieued to this their great kingdome and celsitude ouer Christs church, first beginning the mysterie of their iniquitie by that which was modestly and voluntarily giuen them; afterward by vse and custome claiming it ambitiouslie vnto them of dutie and seruice, and lastly holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possession, so that now in no case they can abide the birds to call home their feathers againe, which they so long haue vsurped.

This latter church of Rome differing from the first church of Rome, in forme of gouernment.

And thus much concerning the life, iurisdiction, and title of the Romane bishops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, haue fallen from the church of Rome. To these I might also ioyne the maner of gouernment, wherin the said Romish bishops haue no lesse altered both from the rule of scripture, and from the steps of the true church of Rome, which gouernment as it hath been, and ought to be onely spirituall, so hath the bishop of Rome vsed it of late yeres no otherwise, than hath an earthly king or prince gouerned his realme and dominions, with riches, glorie, power, terror, outward strength, force, prison, death, execution, lawes, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, reuenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offenses against God committed, vsing and abusing in all these things the word of God for his pretext and cloke to worke his worldly purpose withall: whereas indeed the word of God ministreth no such power to spirituall persons, but such as is spirituall: according to the saying of the apostle; Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia, &c: The armour and artillerie, saith S. Paul, of our warfarre, is not carnall, but spirituall: such as serue not against flesh and bloud, nor against the weake person of man: but against satan, against the gates of hell, and the profundities of the wicked power, &c.

How the church of Christ ought to be gouerned.

Which armour as it is all spirituall, so ought they, which haue the dealing thereof, to be likewise spirituall, well furnished with all such gifts and graces of the holie ghost, meet for the gouernance of his spirituall church: as with wisdome and knowledge in the scripture to instruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foresight of the crafftie cogitations and operations of satan, with power of the spirit to resist the same: with practise and experience of temptations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of satan: with heauenly discretion to discerne spirits, and truth from vntruth: with iudgement and knowledge of tongues and learning to conuict error: with zeale of Gods glorie, with feruencie of prayer, with patience in persecution: with a mind contented with all cases and states incident, with teares and compassion on other mens griefes: with stoutnes and courage against proud and stout oppressors: with humilitie toward the poore and miserable: with the counsell of the Lord Iesus, by his word and spirit to direct him in all things to be done; with strength against sinne: with hatred of this world: with gift of faith: power of the keies in spirituall causes, as to minister the word, the sacraments and excommunication when the word biddeth, that the spirit may be saued, and to reconcile again, as cause requireth, &c. These & such like are the matters wherein consisteth the sinews and strength of the church, and for true gouernance of the same. But contrarie to these aforesaid both the bishop & clergie of this latter church of Rome, proceeding in their administration and gouernance, as who vnder the name and pretense of Christ and his word, haue exercised of long time nothing else but a worldly dominion, seeking indeed their owne glorie, not the glorie of Christ: riches of the world, not the lucre of soules: not feeding the flock, but filling the purse: reuenging their owne wrongs, but neglecting Gods glorie: striuing against man onlie, and killing him; but not killing the vice, nor confuting the errour of man: strong against flesh and bloud, but weake against the diuell, stout against the simple, but meeke against the mightie: briefly,

Prepostereous gouernement of the church by the pope.

doing almost all things preposterously, more like to secular princes, than spirituall pastors of Christs flocke, without outward forcement, and feare of punishment, with prisoning, famishing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, slaying, murdering, and burning, and warring also: on the other side, with his riches and treasures, with his gard and gardiance, with strength of men, with court and cardinals: with pompe and pride about them, with their triple crowne, with the naked sword, with their ordinarie succession: with their lawes, and executions: their promotions and preferments: their biddings and commandings: threatnings and reuengings, &c.

A comparison betweene the king domie of this world and the kingdome of the pope.

In fine, to compare therfore the images of a worldly kingdome, with this kingdome of the pope, there is no difference, saue onely that this kingdome of the pope, vnder hypocrisie maketh a face of the spirituall sword, which is the word of God: but in very deed doth all things with the temporall sword, that is, with outward forcement and coaction: differing nothing from ciuill and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For as in an earthly kingdome, first there is a prince or some chiefe magistrate appointed, hauing dominion ouer his nobles and commons, containing all his subiects vnder his statutes and lawes, with the which lawes notwithstanding he dispenseth at his pleasure; vnder whom all other inferiour magistrats haue their order and place to them appointed to rule ouer the subiects, and yet to be subiect vnder him: so if the state and forme of the pope be well considered, we shall see it altereth nothing from the same, but only in the names of the persons. In ciuill gouernment, all subiection is referred to one head ruler, whose authoritie surmounteth all the rest, and keepeth them vnder obedience: in like maner, the gouernment of the popish church is committed to one man, who as chiefe steward, ouerseer and ruler of Christs houshold in his absence, hath supreme power ouer all churches, to moderat and direct all the affaires thereof. But heere standeth the difference, in ciuill policy he is called a king or prince: here he is called a pope.

Secular nobilitie compared with ecclesiastical nobilitie.

The king hath next vnto him his dukes and earles: the popes nobilitie standeth in his cardinals & legats, who though they be no dukes in name, yet in pompe and pride will not only giue checke to them, but also mate to kings themselues, if they might be suffered, as did Theodorus, Lanfrancus, Anselmus, Thomas Becket, and so would Thomas Wolsey haue done, had not the king giuen him a necke to his mate betime. In ciuill policie next to dukes and earles followeth the order of lords, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, with maiors, shiriffes, constables, bailiffes, wardens, &c. The like race is to be seene also, although vnder other names, in the popes policie: of primats, bishops, suffragans, prouosts, deans, canons, vicars, archdeacons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolyts, exorcists, lectors, doorekeepers, singlers, with other clerks. And as in the other vnder wardens commeth the order of scauingers: so neither doth the popes monarchy lacke his chanelrakers, to whom may well be compared the rablement of abbats, prouincials, priors, monks, friers, with their couents, and nunries.

Ciuill magistrats compared with ecclesiasticall.

Officers of the temporall court compared with the officers of the spirituall court.

Moreouer, from iustices, iudges, lawyers, sergeants, attorneies, which be necessarie officers in the common wealth, what differeth the popes inquisitors, canonists, doctors, and bachelors of the popes law, commissaries, officials, proctors, promotors, with such others, which serue no lesse in spiritual court, and in the consistory, then the other aforesaid do in temporal court, or in Guildhall? Now who so list to compare the glorie & magnificence of the one, with the glorie of the other: also the power and strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other: and so the riches of the one, with ỳ riches of the other; I suppose he shall see no great ods betweene them both, taking the popes kingdome, as it hath stood in his full ruffe, and yet doth stand where churches are not reformed. As for subtiltie and politike practise, there is no man that doubteth that is indifferent, nor that seeth not that hath his eies, but that the popes hierachie in holding vp their state, far excelleth al the kingdomes of worldly princes, of whom all other may take example to learne.

Glorie compared.

Power compared.

Riches compared.

Subtiltie compared.

Thus in comparing the popes regiment with ciuil gouernance, as they doe little or nothing disagree asunder: so in comparing again the same with the order of scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old ancient church of Rome, we shall see no resemblance betweene them. As we read in the apostles time, all the armour of Christs ministers was spirituall and full of godly power against the spiritual enemies of our saluation, gouerning the church then with peace, patience, humilitie, true knowledge of God, the sword of the spirit, the shield of faith, the brestplate of righteousnesse, hartie charitie, sincere faith, and a good conscience: so after the apostles in the time of Ambrose, by his owne testimonie is to be vnderstood, that the armour of churchmen was then, Preces & lachrymæ, prayers and teares: where now the armour of the popes priesthood is nothing els but Ignis & ferrum, fire and sword, wherewith they keepe all things vnder their subiection. And heere commeth the enorme and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, and interdiction in cases friuolous, or worldly, and for such as for which the ciuill magistrat will not commit any citizens to the stocks, the popes censure will not sticke to commit a christian to the diuell: not to speake of their other vsurped dealings

The difference betweene the popes regiment and the order of the primitiue church.

2. Cor. 10. Ephes. 6. 1. Tim. 1.

The armor proper to churchmen.

Horrible abuse of excommunication in the popes church.

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The popes gouerning in matters to them not pertaining.

and doings in matters, that belong to the ciuill sword, and be to them impertinent. As in punishing whordome and adulterie, in administration and probats of testaments, in bearing ciuill office, as popes to be senators of Rome, and emperour also Sed vacante, : cardinals to be captains in war, and rulers of regions: bishops to be presidents or chancellors, priests to bee stewards in great mens houses, or masters of mints, or clerks of the market, or gardiners to gentlemen, &c. All which here I ouerpasse, referring them to the deeper consideration of such as haue more leisure to marke the order of their doings, and so to iudge of the same with indifferencie, according to the rule of truth, touched with Gods word, and publike examples of the ancient church of Christ in the primitiue time.

The corrupt doctrine of the popes church examined and detected.

Thus hauing discoursed sufficiently so much as concerneth the manner of life, tittle, iurisdiction, & gouernment of the popes see (in al which points is to be seene how this latter church of Rome hath receded from the trus ancient church of Rome) now remaineth, according to my promise, and order prefixed, consequently to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of doctrine: wherein consisteth the chiefest matter that maketh with vs and against them, in such sort as (their doctrin standing as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true catholiks, being altered so far from them: nor we otherwise then heretiks if we should now ioine with these. For the more triall whereof, let vs examine the doctrine and rites of the said church of Rome now vsed, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient catholiks, to the intent that such simple soules as haue been hitherto, & yet are seduced by the false colour and image of this pretensed and bastardlie church, perceiuing what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eschew the perill, if they list to be instructed: or if not, to blame none but themselues for their owne wilfull destruction. And albeit I could here charge the newfangled church of the pope with seuen or eight hainous crimes, as blasphemie, idolatrie, heresie, superstition, absurditie, vanitie, crueltie, and contrarietie (as which neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-elders, nor yet with themselues in sundrie points) yet after a more temperate sort to passe this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the pope now taught in the church of Rome, is neither any consolation of conscience, nor saluation of mans soule. For seeing there is no life nor soules health but only in Christ, nor any promise of saluation or comfort made, but onelie by faith in the sonne of God: what assurance then can there be of perfect peace, life, or saluation, where that which onelie maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least are most esteemed? For to say the simple truth, what els is the whole course and body of the popes law now set forth, but a doctrine of lawes, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one iot to the iustification of our soules before the terrible iudgement of God.

The false image of the popes church.

No comfort nor saluation in the popes doctrine now taught.

The scope and summe of the popes doctrine whither it tendeth.

And therefore (as it may be trulie said) this doctrine of the pope to be void of all true comfort and saluation: so likewise it seemeth that these which addict themselues so deuoutly to the popes learning, were neuer earnestly afflicted in conscience, neuer humbled in spirit nor broken in heart, neuer entred into any serious feeling of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should soone haue seene their owne weakenesse and be driuen to Christ: then should they haue seene what a horrible thing it is to appeare before God the father, or once to thinke on him (as Luther saith) without Christ. And on the contrarie side, then should they know what a glorie, what a kingdome, what libertie and life it were to be in Christ Iesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondsonne of Agar, but with the free sonne of Sara: by promise, and not by the law: by grace, and not by works: by gift, and not by deseruing: that God onely might be praised, and not man.

Papists neuer lightly afflicted in conscience deepely.

An horrible thing to thinke of God without Christ. Luther.

The right faith of the old Romans. Cornelius, a Roman first baptised of all the gentils.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by S. Paul writing to the Romans. The same did Cornelius the Roman, and first that was baptised of all the gentils, learne of S. Peter when he receiued the holy ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but onely by hearing the faith of Iesus preached. And in the same doctrine, the said church of the Romans many yeeres continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine, the bishop of Rome with his Romans now also should still remaine, if they were such ancient catholiks as they pretend, & would follow the old mother church of Rome, and hold the first liquor wherwith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdor and sent of that liquor and pleasant must is now cleane put out through other vnsauorie infusions of the popes thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor peece remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine, which S. Paul and other apostles first planted among the gentils. And what maruell if the Romans now in so long tract of time haue lost their first sap, seeing the church of the Galathians then in the very time of S. Paul their scholemaster, he being amongst them, had not so soone turned his backe a little, but they were all turned almost from the doctrine of faith, and had much adoe to be recouered againe?

The church of Rome hath lost the liquor wherewith it was first seasoned.

The Galathians almost gone from faith in S. Pauls time.

Of this defection and falling from faith, S. Paul expressly foretelleth vs in his letters both to the Thessalonians, and also to Timothie, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certaine shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, &c. 1. Tim. 4. And to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainely leadeth vs to vnderstand in the same place, where the said apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marrie, and to eate meates ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiuing, for mans sustenance, most euidently as with his finger, pointeth out vnto vs the church of Rome, which not in these points onely but also in all other conditions almost is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall sinceritie of that doctrine, which S. Paul planted in the church of the Romans, and of all other gentils.

1. Tim. 4.

The summe of S. Pauls doctrine *deliuered to the gentiles.*

A briefe summe of S. Pauls doctrine deliuered to the gentiles.

1 FIrst, the doctrine of S. Paul ascribeth all our iustification freely and merely to faith onely in Christ as to the only meanes and cause immediat, whereby the merits of Christs passion be applied vnto vs, without any other respect of worke or works of the law, what soeuer: and in this doctrine the church of the Romans was first planted.

Saluation by mercie onely, and not by merits.

2 Secondly, the same doctrine of S. Paul cutting off & excluding all glorie of mans deseruing, stayeth onely vpon Gods promise and vpon grace, not mans merits: vpon mercie, not mans labouring or running: vpon election and calling, not mans willing, &c.

All flesh concluded vnder sinne.

3 Thirdly, the same doctrine casting downe the strength of man and his Integra naturalia (as the schooles doe terme them) concludeth all flesh vnder sinne, and maketh the same destitute of the glorie of God.

Difference betweene the law and the gospell.

4 Item, it maketh manifest difference betweene the law and the gospell, declaring the vse and end of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemne, the other to iustifie; the one to haue an end and a time, the other to be perpetuall, &c.

Iustitia Dei. Iustitia propria.

5 Item, the same doctrine of S. Paul, as it sheweth a difference betweene the law and the gospell; so it maketh no lesse difference betweene Iustitia Dei, & Iustitia propria: that is, the righteousnes of God and the righteousnes of man, abhorring the one, that is, mans owne righteousnes, comming by the law and works; and embracing the other which God imputeth freelie and gratiouslie to vs for Christ his sonnes sake, in whom we beleeue.

The righteousnesse of God, and the righteousnes of man how they differ in scripture.

6 Item, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men what soeuer, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerlie elements of this world.

A true christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified.

7 Likewise it reiecteth and wipeth away all curious subtilties, and superfluous speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ onely crucified, which is onely the obiect whereunto our faith looketh.

All men condemned by one. All men saued by one. Originall sinne, originall iustice.

8 Furthermore, as the same doctrin of S. Paul defineth all men to bee transgressours by disobedience of one Adam, though they neuer touched the apple, comming of his stock by nature; so doth it proue all men to be iustified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, being likewise borne of him by spirituall regeneration and faith.

9 And therefore as all men comming of Adam be condemned originallie, before they grow vp to commit any sinne against the law: so all men be saued originallie being regenerated by faith in Christ, before they begin to doe any good worke of charitie, or any other good deed.

Rom. 5. Rom. 8.

10 Item, the doctrine of S. Paul perpending the high glorie of a christian mans state in Christ Iesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with almightie God. Rom. 5. Secondlie, exempteth him from all condemnation. Rom. 8. Thirdlie, it matcheth him with angels, it equalleth him with saints and fellow citizens of heauen, it numbereth him with the houshold of God, and inheriteth him with Iesus Christ himselfe. Ephes. 2. Fourthlie, it adopteth him from the state of a seruant, to the state of the sonne of God, crying Abba father. Gal. 4. Fiftly, it openeth to him a bold accesse and entrance to the high maiestie and throne of grace. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtly, it subiecteth all things vnder him, as ministers, yea, the apostles themselues in their highest office, death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole world besides, and assigneth him no spirituall head, but onely Christ, saying, And you are Christs, and Christ is Gods. 1. Cor. 3. Seuenthly, it aduanceth & setteth him in a spirituall libertie or freedome, aboue all terrors of spirit, rising either of Gods law or mans law, aboue all dreadfull feares of sinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or purgatorie: aboue all seruile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customes, or what else soeuer oppresseth & intangleth the spirituall freedome of a conscience which Christ hath set at libertie; & requireth moreouer that we walke and stand stout in that libertie with the free sonne of Sara, whereto we are brought, and not suffer our selues any more to be clogged with any such seruill bondage: that is to meane, although we must be content to subiect our bodies to al seruice and to all men, yet that we yeeld not our spirituall consciences and soules as slaues and seruants to be subiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, for so much as

Ephes. 2. *Itaque iam non es seruus sed filius.* Gal. 4. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4.

1. Cor. 3. The glorious state of christian libertie and spirituall freedome in Christ Iesu.

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as we are in that part made lords and princes ouer all things what soeuer can harme or bind, or terrifie vs. Gal.4. Col.2.

Gal.4. Colos.2.

11 Item, the right veine of S. Pauls doctrine putteth no difference nor obseruation in daies and times. Gal.4. Col.2.

Daies and times indifferent.

12 Item, it leaueth all meats to be indifferent, with thankesgiuing, to serue the necessitie of the bodie, and not the bodie to serue them. Col.2. 1.Tim.4.

Meates indifferent with thankesgiuing.

13 Item, it permitteth marriage without restraint or exception, lawfull and also expedient for all men, hauing need thereof. 1.Cor.7.

Marriage lawfull for all men.

14 Item, it admitteth no sacrifice for sinne but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done once for all with bloud. For without bloud there is no remission of sinne, which only is applied to vs by faith, and by nothing else. Heb.9.

One sacrifice for sinne and no more. Heb.9.

15 Item, as touching the holy communion, by the letters of S. Paul to the Corinth. 11. we vnderstand, that the vse then amongst them was, to haue the participation of the bread called the Lords bodie, & of the cup called the Lords blood administred not at an altar, but at a plaine board or table, the congregation there meeting together after the time of their supper, where not the minister alone did receiue and the other looked one; but the whole congregation together did communicate with reuerence and thanksgiuing, not lifting ouer the priests head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts, but either sitting at the supper, or standing after the supper. According to which forme the Vulcounts yet to this day following the old rite of the countrie (although being drowned otherwise in much superstition) vse to receiue it after they bee risen from their dinner standing. Experience whereof was seene here at London the first day of October 1569.

The vse of the holie communion in ancient time of the primitiue church.

16 Item, the said apostle, besides the sacramentall supper maketh mention of baptisme, or washing of regeneration, although he himselfe baptised but few: 1.Cor.1. of the other sacraments he maketh no mention.

No mo sacraments mentioned in S. Paul but the Lords supper and baptisme.

17 Item, by the same doctrine of S. Paul, no tongue is to be vsed in the congregation, which is not knowne and doth not edifie. 1.Cor.14.

18 Item. the rule of S. Pauls doctrine subiecteth euerie creature vnder the obedience of kings and princes and ordinarie magistrats, ordained of God to haue the sword and authoritie of publike regiment, to order and dispose in all things not contrarie to God, whatsoeuer pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the euill: from whose iurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations of persons, whether they be ecclesiasticall or politicall. And therefore to this office appertaineth to preserue peace, to set things in lawfull order, to conserue christian discipline in the church of Christ, to remoue offenses, to bridle the disobedient, to prouide and procure wholesome and faithfull teachers ouer the people, to maintaine learning and set vp schooles, to haue ouersight not onelie of the people, but also of all ecclesiasticall ministers, to see to euery one to doe his dutie, and to remoue or punish such as be negligent: also to call councels and synods, and to prouide the church goods to be faithfully dispensed by the hands of true dealers, to the sustentation of the church, of true teachers, and to the publike necessitie of the poore, &c.

The authoritie and office of the ciuil magistrates.

19 Furthermore, by S. Pauls doctrine, the ministers and superintendents of Christs church haue their authoritie and armour likewise to them limited, which armour is onely spirituall and not carnall, whereby they fight not against flesh and bloud, but against the power of darkenes, errour, and sin; against the spirituall seduction and craftinesse in heauenlie things, against the works and proceedings of Satan the prince of this world, in comforting weake consciences against the terrors of the diuell, and desperation, and finally against euerie cogitation lifted vp against Christ, to subdue euery celsitude to the subiection and power of Christ Iesu the sonne of God.

The office and authoritie of bishops how farre it doth extend.

Another breefe recapitulation of the same.

Another briefe recapitulation of S. Pauls doctrine reduced to fiue points.

BRiefly and in a compendious sum to reduce the whole doctrine of S. Paul, in these fiue points chiefly it consisteth.

1 First, in setting foorth the grace, great loue and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Iesus his sonne to mankind, which so loued the world, that he hath giuen his owne sonne for the redemption thereof. 1. Ioh.3. Which gaue his sonne to die for vs being his enemies. Rom.5. Which hath quickned vs being dead in sinne, Ephes.2. Which so mercifullie hath reconciled the world to himselfe by his sonne, and also by his ambassadors desireth vs to be reconciled vnto him. 2.Cor.5. Who hath giuen his owne sonne to be sinne for vs. 2.Cor.5. To be accursed for vs. Gal.2. Which by firme promise hath assured vs of our inheritance. Rom.4. Which not by the works of righteousnesse that we haue done, but of his owne mercie hath saued vs by the washing of regeneration. Tit.3.

Iohn 3. Rom.5. Ephes.2. The great mercie of God in Christ. Gal 3. 2 Cor.5. Rom.5. Tit.3.

2 The second point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant maiestie of Christ Iesus the sonne of God, and the excellencie of his glorie, who being once dead in the infirmitie of flesh, rose againe with power, ascending vp with maiestie, hath led away captiuitie captiue. Eph.4. sitteth and raigneth in glorie on the right hand of God in heauenlie things aboue all principats and potestates, powers and dominations, and aboue euery name that is named, not onely in this world, but also in the world to come, Ephes. 1. In whose name euery knee hath to bend both in heauen and in earth, and vnder the earth, and euery tongue to confesse our Lord Christ Iesus to be of the glorie of God the Father. Phil.2. In whom and by whom all things are made both in heauen and in earth, things visible and inuisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principats, or potestats, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things consist in him, who is the head of his bodie the church, the beginning and first borne from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fulnesse. Col.1. To whom the Father hath giuen al iudgement, and iudgeth no man himselfe any more. Iohn 5. To whom the Father hath giuen all things to his hands. Iohn 13. To whom the Father hath giuen power of all flesh. Iohn 17. To whom all power is giuen in heauen and in earth. Mat.vlt. In whom be all the promises of God Eft & Amen. 2.Cor.1.

Phil.2. Colos.1. Iohn 5. Iohn 13. Iohn 17. Matth.vlt. 2.Cor.1.

3 Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his crosse and passion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to vs by the same. By whose blood we haue redemption and remission of our sins. Ephes.1. By whose stripes we are made whole. Esay 53. By whose crosse all things are pacified, both in heauen and in earth. Col.1. By whose death we are reconciled. Rom.5. Who hath destroyed death, and brought life to light. 1.Timot.1. Who by death hath destroied him which had the power of death, that is, the diuell, and hath deliuered them which liued vnder feare of death all their life in bondage. Heb.2. By whose obedience we are made iust: by whose righteousnesse we are iustified to life. Rom.5. By whose curse we are blessed, and deliuered from the malediction of the law. Gal.3. By whose bloud we that once were far off, are made neere vnto God. Ephes.5. Who in one bodie hath reconciled both Iewes and Gentils vnto God. Eph.2. Who by his flesh hath taken away the diuision and separation betweene God and vs, abolishing the law which was set against vs in precepts and decrees. Ephes. 2. Who is our peace, our aduocat, and propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world. 1.Iohn 2. Who was made accursed, and sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousnesse of God in him. 2.Cor.5. Who is made of God for vs, our wisdome and righteousnesse and sanctification, and redemption. 1.Cor.1. By whom wee haue boldnesse and entrance with all confidence through faith in him. Ephes.3. Who forgiueth all our sinnes, and hath torne in peeces the obligation or handwriting, which was against vs in the law of commandements, and hath crucified it vpon the crosse, and vtterly hath dispatched and abolished the same, and hath spoiled principats and potestats, as in an open shew of conquest, triumphing ouer them openly in himselfe. Col. 2. Who iustifieth the wicked by faith. Rom.4. In whom we are made full and complet. Col.2. &c.

The third branch. The vertue and effect of Christs death, and what exceeding benefits proceed thereof. Ephes.1. Esay 53. Colos.1. Rom.5. 1.Tim.1. Heb.2. Rom.5. Gal.3. Ephes.2. 1.Iohn 2. 2.Cor.5. 1.Cor.1. Ephes.3. Colos.2. Rom.4. Colos.2.

4 The fourth branch is, to teach and informe vs (to whom these benefits of Christs passion and victorie doe appertaine) by what meanes the same is applied and redoundeth vnto vs: which meanes is onely one, that is, onely faith in Christ Iesu, and no other thing. Which faith it pleaseth almightie God, to accept for righteousnesse. And this righteousnesse it is, which onely standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainelie taught by the scriptures, and especiallie by the doctrine of S. Paul. Which righteousnesse thus rising of faith in Christ, S. Paul calleth the righteousnesse of God, where he speaketh of himselfe, vtterly refusing the other righteousnesse which is of the law, that they might be found in him, not hauing his owne righteousnesse which is of the law, but the righteousnesse of Christ, which is of faith. Phil.3. Againe, the said apostle writing of the Iewes, which sought for righteousnesse and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, sheweth the reason why: Because (saith he) the one sought it as by works and the law, and came not to it, who not knowing the righteousnesse of God, and seeking to set vp their owne righteousnesse, did not submit themselues to the righteousnesse which is of God. The other, which were the Gentils, and sought not for it, obtained righteousnesse, that righteousnesse, which is of faith, &c. Rom.9. Also in another place, S. Paul in the same epistle writing of this righteousnesse which commeth of faith, calleth it the righteousnesse of God, in these words: Whom God (saith he) hath set vp for a propitiation by faith in his bloud, whereby to make manifest the righteousnes which is of himselfe in tolerating our sins, &c. Rom.3. By the which righteousnesse it is euident that saint Paul meaneth the righteousnes of faith, which almightie God now reuealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the gospell. Wilt thou see yet more plainely this righteousnesse of God how it is taken in saint Paul, for the righteousnesse of faith, and therefore is called the righteousnesse of God, because it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deserued of man? In the same epistle to the Romans and in the third chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: The righteousnesse of God (saith he) is by faith of Iesus Christ, in all, and vpon all that doe beleeue, &c.

Faith only the meane cause of saluation and nothing else. The righteousnesse of the law. Phil.3. The righteousnesse of the gospell. Rom.9. The places of saint Paul expounded. Rom.3. The righteousnesse of faith, why it is called Gods righteousnesse. Rom.3.

Wherefore whosoeuer studieth to be accepted with God and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of saint Paul to make a difference and a separation, as farre as from heauen and earth, betweene these two; that

A lesson out of saint Pauls doctrine, of all Christians to be obserued.

The glorie and maiestie of Christ Iesus set foorth by saint Paul, Ephes.4.

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that is betweene the righteousnesse of workes, and righteousnesse of faith: & in any wise beware he bring no other meanes for his iustification, or remission of his sinnes, but only faith apprehending the bodie or person of Christ Iesus crucified. For as there is no way into the house but by the dore, so is there no comming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith. And as the mortall bodie, without bodily sustenance of bread & drinke cannot but perish: so the spirituall soule of man hath no other refreshing but onely by faith in the bodie and bloud of Christ, wherby to be saued. With this faith the idolatrous gentiles apprehended Iesus Christ, & receiued thereby righteousnes. Cornelius (the first baptised Romane) so soone as he heard Peter preach Christ, receiued straightway the holy ghost. Peter himselfe confessed, and for his confession had the keies of heauen. Matth. 16. Zacheus receiued the person of Christ into his house, and withall receiued saluation both to him and his whole household. Luk. 19. What a sinner was Marie, which had no lesse in her than seuen diuels, and yet because she set her heart and affection vpon that person, many sinnes were forgiuen her. Luk. 7. The right hand theefe, how farre was he from all workes of the law, and yet by faith entred he iustified into paradise the same day with Christ, Luke. 23. In like manner, although the pore publicane came to the church with lesse holinesse after the law, yet went he home to his house more iustified than the pharisee with all his works, and al by reason of faith. Luk. 18. The parable of the prodigall sonne which was lost, yet reuined againe; also of the lost groate, and of the lost sheepe which went astray and was found againe, what doe these declare but that which is lost by the law, to be recouered by faith and grace? And how oft doe we reade in the gospels: Thy faith hath saued thee, &c. Iesus seeing their beleefe, &c. He that beleeueth in me, I will raise him vp in the last day, &c. Beleeue also in me, &c. He that beleeueth in me hath euerlasting life, &c. Without me yee can doe nothing, &c. He that is in me, &c. He that loueth me, &c. He that heareth me, &c. He that abideth in me, &c. He that receiueth me, &c. Vnlesse ye eat my flesh and drinke my bloud, &c. That they may receiue remission of sinnes by their faith in me, &c. Act. 26. To him all the prophets giue witnes, to haue remission of sinnes, whosoeuer beleeueth in his name, &c. Act. 10. He that beleeueth and is baptised. Matth. vlt. He that beleeueth in mee shall doe the workes that I do, and greater than these, &c.

Rom. 9.
Act. 10. Saluation commeth only by faith.
Matth. 16.
Luke 19.
Luke 7.
Luke 23.
Luke 18. That which is lost by the law is recouered by faith.
Luke 18.
Matth. 9.
Iohn 14.
Iohn 14.
Iohn 15.
Iohn 6.
Acts 26.
Acts 10.
Matth. vlt.
Iohn 14.

And likewise in the writings of saint Paul, how often doe wee heare the name of Christ, almost in euery third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: In Christo Iesu, per Christum Iesum, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, &c. Qui credunt in ipso, &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo, &c. Credentes illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen eius, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, &c. Beleeue (saith saint Paul to the gailer) in the Lord Iesus, and thou shalt be saued & thy whole house, &c. Act. 16.

The writings of S. Paul full of the name of Christ Iesus.
Beleefe only in Christ saueth.
Acts 16.

Thus then thou seest, as the passion of Christ is only the efficient or personall cause immediat of our saluation: so is faith ony the instrumentall or meane cause that maketh the merits of Christ to vs auailable. For as the passion of Christ serueth to none but such as do beleeue: so neither doth faith (as it is onely a bare qualitie or action in mans mind) it selfe iustifie, vnlesse it be directed to the bodie of Christ crucified, as to his obiect, of whom it receiueth all his vertue. And therefore these two must alwaies ioyntlie concurre together, faith, and Christ Iesus crucified. As for example, when the children of Israel were bid of Moses to looke vp to the brasen serpent, neither could the serpent haue helped them, except they had looked vp; nor yet their looking vpward haue profited them, vnlesse they had directed their eies vpon the said serpent, as the onely obiect set vp to the same purpose for them to behold. So our faith in like case directed to the bodie of Iesus our sauiour, is onelie the meanes whereby Christs merits are applied vnto vs, and we now iustified before God, according to the doctrine of saint Paul, who in expresse words, defining to vs what this faith is, and how it iustifieth, saith: If thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, and beleeue with thy hart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saued, &c. Rom. 10. Besides this, what action or qualitie soeuer is in man, either hope, charitie, or any other kind of faith and beleeuing, be it neuer so true, except it apprehend this obiect (which is) the body of Christ, the sonne of God, it serueth not to iustification. And that is the cause why we adde this particle (onely) to faith, and say that faith onely in Christ iustifieth vs, to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or works of man, from the cause of iustifying; forsomuch as there is no other knowledge nor gift giuen of God to man, be it neuer so excellent, that can stand before the iudgement of God vnto iustification, or whereunto any promise of saluation is annexed; but onely this faith looking vp to the brasen serpent, that is, to the bodie of Christ Iesus for vs crucified.

Thrist the onlie obiect of faith which iustifieth.
Example of the brasen serpent.
What faith is by S. Paul.
Rom. 10.
Faith only.

As for example, when the Turke saith, that he beleeueth in one liuing God that made heauen and earth, his beleefe therein is true, yet it iustifieth him not, because it lacketh the right obiect, which is Christ. So when the Iew saith, that he beleeueth in one God maker of heauen and earth, and beleeueth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, iust, and true of promise, and that he hath elected the seed of Abraham: true it is that he beleeueth, and yet all this serueth him not, because Christ the sonne of God is not ioyned withall. And though the said Iew should bee neuer so deuout in his prayers, or charitable in almes, or precise in keeping the law, and beleeued neuer so stedfastly that he is elect to be saued: yet he is neuer the nearer to saluation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded vpon the head corner stone, which is the person and bodie of Christ Iesus the true sauiour. After like sort it may bee said of the papist, when he saith that he is baptised, & beleeueth in the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, three persons and one God, and also confesseth Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God, which died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our righteousnesse, &c: his beleefe therein is true, and indeede would saue him, if he did stay his saluation in this faith, and vpon Christ his sauiour onely, according to the promise and grace of God, and goe no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ only to be his perfect sauiour without the helpe of the patrons, heads, aduocats, and mediatours, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ onely to be the meanes of his iustification, but setteth vp other by-meanes, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the masse, confession, penance, satisfaction, merits, and pardons, supposing thereby to worke his iustification before God, contrarie to the word of promise, to the gospell of grace, and to the doctrine of saint Paul, whereof we shall see more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Diuers sorts of beleeuing.
The Turks faith.
The Iewes faith.

Euery truth may be beleeued, but the beleeuing of euery truth saueth not.
The papists faith.
Onely.
Hope and charitie be no parts of our iustification, nor causes to make the merits of Christ ours.

And thus much of the true causes of our iustification after the doctrine of S. Paul. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the originall causes of our saluation, which be diuers & sundrie, some are externall, & without vs: some are internall, & within vs. Of the externall causes which are without vs, the first and principall is the mercie and grace of God. Of this followeth predestination and election. Then commeth vocation. The last and next cause to vs is the death and bloudshed of Christ whereby we are redeemed, and all these be externall causes, because they are without vs. Of internall causes that be in man thorough the gift of God, there is but one, & no more in scripture appointed, that is, our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in vs. Besides this, there is no gift of God giuen to man, vertue, worke, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of saluation, but onelie this gift of faith, to beleeue in Christ Iesu. And this is the cause why we hold that faith only iustifieth, meaning, that amongst all the works, deeds, actions, labours, and operations, what soeuer man doth, or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh saluation, but onelie his faith giuen to him of God to beleeue in Christ his sonne, following therein the trade of saint Pauls teaching: who in precise words so ascribeth iustification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the same epistle to the Romans, Saint Paul reasoning of the glorie of iustifying, asketh this question, how this glorie is excluded: whether by the law of works? And concludeth, not ascribing only the glorie thereof to the law of faith, and consequently vpon the same he inferreth: Colligimus enim iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis: We hold that a man is iustified by faith without the deeds of the law.

Grace and mercie.
Election.
Vocation.
Christs passion.
Christian faith.
The meaning and cause why faith only iustifieth.
All works of man excluded from the glorie of iustifying.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our iustification, which S. Paul vtterlie debarreth and excludeth in that behalfe? Of which like exclusiues & negatiues the whole course of S. Pauls doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: Sine operibus, absque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum est; secundum misericordiam; non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur, Eph. 2. Non ex operibus iustitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundùm propositum suum & gratiam, &c. Tit. 3. Non secundum opera nostra, &c. Tim. 1. That is to say, It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man should glorie, &c. Not of the works of righteousnes, which we haue done, but of his owne mercie, &c. Not after our works, but after his own purpose, and grace which is giuen to vs, &c. Againe, Gal. 2. Non iustificatur homo ex operibus, &c. That is, A man is not iustified by works &c. Item, Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui iustificat impium, fides imputatur ad iustitiam, &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which iustifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousnesse, &c. By these exclusiues and negatiues in S. Pauls doctrine, what doth he else meane, but vtterlie to seclude all kind of mans merits, and works of the law from the office and dignitie of iustifying? And although he expresseth not the word, Onely: yet vpon his exclusiues & negatiues, this exceptiue must needs be inferred. For in all logike the consequent is necessarie and formall; as, One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one: Ergo one man only is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ, proued to be the onely meane, or instrumentall, or conditionall cause of our saluation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of S. Paul taught to the ancient Romans.

Ephes. 2.
Tit. 3.
2. Tim. 1.
Gal. 2.
Rom. 4.
The exclusiues and negatiues of S. Paul to be marked.

5 The fifth branch, which I note in S. Pauls doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established vs in certaintie of our saluatiõ through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth vs behementlie and with all instance of good works, shewing the true vse and end of good works: which is, first to shew our obe-

The fifth branch.
The true vse and end of good works.

dience

dience and dutifull seruice (as we may) vnto God, who hath done so great things for vs. Secondly, to releeue our neighbors with our charitie and kindnes, as God hath bin kind to vs his enemies. Thirdly, or stir vp others by our example, to praise God, to embrace the same religion, & to doe the like. For requisit it is, that as God hath bin so mercifull to vs and gratious in eternall gifts, we should be mercifull likewise to other in temporall commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him of his fatherly goodnesse (of our parts so little deserued) to call vs to so high a vocation, to giue the bloud of his sonne for vs, to forgiue vs all our sinnes, to deliuer vs from this present wicked world, to make vs citizens of heauen, yea his children more than seruants: little then can we doe, and well may we thinke those benefits ill bestowed, if we forgiue not our neighbors, and shew some thing againe worthie that holy calling wherewith he hath called vs, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heauenly things: and finally if we being prouoked with such loue and kindnesse, render not againe some loue for loue, some kindnesse for kindnes, seeking how to walke in the steps which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, seruing him (so much as we may) in holines and righteousnes all the daies of our life. And though our obedience shall alwaies be imperfect, doe the best we can: yet reason would that some obedience we should shew, as louing children to such a louing father.

Good works iustifie not, but follow the iustified.

And this is the cause why S. Paul is so vehement and vrgent to cal vpon good works, not that works should iustifie, but that we being iustified so mercifullie and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vaine, but endeuour our selues to our vttermost to render our seruice againe to him, in such conuersation of life as may most make to his glorie, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our sauiour seeme in some places to attribute to our obedience and charitie here in earth, great rewards in heauen, that is of his owne free grace and goodnesse so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for vs to claime any méed thereby or thanke at his hand, as by any worthines of our doings: no more than the seruant, when hee commeth from the plough and seruing the cattell in the field, serueth first his maister at home and watteth vpon his table: the maister is not bound (saith Christ) to thanke his seruant therefore, and bid him sit downe: So you (saith he) when you haue done that is commanded you, say yee are vnprofitable seruants: yee haue done but what your bound dutie was to doe. Luke 17.

Luke 17.

Againe, here also is to be vnderstood, that where such rewards be ascribed vnto mens deeds, it is not for the worthines of the déed it selfe, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the worke to be good in Gods sight: for else if an infidell should doe the same worke that the christian doth, it were nothing but meere sinne before God. In that therefore the christian mans worke is accepted be it neuer so small (as to giue a cup of cold water) the same is onely for his faith sake that doth it, and not for the worke which is done. Whereby againe we may learne how faith onely doth iustifie a man, and that three manner of waies.

Faith iustifieth three manner of waies.

First, it iustifieth the person in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to doe any good worke.

Secondly, it iustifieth a man from sin, in procuring remission and forgiuenesse of the same.

Thirdly, it iustifieth the good déeds and works of man, not onelie in bringing foorth good fruites, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office of faith, and the office of the law compared together.

The office therefore of faith and works is diuers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and iustifieth him in the sight of God, both in couering his ill déeds, and in making his good déeds acceptable to God, climing vp to heauen, and there wrestling with God and his iudgement for righteousnesse, for saluation, and for euerlasting life. Works and charitie follow faith, and are exercised here vpon the earth, and glorieth onely before man, but not before God, in shewing foorth obedience both to God and to man.

The works of man be imperfect and therefore haue nothing to doe with iustificatiō.

Further then this our good works doe not reach, nor haue any thing to doe in the iudgement of God touching saluation. I speake of our good works (as S. Paul speaketh, Rom. 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For else if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh; that is, if we could perfect them, as it is said: Qui fecerit ea viuet in eis. But now seeing the imbecillitie of our flesh cannot attaine thereto, it followeth thereof that all glorie of iustifying is taken from works, and transferred onelie to faith.

And thus much concerning the principall contents of S. Pauls doctrine. Wherein the church of the ancient Romans first was grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitiue state of the church. Likewise the same forme of doctrine the latter Romans also that followed should haue maintained, and not haue fallen away for any mans preaching, but hold him accursed, yea if he were an apostle or angell from heauen, teaching any other doctrine besides that institutiō which they haue receiued. Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

for so were they warned before by the apostle S. Paul, to doe. And yet notwithstanding all this forewarning and diligent instruction of this blessed apostle of the gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the gentiles, especially among the Romans, whereof the said apostle also foretold them so long before, foreprophesying: That the day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of sinne should be reuealed, the proud aduersarie of God, &c. The. 2. meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the holy ghost had then planted by his ministerie among the gentils. As we see it now come to passe in the church of Rome. Which church is so gone from the faith that S. Paul taught, that if he were now aliue, and saw these decrees and decretals of the bishop of Rome, these heapes of ceremonies and traditions, these masse bookes, these portesses, these festiuals and legends, these processionals, hymnes and sequences, these beads and graduals, and the maner of their inuocation, their canons, censures and latter councels, such swarms of superstitious monks and friers, such sects of so many diuers religions, the testament of S. Francis, the rule of S. Benedict, of S. Brigit, of S. Anthonie, &c: the intricat subtilties and labyrinths of the schoolemen, the infinit cases and distinctions of the canonists, the sermons in churches, the assertions in schooles, the glorie of the pope, the pride of the clergie, the crueltie of persecuting prelats with their officials and promotors: he would say this were not a defection, but rather a plaine destruction and a ruine of faith; neither that this were any true church of Christ, but a new found religion, or paganisme rather, brought in vnder the shadow of christiantie, wherein remaineth almost nothing else but the name onely of Christ, & the outward forme of his religion, the true vaine and effect whereof is vterlie decaied: as to them which list to examine all the parts of this new Romish religion may soone appeare.

Defection of faith in the church of Rome.

A view of the popes catholike church. The. 2.

The church of Rome degenerated againe almost to new paganisme.

For saue onely that they pretend the solemne forme and words of the créed, and are baptised, confessing the name of the father, the sonne and holy ghost: as touching all other points and true sinceritie of the christian faith, which they outwardlie professe, they are vtterly degenerated from that which saint Paul and the word of God first had taught them.

First, they confesse the father in word, but his will in his word expressed they renounce; his grace they acknowledge not, his benefits and promises giuen vnto vs in his sonne they receiue not, the vigor of his law they feele not, the terrour of his iudgements earnestlie they feare not, his commandements they obserue by the traditions and commandements of their owne.

The popes church in words catholike, in deed heathenish.

Likewise the name of Christ his sonne in word they confesse, but his office in déed they deface and diminish: his glory they seeke not, but vnder his name they doe seeke their owne: the power of his blood and passion they know not, or els dissemble it, whom neither they admit to be the head of his church alone, nor sauior alone, nor onely to be our patrone and aduocat, but match with him our ladie, and other patrons, so that euerie parish almost in christendome hath his peculiar patron besides Christ to hold by.

In like manner they confesse the name of the holy ghost, but God himselfe knoweth how far they are from the comfort, knowledge, and talke of the holy ghost; as well may appeare by their councels, by their expounding of scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies, by their outward worshipping and idolatrous inuocation to stockes and stones, and to dead creatures, by their scrupulous obseruation of daies, tunes, places, numbers and gestures: and no lesse also by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poore hearts of simple christians of their due consolation, ioy and liberty in the holy Ghost, and keepeth them still in a seruile bondage, and a doubtfull incertaintie of their saluation, contrarie to the working of the holy spirit of God.

The religiō of the popes church proceedeth contrarie to the working of the holy ghost.

And thus the church of Rome, pretending onely the name of Christ and of his religion, is so farre altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that vnder the name of Christ it persecuteth both Christ and his religion: working more harme to the church of Christ, than euer did the open tyrants and persecuting emperours among the heathen: not much vnlike hereto the old synagogue of the scribes and pharisies, who vnder the name of God crucified the sonne of God, and vnder pretense of the law fought against the gospell, and vnder the title of Abrahams children persecuted the children of Abraham. And as they bragging so highlie of the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, did in déede destroy the true Temple of the Lord: right so these pretensed catholikes in these daies, after they haue raised vp a catholike church of their owne, and haue armed the same with lawes, & haue gathered vnto them a power of priests, prelats, abbats, friers, of religious men, of cardinals, and also of secular princes to take their part; now vnder the name of the catholike church they persecute the true catholike church, and colouring their proceeding still with In nomine Domini, most cruelly put them to death which die Pro nomine Domini, condemning them for heretikes, schismatiks, and rebels, not which deny any part of the créed, which they themselues professe, nor such whom they can conuince by any scripture; but only such which will not ioyne with their errors & heresies, contrarie to the honor of God and truth of his word.

The church of Rome pretendeth a faire face of religion but is void of the effect thereof.

The old pharisies and the later church of Romanists compared together.

The popes church vnder the name of the catholike church persecuteth the true catholike church of Christ.

And

And leſt any ſhould thinke this, that we héere proteſt againſt the corrupt errours and manifold deformities of this latter church of Rome, to proceed of any rancour or affection, rather than grounded of neceſſarie cauſes, and demonſtrations euident, my purpoſe is (by the Lords leaue) to take herein ſome little paine, that as I haue collected a little before, the ſumme and conſents of ſaint Paules doctrine, wherewith the old church of Rome was firſt ſeaſoned and acquainted, ſo now as in a like ſummarie table to deſcrie the particular branches and contents of the popes doctrine now ſet forth, to the intent that all true chriſtian readers, comparing the one with the other, may diſcerne what great alteration there is betweene the church of Rome that now is, & the church of Rome that then was, planted by the apoſtles in the primitiue time. And to the end to open vnto the ſimple reader ſome way whereby he may the better iudge in ſuch matters of doctrine, and not be deceiued in diſcerning truth from error: firſt we will propound certaine principles or generall poſitions, as infallible rules or truths of the ſcripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined as with the touchſtone, may the more eaſilie be iudged whether they be true or contrarie, and whether they make againſt the ſcripture or no.

Certaine principles or generall verities grounded vpon the truth of Gods word.

The firſt principle.

Certaine generall principles and rules gathered of the ſcriptures. Rom.5.

1 AS ſinne and death came originally by the diſobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: ſo righteouſneſſe and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith and baptiſme. Rom.5.

The ſecond principle.

Gen.3.

2 The promiſe of God was freely giuen to our firſt parents without their deſeruing, that the ſeed of a woman ſhould breake the ſerpents head. Gen.3.

The third principle.

Gen 12.

3 Promiſe was giuen freely to Abraham before he deſerued any thing, that in his ſeed all nations ſhould be bleſſed. Gen.12.

The fourth principle.

Deut.4.

4 To the word of God neither muſt we adde, nor take from it. Deut.4.

The fift principle.

Leuit.18. Galath.3.

5 He that doth the workes of the law, ſhall liue therein. Leuit.18. Gal.3.

The ſixth principle.

Deut.27. Galath.3.

6 Accurſed is he, which abideth not in euery thing that is written in the booke of the law. Deut.27. Gal.3.

The ſeuenth principle.

Deut.6. Luke 4.

7 God onely is to be worſhipped. Deut.6. Luk.4.

The eight principle.

Eſay 64.

8 All our righteouſneſſe is like a defiled cloth of a woman. Eſay 64.

The ninth principle.

Eſay 11.65.

9 In all my holy hill they ſhall not kill nor ſlay, ſaith the Lord. Eſay 11.65.

The tenth principle.

Oſee 6. 1.Reg.15.

10 God loueth mercie and obedience more then ſacrifice. Oſee 6. 1.Reg.15.

The eleuenth principle.

Rom.3.

11 The law worketh anger, condemneth, and openeth ſinne. Rom.3.

The twelfth principle.

Rom.10.

12 The end of the law is Chriſt, to righteouſneſſe to euerie one that beléeueth. Rom.10.

The thirteenth principle.

Matth.vlt.

13 Whoſoeuer beléeueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued. Matth.vlt.

The fourteenth principle.

Galath.2. Epheſ.2.

14 A man is iuſtified by faith without workes freely by grace, not of our ſelues. Gal.2. Epheſ.2.

The fifteenth principle.

Heb.9.

15 There is no remiſſion of ſins without blood. Heb.9.

The ſixteenth principle.

Rom.14. Heb.11.

16 Whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne. Rom.14. Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. Heb.11.

The ſeuenteenth principle.

1.Tim.2. 1.Iohn 2.

17 One mediatour betweene God and man Chriſt Ieſus. 1.Tim.2. And he is the propitiation for our ſinnes. 1.Ioh.2.

The eighteenth principle.

Galath 5.

18 Whoſoeuer ſéeketh in the law to be iuſtified, is fallen from grace. Gal.5.

The ninteenth principle.

2.Cor.1.

19 In Chriſt be all the promiſes of God, Eſt & Amen. 2.Cor.1.

The twentieth principle.

Rom.13.

20 Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to ſuperiour powers, giuing to Ceſar that which is Ceſars, and to God that which is Gods. Rom.13.

These principles and infallible rules of the ſcripture, as no man can denie: ſo if they be granted, the doctrine then of the popes church muſt néeds be found not to be catholike, but rather full of errours and hereſies, as in the ſequele following remaineth more expreſſelie and particularly by the grace of Chriſt to be conuinced.

Here followeth a ſummarie collection of the errours, hereſies, and abſurdities contained in the popes doctrine, *contrarie to the rules of Gods word, and the firſt inſtitution* of the church of Rome.

Of faith and iuſtification.

The errours, hereſies and abſurdities in the popes doctrine.

FIrſt, as touching the onely meanes and inſtrumentall cauſe of our iuſtification, whereby the merits of Chriſts paſſion be applied to vs and made ours, ye heard before how ſaint Paul onely aſcribeth the ſame to faith: as appeareth by all his letters, eſpecially to the Romans. Where he excluding all kind of workes, aſcribeth all our ſaluation, iuſtification, righteouſneſſe, reconciliation, and peace with God onely vnto faith in Chriſt. Contrary to which doctrine the pope and his church hath ſet vp diuers and ſundrie other meanes of their own deuiſing whereby the merits of Chriſts paſſion (they ſay) are applied to vs and made ours, to the putting away of ſinnes, and for our iuſtification, as hope, charitie, ſacrifice of the maſſe, auricular confeſſion, ſatisfaction, merits of ſaints, and holie orders, the popes pardons, &c. So that Chriſts ſacrifice, ſtripes, and ſuffering, by this teaching doth not heale vs, nor is not beneficiall to vs, though we beléeue neuer ſo well, vnleſſe we adde alſo theſe workes and merits aboue recited. Which if it be true, then is it falſe that Eſay the prophet doth promiſe: chap.53. In his ſtripes all we are made whole, &c.

The meanes of applying Chriſts merits vnto vs by the popes doctrine.

The taking away of this article of faith onely to iuſtifie, is the roote of great inconuenience in Chriſts church.

This errour and hereſie of the church of Rome, though it ſéeme at firſt ſight to the naturall reaſon of man to be but of ſmall importance; yet if it be earneſtlie conſidered, it is in very déed the moſt pernicious hereſie that euer almoſt crept into the church, vpon the which as the onely foundation, all, or the moſt part of all the errours, abſurdities, and inconueniences of the popes church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not iuſtified by his faith in Chriſt alone, but that other meanes muſt bee ſought by our owne working and merits to apply the merits of Chriſts paſſion vnto vs, then is there neither any certaintie left of our ſaluation, nor end in ſetting vp new meanes and merits of our owne deuiſing for remiſſion of ſinnes. Neither hath there béen any hereſie that either hath rebelled more preſumptuouſlie againſt the high maieſtie of God the father, nor more perniciouſlie hath inuired the ſoules of the ſimple, than this doctrine.

No hereſie to be compared to the hereſie of papiſts.

The firſt inconuenience.

Firſt of all it ſubuerteth the will and teſtament of God. For where almightie God of mercie hath giuen vs his ſonne to die for vs, and with him hath giuen out his full promiſe, that whoſoeuer beléeueth vpon him ſhould bee ſaued by their faith, and aſſigneth none other condition either of the law or any of workes, but onely of faith, to be the meanes betweene his ſonne and vs: theſe men take vpon them to alter this teſtament that God hath ſet, and adioyne other conditions, which the Lord in his word neuer appointed nor knew. To whom the words of Hierome may be well applied vpon the epiſtle to the Galathians, ſpeaking of ſuch: Qui de euangelio Chriſti faciunt hominis euangelium, vel quod peius eſt, diaboli, &c. That is, Which make of the goſpell of Chriſt the goſpell of men, or rather the goſpell of the diuell, &c.

No condition limited of God to man for ſaluation but one. *Hieron. in epiſt. ad Gal. cap.1.*

The ſecond inconuenience.

Secondlie, whereas the chriſtian reader in the goſpell, reading of the great grace and ſweet promiſes of God giuen to mankind in Chriſt his ſon, might thereby take much comfort of ſoule, & be at reſt and peace with the Lord his God: commeth in the peſtiferous doctrine of theſe heretikes, wherewith they obſcure this free grace of God, to choke the ſweete comforts of man in the holie ghoſt, and oppreſſe chriſtian libertie, and bring vs into ſpirituall bondage.

What hurt commeth into the church, by taking away the article of iuſtification.

The third inconuenience.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they ſhew themſelues manifeſt enemies to Gods grace: ſo are they no leſſe iniurious to chriſtian men, whom they leaue in a doubtfull diſtruſt of Gods fauour and of their ſaluation, contrarie to the word and will of God, & right inſtitution of the apoſtolike doctrine.

Obiection of the papiſts anſwered.

And whereas our new ſchoolemen of late, to maintaine the ſaid wicked point of doctrine, doe obiect vnto vs that wee rather leaue mens conſciences vncertaine, forſomuch as, If life (ſay they) were not a due reward, it were vncertaine. And now forſomuch as due debt is certaine, and mercie or fauour is vncertaine, therefore (ſay they) we leauing mens conſciences to the mercie of God, doe leaue them in a doubtfull vncertaintie of their ſaluation. To this I anſwere, that due debt, if it be preſerued by the law duly deſerued, it muſt be certaine. But if the law ſhall proone it vnperfect or inſufficiently due, then is it not certaine, neither can there be any thing duelie claimed. Now as touching mercie, ſo long as it remaineth ſecret in the princes will, and not knowne to his ſubiects, ſo long it is vncertaine. But when this mercie ſhall be openly publiſhed by proclamation, ratified by promiſe, conferred by will & teſtament, eſtabliſhed in blood, and ſealed with ſacraments, then this mercie remaineth no more doubtfull, but ought firmelie to bee beléeued of euery true faithfull ſubiect. And therefore S. Paul, to

The papiſts doe teach the mercie of God to be vncertaine.

Mercie of God made certaine by his owne promiſes.

to establish our hearts in this assurance, and so answere to this doubt, in his epistle to the Romans doth teach vs, saying: And therefore of faith, that after grace the promise might bee firme and sure to the whole seed of Abraham, &c. Rom. 4. Meaning hereby, that workes haue nothing to doe in this case of iustifying, and noteth the reason why. For then our saluation should stand in a doubtfull wauering, because in working wee are neuer certaine whether our deserts be perfect & sufficient in Gods iudgement or no. And therefore (saith saint Paul) to the intent our saluation should be out of al doubt, and certaine, it standeth not of workes in deseruing, but of faith in apprehending, and of Gods free grace in promising.

Saluation standeth sure and certaine by Gods promise. The place of S. Paul, Rom. 4. expounded. The fourth inconuenience.

Fourthly, as in this their sinister doctrine they breake this principle of christian religion, which saith that a man is iustified by faith without workes, so againe it breaketh another principle aboue rehearsed. For this rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to Gods word nor taken from it: then haue these men done wickedly in adding (as they doe) to Gods word. For where the word of God limiteth to our iustification no condition but faith: Beleeue (saith he) in the Lord Iesu, and thou shalt be saued, and thy whole house, &c. Act. 16. these iusticiaries doe adde thereto diuers and sundrie other conditions besides, and such as the word also precisely excludeth, as hope, charitie, the sacrifice of the masse, the worke of the priest Ex opere operato, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deeds, &c. And thus much concerning the doctrine of faith and iustification. Whereby it may appeare to what horrible blindnesse and blasphemie the church of Rome is now fallen, where this kind of doctrine is not onely suffered, but also publikelie professed, which speaking against faith, thus blasphemouslie dare say: Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certò statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata, seséque possessurum vitam æternam, non fides est, sed temeritas: non spiritus sancti persuasio, sed humanæ audaciæ præsumptio. That is, That faith wherewith a man firmely beleeueth, and certainely assureth himselfe, that for Christs sake his sinnes bee forgiuen him, and that he shall possesse eternall life, is not faith but rashnesse: not the persuasion of the holy ghost, but presumption of a mans boldnesse.

The fourth principle aboue recited, broken.

Ex Lindano in epitome doctrinæ euangelicæ.

Of workes and the law.

The first error of the papists, touching good workes.

AS touching the doctrine of good workes & the law, what the teaching of saint Paul was to the Romans, ye heard before. Who although he excludeth good workes from the office of iustifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practise and conuersation of christian life. but most earnestly calleth vpon all faithfull beleeuers in Christ, to walke worthie their vocation, to lay downe their old conuersation, to giue their members seruants of righteousnesse, to offer their bodies vp to God a liuelie sacrifice, &c. The like example of whole teaching, if the churches now reformed do not follow, let their sermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings, and liues also beare record. Who although they cannot say with Christ, Which of you can blame me of sinne? yet they may say to the aduersaries, Whosoeuer of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproch against vs. Wherefore Hosius, Pighius, with their fellowes, doe them open wrong, and slanderoulie belie them in comparing them in this behalfe to Aetius, Eunomius, and other hereticks called Anomei, who taking the good sentences of saint Paul, did abuse the same to filthie licence of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

Hosius in 2. tom. confessionis, cap. 1.

But to let these slanders passe, now what the errours be of the church of Rome, touching this part of doctrine, remaineth to be declared. Whose errour first standeth in this, that they misunderstanding the definition of good workes, doe call good workes, not such as properly are commanded by the law of God, but such as are agreeable to the popes law. As building of abbeis and churches, giuing to the high altar, founding of trentals, finding of chanteries, gilding of images, hearing of masses, going on pilgrimage, fighting for the holy crosse, keeping of bowes, entering to orders, fasting of vigils, creeping to the crosse, praying to saints, &c. All which are not onely reputed for good workes, but so preferred also before al other workes, that to these is giuen pardon from the pope, double and treeplefold more then to any other good worke of charity commanded in the law of almightie God.

The second error of the papists in the doctrine of good workes. Faith the roote and cause of good workes.

An other errour also may be noted in the papists, touching the efficient or formall cause of good workes. For albeit they all confesse in their bookes, that Gratia Dei gratis data is the chiefe and principall cause thereof, and worketh in vs Iustitiã primam (as they call it) yet the good workes after regeneration, they referre to other subordinate causes vnder God, as to free will, or to Habitum virtutis, or Ad integra naturalia, and nothing at all to faith, when as faith only next vnder God is the roote & fountaine of all well doing: as in the fruites of a good tree, albeit the planter or the husbandman be the principall agent thereof, and some cause also may be in the good ground; yet the next and immediate cause is the roote that maketh the tree fruitfull. In like maner the grace of God, in a soft and repentant mollified hart planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good roote cannot lie dead or vnoccupied, but springeth forth and maketh both the tree fruitful, and also the fruite thereof to be good, which otherwise had no acceptation nor goodnesse in them, were it not for the goodnesse of the roote from whence they spring. So Paul, although he had certaine workes in him, such as they were, before his conuersion: yet had he no good workes before the grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So Marie Magdalene the sinner and Zacheus the publican. So all the nations of the gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and especially good fruit, when they began to be ingrafted in Christ, and to receiue the roote of his faith, whose fruits before that were all damnable and vnsauorie. As touching the cause therefore of good workes, there is no other in man but faith, whose office as it is to iustifie vs in heauen, so the nature of it is here in earth to worke by loue, as the root worketh by the sap. For as a man seeth and feeleth by faith, the loue and grace of God toward him in Christ his sonne: so beginneth he to loue againe both God and man, and to doe for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly springeth the running fountaine of all good workes and deeds of charitie.

Workes are not to be called good, but by reason of faith.

The office of faith to iustifie. The effect of faith to bring forth good workes.

Fides per dilectionem operans. Gal. 5.

Thirdly, as they erre in the cause of good workes, so do they erre much more in the end of the law, and of good workes: for where saint Paul teacheth the law to be giuen to this vse and end, to conuict our transgressions, to prowe vs sinners, to shew and condemne our infirmitie, and to driue vs to Christ: they take and applie no other end to the law, but to make vs perfect, to keepe vs from wrath, and to make vs iust before God. And likewise where saint Paul prowueth all our good workes to be vnperfect, and vtterlie secludeth them from the end of iustifying: they contrariwise do teach, as though the end of good workes were to merit remission of sinnes, to satisfie vnto God, to deserue grace, to redeeme soules from purgatorie, and that by them the person of the regenerat man doth please God, and is made iust before God. For so they teach most wickedlie and horriblie, saying: that Christ suffered for originall sinne, or sinnes going before baptisme; but the actuall sinnes, which follow after baptisme, must be done awaie by mens merits. And so they assigne to Christ the beginning of saluation, or obteining of the first grace (as they call it) but the perfection or consummation of grace they giue to workes & our owne strength. Neither can they in anie case abide, that we be iustified freelie by the mercie of God through faith onlie apprehending the merits of Christ. Howbeit neither do all papists in this their errour agree in one. For some make distinction and saie, that we are iustified by Christ Principaliter, id est, principallie: Et minus principaliter, id est, lesse principallie, by the dignitie of our owne deeds, contrarie to the eight principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our workes that go before faith: but by our vertues that follow after. Some againe do thus expound the saying of saint Paul: Wee are iustified by faith: that is (say they) by faith, preparing vs or setting vs in a good waie to be iustified. Others expound it by the figure Synecdoche, that is, by faith conioined together with other vertues. Others thus: By faith, that is, being formed with charitie, &c. Thus all these do derogat from the benefit of Christ, and attribute vnto workes a great or the greatest part of our iustification, directlie against the true veine of saint Paules doctrine, and first institution of the ancient church of Rome, and against all the principles of holie scripture.

Thom. Aquinas. Hosius in 2. tom confess. cap. 1.

The diuers opinions of the catholike papists, how faith iustifieth.

The popes doctrine against the principles of Scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the said doctrine of the law and good workes, they erre in misunderstanding the nature of the law and workes. For where saint Paul disputeth that the law is spirituall, and requireth of vs perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we being carnall are neuer able to accomplish: they affirme otherwise, that the law doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they say) man is not onely able to performe, but also to do more and greater things then the law requireth. Whereof riseth the workes of supererogation, contrarie to the sixth and eight principles aboue specified. Also there be (say they) among other certaine workes of the law, which pertaine not to all men, but are Consilia, counsels, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and these they call Opera perfectionis, or Opera indebita, adding also vnto these new deuices to serue God after their own traditions besides the word of God, as monasticall vowes, wilful pouerty, difference of meates and garments, pilgrimage to reliks and saints, worshipping of the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, &c. with such like, and these they call workes of perfection, which they preferre before the other commanded in the law of God. Insomuch that in comparison of these, the other necessarie duties commanded and commended by the word of God (as to beare office in the common-wealth, to liue in the godly state of matrimonie, to sustaine the office of a seruant in a house) is contemned, and accounted as prophane in comparison of these, contrarie to the tenth principle aboue mentioned.

The third error of the papists touching the end of the law and good workes. The end of the law and good workes peruerted.

The fourth error of the papists touching the imperfection of man in satisfying the perfection of the law.

Against the principles of Scripture.

Precepts and counsels.

Workes of supererogation. Mens traditions preferred before the workes of Gods law.

Against the principle of Scripture.

Of sinne.

OF sinne likewise they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the apostles, and the ancient church of Rome, while

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Erroneous doctrine of the latter church of Rome concerning sinne.

while they consider not the deepenesse and largenesse of sinne, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the strength of sinne extendeth not onely to these, but also comprehendeth the blindnesse and ignorance of the mind, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the vntowardnesse of mans mind to Godward, the prime rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the vndeliting will of man to God and his word. The sense of fleshly saint Paul also calleth an enemie against God, and fœlech in himselfe, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sinne.

Originall sinne what it is.

As touching also originall sinne, wherein we are borne, which is the destruction of originall iustice, and of Gods image in vs (remaining in vs and bringing forth in vs wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtinesse, against the law of God, and neuer ceaseth so long as man liueth) this originall sinne the popes doctrine doth not denie, but yet doth much extenuat the same, and holdeth that this inward concupiscence and vitious affections not bursting out in vs with consent of will, are no mortall nor damnable sinne, but onely Fomes peccati: and say moreouer, that this Concupiscentia in vs, is no deprauation of the higher, but onely of the lower parts of man, being a thing ἀδιάφορον, indifferent, and no lesse naturall in vs than is the appetite to eate and drinke, and that the same is left to remaine in the saints after baptisme, to be to them occasion of more meriting, &c.

Fomes peccati.

Concupiscentia.

Originall sinne extenuated.

Of penance, or repentance.

False doctrine of the latter church of Rome touching penance.

OF penance, this latter Laterane church of Rome, of late hath made a sacrament (contrarie to the fourth principle before) which penance, say they, standeth of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonicall. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free will, without the law and the holy Ghost, Per actus elicitos, through mans owne action and endeuour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sinne. In confession they require a full rehearsall of all sinnes, whereby the priest knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sinnes, Ex opere operato deserueth remission, contrarie to the fourteenth principle before. Satisfactions they call Opera indebita, inioyned by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away, and changeth eternall punishment into temporall paines, which paines also it doth mitigat. And againe, these satisfactions may bee taken away by the popes indulgence, &c.

Contrition.

Confession.

Satisfaction.

True doctrine of repentance by the scripture.

Parts of repentance.

1. Contrition.

2. Faith.

3. New obedience.

This vnsauorie and heathenish doctrine of penance farre differeth from the true teaching of holy scripture; by the which teaching, repentance properlie containeth these three parts, contrition, faith, and new life. Contrition is called in scripture the sorrow of heart, rising vpon the consideration of sinne committed, and of the anger of God prouoked, which sorrow driueth a man to Christ for succour: whereupon riseth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newnesse of life, which wee call new obedience, working fruits worthie of repentance.

Difference betweene the law and *the Gospell.*

The blind ignorance of the popes church in not distincting the law from the gospell.

AS there is nothing more necessarie and comfortable for troubled consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference betweene the law and the Gospell: so is the church of Rome much to blame in this behalfe, because it confoundeth together those two, being in nature so diuers and contrarie one from another: as threatnings and promises, things temporall with things eternall, sorrowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedome, &c: teaching the people, that whatsoeuer the law saith, the gospel confirmeth, and whatsoeuer the gospell saith the same is agreeable to the law, and so make they no difference betweene Moses and Christ, saue onelie that Moses (they say) was the giuer of the old law, Christ is the giuer of the new and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the gospell to be nothing else but a new law giuen by Christ, binding to the promises thereof the condition of our doings and deseruings, no otherwise than to the old law. And so diuide they the whole law after this distinction, into three parts, to wit, the law of nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ. And as for the gospell (they say) it is reuealed for no other cause, but to shew to the world more perfect precepts and counsels, than were in the old law: to the fulfilling whereof they attribute iustification, and so leaue the poore consciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other manifold errours: bringing the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though he were not a remedie against the law, but came as another Moses, to giue a new law to the world.

A Babylonicall confusion in the popes doctrine.

What difference the papists put betweene Moses and Christ.

Papists make the gospell a new law.

Papists diuide the law into the law of nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ.

The popes church blind in the office of Christ.

The time of the law, and time of the gospell distincted.

Furthermore, as they make no difference betweene the nature of the law and the nature of the gospell, confounding Moses and Christ together: so neither do they distinct or discerne the time of the law, and the time of the gospell asunder. For where S. Paul bringeth in the law to be a schoolemaster, and limitteth him his time vnto Christ: and saith that Christ is the end of the law, that is, whereas the law ceaseth, there Christ beginneth, and where Christ beginneth there the law endeth: they contrarie make the law to haue no end nor ceasing, but giue to it immortall life & kingdom equall with Christ, so that Christ and the law together do raigne ouer the soule and conscience of man. Which is vntrue. For either Christ must giue place, and the law stand; or the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law I mean) must end, and Christ reigne. For both these, Christ and the law, grace and malediction, cannot reigne and gouerne together. But Christ the sonne of God which once died, can die no more, but must reigne for euer. Wherefore the law with his strength, sting, and curse, must needs cease and haue an end. And this is it that S. Paul speaking of the triumph of Christ, saith, that he Ascending vp led away captiuitie captiue, & hath set man at libertie, not at libertie to liue as flesh lusteth, neither hath freed him from the vse and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, so that There is now no condemnation to them that be in Christ Iesu, which walke not after the flesh, &c. Rom. 8. And in another place, S. Paul speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, saith, that Christ hath taken the obligation written against vs in decrees, and hath nailed it vpon the crosse, triumphing ouer all, &c. So that as the kingdome of Christ first began vpon the crosse, euen so vpon the same crosse, and at the same time the kingdome of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was so crucified vpon the crosse, that it shall neuer rise againe, to haue any power against them that be in Christ Iesu. For like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, and hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power ouer hir: euen so we now being espoused vnto Christ our second husband, are discharged vtterlie from our first husband the law, and (as S. Paul in another place saith) Are no more vnder the law, that is, vnder the dominion and malediction of the law, But vnder grace, that is, vnder perpetuall remission of sinnes, committed not onely before our baptisme, but as well also after baptisme, and during all our life long. For therein properlie consisteth the grace of God, in not imputing sinne vnto vs, so often as the repenting sinner rising vp by faith fleeth vnto Christ, and apprehendeth Gods mercie and remission promised in him, according to the testimonie both of the psalme, Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sinne, &c: and also of all the prophets, Which (as S. Peter saith) giue record to him, that through his name all that beleeue in him shall receiue remission of their sins, &c. Act. 10. Which being so, as it cannot bee denied, then what neede these priuat and extraordinarie remissions to be brought into the church by eare confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the popes pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the law: and if this law it selfe be captiued, crucified, abolished, and departed, which was the first husband, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Christ Iesu, or by whom should it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and generall deliuerance for all men, once gotten by the victorie of Christ, from the penaltie of the law: what needeth then any particular remission of sinnes, at sundrie times to be sought at the priests hands or the popes pardons? He that hath a generall pardon needeth no particular. If remedie for sinne be generall and perpetuall once gotten for euer, to all them that be in Christ Iesu, what needeth any other remedie by auricular confession? If it be not generall and perpetuall, how then is it true that S. Paul saith: The law is crucified, and condemnation abolished? or how standeth redemption perpetuall and generall, if remission be not generall? For what is redemption else, but remission of sinnes, or sinnes bought out? Or what else to kill the law, but to discharge vs from condemnation for euer? He that deliuereth his friend for a time out of his enemies hand, doth him a pleasure: but he that killeth the enemie once out of the way, giueth perpetuall safetie. So if remission of sinnes by Christ were for some sinnes and not for all, the law then must needs liue still. But now the killing and crucifying of the law importeth full remission to bee absolute, and our safetie to be perpetuall. But here percase will be obiected of some: How standeth remission of sinnes certaine and perpetuall, seeing new offenses being daily committed, doe daily require new remission? Hereto I answere: Albeit sins doe daily grow, whereby we haue need daily to desire God to Forgiue our trespasses, &c: yet notwithstanding the cause of our remission standeth euer one and perpetuall, neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to bee sought besides that alone. This cause is the sacrificed bodie of Christ once vpon the crosse for all sins that either haue or shall be committed. Beside this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor mens pardons that remitteth sinnes.

Malediction of the law ceaseth in Christ.

The vse of the law remaineth.

Christ and the law cannot reigne together.

Ephes. 4.

The power of the law is for a time.

The power of Christ is eternall.

Rom. 8.

Colos. 2.

The malediction of the law giueth place to Christ.

The curse of the law is crucified and shall neuer rise againe.

Rom. 7.

Rom. 6.

To be vnder the law, and vnder grace expounded.

What is to be vnder grace.

Psalm. 32.

Act. 10.

One remedie for remission of sinnes and no more.

Auricular confession no remedie for remission of sinnes.

Remission of sinnes standeth vpon a generall cause, and not particular.

The law crucified by Christ what it meaneth.

Obiection.

Answer.

The cause of remission euer one and perpetuall.

Furthermore, as the cause is one and euer perpetuall, which worketh remission of sinnes vnto vs: so is the promise of God euer one, once made and standeth perpetuall, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the said promise of God is alwaies sure and cannot faile, which offereth remission to all them that beleeue in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldlie conclude, that what time soeuer a repenting sinner beleeueth, and by faith applieth to him the sacrifice of Christ, he hath by Gods owne promise remission of his sinnes, whether they were done before or after baptisme.

The promise of remission euer perpetuall.

Remission of sinnes freelie promised without limitation of time or number.

And

The meanes whereby remission is promised is only faith.

And moreouer, for so much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner, by no other meanes nor condition, but onely one, that is, by faith in Christ: therefore excluding all other meanes and conditions of mans working, we saie, that what repenting sinner soeuer beleeueth in Christ, hath alreadie in himselfe (and needeth not to seeke to anie priest) perpetuall assurance of remission, not for this time or that time onelie, but for euer and a daie. For the promise saith not, He that beleeueth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sinne no more: neither doth it say, that the law is staid, or the sentence reprieued, but saith plainlie, that The law with his condemnation and sentence his selfe is condemned and hanged vp, and shall neuer rise againe to them that be in Christ Iesu: and promiseth indeterminatlie, without limitation, remission of sinnes, To all that beleeue in his name, &c.

The words of promise free and absolute.

Act. 10. Act. 10. And likewise in another place the scripture speaking absolutelie, saith, Sinne shall not preuaile ouer you, and addeth the reason why: saying: Because ye are not vnder the law but vnder grace. Rom. 6. Adding this lesson withall (as followeth in the same place) Not that sinners should sin more therefore, because they are vnder grace, but onelie that weake infirmities might be releeued, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the praise of Gods glorie. For as God forgiueth not sinners because they should sinne, so neither doth infirmitie of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrat the same, as it is written: My strength is made perfect in infirmitie, 2. Corin. 12. And againe: Where sinne aboundeth, there superaboundeth also grace.

Rom. 6.

Wans infirmitie impaireth not the grace of Christ, but augmenteth it. 2. Cor. 12. Rom. 5.

In remission of sinnes therefore, these foure things must concurre together; first the cause that worketh (which is the sacrifice of Christs bodie) secondlie the promise that offereth, thirdlie faith that apprehendeth, fourthly the repenting sinner that receiueth. And although sinnes dailie do grow, which dailie prouoke vs to craue remission: yet as touching the cause that worketh remission of our dailie sinnes, and the meanes which apprehend and applie the said cause vnto vs, they remaine alwayes one and perpetuall: besides which no other cause nor meanes is to be sought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners, and be in Christ Iesu, there is no law to condemne them, though they haue deserued condemnation: but they are vnder a perpetuall kingdome & a heauen full of grace and remission to couer their sinnes, and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Iesu our Lord.

Foure things concur in remission of sinnes.

The popes errours touching remission of sins detected.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first which seeke anie other cause of remission then onely the bloud of our Sauiour: secondly, which assigne any other meanes to applie the bloudshedding of Christ vnto vs, besides onelie faith: thirdlie and especiallie, which so limit and restraine the eternall priuilege of Christs passion, as though it serued but onely for sinnes done without and before faith, and that the rest after baptisme committed must be done awaie by confession, pardons, and satisfactorie deeds. And all this riseth, because the true nature of the law and the gospell is not knowne, nor the difference rightlie considered betweene the times of the one and of the other. Neither againe do they make anie distinction betweene the malediction of the law and vse of the law. And therefore whensoeuer they heare vs speake of the law (meaning the malediction of the law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander vs, as though we spake against the good exercises of the law, and giue liberty of flesh to carnall men to liue as they list. Whereof more shall be said (by the Lords grace) as place & time shall hereafter require.

What inconuenience riseth for lacke of distinction betweene the law and the Gospell.

Of free will.

COncerning free will, as it may peraduenture in some case be admitted, that men without grace maie do some outward functions of the law, and keepe some outward obseruances or traditions: so as touching things spirituall and apperteining to saluation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirme & impotent, that he can performe nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who after he be regenerated by grace may worke and do well, but yet in such sort, that still remaineth notwithstanding a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetuall repugnance betweene the flesh and spirit. And thus was the originall church of the ancient Romans first instructed. From whom see now how farre this latter church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the law, and prepare themselues to grace by working, so that those works maie be meritorious, and of congruitie obteine grace. Which grace once obteined, then men may (say they) perfectlie performe the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spirituall actions and works which God requireth, and so those works, of condignitie, deserue euerlasting life. As for the infirmitie which still remaineth in nature, that they nothing regard nor once speake of.

Erroneous doctrine of the papists concerning free will.

Meritum de congruo.

Meritum d: condigno.

Of inuocation and adoration.

False doctrine concerning inuocation.

OVer and besides these vncatholike and almost vnchristian absurdities and defections from the apostolical faith aboue specified, let vs consider the maner of their inuocation, not to God alone, as they should; but to dead men, saying: that saints are to be called vpon, Tanquam mediatores intercessionis, As mediators of intercession: Christum verò tanquam mediatorem salutis, And Christ as the mediator of saluation. And affirme moreouer, that Christ was a mediator onelie in time of his passion. Which is repugnant to the words of saint Paul writing to the old Romans, chapter eight, where he speaking of the intercession of Christ: Which is (saith he) on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for vs, &c. And if Christ be a mediator of saluation, what needeth then anie other intercession of the saints for our suites? For saluation being once had what can we require more? Or what lacketh he more to be obteined of the saints, which is sure to be saued onlie by Christ? And yet in their catholike deuotions, why do they teach vs thus to praie to the blessed virgine: Salua omnes qui te glorificant, that is, Saue all them that glorifie thee, &c.: if saluation onelie belong to Christ? vnles they studie of purpose to seeme contrarie to themselues.

Mediator of intercession. Mediator of saluation. Christ a continuall mediator, by the doctrine of S. Paul. Rom. 8. Christ only being our mediator of saluation, what needeth any other mediation of saints? Saluation falsly attributed to the blessed virgin.

Hitherto also perteineth the worshipping of relikes, and the false adoration of sacraments, that is, the outward signes of the things signified, contrarie to the seuenth principle before. Adde to this also the prophanation of the Lords supper, contrarie to the vse for which it was ordeined, in reseruing it after the communion ministred, in selling it to sale for monie, and falslie perswading both themselues and others, that the priest doth merit both to himselfe that saith, and to him that heareth, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu vtentis, &c: that is, Onelie by the meere doing of the worke, though the partie that vseth the same hath no motion in him.

Idolatrous adoration of relikes and sacraments. Prophanation of the Lords supper. False meriting by masses.

Of sacraments, baptisme and the Lords Supper.

AS touching sacraments, their doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

False doctrine touching sacraments.

1 First they erre falslie in the number. For where the institution of Christ ordeineth but two, they (contrarie to the fourth principle aboue prefixed) haue added to the prescription of the Lords word, fiue other sacraments.

The number.

2 Secondlie, in the cause finall they erre. For where the word hath ordeined those sacraments to excite our faith, and to giue vs admonitions of spirituall things: they contrariwise do teach that the sacraments do not onelie stirre vp faith, but also that they auaile and are effectuall without faith, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu vtentis, &c. As is to be found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, and others more.

Cause finall.

3 Thirdlie, in the operation & effect of the sacraments they faile, where they contrarie to the mind of the scriptures, do saie, that they giue grace, and not onlie do signifie, but also conteine and exhibit that which they signifie, to wit, grace and saluation.

The operation.

4 Fourthlie, they erre also in application, applying their sacraments both to the quicke and the dead, to them also that be absent, to remission of sinnes, and releasing of paine, &c.

The application of sacraments.

In the sacrament of baptisme they are to be reproued, not onelie for adding to the simple words of Christs institution diuers other new found rites and phantasies of men: but also where the vse of the old church of Rome was onelie to baptise men, they baptise also bels, and applie the words of baptisme to water, fire, candels, stocks, and stones, &c.

Errors and abuses in baptisme. Baptising of belles.

But especiallie in the supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthilie swarueth from the right mind of the scripture, all order, reason, and fashion, most worthie to be exploded out of all christian churches. Touching the which sacrament, the first errour is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking and kneeling vnto it, in reseruing also and carying the same about in pompe & procession in townes and fields. Secondlie also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leauing there no substance of bread and wine to remaine, but onelie the reall bodie and bloud of Christ, putting no difference betweene calling and making. Because Christ called bread his bodie, therefore, saie they, he made it his bodie, and so of a wholesome sacrament, make a perilous idoll: and that which the old church of Rome did euer take to be a mysterie, they turne into a blind mist of meere accidences to bleare the peoples eies, making them beleeue they see that they see not: and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their maker, a creature for their creator: and that was thrcshed out of a wheaten sheafe they set vp in the church, and worship for a sauiour: and when they haue worshipped him, then they offer him to his father: and when they haue offered him, then they eat him vp, or else close him fast in a pix, where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know wel by scriptures, that the bodie of Christ can neuer corrupt and putrifie: yet for all this corruption will they needs make it the bodie of Christ, and burne all them which beleeue not that which is against true christian beleefe.

False doctrine of the popes church concerning the Lords supper. Idolatrie committed to the sacrament. The sacrament turned to an idoll. Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the bodie of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

Of matrimonie

WHat order and rule saint Paul hath set for marriage in his epistle to the Corinthians it is manifest: whereas

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Absurdities and errors of the popes church touching matrimony. 1.Cor.7.

he preferreth single life in such as haue the gift of continence, before the married state: so againe in such as haue not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing euerie such one to haue his wife: Because of fornication. Furthermore, how the said apostle alloweth a bishop to bee the husband of one wife (so he exceed not to the manner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many) and how vehemently hee reprooueth them that restraine marriage, his letters to Timothie do record. Moreouer, what degrees be permitted by the law of God to marrie, in the booke of Leuiticus is to bee seene, chapter eightéene. Also how children ought not to marrie without consent of their parents, by manifest examples of the scriptures it is notorious.

1.Tim.3. 1.Tim.4. Leuit.18.

Single life be it neuer so impure preferred before matrimonie. The third part of christendome stopt by the popes law to marrie. The popes doctrine against priests marriage, and their children. The third part of the yeare exempted from marriage. Marriage within the fifth or sixth degree, by the popes law. Gossips inhibited to marrie by the popes law. What inconueniences come by restraining of mariage.

Contrarie to these ordinances of the scripture, the new catholikes of the popes church, first doe repute and call mariage a state of imperfection, and preferre single life, be it neuer so impure, before the same, pretending that where the one replenisheth the earth, the other filleth heauen. Furthermore, as good as the third part of christendome, if it be no more, both men and women, they keepe through coacted vowes from mariage, hauing no respect whether they haue the gift or no. Ministers and priests, such as are found to haue wiues, not onely they remoue out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death vpon them, and account their children for bastards and illegitimate: Againe, as good as the third part of the yeare they exempt and suspend from libertie of marriage. Degrées of copulation forbidden they extend further then euer did the law of God, euen to the fifth or sixth degrée. Which degrée notwithstanding they release againe when they list for money. Ouer and besides all this, they haue added a new found prohibition of spirituall kindred, that is, that such as haue been gossips, or godfathers and godmothers together in christening an other mans childe, must not by their law marrie together. Briefly and finally in this doctrine and cases of matrimonie, they gaine and rake to themselues much money from the people, they augment horrible sodomitrie, they nourish wicked adulterie and much fornication, they fill the world with offensions and bastards, and giue great occasion of murthering infants.

Of magistrates and ciuil gouernement.

The corrupt doctrine of the popes church concerning ciuill rulers and magistrates. Rom.13.

YE heard before what rules and lessons saint Paul gaue to the old Romans concerning magistrats, to whose authoritie he would all humane creatures to be subiected, and how they are the ministers of God, hauing the sword giuen vnto them, wherewith they ought to represse false doctrine and idolatrie, and maintaine that which is true and right, Rom.13. Now let vs survey a little the popes proceedings, and marke how farre he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points almost from true christianitie.

1 First, the pope with all his clergie exempt themselues from all obedience ciuill.

2 They arrogate to themselues authority to ordaine and constitute, without all leaue or knowledge of the ordinarie magistrate.

3 Yea they take vpon them to depose and set vp rulers and magistrates, whom they list.

Of purgatorie.

The fantasies and antickes of the popes church concerning purgatorie.

THe paradores, or rather the fantasies of the latter church of Rome concerning purgatorie, be monstrous, neither old nor apostolicall.

1 First (say they) there is a purgatorie, where soules do burne in fire after this life.

2 The paine of purgatorie differeth nothing from the paines of hell, but onely that it hath an end; the paines of hell haue none.

Ex Thom. Mono & aliis.

3 The painefull suffering of this fire fretteth and scowreth away the sinnes before committed in the bodie.

4 The time in these paines indureth in some longer, in some lesse, according as their sinnes deserue.

5 After which time of their paines being expired, then the mercie of God doth translate them to heauenly blisse, which the bodie of Christ hath bought for them.

6 The paines of purgatorie bee so great, that if all the beggers of the world were séene on the one side, and but one soule of purgatorie on the other side, the whole world would pitie more that one, then all the others.

7 The whole time of punishment in this purgatorie must continue so long, till the fire haue cleane fretted and scowred away the ruttie spots of euery sinfull soule there burning, vnlesse there come some release.

8 Helpes and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, be the popes pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the altar, dirges, and trentals, prayer, fasting, meritorious déeds out of the treasure house of the church, almes and charitable déeds of the liuing, in satisfying Gods iustice for them, &c.

9 Lacke of beliefe of purgatorie bringeth to hell.

Many other false errors and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, vanities, and follies, besides their blasphemous railings & contumelies, may be noted in the said latter church of Rome, wherein they haue made manifest defection from the old faith of Rome, as in depriuing the church of one kind of the sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods word, in praying and speaking to the people, and administring sacraments in a tongue vnknowne, in mistaking the authoritie of the keyes, in their vnwritten verities, in making the authoritie of the scripture insufficient, in vntrue iudgement of the church and the wrong notes of the same, in the supremacie of the sée of Rome, in their wrong opinions of antichrist.

Manifest defection of the popes church from the old faith of Rome.

But because these, with all other parts of doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other bookes both in Latine and English, set forth in these our daies; I shall not néede further herein to trauell, especially séeing the contrarie betweene the popes church and the church of Christ, betweene the doctrine of the one and the doctrine of the other, is so euident that he is blind that séeth it not, and hath no hands almost that féeleth it not.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, which may suffice for all) whereas the doctrine of Christ is altogether spirituall, consisting wholy in spirit and veritie, and requireth no outward thing to make a true christian man but onely baptisme (which is the outward profession of faith) and receiuing the Lords supper: let vs now examine the whole religion of this latter church of Rome, and we shall find it from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremoniall exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priests hand, outward sacrifice of the masse, buying of pardons, purchasing of obits, externe worshipping of images and relikes, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward workes of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meates, difference of times and places, peculiar rites, and obseruances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigils, keeping of holy daies, comming to church, hearing of seruice, externe succession of bishops, and of Peters sée, externe forme and notes of the church, &c. So that by this religion to make a true christian and a good catholike, there is no working of the Holy-ghost almost required. As by example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let vs here define a christian man after the popes making: whereby we may sée the better what is to be iudged of the scope of his doctrine.

Contrarietie betweene the religion of Christ and of the pope briefly noted. Christs doctrine is wholie spirituall.

No outward thing is required in Christs doctrine to make a christian man but onely baptisme and the Lords supper. All doctrine of the popes standeth onely in outward things.

A christian man after the popes *making defined.*

AFter the popes catholike religion, a true christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptised in the Latin tongue (where the godfathers profesle they cannot tell what) then confirmed by the bishop: the mother of the child to be purified; after he bee growen in yeares, then to come to the church, to keepe his fasting daies, to fast the Lent, to come vnder benedicite, that is to be confessed of the priest, to do his penance, at Easter to take his rites, to heare masse and diuine seruice, to set vp candles before images, to creepe to the crosse, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on procession, to carie his palmes and candle, and to take ashes, to fast the ember daies, rogation daies, and vigils, to keepe the holy daies, to pay his tithes and offering daies, to go on pilgrimage, to buy pardons, to worship his maker ouer the priests head, to receiue the pope for his supreme head, and to obey his lawes, to receiue S. Nicholas clerks, to haue his beads, and to giue to the high altar, to take orders if he wil be a priest, to say his mattens, to sing his masse, to lift vp faire, to keepe his vow, and not to marrie, when he is sicke to bee anneled, and take the rites of the holy church, to be buried in the churchyard, to be rung for, to bee sung for, to be buried in a friers coole, to find a soule priest, &c.

A christian man defined after the popes doctrine.

All which points being obserued, who can denie but this is a deuout man and a perfect christian catholike, and sure to be saued, as a true faithfull child of the holy mother church?

Corporall exercise serueth to small profit.

Now looke vpon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what faith or spirit, or what working of ỹ Holy-ghost in al this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Iesu giue the true light of his gospell to shine in our hearts: Amen.

Σωι τῶ Χριστῶ.

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A Table of the X. first Persecutions of the Primitiue Church vnder the Heathen Tyrannes of Rome, continuing the space almost of ccc. years after Christ from the time of Tiberius, vnto Constantinus Emperour of Rome, with the sundrie kindes of Torments deuised against the Christians, as by the places heere noted and quoted, in the storie is to be found more at large.

¶ The XLII. Moneths in the Reuelation of S. Iohn expounded.

xlii. Monet hs. Reuelat. xi.

xlii. yeares and a halfe.

iiii dales and a halfe. Reuelat. xi.

A time, times, and halfe a time. Reuelat. xii.

CCLX. dales Reuelat. xii.

The tying and loosing againe of Sathan. Reuelat. xx.

These persecutions of the primitiue Church lasted two hundred ninety foure yeares, counting from the beheading of *Saint Iohn Baptist* (which was the xxxii. yeare of the raigne of *Tiberius*) till the ende of *Licinius* the last persecuting Emperour of Rome. Concerning the which CCLXiiii. yeares Saint Iohn in his Reuelation doth Prophesie before in sundrie places: first Cap. xi. where hee saith: The Gentiles shall treade downe the holy Citie xlii. monethes. And againe in the xii. Chapter: And power was giuen to the Beast to make xlii. monethes, &c. Which xlii. monethes being counted by Sabbaths of yeares after the common vse of Scripture, and of Daniel, that is, euery moneth for vii. yeares, do rise to the number afore said, of cccxiii. yeares. Wherein is to be noted the errour of them, which taking these xlii. monethes simply (as the letter standeth) for iii. yeares & a halfe, do account thereby, that Antichrist, when he shall come (being born of the tribe of Dan) shall reigne but only iii. yeares and a halfe: for vnderstanding how these xlii. moneths are mystically to bee reckened by Sabbathes of yeares, that is, vii. yeares to euery moneth, after the vse of Scripture, & so they make cccxiii. yeares. During th time of which yeares, Antichrist then reigned in the Primitiue Church, till the comming of Constantine the Christian Emperour.

The like vnderstanding also hath the iii. dales & a halfe mentioned in the Reuelation. Cap. xi. where is saide: That after three dales and a halfe the two Prophets shall reuiue againe, &c. for to count euery houre of the day (which bee xii.) by Sabbaths of yeares, that is, fourtie yeares, and it commeth to cccxiii. yeares.

And so whether we count by monethes or by dales, both waies it giueth a time, times, and halfe a time, mentioned in the Reuelation. cap. 12. xlii. monethes: to it is wise in one day, two dales and halfe a day, may be vnderstand a time, times, and halfe a time. For as one twelue moneth (which is one yeare) maketh one time, ti. twelue monethes (which is ii. yeare) make ii. times: and di. monethes (which is halfe a yeare) make halfe a time, making altogether

Furthermore, where in the said Reuelation of Saint Iohn, Cap. xii. mention is made of Weeks, dales, it commeth likewise to the same reckening. For in giuing vii. dales to a moneth, so many dales doe amount in

yeares: and so long continued these Persecutions.

Persecutions expired, S. Iohn in the said booke of his Reuelation, Cap. xx. prophesieth that Sathan should be tied vppe for a thousand yeares, and after that let loose againe in the world for a little space all to xlii. monethes, which (as is aforesaid) being reduced to Sabbaths of yeares, make cccxiii. that is, that the rage and violence of persecution should then bee stirred vp against Gods

Note moreouer, that after the time of their people, as before: Which loosing of Sathan falleth vpon the yeare of our Lord, 1324. At what time the kingdome of the Turkes first began vnder Ottomannes, wasting and destroying then the Churches of Asia, and afterward of Europe

Read the Actes and Monuments, Pag. 700. and the xlvi.

Imprinted at London by Humfrey Lownes, 1610.

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The first Booke of the Acts and Monuments, containing the three hundred yeeres next *after Christ, with the ten persecutions of the* primitiue Church.

THese things before premised, hauing thus hitherto prepared the way vnto our storie, let vs now (by the grace and speed of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter: that as we haue heretofore set forth in a generall description the whole state as well of the primitiue as of the latter times of this church of Rome: so now consequently to discourse in particular sort the acts and doings of euery age, by it selfe, in such order as is afore prefixed.

1 First, to declare of the suffering time of the church, which containeth about the time of three hundred yeeres after Christ.

2 Secondly, the flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred yeeres.

3 Thirdly, the declining time of the church, and of true religion, other three hundred yeeres.

4 Fourthly, of the time of antichrist, raigning and raging in the church, since the losing of Satan.

5 Lastlie, of the reforming time of Christs church in these latter three hundred yeeres.

In the tractation of all which things our chiefe purpose and endeuor shall be (so neere as the Lord will giue vs grace) not so much to intermeddle with outward affaires of princes, or matters ciuill (except sometime for example of life) as specialliе minding (by the helpe of the Lord) to prosecute such things, which to the ecclesiasticall state of the church are appertaining: as first to intreat of the stablishing of christian faith, then of the persecutions of tyrants, the constancie and patience of Gods saints, the first conuersion of christian realmes to the faith of Christ, namely of this realme of England and Scotland: first beginning with king Lucius, and so forward following the order of our English kings here in this land, to declare the maintenance of true doctrine, the false practise of prelats, the creeping in of superstition and hypocrisie, the manifold assaults, warres and tumults of the princes of this world, against the people of God. Wherein may appeare the wonderfull operation of Christs mighty hand, euer working in his church, and neuer ceasing to defend the same against his enemies, according to the veritie of his own word, promising to be with his church while the world shall stand, so as by the processe of this storie may well be proued, and be testified in the sequell thereof.

Two things in this historie chiefly to be noted.

In the tractation of all which things two speciall points I chiefly commend to the reader, as most requisit and necessarie of euery christian man to obserue and to note for his owne experience and profit, as first the disposition and nature of this world: secondly the nature and condition of the kingdome of Christ: the battle of the one, and stablishment of the other: the vnprosperous and vnquiet state of the one, ruled by mans violence and wisdome, and the happie successe of the other euer ruled by Gods blessing and prouidence: the wrath and reuenging hand of God in the one, and his mercie vpon the other.

The world.

The world I call all such as be without or against Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by heathenish life not following him, or by violence resisting him.

The kingdome of Christ in this world.

On the other side, the kingdome of Christ in this world I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ, & here take his part in this world against the world: the number of whom although it be much smaller than the other, and alwaies lightly is hated and molested of the world, yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarlie doth bless and prosper, and euer will.

The visible church. The church of Christ diuided in two sorts of people.

And this number of Christs subiects is it, which we call the visible church here in earth. Which visible church, hauing in it selfe a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be diuided in two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward profession onlie, the other which by election inwardly are ioyned to Christ: the first in words and lips seeme to honour Christ, and are in the visible church onely, but not in the church inuisible, and partake the outward sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other are both in the visible and also in the inuisible church of Christ, which not in words onely and outward profession, but also in heart doe truly serue and honor Christ, partaking not onely the sacraments, but also the heauenly blessings and grace of Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as betweene the world and the kingdome of Christ there is a continuall repugnance: so betweene these two parts of this visible church aforesaid, oft times groweth great variance and mortall persecution, insomuch that sometime the true church of Christ hath no greater enemies then of their owne profession and companie, as happened not onely in the time of Christ and his apostles, but also from time to time almost continually: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1: but especiallie in these latter daies of the church vnder the persecution of antichrist and his retinue, as by the reading of this volume more manifestly hereafter may appeare. *Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

At the first preaching of Christ, and comming of the gospell, who should rather haue knowne and receiued him, then the Pharisies and Scribes of that people, which had his law? And yet who persecuted and reiected him more then they themselues? What followed? They in refusing Christ to be their king, and choosing rather to be subiect vnto Cesar, were by the said their owne Cesar at length destroyed: when as Christs subiects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the gospell of God, when it is so gently offered.

Gods punishment for refusing the gospell.

The like example of Gods wrathfull punishment is to be noted no lesse in the Romans also themselues. For when Tiberius Cesar, hauing receiued by letters from Pontius Pilat of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heauen, and how he was receiued as God of many, was himselfe also moued with beliefe of the same, and did confer therof with the whole senat of Rome, to haue Christ adored as God: but they not agreeing thereunto refused him, because that contrarie to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated (said they) for God, before the senat of Rome had so decreed and approued him, &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vaine senat following rather the law of man then of God, and which were contented with the emperour to reigne ouer them, were not contented with the meeke king of glorie the sonne of God to be their king; and therefore after much like sort to the Iewes were scourged and intrapped for their vniust refusing, by the same way which they themselues did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and reiected Christ: so the iust permission of God did stir vp their owne emperors against them in such sort, that both the senators themselues were almost all deuoured, and the whole citie most horriblie afflicted the space almost of three hundred yeeres together. For first the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his raigne was a moderate and a tollerable prince, afterward was to them a sharpe and heauie tyrant, who neither fauoured his owne mother, nor spared his owne nephues, nor the princes of the citie, such as were his owne counsellors, of whom to the number of twentie he left not past two or three aliue; & so cruell was he to the citie, that as the storie recordeth, *Nullus à pœna hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus quidē ac sacer.* Suetonius reporteth him to be so sterne of nature & tyrannicall, that in time of his reigne, very many were accused and condemned with their wiues and children, maids also first defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twentie persons to be drawne to the place of execution. By whom also, through the iust punishment of God, Pilat, vnder whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the towne of Lions, and at length did slay himselfe. Neither did Herod and Caiphas long escape, of who more followeth hereafter. Agrippa also by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored. In the reigne of Tiberius, the Lord Iesus the son of God, in the foure and thirtith yeere of his age, which was the seuentéenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Iewes suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sinne, death, and Satan the prince of this world, and rose againe the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection, this foresaid Tiberius Nero (otherwise called Biberius Nero) liued fiue yeeres, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the christians, through the commandement of the emperour. *Ex Suet. in Vita Tiberij.*

Tiberius Cesar moueth the senat to haue Christ receiued.

Christ refused of the senat of Rome.

The vain cause why the senat of Rome refused Christ. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

The senat and citie of Rome plagued for refusing of Christ

Christ suffereth againe.

Anno. 34

Saint Paul converted.

Anno 35

Anno 39

Cæsar Caligula.

In the raigne also of this emperor, and yere which was the next after the passion of our Sauior, or somewhat more, saint Paul was conuerted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had raigned three & twentie yéeres, succeeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, & Domitius Nero: which three were likewise such scourges to the senat and people of Rome, that the first not only toke other mens wiues violently from them, but also defloured three of his own sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himselfe to be worshipped as god, and temples to be erected in his name, and vsed to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set vp in all temples, and also in the temple of Hierusalem, which caused great disturbance among the Iews, and then began the abominatian of desolation to be set vp in the holy place, spoken of in the gospell. His cruell condition, or else displeasure was such toward the Romans, that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he at his pleasure might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod the murtherer of John Baptist, and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetuall banishment, where hee died miserablie. Caiphas also, which wickedly sat vpon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priests rome, and Jonathan set in his place. The raging fierrenes of this Caligula incensed against the Romans, had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, which slue him in the fourth yéere of his raigne. After whose death was found in his closet two little libels, one called a sword, the other the dagger: in the which libels were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this sword and dagger, there was found also a cofter, wherein diuers kinds of poison were kept in glasses and vessels for the purpose, to destroy a wonderful number of people; which poisons afterward being throwne into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish. Gotfr. Viterb.

Caligula commanded his image to be set vp in the temple of Hierusalem.

The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

Herod miserablie died in banishment.

Caiphas deposed.

Anno 43

Ex Gotfrido Viterbiensi. pars. 15.

But that which this Caligula had only conceiued, the same did the other two which came after bring to passe, Claudius Nero, who raigned thirteene yéeres with no little crueltie, but especially the third of these Neroes called Domitius Nero, which succéeding after Claudius, reigned fourtéene yéeres, with such furie and tyrannie, that he slue the most part of the senators, he destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he, more like a beast, yea rather a diuel then a man, that he séemed to be borne to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous vncleannesse, that he abstained not from his own mother, his naturall sister, nor from any degrée of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelties, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother in law, his sister, his wife great with child, also his instructor Seneca and Lucane, with diuers more of his owne kindred and consanguinitie. Moreouer, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in tweelue places, and so continued it fire daies and seuen nights in burning, while that he to sée the example how Troy burned, sang the verses of Homer. And to auoid the infamie therof, he laid the fault vpon the christian men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable emperour in his reigne fouretéene yeeres, till at last the senat proclaming him a publike enemie vnto mankind, condemned him to be drawne through the citie, and to be whipped to death. For the feare whereof, he flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his seruants in the countrie, where he was forced to slay himselfe, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemie left that would doe so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony & faith of Christ. Anno sixtie nine.

Claudius Nero.

Anno 56

Domitius Nero.

The horrible wickednesse and crueltie of Nero.

Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Anno 69

Thus ye sée, which is worthie to be marked, how the iust scourge and heauie indignation of God from time to time euer followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus the sonne of God is contemned & not receiued, as by these examples may appeare, both of Romans which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their owne emperors, but also by ciuill wars, whereof three were fought in two yeres at Rome after the death of Nero, and other casualties (as in Sueton is testified) so that in the daies of Tiberius afore said, fiue thousand Romans were hurt and slaine at one time by fall of a theatre. And also most especially by the destruction of the Iewes, which about this same time, in the yéere three score and thirtéene, and forty yéeres after the passion of Christ, and the third yéere after the suffering of S. Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus and Uespasian his father (who succéeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleuen hundred thousand, besides them which Uespasian slue in subduing the countrie of Galile, ouer and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other prouinces to vile slauery, to the number of seuentéene thousand. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph, of which, part he gaue to be deuoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slaine. By whose case all nations & realmes may take example, what it is to reiect the visitation of Gods veritie being sent, and much more to persecute them which bee sent of God for their saluation.

Uespasian emperor and Titus his sonne.

The destruction of the Iewes

A note for all realmes to marke.

The Romans for contemning

And as this wrathfull vengeance of God thus hath been shewed vpon this rebellious people, both of the Iewes and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their owne emperors: so neither the emperors themselues, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their iust reward. For amongst so many emperors, which put so many christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred yéeres, few or none of them escaped either not slaine themselues, or by some miserable end or other worthilie reuenged. First, of the poisoning of Tiberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Neroes after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba within seuen moneths was slaine by Otho. And so did Otho afterward slay himselfe, being ouercome by Uitellus. And was not Uitellus shortly after drawne through the citie of Rome, and after he was tormented was throwne into Tiber? Titus a good emperor is thought to be poisoned of Domitian his brother. The said Domitian after he had been a persecutor of the christians, was slaine in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Commodus was murdered of Marcillus. The like end was of Pertinax and Julianus. Moreouer, after that Seuerus was slaine here in England, and lieth at Yorke, did not his sonne Basilianus slay his brother Geta, and he after slaine of Martialis? Macrinus with his sonne Diadumenus were both slaine of their owne souldiers. After whom Heliogabalus that monsterous bellipanch, was of his owne people slaine, and drawne through the citie and cast into Tiber. Alexander Seuerus that worthie & learned emperor, which said hee would not feed his seruants doing nothing, with the bowels of the common wealth, although in life and vertues was much vnlike other emperors, yet procured the like end, being slaine at Mentz with his godly mother Mammea, by Maximinus, whom the emperor before of a muletor had aduanced to great dignities. The which Maximinus also after three yéeres was slaine himselfe of his souldiers. What should I speake of Maximus and Balbinus in like sort both slaine in Rome? Of Gordian slaine by Philip: of Philip the first christened emperor, slaine or rather martyred for the same cause: of wicked Decius drowned, and his sonne slaine the same time in battell: of Gallus and Volusianus his sonne, emperors after Decius, both slaine by conspiracie of Aemilianus, who rose against them both in warre, and within three moneths after was slaine himselfe. Next to Aemilianus succéeded Valerianus and Galienus his son, of whom Valerianus (who was a persecutor of the christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a riding stole of Sapores their king, who vsed him for a stole to leape vpon his horse, while his sonne Galienus sléeping at Rome, either would not, or could not once prefer to reuenge his fathers ignominie. For after the taking of Valerian, so many emperors rose vp as were prouinces in the Roman monarchie. At length Galienus also was killed by Aureolus which warred against him. It were too long here to speak of Aurelianus another persecutor, slaine of his secretarie; of Tacitus and Florinus his brother, of whom the first raigned fiue moneths and was slaine at Pontus, the other raigned two moneths & was murthered at Tarsis: of Probus, who although a good ciuill emperor, yet was he destroyed by his souldiers. After whom Carus the next emperor was slaine by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Diocletian, with his fellowes Maximian, Valerius, Maximinus, Marentius, and Licinius, vnder whom all at one time (during the time of Diocletian) the greatest and most grieuous persecution was moued against the christian ten yéeres together. Of which Diocletian and Maximian deposed themselues from the empire. Galerius the chiefest minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderfull sicknesse, hauing such a sore risen in the nether part of his bellie, which consumed his priuie members, and so did swarme with wormes, that being not curable neither by surgerie nor physicke, hee confessed that it happened for his crueltie toward the Christians, and so called in his proclamations against them. Notwithstanding, he not able to sustaine (as some say) the stinke of his sore slue himselfe. Maximinus in his warre, being tormented with paine in his guts, there died. Marentius was banquished by Constantine, and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewise being ouercome by the said Constantine the great, was deposed from his empire, and afterward slaine of his souldiers. But on the other side, after the time of Constantine, when as the faith of Christ was receiued into the imperiall seat, we read of no emperor after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Julianus or Basilius which expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himselfe, or Valens. Beside these we reade of no emperor to come to ruine and decay, as the others before mentioned. Ex lib. hist. tripart.

Christ, punished by their owne emperours.

Examples of the iust plagues of God vpon the Roman emperours persecuting and resisting Christ till the time of Constantine.

Tiberius.
Caligula.
Claudius.
Domitius.
Nero.
Galba.
Otho.
Uitellus.
Titus.
Domitian.
Commodus.
Pertinax.
Julianus.
Seuerus.
Geta.
Basilianus.
Macrinus.
Diadumenus.
Heliogabalus.
Alexander.
Seuerus.
Maximinus.
Maximus.
Balbinus.
Gordianus.
Philippus.
Decius.
Gallus and Volusianus.
Aemilianus.
Valerianus.
Galienus.

Aurelianus.
Tacitus.
Florinus.

Probus.

Carus.
Diocletianus.
Maximianus.
Valerius.
Maximinus.
Marentius.
Licinius.

And thus haue we in briefe summe collected out of the chronicles, the vnquiet & miserable state of the emperors of Rome, vntill the time of christian Constantine, with the examples no lesse terrible then manifest, of Gods seuere iustice vpon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

Moreouer, in much like sort and condition, if leasure of time or haste of matter would suffer me a little to digresse vnto more lower times, and to come more néere home, the like examples

I

I could also infer of this our countrie of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and vnthankfull refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we reade how that God stirred vp Gildas to preach to the old Britains, and to exhort them vnto repentance & amendment of life, and afore to warne them of plagues to come if they repented not. What auailed it? Gildas was laughed to scorne, and taken for a false prophet, and a malicious preacher. The Britans with lustie courages, whorish faces, and vnrepentant harts went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on euery side and destroyed them, & gaue the land to other nations. Not many yeres past, God seeing idolatrie, superstition, hypocrisie, & wicked liuing vsed in this realme, raised vp that godly learned man John Wickliffe, to preach vnto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their liues, to forsake their papistrie and idolatrie, their hypocrisie, superstition, and to walke in the feare of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he with his sermons was despised, his bookes and he himselfe after his death were burnt. What followed? They slue their right king, and set vp three wrong kings on a row, vnder whom all the noble bloud was slaine vp, and halfe the commons thereto, what in France, and with their owne sword in fighting among themselues for the crowne, and the cities and townes decaied, and the land brought halfe to a wildernesse, in respect of that it was before. O extreame plagues of Gods vengeance! Since that time, euen of late yeres, God once againe hauing pitie of this realme of England, raised vp his prophets, namely William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, John Frith, doctor Barnes, Jerome Barret, Anthonie Person, with diuers others, which both with their writings and sermons earnestly laboured to call vs vnto repentance, that by this meanes the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from vs. But how were they intreated? How were their painefull labours regarded? They themselues were condemned and burnt as heretikes, and their bookes condemned and burnt as heretical. The time shall come, saith Christ, that whosoeuer killeth you, will thinke that he doth God high good seruice. Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this realme worthie the name of a plague, let the godly wise iudge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgiuen vs these our wicked deeds, as I trust he hath, let vs not therefore be proud and high minded, but most humblie thanke him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like vngodly enterprises hereafter. Neither is it here any need to speake of these our lower and latter times, which haue been in king Henries and king Edwards daies, seeing the memorie thereof is yet fresh and cannot be forgotten. But let this passe, of this I am sure, that God yet once againe is come on visitation to this church of England, yea and that more louingly and beneficially then euer he did before. For in this visitation he hath redressed many abuses, and clensed his church of much vngodlinesse and superstition, and made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the old forme and state. And now how gratefull receiuers we be, with what heart, studie and reuerence wee embrace that which he hath giuen, that I referre either to them that see our fruits, or to the sequele, which peraduenture will declare. But this by the way of digression. Now to regresse againe to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I haue set forth the iustice of God vpon these Roman persecutors: so now wee declare their persecutions raised vp against the people and seruants of Christ, within the space of three hundred yeres after Christ. Which persecutions in number commonly are counted to bee ten, besides the persecutions first moued by the Iewes in Hierusalem and other places against the apostles. In the which, first Saint Stephan the deacon was put to death, with diuers others mo, in the same rage of time either slaine, or cast into prison. At the doing whereof, Saul the same time plaied the doughtie Pharisie, being not yet conuerted to the faith of Christ, whereof the historie is plaine in the Acts of the apostles set forth at large by S. Luke.

After the martyrdome of this blessed Stephan, suffered next James the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of John. Of which James, mention is made in the Acts of the apostles the twelfth chapter. Where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephan, king Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certaine of the congregation: among whom James was one, whom he slue with the sword, &c. Of this James, Eusebius also inferreth mention, alleaging Clement, thus writing a memorable storie of him. This James (saith Clement) when he was brought to the tribunall seat, he that brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) seeing him to be condemned, and that he should suffer death: as he went to the execution, he being moued therewith in heart and conscience, confessed himselfe also of his owne accord to be a christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgiue him that he had done. After that James had a little paused with him vpon the matter, turning to him; Peace (saith he) be to thee brother, and kissed him, and both were beheaded together, in the yeere of our Lord thirtie and fiue.

Dorotheus in his booke named Synopsis testifieth, that Nicanor one of the seuen deacons, with two thousand others which beleeued in Christ, suffered also the same day, when as Stephan did suffer.

The said Dorotheus witnesseth also of Simon, another of the deacons, bishop afterward of Bostrum in Arabia, there to bee burned. Parmenias also another of the deacons suffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, also to the Germans, Hyraconies, Bactries, and Magies. Hee suffered in Calamina a citie of Juda, being slaine with a dart.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the countrie of Afrike, and in Britania, he was likewise crucified.

Judas brother of James, called also Thaddeus, and Lebeus, preached to the Edessens, and to all Mesopotamia, he was slaine vnder Augarus, king of the Edessens in Berito.

Simo called Cananeus, which was brother to Jude aboue mentioned, & to James the younger, which all were the sonnes of Mary Cleopha, and of Alpheus, was bishop of Hierusalem after James, and was crucified in a citie of Egypt in the time of Traianus emperour, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth, that hee with his brother Jude, were both slaine by a tumult of the people in Suanir a citie of Parthis.

Marke the euangelist, and first bishop of Alexandria, preached the gospell in Egypt, and there drawne with ropes vnto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, vnder the raigne of Traianus emperour.

Bartholomeus is said also to preach to the Indians, and to haue conuerted the gospell of saint Matthew into their tongue, where he continued a great space doing many miracles. At last in Albania a citie of greater Armenia, after diuers persecutions, he was beaten downe with staues, then crucified, and after being excoriat, he was at length beheaded. Iohn De monte regali.

Of Andrew the apostle and brother to Peter thus writeth Hierome in his booke De catalogo scriptorum eccles. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time & reigne of Vespasianus, as our ancestors haue reported) did preach in the fourescore yeere of our Lord Jesu Christ to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Sarons: and in a citie which is called Angustia, where the Ethiopians doe now inhabit. He was buried in Patris a citie of Achais, being crucified of Egeas the gouernour of the Edessians. Hitherto writeth Hierome, although in the number of yeres he seemeth a little to misse: for Vespasianus reached not to the fourescore yeere after Christ. But Bernard in his second sermon, and saint Cyprian in his booke De duplici martyrio, doe make mention of the confession and martyrdome of this blessed apostle, whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers we haue collected after this manner: that, When as Andrew being conuersant in a citie of Achaia called Patris through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Christ: Egeas the gouernour knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constraine as many as did beleeue Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the senat, to doe sacrifice vnto the idols, and so giue diuine honor vnto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsell, and the doings of Egeas, went vnto him, saying in this effect vnto him: that, It behoued him which was iudge of men, first to know his iudge which dwelleth in heauen, and then to worship him being knowne, and so in worshipping the true God, to reuoke his mind from false gods and blind idols. These words spake Andrew to the consull.

But he greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him whether he was the same Andrew that did ouerthrow the temple of the gods, and perswaded men of that superstitious sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and reiected. Andrew did plainly affirme that the princes of the Romans did not vnderstand the truth, and that the sonne of God comming from heauen into the world for mans sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not onely not gods, but also most cruell diuels, enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but wherewith God is offended, and being offended turneth away and regardeth them not, and so by the wicked seruice of the diuell doe fall headlong into all wickednesse, and after their departing, nothing remaineth vnto them, but their euill deeds.

But the proconsull esteeming these things to be as vaine, especially seeing the Iewes (as hee said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things any more; or if he did, that hee should be fastened to the crosse with all speed.

Andrew abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatned: He would not haue preached the honour and glorie of the crosse, if hee had feared the death of the crosse. Whereupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew teaching and enterprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. Andrew comming to the place, and seeing a farre off the crosse prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the vnbecillitie of mortall men is wont to doe, neither did his bloud shrinke, neither did he faile

Eiij in

Britains. Gildas.

Wickliffe and his bookes condemned, and he burnt for an heretike after his death.

Iohn 16.

Gods benefits toward England.

A caueat for England.

Saint Stephan the first ringleader of al Christs martyrs.

Saint James the apostle, brother of John martyred. Acts 12.

Hist. eccle. lib. 2. cap. 9. ex Clemente septima Hypotyposeon.

A notable conuersion of a wicked accuser and after a martyr.

Nicanor one of the seuen deacons, with two thouland other martyred. Ex Dorotheo in Synopsi.

Simon a deacon martyred.

Saint Thomas the apostle suffered.

Simon Zelotes crucified.

Thaddeus the apostle slaine.

Simon Canaeneus crucified.

Marke the euangelist burned.

Bartholomew the apostle crucified and beheaded. Ex Iacob. de monte regali.

Andrew the apostle crucified for the gospell. Ex Hieronymo in catalogo script. eccles. Ex Cypriano lib. de duplici martyrio, ex Bernardo serm. 2. de sanct. Andrea.

The words of Andrew to the counsell.

The fernency of Andrew against idolatry.

The constant faith of Andrew to the end.

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in his speech, his bodie fainted not, neither was his mind molested, his vnderstanding did not faile him, as it is the maner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speake; and feruent charitie did appeare in his words as kindled sparkes: he said, O crosse most welcome and long looked for; with a willing mind, ioyfully and desirously I come to thee, being the scholer of him which did hang on thee: because I haue been alwaies thy louer, and haue coueted to embrace thee. So being crucified, he yelded vp the ghost and fell on sleepe, the day before the kalends of December.

The crosse here is not taken for the materiall crosse of wood: but for the maner of death vpon the crosse, which death was to him welcome.

S. Matthew the apostle slaine with a speare.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 24. 39.

Iræneus lib. 3. cap. 1.

Hiero. in catalogo script.

Matthew, otherwise named Leui, first of a publicane made an apostle, wrote his gospel to the Iewes in the Hebrue tongue, as recordeth Eusebius, lib. 3. 24. 39. lib. 5. ca. 8. ca. 10. Also Iræneus lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in catalogo scrip. Ecclesiast. Concerning the doings and decrements of this blessed apostle and euangelist, diuers things be recorded by Iulius Africanus, vnder the pretensed name of Abdias, also of Vincentius, Perionius, and others, but in such sort, as by the contents may greatly be suspected, the matter not to lacke some craftie forgerie, for the more establishment of latter decretals, and Romish doctrine, as touching merits, consecration of nunnes, the superstitious prescription of Lent fast, not only in abstaining from all fleshmeats, but also from all matrimonial copulation betweene man and wife, during the said time of holy Lent. Item, the strict prohibition not to take any bodily sustenance, before the receiuing of the Lords supper. In ordaining of masse; and that no nunne must marrie after the vow of her profession, with such other like.

Matthias the apostle stoned and headed.

Ioan. de Monte Regali, testifieth of Matthias, that after he had preached to the Iewes, at length he was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in Ethiopia.

Philip the apostle crucified.

Ex Isido. lib. de. patribus noui testam.

Philippus the holy apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of saluation to them, at length he suffered as the other apostles did, in Hierapolis a citie of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death, where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him. Isido.

James bishop of Ierusalem.

Of Iames the brother of the Lord thus we reade *in the storie of Clement and Egesippus.*

After that Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome after his appellation made at Cesaria, and that the Iewes by the means thereof had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him conceiued, they fell vpon Iames the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Ierusalem, against whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to denie before all the people the faith of Christ. But he otherwise then they all looked for, freelie and with a greater constancie before all the multitude confessed Iesus to be the sonne of God, our Sauiour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the iustest among them all, for the highnesse of diuine wisdome and godlinesse, which in liuing he declared, they killed him, finding the more opportunitie to accomplish their mischiefe, because the kingdome the same time was vacant. For Festus being dead in Iewry, the administration of that prouince was destitute of a ruler, and a deputie. But after what manner Iames was killed, the words of Clement doe declare, which writeth that he was cast downe from the pinacle of the temple, and being smitten with the instrument of a fuller, was slaine: but Egesippus which liued in the time next after the apostles, describeth the cause diligently in his fifth commentarie, after this maner as followeth.

Ex Clemente.

Ex Egesippo in commentario.

Iames the brother of our Lord tooke in hand to gouerne the church after the apostles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a iust and perfect man. Many & diuers other Iameses there were beside him, but this was borne holy from his mothers wombe, he drunke no wine nor any strong drinke, neither did he eat any liuing creature, the rasor neuer came vpon his head, he was not anointed with oile, neither did he vse bath, to him onely was it lawfull to enter into the holie place, neither was he clothed with woollen cloth, but with silke, and hee onlie entred into the temple, falling vpon his knees, asking remission for the people, so that his knees by oft kneeling lost the sense of feeling, being benummed and hardened like the knees of a camell. He was (for worshipping God and craning forgiuenesse for the people) called iust, and for the excellencie of his iust life named Oblias, which (if you doe interpret it) is the safegard and iustice of the people, as the prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the heretiks which were among the people asked him what maner of dore Iesus should be, he answered that he was the Sauior. Whereof some do beleeue him to be Iesus Christ, but the aforesaid heretiks neither beleeue the resurrection, neither that any shall come, which shall render vnto euery man according to his works, but as many as beleeue, they beleeued for Iames his cause. When as many therefore of the princes did beleeue, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Iews and Pharisies, saying: It is dangerous least that all the people doe looke for this Iesus, as for Christ. Therefore they gathered themselues together, and said to Iames: We beseech thee restraine the people, for they beleeue in Iesus, as though he were Christ, we pray thee perswade them all which come vnto the feast of the passeouer of Iesus, for we are all obedient vnto thee, and all the people do testifie of thee that thou art iust, neither that thou doest accept the person of any man, therefore perswade the people that they be not deceiued in Iesus, and all the people and we will obay thee: therefore stand vpon the pillar of the temple, that thou maiest be seene from aboue, and that thy words may be perceiued of all the people, for to this passeouer all the tribes do come with all the countrie. And thus the forenamed Scribes and Pharisies did set Iames vpon the battlements of the church, and they cried vnto him & said: Thou iust man whom all we ought to obey, because this people is led after Iesus, which is crucified, tell what is the doore of Iesus crucified. And he answered with a great voice, What do you aske me of Iesus the sonne of man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God in heauen, and shall come in the clouds of the skie? But when many were perswaded of this, they glorified God vpon the witnesse of Iames, and said: Osanna in the highest to the sonne of Dauid. Then the Scribes & the Pharisies said among themselues, We haue done euill that we haue caused such a testimonie of Iesus, but let vs goe vp and let vs take him, that they being compelled with feare, may deny that faith. And they cried out, saying: O, O, this iust man also is seduced, and they fulfilled that scripture which is spoken of in Esay: Let vs take away the iust man, because he is not profitable for vs, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works. Therefore they went vp to throw downe the iust man, and said among themselues: Let vs stone this iust man Iames, and they tooke him to smite him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast downe. But he turning, fell downe vpon his knees, saying: O Lord God, father, I beseech thee to forgiue them, for they know not what they doe. Esay 3.

But when they had smitten him with stones, one of the priests of the children of Rechas, the sonne of Charobim, spake to them the testimonie which is in Ieremie the prophet: Leaue off, what doe ye? The iust man prayeth for you. And one of those which were present tooke a fullers instrument, wherewith they did vse to beat and purge cloth, and smote the iust man on his head, and so he finished his martyrdome, and they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth yet by the temple. He was a true testimonie to the Iewes and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Uespasianus the emperour destroying the land of Iewrie, brought them into captiuitie. These things being thus written at large of Egesippus, doe well agree to those which Clement did write of him. This James was so notable a man, that for his iustice he was had in honour of all men, in so much that the wise men of the Iewes, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the cause of the besieging of Ierusalem & other calamities which happned vnto them, to no other cause, but vnto the violence and iniury done to this man. Also Iosephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: These things so chanced vnto the Iewes for a vengeance, because of that iust man Iames which was the brother of Iesus, whom they called Christ, for the Iewes killed him, although he was a righteous man. Luke 23.

Iosephus lib. 20.

The same Iosephus declareth his death in the same booke and chapter, saying: Cesar hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus the lieutenant into Iury: but Ananus the younger being bishop, and of the sect of the Saduces, trusting that he had obtained a conuenient time, seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus entred on his iournie, he called a councell, and calling many vnto him, among whom was Iames by name the brother of Iesu which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as breakers of the law.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other besides Iames also at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Iewes, for the faith of Christ.

Martyrs.

Apoc. 12.

A description of the ten first persecutions *in the primitiue church, with a* liuely portraiture of the variety *of their torments.*

The first tenne persecutions in the primitiue church.

These things being thus declared for the martyrdome of the apostles, and the persecution of the Iewes: now let vs (by the grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like brentie, the persecutions raised by the Romans against the christians in the primitiue age of the church during the space of three hundred yeeres, till the comming of godly Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned of Eusebius, and by the most part of writers, to the number of tenne most speciall.

The sundrie torments of the holy martyrs in the primitiue church.

Wherein maruellous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of christian innocents that were slaine and tormented, some one way, some another, as Rabanus saith, and saith truelie, Alij ferro perépti. Alij flammis exusti. Alij flagris verberati. Alij

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Alij vectibus perforati. Alij cruciati patibulo. Alij demersi pelagi periculo. Alij viui decoriati. Alij vinculis mancipati. Alij linguis priuati. Alij lapidibus obruti. Alij frigore afflicti. Alij fame cruciati. Alij truncatis manibus, aliisque cæsis membris, spectaculum cõtumeliæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c: that is, Some slaine with sword. Some burnt with fire. Some with whips scourged. Some stabbed in with forkes of iron. Some fastened to the crosse or gibbet. Some drowned in the sea. Some their skins pluckt off. Some their tongues cut off. Some stoned to death. Some killed with cold. Some starued with hunger. Some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembred, haue been so left naked to the open shame of the world, &c. Whereof Augustine also in his booke De ciuit. 22. cap. 6. thus saith: Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, vrebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, nõ pugnantes pro salute, sed salutẽ contemnẽtes pro seruatore. Whole kinds of punishments although they were diuers, yet the maner of constancie in all these martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpnesse of these so many and sundrie torments, and like cruelnes of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that as Hierom in his epistle to Cromatius & Heliodorus saith: Nullus esset dies qui nõ vltra quinque millium numerũ martyrum reperiri posset adscriptus, excepto die calẽdarũ Ianuarij: that is, There is no day in the whole yere, vnto which the number of fiue thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of Januarie.

Aug de ciuit. lib. 22. cap. 6.

The number of holy martyrs in the primitiue church.

The first persecution.

The first persecution.

Anno 67

Histor. eccle. lib. 2. cap. 24. 25. 26.

THe first of these ten persecutions was stirred vp by Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor before mentioned, about the yeare of our Lord three score & seuen. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was so fierce against the christians (as Eusebius recordeth) Vsque adeò vt videres repletas humanis corporibus ciuitates, iacentes mortuos simul cum paruulis senes, fœminarumque absque vlla sexus reuerentia nudata in publico reiectaque starent cadauera: that is, Insomuch that a man might then see cities lie full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the yong, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reuerence of that sex in the open streets, &c.

Oroſius. lib. 7.

Likewise Orosius writing of the said Nero saith: that He was the first which in Rome did raise vp persecution against the christians, and not onely in Rome, but also through all the prouinces thereof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of christians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreouer the testimonie of Hierome vpon Daniel, saying: that Many there were of the christians in those daies, which seeing the filthie abominations, and intollerable crueltie of Nero, thought that he should be antichrist, &c.

Nero thought to be antichrist.

Saint Peter the apostle crucified at Rome.

In this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified as some do write at Rome; albeit othersome, and not without cause, do doubt thereof: concerning whose life and historie, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the gospell, and in the acts of saint Luke, chapter 4. 5. 12. I need not here to make any great repetition therof. As touching the cause & maner of his death, diuers there be which make relation, as Hierome, Egesippus, Eusebius, Abdias, & others, although they doe not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Hierome be these: Simon Peter the sonne of Iona, of the prouince of Galile, & of the towne of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, &c. after hee had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersion of them that beleeued, of the circumcision in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithinia, in the second yere of Claudius the emperor (which was about the yeare of our Lord fortie and foure) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chaire the space of fiue and twentie yeares, vntill the last yeare of the foresaid Nero, which was the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, of whom he was crucified, his head being downe, and his feete vpward, himselfe so requiring, because he was (he said) vnworthie to be crucified after the same forme and manner as the Lord was, &c. Egesippus prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias also (if any authoritie is to be giuen to his booke, who following not onely the sense, but also the very forme of words of Egesippus in this historie, seemeth to be extracted out of him, & of other authors) saith, that Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper of his life, was required vpon a time to be present at the raising vp of a certaine noble yong man in Rome of Neroes kindred lately departed: whereas Peter also was desired to come to the reuiuing of the said personage. But when Magus in the presence of Peter could not do it, then Peter calling vpon the name of the Lord Jesus did raise him vp, and restored him to his mother, whereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay, and to bee detested in Rome. Not long after the said Magus threatned the Romans that he would leaue the citie, and in their sight flie away from them into heauen. So the day being appointed Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus, began to flie in the aire: but Peter by the power of the Lord Jesus brought him downe with his wings headlong to the ground,

Hieron. lib. de viris illustrib.

This report seemeth neither to come of Hierome nor to be true in Peter.

Egesippus lib. 3. de excidio Hierosol. cap. 2. Abdias lib. 1. de vita patri.

by the which fall his legs and ioints were broken, and hee thereupon died. Then Nero sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against Peter to put him to death. Which when ỳ people perceiued, they intreated Peter with much adoe that hee would flie the citie. Peter through their importunitie at length perswaded, prepared himselfe to auoid. But comming to the gate he saw the Lord Christ come to mẽte him, to whom he worshipping said: Lord whither dost thou go? To whom he answered and said, I am come againe to be crucified. By this Peter perceiuing his suffering to be vnderstanded, returned backe into the city againe, and so was he crucified in maner as is before declared. And this out of Egesippus.

Eusebius moreouer writing of the death not only of Peter but also of his wife, affirmeth that Peter seeing his wife going to hir martyrdome (belike as he was yet hanging vpon the crosse) was greatly ioyous and glad thereof, who crying vnto hir with a loud voice, and calling hir by hir name, bad hir remember the Lord Jesus. Such was then (saith Eusebius) the blessed bond of mariage among the saints of God. And thus much of Peter.

Euseb. lib. 3. hist. eccle. cap. 30.

Peters wife put to death for Christ.

The words of Peter to his wife, going to death.

Paul the apostle, which before was called Saul, after his great trauell and vnspeakeable labours in promoting the gospell of Christ, suffred also in this first persecution vnder Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hierome in his booke De viris illustribus. Paul, otherwise called Saul, one of the apostles, yet out of the number of twelue, was of the tribe of Beniamin, and of a towne of Jewrie called Giscalis, which towne being taken of the Romans, he with his parents fled to Tharsus a towne of Cilicia; afterward was sent vp by his parents to Jerusalem, and there brought vp in the knowledge of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was at the death of Stephan a doer. And when he had receiued letters from the high priest to persecute the christians, by the way going to Damascus he was stricken downe of the Lords glorie, and of a persecutor was made a professor, an apostle, a martyr, a witnesse of the gospell, and a vessell of election.

Paul the apostle.

Ex Hieronymo lib. de viris illustrib.

Saul brought vp vnder Gamaliel.

Saul a persecutor.

Saul conuerted.

Among his other manifold labors and trauels in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he wan Sergius Paulus the proconsull of Cyprus to the faith of Christ, whereupon he tooke his name, as some suppose, turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had passed through diuers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, he tooke to him Barnabas, and went vp to Jerusalem to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach vnto the Gentiles.

Saulus turned to Paulus.

Paul sent to the Gentiles.

And because it is in the acts of the apostles sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable conuersion, and conuersation of this most worthie apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his historie, I will here adde, how the said apostle Paul the 25. yeare after the passion of the Lord in the second yeare of Nero, at what time Festus ruled in Jewrie, was sent vp in bonds to Rome, where he remaining in his free hostelrie two yeares together, disputed daily against the Jewes, proouing Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first answere or purgation there made at Rome, the emperor Nero not yet fullie confirmed in his empire, and yet not bursting out into those mischiefes which historiers report of him, hee was at that time by Nero discharged, and dismissed to preach the gospell in the west parts and about the coast of Italie, as he himselfe writing vnto Timothie, afterward in his second apprehension, in his second epistle witnesseth, saying: In my first purgation no man stood with me, but did all forsake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge but the Lord stood with me and did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might heare and be taught, and I was deliuered out of the lions mouth, &c. In which place by the lion he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterward likewise saith: I was deliuered from the mouth of the lion, &c. And againe, The Lord hath deliuered me out from all euill workes, and hath saued me vnto his heauenly kingdome, &c: speaking this, because he perceiued then the time of his martyrdome to bee neare at hand. For in the same epistle before, he saith: I am now offered vp, and the time of my dissolution draweth on.

A&. 28.

2. Tim. 4.

Thus then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth yeare of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same yeare as some write, but in the next yeare following) was beheaded at Rome for the testimonie of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia, the seuen and thirtith yeare after the passion of the Lord. He wrote nine epistles to seuen churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galathians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreouer he wrote to his disciples, to Timothie two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The epistles of saint Paul to seuen churches.

The epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrues, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the stile and phrase, but either iudged to be written of Timothie as Tertullian supposeth, or of saint Luke as others do thinke: or else of Clement afterward bishop of Rome, who as they say, was adioined with Paul, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and maner. Or else, as some do iudge, because S. Paul wrote vnto the Hebrues, for the odiousnes of his name among that people, therefore he dissembled, and confessed

The epistle to the Hebrues.

felled his name in the first entrie of his salutation, contrarie to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrues he being an Hebrue, so hee wrote in Hebrue, that is, his owne tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to bee the cause why it differeth from his other epistles, and is after a more eloquent manner translated into the Græcke then his other epistles be. Some also read the epistle written to Laodicea, but that is exploded of all men. Thus much Hierome.

The epistle to Laodicea.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdome of S. Paul, as Eusebius, Hierome, Maximus and other authors do but briefly passe ouer: so Abdias (if his booke be of any substantiall authoritie) speaking more largely of the same, doth say: that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruine of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free custodie, was dimissed and deliuered at that time from martyrdome by Gods permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the gospell by him.

Abdias de viris. lib. 2.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his storie, declareth moreouer, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the emperor, not onely for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring vp sedition against the empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to shew the order and maner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was. To teach all men peace & charitie, how to loue one another, how to preuent one another in honor; Rich men not to be puft in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the liuing God; Meane men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their present state, Poore men to reioice in their pouertie with hope; Fathers to bring vp their children in the feare of God, Children to obey their parents, Husbands to loue their wiues, Wiues to be subiect to their husbands, Citizens and subiects to giue their tribute vnto Cesar and to bee subiect to their magistrates, Maisters to be courteous not curtith to their seruants, Seruants to deale faithfully with their maisters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his doctrine he receiued not of men nor by men, but by Iesus Christ, and the father of glorie, which spake to him from heauen, the Lord Iesus saying to him, that he should go and preach in his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the spirit of life to all that beleeued in him, and that whatsoeuer he did or said, he would iustifie it, &c. After that Paul had thus declared vnto the emperor, shortly after sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Vnto whose execution then Nero sent two of his esquiers, Ferega and Parthenius, to bring him word of his death. They comming to Paul, instructing them the people, desired him to pray for them that they might beleeue. Who told them ỹ shortly after they should beleeue, and bee baptised at his sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done, the souldiers came and led him out of the citie to the place of execution, where hee after his prayers made, gaue his necke to the sword. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was stroken off, in stead of blood issued out white milke, and that at laying downe his head hee signed himselfe with the signe of a crosse in his forehead: but this being found in no other historie, Abdias seemeth either to adde of his own, or else to borrow out of the legend, as he doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of milke flowing out of his necke, is referred also vnto Ambrose, who in his sermon threescore and eight (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirme the same. Of the time and yeare when the blessed apostles did suffer, histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the popes decrees say, that both Peter and Paul suffred both in one day and in one yeare: which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius bishop of Corinth. Hierom in his booke De viris illustr. affirmeth that they both suffred in one day, but he expresseth not the yeare. So doth Isidorus & Eusebius. Simon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some, which thinke that Paul suffred not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his Peristephano, noteth that they both were put to death vpon the same day, but not in the same yeare, and saith that Paul followed Peter a yeare after.

Paul declareth his doctrine to the emperor.

The summe of Pauls doctrine.

Paul condemned.

Paul suffereth.

A legend miracle.

The storie of Abdias suspected.

Histories do varie about the time of their martyrdome.

If this be true Prudentius recordeth of Paul to suffer vnder Nero, and the yeare after Peter, then is it false which Hierome before testifieth, Peter to suffer the last yeare of Nero.

Abdias aboue mentioned, recordeth that Paul suffred two yeares after Peter. Moreouer, if it bee true which Abdias saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in his faire custodie at Rome, mentioned in the acts of the apostles, which was as Hierome witnesseth the third or fourth yeare of Nero, then must it be ten yeares betwixt the martyrdome of Peter and of Paul, for as much as it is by all writers confessed, that Paul suffred the fourteenth yeare, which was the last yeare of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himselfe. And thus much of the first persecution.

The second persecution.

The second persecution. Anno 69.

THe first Romane persecution beginning vnder Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased vnder Vespasianus, who gaue some rest to the poore christians. After whose raigne was moued not long after the second persecution, by the emperor Domitian brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Orosius so write, that he first beginning mildly, afterward did so farre outrage in pride intollerable, that he commanded himselfe to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and siluer in his honour should be set vp in Capitolio. The chiefest nobles of the senators, either vpon enuie, or for their goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some hee sent into banishment, there causing them to be slaine priuily.

Ex Oroſio. lib. 7.

And as his tyranny was vnmeasurable, so the intemperancie of his life was no lesse. He put to death all the nephues of Iuda, called the Lords brother, and caused to be sought out, and to be slaine all that could be found of the stocke of Dauid (as Vespasian also did before him) for feare lest he were yet to come of the house of Dauid, which should enioy the kingdome. In the time of this persecutor, Simeon bishop of Ierusalem after other torments was crucified to death, whom Iustus afterward succeeded in that bishoprike.

The tyrannie and intemperance of Domitian.

Simeon bishop of Ierusalem crucified.

In this persecution John the apostle an euangelist was exiled by the said Domitianus into Pathmos. Of whom diuers and sundrie memorable acts be reported in sundrie chronicles. As first how he was put in a vessell of boiling oile, by the proconsull of Ephesus. The legend and Perionius say, it was done at Rome. Isidorus also writing of him and comprehending many things in few words, declareth that hee turned certaine pieces of wood into gold, and stones by the sea side into margarits, to satisfie the desire of two, whom he had before perswaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost heauen, for their sakes againe he changed the same into their former substance. Also how he raised vp a widow & a certaine yong man from death to life. How he dranke poison and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had dranke the same before. These and such other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidorus and other writers more, yet because they are no articles of our christian beleefe, I let them passe, and onely content my selfe with that which I read in Eusebius, declaring of him in this wise: that in the fourteenth yeare after Nero, in the second persecution, in the daies of Domitian, John was banished into Pathmos for the testimonie of the word, in the yeare fourscore and seuentéene. And after the death of the forsaid Domitian being slaine, and his acts repealed by the senate, John was againe released vnder Pertinax the emperor, and came to Ephesus in the yeare one hundred. Where he continued vntill the time of Traianus, and there gouerned the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his gospell, and so liued till the yeare after the passion of our Lord threescore and eight, which was the yeare of his age one hundred and twentie.

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 10. Hiſtor. eccle.

Anno 97.

John banished. John released out of banishment.

Moreouer, in the foresaid ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius, we reade that John the apostle and euangelist, whom the Lord did loue, was in Asia, where he being returned out of Pathmos after the death of Domitian, gouerned the churches and congregations. Irenæus in his second booke thus writeth: And of him all the elders do witnesse, which were with John the disciple of the Lord in Asia, that he spake and wrote these things, &c: for there he continued with them vnto the time of Traianus, &c. Also the said Irenæus, lib. 3. Hypothes. in like words declareth, saying: The church of the Ephesians being first founded by Paul, afterward beeing confirmed of John (who continued in the same citie vnto the time of Traianus the emperor) is a true witnesse of this apostolicall tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreouer noteth, both the time of this holy apostle, and also addeth to the same a certaine historie of him, not vnworthie to be remembred of such which delight in things honest and profitable. Of the which historie Sozomenus also in his commentaries maketh mention, the words of the author setting forth this historie be these: Heare a fable, and not a fable, but a true report which is told vs of John the apostle, deliuered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, when John was returned to Ephesus, from the Ile of Pathmos, he was desired to resort to the places bordering neere vnto him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordaine and set such of the clergie in office, whom the Holy-ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certaine citie not far off, the name of which also many doe yet remember, and had among other things comforted the brethren, he looking more earnestly vpon him which was the chiefe bishop among them, beheld a yong man mightie in bodie, and of beautifull countenance, and of a feruent mind: I commend this man (saith hee) to thee with great diligence, in the witnesse heere of Christ and of the church.

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Irem. lib. 3

Clemens Alexandrinus.

A notable historie of John the euangelist.

When the bishop had receiued of him this charge, and had promised his faithfull diligence therein againe the second time, John spake vnto him, and desired him in like maner and contestation as before. This done, John returned againe to Ephesus. The bishop receiuing the yong man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him & nourished him, and at length also did illuminate (that is) he baptised him, and in short time through his diligence, brought him vnto such order and towardnesse, that he committed vnto him the ouersight of a certaine cure in the Lords behalfe. The yong man thus hauing more his libertie, it chanced that certaine of his companions and old familiars being idle, dissolute and accustomed of old time to wickednesse, did ioyne in companie with him,

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What wicked companie doth.

him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous bankets, then inticed him forth with them in the night to rob and steale, after that, he was allured by them vnto greater mischiefe and wickednesse. Wherin by custome of time by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like vnto a wild or an vnbroken horse, leauing the right way and running at large without bridle, was caried headlong to the profunditie of all misorder and outrage. And thus being past all hope of grace, vtterly forgetting and reiecting the wholesome doctrine of saluation, which hee had learned before, began to set his mind vpon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entred so farre in the way of perdition, hee cared not how further he proceeded in the same. And so associating vnto him the companie of his companions, and fellow theeues, tooke vpon him to bee as head and captaine among them, in committing all kind of murther and felonie.

In the meane time it chanced that of necessitie John was sent for to those quarters againe, and came. The causes being decided, and his businesse ended for the which hee came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, requireth of him the pledge, which in the witnesse of Christ and of the congregation then present he left in his hands to keepe. The bishop something amazed at the words of John, supposing hee had meant of some money committed to his custodie, which he had not receiued, and yet durst not mistrust John nor contrarie his words, could not tell what to answere. Then John perceiuing his doubting, and vttering his mind more plainly: The yong man (saith hee) and the soule of our brother committed to your custodie, I doe require. Then the bishop with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping said, Hee is dead. To whom John said, How and by what death? The other said, He is dead to God, for hee is become an euill man and pernicious, to bee briefe, a theefe: and now he doth frequent this mountaine with a companie of villaines and theeues like vnto himselfe against the church. But the apostle rent his garments, and with great lamentation said, I haue left a good keeper of my brothers soule, get me a horse, and let me haue a guide with mee, which being done, his horse and man procured, hasted from the church as much as he could, and comming to the same place was taken of theeues that watched. But hee neither flying nor refusing, said: I came for this same cause hither, lead me, said he, to your captaine. So he being brought, the captaine all armed, fiercely began to looke vpon him: and eftsoones comming to the knowledge of him, was stroken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age and crying: My son why doest thou flie from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? haue pitie on me my son and feare not, for there is yet hope of saluation, I will make an answere for thee vnto Christ, I will die for thee if need bee, as Christ hath died for vs, I will giue my life for thee, beleeue me, Christ hath sent me. Hee hearing these things, first as in a maze stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast downe his weapons, by and by he trembled yea and wept bitterly: and comming to the old man embraced him, and spake vnto him with weeping (as well as he could) being euen then baptized afresh with teares, onely his right hand being hid and couered. Then the apostle, after that he had promised and firmely ascertained him that he should obtaine remission of our Sauiour, and also prayed, falling downe vpon his knees, and kissed his murthering right hand, which for shame hee durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continuall praier and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him (as the author reporteth) before hee had restored him to the congregation againe, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

A notable lesson for all ministers to seeke againe their lost sheepe.

Vnspeakeable loue shewed out to a wicked sinner.

An example of the godly to flie the companie of the wicked.

Moreouer, the foresaid Irenæus in lib. 3. cap. 3. and Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 28. and lib. 4. cap. 14. prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, saying: that there were certaine which heard Polycarpus say, that John the disciple of our Lord going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, hee leaped out of the bath vnbathed, because hee feared the bath should haue fallen, seeing that Cerinthus an enemie to the truth was within. Such feare had the apostles (saith Irenæus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the storie of John the blessed euangelist, commeth in matter & occasion not 80 giuen by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficultie, such as hath occupied all the catholike, subtill, illuminate, and seraphicall doctors of the popes catholike church, these fiue hundred yeares. The difficultie is this: That for so much as auricular confession hath been, and is yet receiued in the popes catholike church for an holy and necessarie sacrament, extending vniuersally to all and singular creatures christian: here then riseth a question, Who was our ladies confessor, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the catholikes to bee S. John. Whosoeuer denieth or doubteth of this, is straightwaies Ipso facto an heretike. This then so determined, ariseth another question or

A catholike question concerning auricular confession.

Solution.

doubt, that seeing our Ladie was without al originall sinne, and also actuall or mortall: what need then had shee of any confessor? Or what should she confesse vnto him? For if shee had confessed any sinne, when she had none: then had she made hir selfe a lier, and so had sinned indeed. Here therefore (gentle reader) in this perplexitie these our illuminate doctors stand in need of thine aid to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus the great Diuine, denieth not, but that she indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to hir ghostly father, to keepe the obseruance of the law, appointed for such as had that need, which she had not. And therefore (saith hee) necessarie it was that shee should confesse with mouth. But then here is to bee asked, What did she say in her confession, when shee had nothing to confesse? To this Albertus answereth againe, and telleth vs plainly what she said in her confession, which was this: That she had receiued that great grace, not Ex condigno, that is, Not of any dignitie of hir owne, but yet notwithstanding of congruitie. And this was it (saith Albert) that shee said in her confession. Albert. cap. 74. super euang. Missus est, &c.

An other catholike question.

Solution.

Albert. super euangelium Missus est.

An other question with the solution.

Albert. ibidem. cap. 17.

Moreouer, to helpe this case out of all doubt, commeth in 20 famous Thomas of Watring, and thus loseth the knot, much after like effect, saying: that As Christ, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithstanding receiued circumcision, to giue to others example of humilitie and obedience: in like maner would our Ladie shew her selfe obedient to the obseruance of the law, albeit there was no cause why shee had any need thereof. And thus hast thou (gentle reader) this doubtfull question moued and soluted, to the intent I would reueale to thee some part of the deepe diuinitie of our catholike maisters, 30 that haue ruled and gouerned the church in these their late popish daies.

S. Thomas par. 3. quæs. 37. art. 4.

But breaking off this matter, to returne againe where we left, that is, to this foresaid second persecution vnder Domitianus. In which persecution, besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was Flauia the daughter of Flauius Clemens, one of the Romane consuls, which Flauia with many others was banished out of Rome into the Ile Pontia, for the testimonie of the Lord Jesus, by the emperor Domitianus. Euseb. lib. 3. 40

Flauia the daughter of a consul, banished for the testimonie of Christ.

Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 19.

This Domitianus feared the comming of Christ as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the stocke of David in Jewrie. There were remaining aliue at that time certaine of the Lords kindred, which were the nephues of Jude, that was called the Lords brother after the flesh. These when the lieutenant of Jewrie had brought vp to Domitian to be slaine, the emperor demanded of them, whether they were of the stocke of David? Which when they had granted, he asked againe, what possessions, and what substance they had. They answered, that they both had no more betweene them in all, but nine and thirtie acres of ground, and how they gat their liuing, & sustained their families with the hard labors of their hands, shewing forth their hands vnto the emperor, being hard and rough, worne with labors, to witnesse that to bee true which they had spoken. Then the emperor inquiring of them concerning the kingdome of Christ, what maner of kingdome it was, how and when it should appeare? They answered that his kingdome was no worldly nor terren thing, but an heauenly and angelicall kingdome, and that it should appeare in the consummation and end of the world, what time he comming in glorie, should iudge the quicke and the dead, and render to euery one according to his deseruings. Domitian the emperor, hearing this (as the saying is) did not condemne them; but despising them as vile persons let them goe, and also staied the persecution then moued against the christians. They being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the gouernment of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lords stocke, and so continued in good peace till the time of Traianus. Hæc Egesip. & Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20.

The emperor maketh inquirie for all that were of Dauids stocke.

Dauids stocke feared of the emperors.

Two nephues of Jude the Lords brother preserued.

The kingdome of Christ not of this world.

By this storie here recited may appeare, what were the 70 causes why the emperors of the Romane monarchie did so persecute the christians: which causes were chiefly these: feare and hatred. First, feare for that the emperors and senate of blind ignorance, not knowing the maner of Christs kingdome, feared & mistrusted lest the same would subuert their empetie, (like as the pope thinketh now that this gospel will ouerthrow his kingdome of maiestie) and therfore sought they all meanes possible, how by death and all kinds of torments vtterly to extinguish the name and memorie of the christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old law of the Romane senate: Non debere dimitti christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent: that is, that the christians should not bee let goe, which were once brought to the iudgement seate, except they changed their purpose, &c. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21. Secondly, hatred, partly for that this world, of his owne naturall condition hath euer hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly againe, for that the christians being of a contrarie nature and religion, seruing onely the true liuing God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan, working in their idols. And therefore Satan the prince of this world, stirred vp the Romane princes and blind idola-

The causes why the emperors and senate of Rome did so rage against the Christians.

The kingdome of Christ hated of Romane princes.

Lex antiqua Romana contra Christianos. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap 21.

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ters to beare the more hatred and spite against them.

False accusations and slanders against the christians. *Ex apologia Iustini Martyr.*

Upon these causes, and such like, rose vp these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the christian seruants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what crimes soeuer malice could inuent, or rash suspition could minister, that was imputed to the christians, as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their concourses, putting out their candels, they ran together in all filthie maner, that they killed their owne children, that they vsed to eate mans flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not sweare by the fortune and prosperitie of Cesar, that they would not adore the image of Cesar in the market place, that they were pernicious to the emperie of Rome. Briefly, whatsoeuer misshappened to the citie or prouinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, warres, wonders, vnseasonablenesse of weather, or what other euils soeuer happened, it was imputed to the christians, as Iustinus recordeth. Ouer and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred vp the emperors against the christians, came by one Publius Tarquinius the chiefe prelate of the idolatrous sacrifices, and Mamertinus the chiefe gouernour of the citie, in the time of Traianus, who partly with monie, partlie with sinister and pestilent counsell, partlie with infamous acculations (as witnesseth Nauclerus) incensed the minde of the emperor so much against Gods people.

Publius Tarquinius, & Mamertinus persecutors.

Also among these other causes aboue said, crept in some peece of couetousnesse withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promoters and accusers for lucre sake, to haue the possessions of the christians, were the more readie to accuse them to haue the spoile of their goods.

Ex Iust. Mart. in 2. Apolog.

Thus hast thou (christian reader) first the causes declared of these persecutions; secondly, the cruell law of their condemnation; thirdly, now heare more what was the forme of inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second apologie of Iustinus) to this effect, that they should sweare to declare the truth, whether they were in verie deed christians or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded. Iust. apol. 2.

The forme of inquisition against the christians in the old time.

The crueltie of tyrants in killing of christian men.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan thus contented with death onely, to bereaue the life from the bodie. The kinds of death were diuers, and no lesse horrible than diuers. What soeuer the cruelnesse of mans inuention could deuise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the christians, as partly I haue mentioned before, and more appeareth by the epistle sent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Craftie traines, outcries of enemies, imprisonments, stripes & scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, plates of iron laid vnto them burning hot, deepe dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallowes, tolling vpon the hornes of buls: moreouer, when they were thus killed, their bodies laid in heapes and dogs there left to keepe them, that no man might come to burie them, neither would any prayer obtaine them to be interred and buried. Ex epistola fratrum Viennensium ac Lugdunensium, &c.

Ex epist. fratrum Viennensium & Lugdunensium; ad fratres per Asiam & Phrygiam scripta.

Ex Nicephoro. lib. 3. cap. 22.

And yet notwithstanding, for all these continuall persecutions, and horrible punishments, the church of the christians dailie increased, deepely rooted in the doctrine of the apostles, and of men apostolicall, and watered plenteouslie with the blood of saints, as saith Niceph. lib. 3. Whereof let vs heare the worthy testimony of Iustinus Martyr in his dialogue with Tripheus. And that none (saith he) can terrifie or remoue vs which beleeue in Iesus, by this it daily appeareth: for when wee are slaine, crucified, cast to wilde beasts, into the fire, or giuen to other torments, yet we go not from our confession: but contrarie, the more crueltie and slaughter is wrought against vs, the more they be that come to pietie and faith by the name of Iesus: no otherwise then if a man cut the vine tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine tree planted by God & Christ our sauiour, is his people. Hæc Iust.

Ex Iust. Mart. in dialogo cum Triphæo.

The church increaseth by persecution.

¶ To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions (which are innumerable) as it is impossible, so it is hard in such varietie and diuersitie of matter to keepe such a perfect order and course of yeares and times, that either some be not left out, or that euery one be reduced into his right place, especially seeing the authors themselues, whom in this present worke we follow, do diuersly disagree both in the times, in the names and also in the kind of martyrdome of them that suffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the church, and the epistles decretall doe take Anacletus to succeed after Clement, next before Euaristus: contrarie Eusebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6. making no mention of Cletus but of Anacletus, saith that Euaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Ruffinus and Epiphanius, speaking nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus and of Cletus, next before Clement, but say nothing of Anacletus: whereby it may appeare that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Aenead. 7. lib. 2. speaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and saith that they were ordeined helpers vnder Peter, while he laboured in his apostleship abrode, and so saith also Marianus Scotus: contrarie Irenæus, lib. 3. contra hæres. speaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appeare by the way, what credit is to be giuen to the decretall epistles, whom all the latter histories of the pope his church do follow in this behalfe, &c. Moreouer, where Antoninus, Vincentius, Iacobus In supplemẽto, Simoneta, Aloisius, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs: Eusebius in his ecclesiasticall historie writing of them, maketh thereof no mention.

Disagreement in authors, touching the liues and times of martyrs.

Linus bishop of Rome.

Cletus and Anacletus both one.

And first as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first bishop of Rome after Peter) they say that hee was sent out in banishment of Traianus, beyond Pontieus, with two thousand christians, where he opened to them a well spring, which in the wildernesse were condemned to the mines. Afterward being accused to the emperor, he was throwne into the sea with a millstone fastened about his necke, and that not long after, his body was cast vp and buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the well was made. Some say it was found first in the daies of pope Nicholas the first. Fascicul. tempor. But forsomuch as I find of his martyrdome no firme relation in the ancient authors, but onely in such new writers of latter times, which are wont to paint out the liues and histories of good men, with fained additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the same of lesse credit, as I do also certaine decretall epistles, vntruely (as may seeme) ascribed and intituled to his name. Eusebius in his third booke, writing of Clement, giueth no more of him, but thus: After he had gouerned the church of Rome nine yeares, the said Clement left the succession thereof to Euaristus.

Clement a bishop counted a martyr.

The liues of martyrs painted out with fained miracles.

Of which Euaristus next bishop of Rome, thus we find in Ireneus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter and Paul (saith hee) committed the charge of that church to Linus: after whom came Anacletus, then succeeded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euaristus, after whom came Alexander, and then Sixtus the sixth bishop of Rome after ỹ apostles: after Sixtus sat Telesphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, then Anicetus. And when Soter tooke the place after him, then the twelfth bishop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is said) Euaristus in the second or third yeare of Traianus, as saith Eusebius; or as Nicephorus saith, the fourth yeare of the said emperor. But howsoeuer the count of yeares standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other bishops of Rome in those daies. Whereby it may appeare that no great account was then made of Romane bishops in those daies, whose acts & deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to historie. Notwithstanding, certaine decretall epistles are remaining, or rather thrust vpon vs in their names, containing in them little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with lawes, iniunctions, and stately decrees, little to the purpose, and lesse sauoring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbred the two epistles of this Euaristus.

Euaristus bishop of Rome and martyr.

The decretall epistles.

And when hee had giuen these orders, and had made six priests, two deacons, and fiue bishops, for sundrie places (saith the storie) he suffered martyrdome. But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancie hee shewed, what was the order or conuersation of his life, is nothing touched, and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new histories doe say: because the old ancient writers haue no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not haue passed such things ouer in silence, if they had been true. Againe, neither do the authors fully agree in the time of his martyrdome, which Nauclerus witnesseth to be in the last yeare of Traianus: but Platina thinketh rather that hee suffered vnder Hadrianus. Fascicul. temporum referreth it to the third yeare of Hadrian, Volateranus to the beginning of the reigne of Hadrian. Contrarie, Eusebius comming neare to the simple truth (as seemeth) doth affirme that Euaristus succeeded Clement in the third yeare of Traianus, & so giuing to him nine yeares, it should follow thereby that Euaristus deceased the twelfth yeare of Traianus.

Naucle. ge. 1. Platina. Volateran. Anthropo. lib. 22. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Alexander bishop of Rome and martyr.

Authors disagree.

After whom succeeded next Alexander in the gouernance of that church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus saith he was the fourth bishop from Peter: but that could not be. Some say hee was the first & some the seuenth: but they likewise were deceiued: for the most part all doe grant Sixtus to be the first: Damasus affirmeth that he was in the reigne of Traian. And how can that be, when the said Damasus affirmed before that Euaristus his predecessor suffred in the last yeare of Traian, and then the bishoprike stood at least a moneth void, except hee meane that the said Alexander succeeded Euaristus in the last yeare of Traianus. But then how can that stand with Bede and Marianus Scotus: which say that he suffered vnder Traianus, or with Otho Frisingensis, which saith he suffred the fourth yeare of Hadrian, when hee had been bishop ten yeares, by the generall consent of most writers.

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed bishop, as Bergomensis Antoninus, Equelinus, and such as follow them, declare that he had conuerted a great part of the senators to the faith of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes a great

great man in Rome, whose sonne being dead, Alexander raised againe to life, and likewise restored sight to his maid being blind. Hadrian the emperor then absent hearing this, sent worde to Aurelianus gouernour of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina saith, his two deacons, & Hermes, and to commit them toward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their storie recordeth, Alexander, inclosed in a diuers prison from Hermes; notwithstanding, by the guiding of an angell through three dores with three locks a peece, was brought with candle light to the lodging of Hermes; and so returning to the prison againe, cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina, by reason whereof the said Quirinus, with his whole houshold were all baptised, and suffered also for the faith of Christ.

Alexander. Euentius. Theodulus. Hermes with his houshold. Quirinus with his houshold, martyrs.

Thus then (saith the storie) about the second yeare of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexander the bishop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole houshold, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fiftie, & threw them in prison. And not long after the said Alexander, with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes and the rest were burned in a furnace. Theodulus an other deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the crueltie of the tyrant, suffered also the same martyrdome.

Quirinus also the same time (as saith Antoninus) hauing first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs: Equilinus saith that he was beheaded and cast into Tiber in the raigne of the emperor Claudius: but that cannot bee, albeit Platina maketh relation but onely of Alexander with his two deacons aforesaid, declaring moreouer, that in the time of this bishop, Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Romane suffered martyrdome.

Ex Platina in vita Alexandri.

Saphira and Sabina martyrs.

Florilegus, the author of Flores historiarum, affirmeth that Alexander bishop of Rome was beheaded seuen miles out of Rome, where he lieth buried, in the yeare one hundred and fiue: but that agreeth not with the chronicles aboue recited. Eusebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third yeare of Hadrian, he ended his life and office, after he had been bishop ten yeares.

Ex Florilego.

Diuers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon legends, and liues of saints; which as I denie not but may be true, so because I cannot auouch them by any graue testimonie of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirme them, but doe refer them to the authors and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding, what soeuer is to be thought of his miracles, this is to bee affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous bishop.

The ordinances of Euaristus. *Dist.93.cap. Diaconi.*

And as I say of his miracles, the like iudgement also I haue of the ordinances both of him and of Euaristus his predecessor, testified in the popes decrees by Gratianus, as Dist.93. cap. Diaconi, where is said that Euaristus diuided diuers titles in the citie of Rome to the priests, also ordained in euerie citie seuen deacons to associate and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witnesse of truth. Notwithstanding, if probable coniectures might stand against the authoritie of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this absolute ordination of priests was first forbidden by Euaristus, and whether the intitulation of priests was first by him brought in or not: wherein an instance may be giuen to the contrarie, that this intitulation seemeth to take his first beginning at the councell of Chalcedon, and of pope Vrbane in the councell of Placentia. In the which councell of Chalcedon the words of the canon (making no mention of Euaristus at all) doe expressie forbid, that any ecclesiasticall person either priest or deacon should be ordained absolutely, otherwise the imposition of hands without some proper title of the partie ordained, to stand voide and frustrate, &c. And likewise Vrbanus in the councell of Placentia doth decree the same, alleaging no name of Euaristus, but the statutes of former councels.

Ex dist.70.cap. Neminem.

Ibidem, cap. Sanctorum.

Moreouer in the time of Euaristus, the church then being vnder terrible persecutions, was diuided into no peculiar parishes or cures, whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselues. And as the church of Rome in those daies was not diuided into seuerall parishes or cures (as I suppose) so neither was then any such open or solemne preaching in churches, that the assistance or testimonie of seuen deacons either could auaile among the multitude of the heathen, or else needed amongst the christian secret congregations. Againe, the constitution of seuen deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the councel of Neocesaria long after Euaristus, where it was appointed that in euery citie were it neuer so small, there should bee seuen deacons after the rule. And this rule the said councel taketh out of the booke of the acts of the apostles, making no word or mention of Euaristus at all, Dist.93. But these (as is said) bee but onely coniectures, not denying that which is commonly receiued, but onely shewing what may be doubted in their epistles decretall.

Ex dist.93. cap. Diaconi.

The institutions of Alexander. Holy water first inuented. *De consecras. Dist.3.*

More vnlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, whereof we read De consecr. dist.3: that he should be the first founder and finder of holy water mixt with salt, to purge and sanctifie them vpon whom it is sprinkled. The words of the dist. be these: Aquam sale conspersam in populis benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus, &c: that is, We blesse water mixt with salt among the people, that all men being sprinkled therewith may be sanctified and purified: and this we command all priests to doe, &c.

The opinion is also, but how true I haue not to affirme, that by him first was ordained water to be mixt with wine in the chalice.

The mixing of water with the wine in the chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the masse canon, beginning: Qui pridie, &c. And thus much of these foresaid bishops of Rome, martyred in the daies of Traian and Hadrian.

Qui pridie put in the masse canon.

The third persecution.

The third persecution of the church. Anno 100

BEtweene the second Romane persecution and the third, was but one yeare, vnder the emperor Nerua, after whom succeeded Traianus: and after him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to bee both one, hauing no more difference but one yeare betweene them. This Traianus, if we loke well vpon his politike and ciuill gouernance, might seeme (in comparison of others) a right worthie and commendable prince, much familiar with inferiors, and so behauing himselfe toward his subiects, as hee himselfe would haue the prince to be to him, if he himselfe were a subiect. Also he was noted to be a great obseruer of iustice, in so much that when hee ordained any pretor, giuing to him the sword hee would bid him vse the sword against his enemies in iust causes: and if he himselfe did otherwise then iustice, to vse then his power against him also. But for all these vertues, toward christian religion he was impious and cruell, who caused the third persecution of the church. In the which persecution Plinie the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of christians, and moued therewith to pitie, wrote to Traianus of the pitifull persecution: certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrarie to the Roman lawes worthie persecution: sauing that they vsed to gather together in the morning before day, and sing hymnes to a certaine God whom they worshipped, Called Christ. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Whereby the persecution by commandement of the emperor was greatly staied and diminished. The forme and copie of which epistle of Plinie I thought here not inconuenient to set downe, as followeth.

Plinius secundus wrote to Traian to stop the persecution.

The epistle of Plinie, an heathen philosopher, to Traian the emperor.

The epistle of Plinie to *Traianus.*

IT is my propertie and maner (my soueraigne) to make relation of al those things vnto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my slacknesse, or instruct mine ignorance then you? I was neuer yet present my selfe at the examination and execution of these christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administred, and how farre, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am plaine ignorant, not able to resolue in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and person, whether the yong and tender ought to be with like cruelty intreated as the elder and stronger, whether repentance may haue any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to denie which hath been a christian, whether the name onely of christians without other offenses, or whether the offenses ioyned with the name of a christiã ought to be punished. In the meane season, as touching such christians as haue been presented vnto me, I haue kept this order. I haue inquired the second and third time of thẽ, whether they were christians, menacing thẽ with feare of punishment; and such as did perseuere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that what soeuer their profession was, yet their stubbornnesse and obstinacie ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madnesse, whom because they were citizens of Rome, I thought to send them backe againe to the citie. Afterward, in further processe & handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

There was a libel offred to me bearing no name, wherein was contained the names of many which denied themselues to bee christians, contented to do sacrifice with incense & wine to the gods, and to your image (which image I for that purpose caused to be brought) & to blaspheme Christ: whereunto none such as were true christians indeed could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let goe. Othersome confessed that they had been christians, but afterward denied the same, &c: affirming vnto me the whole summe of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont at certaine times appointed, to conuent before day, and to sing certaine hymnes to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselues to abstaine from al theft, murther, and adulterie, to keepe their faith and to defraud no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort againe to take meate in companies together both men and women one with another, and yet without any act of euill.

The vse of christians in the primitiue church.

The testimonie of the heathen of the christians.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or

Two maidens racked for Christ.

or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the racke, and with torments to bee examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but onelie leaud and immoderat superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquire, till time that I might be further aduertised in the matter from you, for so the matter seemed vnto me worthie and needfull of aduisement, especiallie for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For verie manie there were of all ages and states, both men and women, which then were and more are like hereafter to incur the same perill of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not onelie in cities, but villages also and burroughs about, which seemeth that it may be staied and reformed. For as much as we see in manie places that the temples of our gods which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from euerie part to be sold, which before verie few were found willing to buie them. Whereby it maie easilie be coniectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time be giuen them, wherein they may be reclamed.

The epistle of Traianus to Plinie.

The answere of Traian to Plinies letter.

THe act and statute, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the christians which yee ought to follow, ye haue rightly executed. For no such generall law can be enacted, wherein all speciall cases particularlie can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and conuicted, then let them suffer execution: so notwithstading, that whosoeuer shall denie himselfe to be a christian, and that he do it vnfainedlie in open audience, & do sacrifice to our gods, howsoeuer he hath beene suspected before, let him be released vpon promise of amendment. Such libels as haue no names, suffice not to anie iust crime or accusation, for that should giue both an euill president, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.

Tertullian writing vpon this letter of Traianus aboue prefired, thus saith: O sentence of a confused necessitie. He would not haue them to be sought for as men innocent, and yet causeth them to be punished as persons guilty. And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naughtie disposed men and cruell officers there were, which vpon false pretense to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the christians in diuers prouinces; and especially if any occasion were giuen neuer so little for the enemies to take hold, or if any commotion were raised in the prouinces abroade, by and by the fault was laid vpon the christians. As in Hierusalem after that the Emperor Traianus had sent downe his commandement, that whosoeuer could bee found of the stocke of Dauid, hee should bee inquired out and put to death. Vpon this Egesippus writing, saith, that Certaine sectaries there were of the Jewish nation, that accused Simeon the bishop then of Hierusalem and sonne of Cleophas to come of the stocke of Dauid, and that he was a christian. Of the which his accusers it hapned also (saith the said Egesippus) that certaine of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stocke of Dauid, and so right iustly were put to execution themselues, which sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the foresaid Egesippus thus writeth; that Simeon the lords nephue, when he was accused to Attalus the proconsull, by the malicious sect of the Jewes, to be of the line of Dauid, and to be a christian, was scourged, during the space of many daies together, being of the age of an hundred and twenty yeares. In which his martyrdome he indured so constant, that both the consull and all the multitude did maruell to see him of that age so constantly to suffer, and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

The stocke of Dauid feared and enquired for of the Roman emperors. *Ex Egesippo.*
Simeon sonne of Marie Cleophas.
A iust punishment of God vpon the malicious accusers of the christians.
The age of Simeon.
The death and martyrdome of Simeon.

In this persecution of Traianus aboue specified (which Traianus next followed after Nerua) besides the other afore mentioned, also suffered Phocas bishop of Pontus, whom Traianus, because he would not doe sacrifice to Neptunus, caused to be cast into a hot limekilne, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath, where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life. Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.

Phocas bishop of Pontus martyr.

In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Serulianus, two Romans; whose wiues are said to be Euphrosina and Theodora, whom Sabina did conuert to the faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which Sabina Jacobus Philippus author of the booke called Supplementum, reporteth that in the mount of Auentine in Rome, she was beheaded of Clepidus the gouernour, in the daies of Hadrian. Vnder whom also suffered Seraphia a virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus witnesseth.

Sulpitius, Serulianus, Euphrosina, Theodora, martyrs.
Sabina martyr. *Ex supple. chr.*
Seraphia.

The forenamed authors Antoninus and Equilius make mention moreouer of Nereus and Achilleus, who in this persecution of Traiane, had the crowne of martyrdome, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius in his fourth booke, cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the same time suffered martyrdome in Asia, Serulius Paulus being then proconsull in that prouince.

Nereus, Achilleus martyrs.

Sagaris martyr.

In this persecution, beside many others, suffred the blessed martyr of Christ Ignatius, who vnto this daie is had in famous reuerence anong verie manie. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishoprike of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do saie, that he being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was giuen to the wild beasts to be deuoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being vnder the most strict custodie of his garders, he strengthned and confirmed the parishes through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God: and admonished them especiallie and before all other things, to beware and shun those heresies risen vp, and sprung newlie among them, and that they should cleaue and sticke fast to the tradition of the apostles, which he for their better safegard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing verie necessarie to trauell in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one epistle to the congregation of Ephesus, wherein he made mention of Onesimus their pastor, and an other he wrote to the congregation of Magnetia, being at Meandre; wherein also he forgetteth not Dama their bishop. Also another he wrote to the congregation of Trallis, the gouernor of which citie at that time he noteth to be one Polybius. Vnto which congregation he made an exhortation, lest they refusing martyrdome, should lose the hope that they desired.

Ignatius martyr. { Anno 111 } *Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 35. 36.*

Ex Hier. in catalogo script. eccles.

Onesimus pastor at Ephesus.

But it shall be verie requisit that I allege somewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore as the words lie, in this sort. From Syria (saith he) euen till I came to Rome, had I a battell with beasts, as well by sea as land, both daie and night, being bound in the middest of ten cruell libards (that is, the companie or band of the souldiers) which the more benefits that they receiued at my hands became so much the worse vnto me. But I being exercised and now well acquainted with their iniuries, am taught euerie daie more and more: but hereby am I not yet iustified. And would to God I were once come to the beasts, which are prepared for me, which also I wish with gaping mouths were readie to come vpō me, whom also I will prouoke that they without delaie maie deuoure me, and forbeare me nothing at all, as those whom before they haue not touched or hurt for feare! And if they will not vnlesse they be prouoked, I will then inforce them against my selfe. Pardon me I praie you. How much beneficiall it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a scholer, I force or esteeme no visible things, nor yet inuisible things, so that I maie get or obtain Christ Jesu. Let the fire, the gallowes, the deuouring of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the bruising or pressing of my whole bodie, and the torments of the diuell or hell it selfe come vpon me, so that I maie win Christ Jesus.

The words of Ignatius. The strict handling of Ignatius.

The notable constancie and burning zeale to Christ in this blessed martyr to be marked.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid citie vnto the congregations which we haue recited. And when he was euen now iudged to be throwne to the beasts, hee spake for the burning desire that he had to suffer, what time he heard the lions roring: I am the wheat or graine (saith he) of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of wilde beasts, that I may be found pure bread. He suffered in the eleuenth yeare of Traian the Emperor. Hæc Eusebius & Hieronym.

Ignatius deuoured of wilde beasts.

Besides this godlie Ignatius, manie thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius Secundus aboue recited, written vnto the emperour. Hierome in his booke intituled De viris illustribus maketh mention of one Publius bishop of Athens, who for the faith of Christ, the same time during this persecution was put to death and martyred.

Ex Hier. lib. de viris illust.

Publius bishop of Athens martyr.

Hadrian emperour.

NExt after this Traianus succeeded Hadrian the emperor, vnder whom suffered Alexander the bishop of Rome, with his two deacons Euentius and Theodorus: also Hermes and Quirinus with their families, as late before was declared.

It is signified moreouer in the histories, that in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon a noble man of Rome with ten thousand two hundred and three were slaine for Christ. Henricus de Erfordia, and Bergomensis, lib. 8. make mention of ten thousand in the daies of this Hadrian to be crucified in the mount Ararath, crowned with crownes of thorne and thrust into the sides with sharpe darts, after the example of the Lords passion whose captains (as Antoninus and Vincentius in spec. histor. declare) were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius. Whether this storie be the same with the other aboue of Zenon or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the angell, I refer the certaintie thereof to Vincentius, and such other like authors, where more things seeme to be told then to be true.

Zenon with 10000. martyrs slaine for Christ. *Ex Henr. de Erfordia & alijs.*

Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, Carcerius, with ten thousand martyrs.

There was one Eustachius a captaine, whom Traianus in time past had sent out to warre against the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace valiantlie subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victorie; Hadrian for ioy meeting him in his iourney to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would do sacrifice to Apollo for the victorie gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no meanes thereto be enforced, being

Eustachius with his wife and children martyred for Christ.

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ing brought to Rome, there with his wife and children, suffred martyrdome vnder the foresaid Adrian. It were a long processe here to recite all the miracles contained or rather suspected in this storie of this Eustachius concerning his conuersion and death. How the crucifix appeared to him betweene the hornes of an Hart. Of the sauing of his wife from the shipmen. Of one of his sonnes saued from the lion, the other saued from the woolfe. Of their miraculous preseruation from the wild beasts, from the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomensis, Vincentius, and others. All which as I find them in no ancient records, so I leaue them to their authors, and compilers of the legends.

Faustinus and Iobita, Calocerius, martyrs.

We read also of Faustinus and Iobita, citizens of the citie of Brixia, which suffred martyrdome with like grieuous torments. At the sight whereof one Calocerius seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words: Verè magnus Deus christianorum: that is, Verily great is the God of christians. Which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdome. Ex Ant. Equilin.

Eleutherius with his mother Anthia martyrs. *Ex Nicephoro & ex Onom.*

The storie of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed hir sonne Eleutherius to Anicetus bishop of Rome, to be brought vp in the doctrine of christian faith, who afterwards being bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foresaid mother Anthia, Onomast.

Iustus and Pastor brethren and martyrs.

Iustus also and Pastor two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their liues in a city of Spaine called Complutum, vnder the said Adrian the emperor.

Symphorilla with hir seuen children martyred.

Likewise Symphorilla the wife of Getulus the martyr, with hir seuen children, is said about the same time to suffer: who first was much and often beaten and scourged, afterwards was hanged vp by the haire of hir head; at last hauing an huge stone fastened vnto hir, was throwne headlong into the riuer, and after that hir seuen children in like maner, with sundrie and diuers kinds of punishment diuerslie martyred by the tyrant.

Sophia with hir three children martyred.

The storie of S. Hermannus, and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with hir three children also; also of Seraphia and Sabina, to suffer vnder the said emperor, about the yeare of our Lord one hundred and thirtie.

As concerning Alexander bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphira, and Sabina, some writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus record that they suffered vnder Traianus. Others againe, as Otto, Frisingensis with like more, report that they suffered in the fourth yeare of this emperor Adrian, but of these martyrs sufficiently hath been said before.

While Adrian the emperor was at Athens, hee purposed to visit the countrie of Eluisina, and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles gods, after the maner of the Grecians, had giuen free leaue and libertie, whosoeuer would, to persecute the christians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no lesse zeale excellent, as of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the apostles, and following after Publius (who a litle before was martyred for the testimonie of Christ) did offer vp and exhibit vnto Adrian the emperor a learned and excellent apologie in the defence of the christian religion. Wherein hee declared the christians, without all iust cause or desert, to bee so cruelly intreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides another no lesse excellent philosopher in Athens, who for his singular learning and eloquence being notified to the emperor, and comming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreouer, he did exhibit vnto the said emperor a memorable apologie for the christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loued to see wit and learning. Euer and besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius a man of great nobilitie, who likewise did write verie pithie and graue letters to Adrian the emperor, shewing and declaring therein to be consonant with no right nor reason, for the blood of innocents to bee giuen to the rage and furie of the people, and so to bee condemned for no fault, onely for the name and sect that they followed.

Quadratus bishop of Athens offereth an apologie of christian doctrine.

Aristides a philosopher of Athens, defendeth before the emperor the religion of Christ.

Serenus Granius a defender of christian religion. *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

Thus the goodnesse of God being moued with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the christians, became more fauorable vnto them. And immediatly vpon the same directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mentioned) proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremitie against the christians, as to condemne any of them, hauing no other crime obiected against them but onely their name. The copie of which his letter, because that Iustin in his apologie doth alleage it: I thought therefore to expresse the same in his owne words as followeth.

The emperor writeth for the christians.

The letter of Adrian the emperor to *Minutius Fundanus*.

The letter of Adrian the emperor to Fundanus the proconsull.

I Haue receiued an epistle written vnto mee from Serenus Granius, our right worthie and welbeloued, whose office you doe now execute. Therefore I thinke it not good to leaue this matter without further aduisement and circumspection to passe, lest our subiects be molested, and malicious sycophants boldned and supported in their euill. Wherefore if the subiects of our prouinces doe bring forth any accusation before the iudge against the christians, and can proue the thing they obiect against them, let them doe the same, and no more, and otherwise for the name onely, not to impeach them, nor to crie out against them. For so, more conuenient it is, that if any man will be an accuser, you to take the accusation quietly, and iudge vpon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the christians, and complaine of them as malefactors, doing contrarie to the law, then giue you iudgement according to the quality of the crime. But notwithstanding whosoeuer vpon spite and maliciousnes shall commense or cauill against them, see you correct and punish that man for his vnordinat and malicious dealing.

Respit from persecution.

Thus by the mercifull prouidence of God, some more quiet and rest was giuen to the church, although Hermannus thinketh these Alcion daies did not verie long continue, but that the emperor changing his edict, began to renue againe persecution against Gods people, albeit this soundeth not to bee so by the words of Melito in his apologie to Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the meane time this is certaine, that in the daies of this Adrian, the Iewes rebelled againe and spoiled the countrie of Palestina. Against whom the emperor sent Iulius Seuerus, who ouerthrew in Iurie fiftie castles, and burnt and destroyed nine hundred and fourescore villages and townes, and slue of the Iewes fiftie thousand: with famine, sicknesse, sword, and fire, Iuda was almost desolate. But at length Adrian the emperor, which otherwise was named Aelius, repared and enlarged the citie againe of Ierusalem, which was called after his name Aeliopolis, or Aelia Capitolina, the inabitance whereof he granted onely to the Gentiles, and to the christians, forbidding the Iewes vtterly to enter into the citie.

The second destruction of the Iewes. Ierusalem reedified and inlarged. Some write that the place where Christ was crucified was taken into the wals. Ierusalem called by a new name Aeliopolis.

Antoninus Pius emperor. Anno 140.

After the death of Adrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, about the yeere of our Lord, one hundred and fourtie, and raigned twentie and three yeeres, who for his clemencie and modest behauiour, had the name of Pius, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, that he had rather saue one citizen, then destroy a thousand of his aduersaries. At the begining of his raigne, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict set forth to persecute the christians: yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude for the causes aboue specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and ascribing to the christians whatsoeuer misfortune happened contrarie vnto their desires: moreouer inuenting against them all false crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof, diuers there were in sundrie places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either hee raised vp no persecution against the christians, or else he some staied the same being moued. As well may appeare by his letter sent downe to the countries of Asia, the tenor whereof here insueth.

The epistle of Antoninus Pius to the *commons of Asia*.

The letter of Antoninus Pius to the commons of Asia.

EMperor and Cæsar, Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleuen times, consul thrise, vnto the commons of Asia greeting. I am very certaine that the gods haue a care of this, that they which be such, shal be knowne, and not lie hid. For they doe punish them that will not worship them more then you, which so sore vex and trouble them, confirming therby the opinion which they haue conceiued, and doe conceiue of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their ioy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they couet to die for their God, then to liue. Whereby they are victorers, and doe ouercome you, giuing rather their liues, then to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconuenient to aduertise you of the earthquakes, which haue and do happen among vs, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then conferre your case with them. For they vpon a sure confidence of their God, are bold and feareless, much more then you: who in all the time of this your ignorance, both doe worship other gods, and neglect the religion of immortalitie, & such christians as worship him, the you do driue out, and persecute them vnto death. Of these and such like matters many presidents of our prouinces did write to our father of famous memorie heretofore. To whom hee directed his answere againe, willing them in no case to molest the christians, except they were found in some trespasse preiudiciall against the empire of Rome. And to me also many there be, which write, signifying their mind in like manner. To whom I haue answered againe, to the same effect and manner as my father did. Wherefore, if any hereafter shall offer any vexation or trouble, to such, hauing no other cause, but onely for that they are such,

A notable argument of the emperor to proue the good conscience of christians, and the false conscience of the heathen.

He meaneth Adrian which adopted this Antoninus of son in law, his to be his sonne and heire.

O noble edict.

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let him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be found to be ſuch (that is a chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſtaine the puniſhment, &c.

This godly edict of the emperor was proclamed at Epheſus, in the publike aſſemblie of al Aſia, whereof Melito alſo biſhop of Sardis, who floriſhed in the ſame time, maketh mention in his apologie written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appeare. By this meanes then the tempeſt of perſecution in thoſe daies began to bee appeaſed, through the merciſull prouidence of God, which would not haue his church vtterly to bee ouerthrowne, though hardly yet to grow.

The fourth perſecution.

M. Antonius Verus emperor. Anno 162

After the deceaſe of the foreſaid quiet and mild prince Aurelius Antonius Pius (who among all other emperors of that time made the moſt quiet end) followed his ſonne M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the yeare of our Lord one hundred threeſcore and two, a man of nature more ſterne and ſeuere. And although in ſtudie of philoſophie, and in ciuill gouernment no leſſe commendable: yet toward the chriſtians ſharpe and fierce, by whom was moued the fourth perſecution after Nero. In whoſe time a great number of them which truely profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffred moſt cruell torments and puniſhments, both in Aſia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarpus, the worthie biſhop of Smyrna, who in the great rage of this perſecution in Aſia, among many other moſt conſtant ſaints was alſo martyred. Of whoſe end and martyrdome I thought it here not vnexpedient to commit to hiſtorie, ſo much as Euſebius declareth to be taken out of a certaine letter or epiſtle, written by them of his owne church to the brethren of Pontus: the tenor of which epiſtle here followeth.

Polycarpus, the bleſſed martyr biſhop of Smyrna.

Ex Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 15. Hieron. in catalogo.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercie to you, peace and the loue of God our father, and of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, be multiplied, Amen. We haue written vnto you brethren of thoſe men which haue ſuffred martyrdome, and of bleſſed Polycarpus, which hath ended and appeaſed this perſecution, as it were by the ſhedding of his owne blood. And in the ſame epiſtle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarpus, they diſcourſe of other martyrs, deſcribing what patience they abode and ſhewed in ſuffering their torments: which was ſo great and admirable (ſaith the epiſtle) that the lokers on were amazed, ſeeing and beholding how they were ſo ſcourged & whipped, that the inward veines and arteries appeared, yea euen ſo much that the verie intrailes of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſeene, and after that, were ſet vpon ſharpe ſhels taken out of the ſea, edged, and ſharpe, and certaine nailes and thornes for the martyrs to go vpon, which were ſharpened and pointed, called Obeliſci. Thus ſuffered they all kind of puniſhment and torment that might be deuiſed: and laſtly, were throwne vnto the wilde beaſts to be deuoured. But eſpecialy in the foreſaid epiſtle mention is made of one Germanicus, how hee moſt worthilie perſeuered and ouercame by the grace of God, that feare of death which is ingraffed in the common nature of all men, whoſe notable patience and ſufferance was ſo notable that the whole multitude wondering at this beloued martyr of God, for this his ſo bold conſtancie, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the chriſtians, began ſuddenly to crie with a loud voice, ſaying: Deſtroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be ſought for. And whileſt a great vprore and tumult began thus to be raiſed vpon thoſe cries, a certaine Phrygian named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, who ſeeing and abhorring the wild beaſts, and the fierce rage of them, of an ouer light mind betraied his own ſafetie. For ſo the ſame letter of him doth report, that hee, not reuerently, but more malipertly then was requiſite, togither with others ruſhed into the iudgement place, and ſo being taken, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly and vnreuerently with ſuch boldneſſe to thruſt in himſelfe, to intermeddle in matters wherewith hee hath not to doe.

Twelue martyrs in Aſia.

The cruell and beaſtly handling of the chriſtian martyrs.

The ſingular patience and conſtancie of the chriſtians.

Germanicus a moſt conſtant martyr.

Quintus a Phrygian too hardie & bold.

But now we will ſurceaſe to ſpeake more of them, and returne to Polycarpus, of whom the foreſaid letter conſequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginning, when hee heard of theſe things, was nothing at all afraid nor diſquieted in mind, but purpoſed to haue taried ſtill in the citie, till being perſuaded by the intreatie of them that were about him (which deſired him inſtantly that he would conuey himſelfe away) hid himſelfe in a grange or village not farre off from the city, & there abiding with a few more in his companie, did nothing elſe (night nor day) but abode in ſupplication, wherein he made his humble petition for the obtaining of peace vnto all the congregations throughout the world, for that was his accuſtomed maner ſo to doe. And as he was thus making his praiers three daies before he was apprehended, in a viſion by night he ſaw the bed ſet on fire vnder his head, and ſuddenly to be conſumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by and expounded vnto them that were preſent his viſion, and told them before what thing ſhould come to paſſe, that is, how that in the fire hee ſhould loſe his life for Chriſts cauſe. It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand, which ſo narrowly ſought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and loue of his brethren to flie into another village, to which place notwithſtanding within a little while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they ſo beat one of them with whips, that by the bewraying or confeſſion of him they were brought vnto the Inne where Polycarpus was. And they ſay that the purſuers making no great haſt to enter, found him in the vppermoſt place of the houſe, from whence hee might haue eſcaped into other houſes, if hee would; but this hee would not doe, ſaying: The will of God bee done. Furthermore, when hee knew that they were come, as the ſaid hiſtorie ſheweth, hee came downe, and ſpake vnto them with a chereſull and pleaſant countenance, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which a while agone knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comelie age, and his graue and conſtant countenance, lamented that they had ſo much employed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehended. To conclude, hee commanded that ſtraight way without any delay the table ſhould be laid for them, and perſuaded them that they would eate and dine well, and required of them boldly, that he might haue an hours reſpit to make his prayers. Which thing after it was granted, he aroſe and went to pray, ſo being repleniſhed with the grace of God, that they which were preſent, and hearing the prayers that he made, were aſtonied at it, and now many of them were ſorie that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

Polycarpus purſued and taken.

Polycarpus might eſcape and would not.

Polycarpus falleth to prayer.

After this, the foreſaid epiſtle or letter, proſecuting the hiſtorie, addeth more as followeth: After hee had made an end of his prayers, & had called to his remembrance all thoſe things which euer happened vnto him, and to the vniuerſall catholike church throughout all the world (whether they were ſmall or great, glorious or elſe inglorious) and that the houre was now come in which they ought to ſet forward, they ſet him vpon an aſſe, and brought him to the citie vpon a ſolemne feaſt day. And there met him Irenarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which cauſing him to come vp into the chariot where they ſat, perſuaded him and ſaid: What hurt I pray thee ſhall come thereof to thee, if thou ſay (by the way of ſalutation) My lord Ceſar, and do ſacrifice, and thus to ſaue thy ſelfe? But he at the beginning made them none anſwere, till that when they inforced him to ſpeake, he ſaid: I will not doe as ye counſell me I ſhould. When as they ſaw he could not be perſuaded, they gaue him very rough language, and of purpoſe moleſted him, that in going downe the chariot from them, he might hurt or breake his legs. But he forcing verie light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merilie and diligently forward, making haſt vnto the place appointed. And when there was ſuch vprore in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of verie few, there came a voice from heauen to Polycarpus, as he was going into the ſtage or appointed place of iudgement, ſaying: Be of good chere Polycarpus and play the man. No man there was, which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of vs heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there was a great noiſe made by them which vnderſtood that Polycarpus was apprehended. The proconſul aſked him when that he was come, whether his name was Polycarpus or not: And when he ſaid, yea it was, he gaue him counſel to deny his name, & ſaid vnto him: Be good vnto thy ſelfe, and fauour thine old age: and many other ſuch like words which they accuſtome to ſpeake; Sweare, ſaith he, by the emperors good fortune, loke vpon this matter, ſay thou with vs: Deſtroy theſe naughtie men. Then Polycarpus beholding with conſtant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giuing a great ſigh, loked vp to heauen, ſaying: Thou, thou it is that wilt deſtroy theſe wicked naughtie men. And the proconſul thus being earneſtly in hand with him, ſaid: Take thine oth, and I will diſcharge thee, defie Chriſt. Polycarpus anſwered: Foureſcore and ſix yeares haue I been his ſeruant, yet in all this time hath hee not ſo much as once hurt me: how then may I ſpeake euill of my king and ſoueraigne Lord, which hath thus preſerued me? Then the proconſul againe inforced him and ſaid: Sweare thou I aduiſe thee by Ceſars proſperitie. Polycarpus replieth: If thou require of me this fond word of vaine boaſting, feining not to know (as thou ſaieſt) who I am, I doe thee to wit that I am a chriſtian: and if thou deſire to know the doctrine of chriſtianitie, appoint a day, and thou ſhalt heare. Perſuade the people vnto this, ſaid the proconſull. Truely, ſaith Polycarpus, I haue thought it my part thus to ſay vnto you, for ſo much as we are commanded to giue vnto the gouernors and powers ordained of God, the honour meete and due to them, and not hurtfull vnto vs: but as for thoſe, I doe iudge them vnworthie to purge my ſelfe vnto them. Hereupon the proconſul ſtood vp: I haue, ſaith hee, wild beaſts to whom I will throw thee, vnleſſe thou take a better waie. Whereunto Polycarpus anſwered: Let them come, we haue determined with our ſelues that wee will not by repentance turne vs from the better way to the worſe, but rather

Polycarpus refuſeth to doe ſacrifice.

Polycarpus comforted by a voice from heauen.

Polycarpus allured to change his name & would not conſent.

A faithfull ſeruant of Chriſt his Lord.

Polycarpus readie to giue a reaſon of his doctrine.

Polycarpus obedient to higher powers.

Polycarpus ſlieth perſecution.

Polycarpus prayeth for the church.

Polycarpus hath a viſion of his burning.

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rather conuenient it is, that a man turne from things that be euill, vnto that which is good and iust. Againe saith the proconsull, I will tame thee with fire, if that thou set not by the wilde beasts, nor yet repent. Then said Polycarpus; You threaten me with fire which shall burne for the space of an houre, and shall be within a little while after put out and extinguished; but thou knowest not the fire of the iudgement that is to come and of euerlasting punishment, which is reserued for the wicked and vngodly. But why make you all these delaies? giue me what death soeuer ye list. These and many other such like things being by him spoken, he was replenished with ioy and boldnesse, and his countenance appeared so full of grace and fauour, that not only he was not troubled with those things which the proconsull spake vnto him, but contrarily the proconsull himselfe began to be amazed and sent for the crier, which in the middle of the stage was commanded to crie three times; Polycarpus hath confessed himselfe to bee a christian: which words of the crier were no sooner spoken, but that all the whole multitude both of the Gentiles and Iewes inhabiting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loud voice cried; This is that doctor or teacher of Asia, the father of the christians, and the destroyer of our gods, which hath instructed a great number, that our gods are not to be worshipped: and after this they cried vnto Philip the gouernour of Asia, and required him that he would let loose the lion to Polycarpus. To whom he made answere that he might not so do, because he had already his prey. Then they cried againe all together with one voice that hee would burne Polycarpus aliue. For it was requisit that the vision which he saw as concerning his pillow or bolster should be fulfilled: which when he had seene burnt, as he was in his prayer, hee turned himselfe vnto the faithfull sort which were with him, saying by the way of prophesie, It will so come, that I shall bee burned aliue. And the proconsull had no sooner spoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out of their shops, workehouses, and barns, wood and other drie matter for that purpose, and specially the Iewes were most seruiceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

Polycarpus threatned with wilde beasts.

And thus the pile being laid, and that he had now put off his garments and vndone his girdle, and was about to pull off his shoes, which hee had not done before, for that all the faithfull sort among themselues striued (as it were) who should first touch his bodie at their farewell, because for the good conuersation of his life, yea, from his yonger age, hee was had in great estimation of all men. Therefore straightway those instruments which are requisite to such a bonefire, were brought vnto him, and when they would haue nailed him to the stake with iron hoopes, hee said, let me alone as I am, for he that hath giuen me strength to suffer and abide the fire, shall also giue power, that without this your prouision of nailes, I shall abide, and stirre not in the middest of this fire or pile of wood. Which thing when they heard, they did not naile him, but bound him. Therefore when his hands were bound behind him, euen as the chiefest ram taken out of the flocke, hee was sacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God, saying: O Father of thy welbeloued and blessed Sonne Iesus Christ, by whom wee haue attained the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of euerie creature, and of all iust men which liue before thee, I giue thee thankes, that thou hast vouchsafed to grant me this day that I may haue my part amongst the number of the martyrs in the cup of Christ, vnto the resurrection of eternall life both of bodie and soule, through the operation of the holy Spirit; among whom I shall be this day receiued into thy sight for an acceptable sacrifice: and as thou hast prepared, and reuealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same, which canst not lie, O thou most true God. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, blesse thee, and glorifie thee by our euerlasting bishop Iesus Christ, to whom bee glorie euermore. Amen.

An example of brotherly loue.

The willing mind of Polycarpus to suffer.

His prayer before his death.

And as soone as he had ended this word Amen, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flashed out vehemently, we to whom it was giuen to discerne the same, saw a maruellous matter, which were also to this purpose preserued, that we might shew the same to others. For the fire being made like to a rose or vaut of a house, and after the manner of a shipmans saile, filled with winde, compassed about the bodie of the martyr as with a certaine wall, and hee in the middle of the same, not as fleth that burned, but as gold and siluer when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a sauour so sweet as if myrrhe or some other pretious balme had giuen a sent. At the last, when those wicked persons saw that his bodie could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come to him, and thrust him thorow with his sword. Which being done, so great a quantitie of blood ranne out of his bodie, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude maruelled that there was so much diuersitie betweene the infidels and the elect, of whom this Polycarpus was one, being a disciple of the apostles, and a prophetical instructor of our times, and bishop of the catholike church of Smyrna: for what word soeuer he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the

The thankesgiuing of Polycarpus.

A miracle shewn.

An example of much cruelti.

subtill and enuious aduersarie, when he saw the worthinesse of his martyrdome, and that his conuersation euen from his yonger yeares could not be reproued, and that he was adorned with the crowne of martyrdome, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit, gaue in charge, that we should not take and diuide his bodie, for feare lest the remnants of the dead corps should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon diuers whispered Nicetas the father of Herod, and his brother Alces in the eare, to admonish the proconsull, that in no case he should deliuer his bodie, lest (saith he) they leaue Christ and begin to worship him. And this spake they because the Iewes had giuen them secret warning, and prouoked them thereunto, who also watched vs that we should not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we ment at no time to forsake Christ, which gaue his life for the saluation of the whole world (as many I meane as are elected to saluation by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the Sonne of God, but the martyrs do we loue as disciples of the Lord (and that worthilie) for their abundant loue towards their king and master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his disciples. When therefore the centurion saw and perceiued the labour of the Iewes, the corps being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to do.

The Iewes enemies alwaies to the christians.

Marke that he saith, we loue them, and worship them not.

Thus good Polycarpus with twelue others that came from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom at Smyrna; which Polycarpus specially aboue the rest is had in memorie, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthie disciple of the apostles, whose historie the brethren of the congregation at Smyrna haue written in this their epistle as is aboue recited.

Twelue martyrs put to death in Smyrna.

Ex Ireneo. lib. 3. cap. 21 Euseb. lib. cap. 14

Irenæus in his third booke against heresies, the third chapter, and Eusebius in his fourth booke and fourteenth chapter of his ecclesiasticall historie reporteth this worthie saying of Polycarpus: This Polycarpus (saith he) meeting at a certaine time Marcion the heretike, who said to him; Doest thou not know me? made answere; I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan. So great feare what euill might ensue thereof had the disciples of the apostles, that they would not speake to them whom they knew to be the deprauers of the verity, euen as Paul saith: The heretike after the first and second admonition, shun and auoid, knowing that he which is such one, is peruerse or froward, and damneth himselfe. This most holy confessour and martyr of Christ Polycarpus suffered death in the fourth persecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus reigned, in the yeare of our Lord, one hundred threescore and seuen, as Vrsperg. affirmeth, in the yeare one hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius witnesseth in his chronicles, the seuenth before the kalends of Februarie.

{Anno 167}

Of Germanicus mention is made aboue in the storie of Polycarpus, of whom writeth Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 15. noting him to be a yong man, and most constantly to perseuere in the profession of Christs doctrine, whom when the proconsull went to perswade to remember his age, and to fauour himselfe, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his owne accord incited and prouoked the wilde beast to come vpon him, and to deuour him, to be deliuered more speedily out of this wretched life. Hæc Euseb. an. 170.

Germanicus. Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. Hist. for. eccle.

Thus haue you heard out of the epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarpus: whereby it may appeare that he was a verie aged man, who had serued Christ fourescore and six yeares since the first knowledge of him, and serued also in the ministerie about the space of threescore and ten yeares. This Polycarpus was the scholler and hearer of John the euangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his epistle which he wrote in his iourney to Rome, going toward his martyrdome, and commended to him the gouernment of his church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarpus then was in the ministerie. Likewise Irenæus writeth of the said Polycarpus after this manner: He alwaies taught (said he) those things which he learned of the apostles, leauing them to the church, and are onely true. Whereunto also all the churches that be in Asia, and all they which succéeded after Polycarpus to this day beare witnesse. And the same Irenæus witnesseth also that the said Polycarpus wrote an epistle to the Philippians, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarpus, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said epistle diuers things are found very holesome and apostolike: as where he teacheth of Christ, of iudgement, and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring that by grace we are saued, and not by workes, but in the will of God by Iesus Christ.

The old age of Polycarpus.

Polycarpus was the scholler of John.

Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 1.

The epistle of Polycarpus to the Philippians.

Iustification by faith.

In Eusebius we reade in like manner a part of an epistle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared how that the said Irenæus being yet yong, was with Polycarpus in Asia; at what time he saw & well remembred, what Polycarpus did, and the place where he sate teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his bodie, with the sermons and words which he said to the people. And furthermore hee perfectly remembred how that the said Polycarpus often times reported vnto him, those things which he learned and heard them speake of

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Irenæus conuersant with Polycarpus.

Polycarpus conuersant with the apostles.

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the Lord, his doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their owne eares, all which were more consonant and agreeable to the holy scripture. This with much more hath Ireneus concerning Polycarpus.

The authority of Polycarpus in the churches of Asia.

Hierome also writing of the same Polycarpus, hath how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholler to the apostles, and to them which did see and were conuersant with Christ himselfe: whereby it is to be coniectured his authoritie to be much not only with them of his owne church, but with all other churches about him.

Polycarpus came to Rome.

Polycarpus conferre h with Anicetus.

The east church and Romane church differ about Easter day.

Ex Niceph. lib. 4. cap. 29.

Ouer and besides, it is witnessed by the said Ireneus, that Polycarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus bishop of Rome, about the yeare of our Lord one hundred fiftie and seuen in the reigne of Antoninus Pius, whose cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controuersie of Easter day: wherein the Asians and the Romans something disagreed among themselues. And therefore the said Polycarpus in the behalfe of the brethren and church of Asia, toke his long iourney thither, to come and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth also Nicephorus, lib. 4. declaring that Polycarpus and Anicetus something varied in opinions and iudgement about that matter, and that notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in so much that Anicetus in his church gaue place to Polycarpus to minister the communion and sacrament of the Lords supper for honor sake. Which may be a notable testimonie now to vs, that the doctrine concerning the free vse and libertie of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence of stomacke, or breach of christian peace in the church.

Difference of ceremonies caused no breach of charitie in the primitiue church.

This Polycarpus (as is aboue mentioned) suffered his martyrdome euen in his owne church at Smyrna, where hee had laboured so many yeares in planting of the Gospell of Christ, which was about the yeare of our Lord one hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius reckoneth in his chronicle, and in the seuenth yeare of Antoninus Verus his reigne: whereby it appeareth that Socrates in Historia tripartita was much deceiued, saying that Polycarpus suffered in the time of Gordianus.

Socrates deceiued in his *Tripartit. hist.*

In this fourth persecution beside Polycarpus and others mentioned before, we reade also in Eusebius of diuers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.

Metrodorus, Pionius.

Ouer and besides in the same persecution suffered moreouer Metrodorus a minister, who was giuen to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthie Pionius, which after much boldnesse of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his sermons made to the people in the defence of christian faith, and after much releeuing and comforting of such as were in prisons, and otherwise discomforted, at last was put to cruell torments and afflictions, then giuen likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed martyrdome.

Carpus, Papilus, Agathonica, martyrs.

After these also suffered Carpus, Papilus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their most constant and worthie confessions were put to death at Pergamopolis in Asia, witnessing Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 7.

Felicitas with her seuen children, Januarius, Felix, Philippus, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, martyrs.

And as these suffered in Asia, so in Rome suffered Felicitas with her seuen children, who vnder this M. Antoninus Verus sustained also the cruelties of this persecution. The names of whose children Bergomensis and other histories doe thus recite: Januarius, Felix, Philip, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her first and eldest sonne Januarius, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was prest to death with leaden weights. Felix and Philip had their braines beaten out with mawles. Siluanus was cast downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis were beheaded. Last of all Felicitas the mother (otherwise then the accustomed manner was for such as had borne children) was slaine with the sword. Ex Supplem.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, vnder the raigne of Antoninus Pius, suffered also good Iustinus, a man in learning and philosophie excellent, and a great defender of christian religion, who first exhibited vnto the emperour and to the senat, a booke or apologie in the defence of the christians, and afterward himselfe also died a martyr. Of whom in the historie of Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded: that about what time, or a little before that Polycarpus with diuers other saints suffered martyrdome in Pergamopolis a citie of Asia, this Iustinus (as is aforesaid) presented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the emperour, to wit, vnto Antoninus, and to the senat. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdome vnto those, whom he in his booke had defended, through the malicious meanes and craftie circumuention of Crescens.

Iustinus Martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Crescens a philosopher procurer of the death of Iustinus.

This Crescens was a philosopher conforming his life and manners to the Cynicall sect, whom for because this Iustinus had reproued in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the truth which he defended, he therefore as much as in him lay, did worke and procure vnto him this crowne of martyrdome. And this did also Iustine himselfe a philosopher no lesse famous by his profession foresee and declare in his foresaid apologie, telling almost all those things before hand which should happen vnto him, by these words, saying: And I looke after this good turne, that I be slaine going by the way, either of some of those whom I haue named, and to haue my braines beaten out with a bat, or else of Crescens, whom I cannot call a philosopher, but rather a vaine boaster. For it is not conuenient to call him a philosopher, which openly professeth things to him vnknowne, and whereof he hath no skill, saying and reporting of vs, that the christians be vngodly and irreligious: and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by error.

Crescens a railing philosopher and a malicious railer.

For whether he obiecteth against vs the doctrine of the christians which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worse then the vnlearned idiots, who for the most part vse not to dispute or iudge of things they know not, and to beare witnesse of the same. Or put case that he had read it, yet vnderstandeth he not the maiestie of the matters therein contained: or if peraduenture he vnderstandeth them, and doth it for this purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them; then is he so much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondslaue of vile and beastly both fame and feare. For this I testifie of him, giuing you truly to vnderstand that for a truth, which I declare vnto you, how that I haue opposed him, and haue put vnto him many questions, whereby I know and perceiue, that he vnderstandeth nothing. But if so be that this our disputation with him hath not come vnto your eares, I am readie to communicate vnto you againe those questions which I demanded of him, which things shall not be vnfit for your princely honor to heare. But if ye know and vnderstand both what things I haue examined him of, as also what answere he hath made, it shall be apparant vnto you, that he is altogether ignorant of our doctrine and learning; or else if he knoweth the same, he dare not vtter it for feare of his auditors, which thing, as I said before, is a proofe that he is no philosopher, but a slaue to vaine glorie, which maketh none account of that, which his owne master Socrates had in so great estimation. And thus much of Iustine, out of Iustine himselfe.

A slaue of fame and feare.

Crescens proued an vnlearned philosopher.

Now to verifie that, which Iustine heere of himselfe doth prophesie, that Crescens would and did procure his death: Tacianus (a man brought vp of a child in the institutions of the Gentiles, and obtained in the same not a little fame, and which also left behind him many good monuments and commentaries) writeth in his booke against the Gentiles in this sort: And Iustine (saith hee) that most excellent learned man, full well spake and vttered his minde, that the afore recited men were like vnto theeues or liers by the high-way side. And in the said booke speaking afterward of certaine philosophers, the said Tacianus inferreth thus; Crescens therefore (saith he) when he came first into that great citie, passed all others in the vicious loue of children, and was verie much giuen to couetousnesse; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, hee himselfe doth feare death, that he did all his endeuour to oppresse Iustine with death, as with the most greatest euill that was, and all because that Iustine speaking truth, reproued the philosophers to be men only for the belly, and deceiuers: and this was the cause of Iustines martyrdome. Hierome in his ecclesiasticall catalogue thus writeth: Iustine, when in the citie of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproued Crescens the Cynike for a great blasphemer of the christians, for a belligod, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lecherie: at last by his endeuour and conspiracie was accused to be a christian, and for Christ shed his blood in the yeare of our Lord one hundred fiftie and foure vnder Marcus Antoninus, as the chronicles do witnesse, Abbas Vrspergensis, and Eusebius in his chronicle in the thirteenth yeare of the emperor Antoninus.

Tacianus commended.

The praise of Iustine Martyr.

Ex catalogo Hieron.

The death and martyrdome of Iustinus the noble philosopher and christian martyr.

Among these aboue recited is also to be numbred Praxedis a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who in the time of Anicetus there bishop, was so brought vp in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that shee with her sister Potentiana, bestowed all her patrimonie vpon the releeuing of poore christians, giuing all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after shee had made free all her familie with her seruants after the death of her sister, shee also departed, and was buried in peace.

Praxedis, Potentiana, christian virgins.

Vnder the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomeus and Lucius for the confession of Christ, in a citie of Egypt called Alexandria, whose historie because it is described in the apologie of Iustinus Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alledged in Eusebius, declaring the manner and occasion thereof, Lib. 4. cap. 17. in words and effect as followeth, &c.

Ptolomeus, Lucius, martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.

There was (saith hee) a certaine woman married vnto a husband, who was giuen much to lasciuiousnesse, whereunto shee her selfe in times past was also addict. But she afterward being instructed in the christian religion, became chast her selfe, and also perswaded her husband to liue chastly; oftentimes telling him that it was written in the precepts of the christians, that they should be punished eternally, which liued not chastly and iustly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthinesse, thereby caused his wife to estrange her selfe from his companie. For why? the woman thought it not conuenient to continue in her husbands companie, which contemning the law of

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of nature, sought otherwise to satisfie his filthie appetite. Therfore she was purposed to be diuorced from him. But her neighbours and kinsfolke prouoked her, by promising his amendment, to keepe companie againe with him, and so she did. But not after this tooke his iourney into Alexandria, and when it was shewed her, that there he liued more licentiously then at anie time before, for that she would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life by coupling her selfe anie longer with him, shee gaue him a letter of diuorce, and so departed from him. Then her husband, who ought rather to haue reioyced to haue so honest and chaste a wife, which not only would not commit any dishonest thing her selfe, but also could not abide any leaud or misordered behauiour in her husband, and that by this her separation shee went about to reclaime him from his incest and wickednesse to better amendment of life: hee in recompence to his wife againe, accused her to bee a christian, which at that time was no lesse then death. Whereupon shee being in great perill and danger, deliuered vp vnto the emperor (as Iustinus in his apologie writing to the emperour himselfe declareth) a supplication, desiring and crauing of his maiestie, first to grant her so much licence as to set her familie in order, and that done, afterward to come againe and make answere to all that might or should be laid against her: whereunto the emperour condescended. Then her husband seeing that he could haue no vantage against her, deuised with himselfe, how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her instructor in the faith of Christ) in trouble and accusation: vsing the meanes of a certaine Centurion who was his verie friend, whom he perswaded to examine Ptolomeus whether he were a christian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loued the truth, and not thinking god to hide his profession) confessed no lesse then to the examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the veritie of christian doctrine. For who so denieth himselfe to be that he is, either condemneth in denying that thing that he is, or maketh himselfe vnworthie of that, the confession whereof hee flieth, which thing is neuer found in a true and sincere christian. Thus then he being brought before Urbicius the iudge, and by him condemned to suffer: one Lucius being also a christian, standing by, and seeing the wrong iudgement, and hastie sentence of the iudge, said to Urbicius: What reason I pray you or equitie is this, that this man who neither is adulterer, nor fornicatour, nor homicide, nor fellon, neither hath committed anie such crime, wherein hee may bee charged, is thus condemned only for his name and confession of a christian? This condemnation and these maner of iudgements (O Urbicius) are neither seemely for the vertuous emperour, nor to the philosopher his sonne, nor yet for the estate of his senat of Rome.

The doltnesse and christian constancie of Lucius.

Which words being heard, Urbicius making no further examination of the matter, said vnto Lucius: Me thinketh thou art also a christian. And when Lucius had giuen him to vnderstand that he was also a christian, the iudge without further delay commanded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom hee answered: I thanke you with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked gouernours, and send me vnto my good and most louing father, being also the king of all gods. And in like manner the third man also, comming vnto him, and vsing the like libertie of speech, had also the like sentence of death and condemnation, and crowned also with the same crowne of martyrdome. And thus much out of the apologie of Iustinus, by the which storie it may appeare not to be true that Gratianus attributeth vnto Higinus bishop of Rome, the deciding of causes matrimoniall, seeing that in Iustinus time (who was in the same age of Higinus) the diuorcement of this woman in this historie aboue touched, was not decided by any ecclesiasticall law, or brought before any bishop, but was brought before a heathen prince, and determined by the law ciuill.

Lucius condemned and martyred.

The third man also condemned and martyred.

A place of Gratianus suspected.

Concordus martyr.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the martyrologe of Iſuardus, of one Concordus a minister of the citie of Spolet, who in the raigne of this Antoninus Uerus, because he would not sacrifice vnto Iupiter, but did spit in the face of the idoll, after diuers and sundrie punishments sustained, at last with the sword was beheaded. Uincentius in his tenth booke, chap. 108. reciteth a long storie of his acts and life, whereof some part perhaps may seeme tollerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing besides his sepulchre in the forenamed citie of Spolet, vnto the which water was giuen (saith Uincentius) by the vertue of him, for whose name he suffered, to restore sight to the blind, to heale the sicke, and to cast out diuels, &c. Which kind of vertue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expell diuels neither doth God giue to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordus the blessed martyr did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Concordus spitteth in the face of the idoll.

The storie of Uincentius suspected of vntruth.

Iſuardus, and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other authors more, make relation of diuers other martyrs that by sundrie kinds of torments were put to death, vnder the foresaid Antoninus Uerus: the names of whom bee Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cause of whose martyrdome was the reprehending of idolatrie and because at the emperours commandement they would not sacrifice to idols. Many sorts of punishments and miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected, the histories of these writers not to be certaine or true, as well touching these as also other martyrs, as may appeare in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, and other authors of like sort. In which authors they which list to reade more of their miracles there may find them.

Ex Iſuardo Vincentio & Henrico de Erford.

Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus.

Author in the writing of miracles of martyrs suspected.

A little before, mention was made of Symphorilla, otherwise named Symphorosa, wife of Getulus, with her seuen sons. This Getulus or Getulius, was a minister or a teacher (as witnesseth Martyrol. Adonis) in the citie of Tiber; which Getulus with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitiuus, by the commandement of Adrian were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moreouer of the seuen sonnes of this Symphorosa, I find to be Crescens, Julianus, Nemesius, Primitiuus, Iustinus, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commandement of Adrian, being fastened to seuen stakes, and so racked vp with a pullie, and at last were thrust thorow, Crescens in the necke, Julianus in the brest, Nemesius in the heart, Primitiuus about the nauill, Iustinus cut in euery ioynt of his bodie, Statteus run thorow with speares, Eugenius cut asunder from the brest to the lower parts, and then cast into a deepe pit, hauing the name by the idolatrous priests, entituled Ad septem Biothanatos. After the martyrdome of whom also Symphorosa the mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Getulus, Cerealis, Amantius, Primitiuus, martyrs.

The seuen sons of Symphorosa: Crescens, Julianus, Nemesius, Primitiuus, Iustinus, Statteus, Eugenius, martyrs.

Under the said Antonius Uerus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lions and Uienna, two cities in France, giuing to Christ a glorious testimonie, and to all christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancie and fortitude in Christ our Sauiour. The historie of whom, because it is written and set forth by their owne churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to expresse the same in the forme and effect of their owne words, as there is to be seene. The title of which their epistle written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia thus beginneth.

The persecution in Lions and Uienna, two cities in France. *Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

The seruants of Christ inhabiting the cities *of Uienna and Lions, to the brethren in Asia and* Phrygia, hauing the same faith and hope of redemption *with vs: peace, grace, and glorie from* God the Father, and from Iesus Christ *our Lord.*

A letter of the brethren of France to the brethren of Asia.

THe greatnesse of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against vs, and the torments which the blessed martyrs suffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deserue, set forth. For the aduersarie with all his force gaue his endeuour to the working of such preparatiues, as he himselfe lusted, against his tyrannous comming, and in euerie place practised he and instructed his ministers, how in most spitefull maner to set them against the seruants of God: so that not only in our houses, shops and markets we were restrained, but also were vniuersally commanded, that none (so hardie) should be seene in any place. But God hath alwaies mercie in store, and tooke out of their hands such as were weake amongst them, and other some did he set vp as firme and immoueable pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the enemie, enduring all their opprobrious punishment they could deuise: to conclude, they fought this battell for that intent to come vnto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light: thereby shewing that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to counteruaile the great glorie which shall be shewed vpon vs after this life. And first they patiently suffered whatsoeuer the multitude of frantike people running vpon head did vnto them, as railings, scourgings, drawings, and hallings, flinging of stones, imprisonings, and what other thing soeuer the rage of the multitude is wont to vse and practise against their professed enemies. Then afterward they being led into the market place, and there iudged of the captaine and rest of the potentates of the citie, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded againe to prison, vntill the returne of their chiefe gouernour. After this they being brought before him, and he vsing all extremitie that possible he might against them: one Uetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, replenished with feruent zeale, both towards God and his brethren (whose conuersation although he were a yong man was counted as perfect as was the life of Zacharie the priest, for he walked diligently in all the commandements and iustifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren blamelesse) he hauing within him the feruent zeale of loue, and spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked iudgement which was giuen vpon the christians; but being vehemently displeased, desired that the iudge would heare the excuse which hee was minded to make in the behalfe of

Uetius, Epagathus martyr.

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the christians, in whom (saith he) is no impietie found. But the people cried againe to those that were assistants with the chiefe iustice, that it might not be so (for in deed he was a noble man borne) neither did the iustice grant him his lawfull request, but only asked him whether hee himselfe were a christian or not? And he immediately with a loud and bold voice answered and said, I am a christian. And thus was he receiued into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the aduocat of the christians.

The stoutnesse of a godly yong man.

And he hauing the spirit of God more plentifully in time, then had Zacharie, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gaue his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true disciple of Christ, following the lambe whersoeuer he goeth.

By this mans example the rest of the martyrs were the more animated to martyrdome, and made more ioyous with all courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were vnreadie and not so well prepared, and as yet weake, not well able to beare the vehemencie of so great conflict: of whom ten there were in number that fainted, ministring to vs much heauinesse and lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest which were not yet apprehended, to be lesse willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variablenes of confession not a little astonied: not that we feared the punishment intended against vs, but rather as hauing respect to the end, and fearing lest any should fall. Euerie day there were apprehended such as were worthie to fulfill the number of them which were fallen: in so much that of two churches, such as were chiefest, and which were the principall gouernors of our churches, were apprehended. With these also certaine of the Ethniks, being our men seruants, were apprehended (for so the gouernor commanded, that all of vs in generall without any respect, should be taken) which seruants being ouercome by Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw the saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the meanes of the souldiers, fained against vs that we kept the feastings of Thiestes, and incest of Oedipus, and many such other crimes, which are neither to be remembred, nor named of vs, nor yet to be thought that euer any man would commit the like.

The tender mercie of God.

The infirmitie of certaine weake christians.

False slanders of the christians.

These things being now bruted abroad, euery man began to shew crueltie against vs, in so much that those which before for familiaritie sake were more gentle towards vs, now vehemently disdained vs, and waxed mad against vs. And thus was now fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, The time will come that whosoeuer killeth you, shall thinke that he doth God great good seruice. Then suffred the martyrs of God such bitter persecution as is passing to be told: Satan still shooting at this marke, to make them to vtter some blasphemie by all meanes possible. Maruellous therefore was the rage both of the people and prince, specially against one Sanctus, which was deacon of the congregation of Vienna, and against Maturus, being but a little before baptised, but yet a worthie souldier of Christ, and also against Attalus, being borne in Pergama, which was the foundation and piller of that congregation, and also against Blandina: by whom Christ sheweth, that those things which the world esteemed vile and abiect, to be glorious in Gods sight, for the verie loue which in heart and deed they beare vnto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and specially her mistresse in flesh, who also was her selfe one of the number of the foresaid martyrs, left happily for the weakenesse of bodie she would not stand strongly to her confession, the foresaid Blandina was so replenished with strength and boldnesse, that they which had the tormenting of her by course from morning to night, for very wearinesse gaue ouer and fell downe, and were themselues ouercome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and maruelled that yet she liued hauing her bodie so torne and rent: and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to haue pluckt the life from her bodie. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthie battell, became stronger and stronger, and as often as shee spake these words (I am a christian, neither haue we committed any euill) it was to her a maruellous comfort and bolding to abide the torments.

The rage of the heathen against the christians.

The cruell handling and great patience of Blandina.

Sanctus a martyr.

Sanctus also another of the martyrs, who in the midst of his torments, enduring more paines then the nature of a man might away with, also at what time the wicked supposed to haue heard him vtter some blasphemous words, for the greatnesse and intollerablenesse of his torments and paines that he was in, abode notwithstanding in such constancie of minde, that neither he told them his name, nor what countrieman he was, nor in what citie brought vp, neither whether he was a free-man or a seruant: but vnto euery question that was asked him, he answered in the Latine tongue, I am a christian, & this was all that he confessed both of his name, citie, kindred, and all other things in the place of execution; neither yet could the Gentiles get any more of him: whereupon both the gouernour and tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to ver him withall, they clapped plates of brasse red hot to the most tenderest parts of his bodie, wherwith his body indeed being scorched, yet he neuer shrunke for the matter, but was bold and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moystened with the fountaine of liuelie water, flowing out of Christs side. Trulie his bodie was a sufficient witnesse what torments he suffered: for it was all drawne together and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had therewith lost the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained vnspeakeable glorie, for that he ouercame his aduersarie, and to the instruction of others declared, that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared where the loue of God is, nor nothing grieuous wherein the glorie of Christ is manifested.

The notable constancie of Sanctus.

The cruell torments of Sanctus.

And when those wicked men began after a certaine time againe to torment the martyr, and hoped wel to bring it to passe, that either they should ouercome him in causing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his bodie was so sore and swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hand, or else that if he died vnder their hands, yet that thereby they should strike such feare into the hearts of the rest, to cause them to denie Christ. But they were not only disappointed herein, but also contrarie to the expectation of men, his bodie was in the latter punishment and torments supplied and restored, and tooke the first shape and vse of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the grace of Christ (in stead of punishment) a sure medicine.

A miraculous working of God.

Also Satan now thinking to haue setled himselfe in the hart of one Biblides, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to haue caused her, being a weake and feeble woman in faith, to haue damned her soule, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: enforcing to wrest some wicked thing out of the mouth of the christians. But she in the middle of her torments, returning to her selfe, and waked as it were out of her dead sleepe, by that temporall paine, called to her remembrance the paines of hell fire, and against all mens expectations reuiled the tormentors, saying: How should we christians eat yong infants (as ye reported of vs) for whom it is not lawfull to eate the blood of any beast? Upon that, so soone as she had confessed her selfe to be a christian, she was martyred with the rest. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannicall torments, by the patience and sufferance of our saints, the diuell yet inuented other engins and instruments. For when the christians were cast into prison, they were shut vp in darke and vgly dungeons, and were drawne by the feet in a racke or engine made for that purpose, euen vnto the first hole. And many other such punishments suffered they, which the furious ministers, stirred vp with diuellish furie, are wont to put men vnto: so that very many of them were strangled and killed in the prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would haue to enioy euerlasting life, and set forth his glorie. And surely these good men were so pitifully tormented, that and if they had had all the helpes and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to liue, and to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison destitute of all humane helpe, were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in bodie and mind confirmed, that they comforted and stirred vp the minds of the rest: the yonger sort of them, which were latter apprehended, and put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt the lash of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpnesse of their imprisonment, but died of the same.

Biblides an holy martyr.

Eculeus ad quintum foramen.

Diuers martyrs strangled in prison.

Other martyrs died in prison.

The blessed Photinus, who was deacon to the bishop of Lions about fourescore and nine yeares old, and a very feeble or weake man, and could scarcely draw breath for the imbecillitie of his bodie: yet was he of a liuely courage and spirit for the great desire he had of martyrdome, when he was brought vnto the iudgement seat: although his bodie was feeble and weake, both because of his old age, and also through sicknesse, yet was his soule or life preserued to this purpose, that by the same Christ might triumph and be glorified. He, being by the souldiers brought to the place of iudgement, many citizens and men of great abilitie following him, and the whole multitude cried vpon him diuerslie, as though he had been Christ himselfe, gaue a good testimonie. For being demanded of the chiefe ruler, what was the christian mans God? he answered: If thou be worthy to know thou shalt know. He being with these words somewhat neere touched, caused him to bee very sore beaten. For those that stood next him, did him all the spite and displeasure that they could both with hand and foot, hauing no regard at all to his old age or white haires. And they which were further off, whatsoeuer came next to hand, they threw at him, and euery man thought that he did verie wickedly refraine, that withheld his hand from not doing the like. For by this meanes they thought that they did reuenge the quarrell of their gods. Photinus now, euen as it were gasping after life, was throwne into prison, and within two daies after died.

Photinus a blessed martyr.

The rage of the people against Photinus.

And heere is the mightie prouidence of God, and the vnspeakeable mercie of Jesus Christ declared, which prouidence being assured amongst a fraternitie, is neuer destitute of the aid of Jesus Christ. For those which in their first persecution denied Christ, they also were put in prison, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time helpe them that had denied Christ, but they which confessed him were imprisoned as christians, neither was there any other crime obiected against them, but the other sort taken like homicids & wicked doers were laid hand on, & had double more punishment then the others had. These men were refreshed with the ioy of martyrdome, the hope of Gods promises, the loue towards Christ, and the spirit of God: the others their consciences

The comfort of the godly standing to their confession.

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The deniers of their confession comfortles, and notwithstanding punished.

sciences accused them, and that very sore, in so much that by their gate, their countenances bewraied vnto the rest their guiltie consciences. For the christians went forth hauing cheerful countenances, very much adorned with glorie and grace, in so much that the very bonds wherewith they were tied, set them out as men in seemely apparell, and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithall sauored as of the redolent smell of Christ, so that it might be supposed them to be anointed with some sweet balme: whereas the others were doubtfull and sad, abiect, ill fauored, filled with all shame, and furthermore reuiled of the Gentiles themselues, as wretches degenerat, hauing the crime of homicide, and destitute of the most pretious, glorious, and liuely calling of the christian name. And truly by these sights the rest were confirmed, and being apprehended, confessing Christ without any staggering, not hauing so much as the thought of any such dreadfull mind of denial. And in the same epistle of the foresaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner: After these things done, the martyrdome of these holy saints were diuided diuerslie into diuers kinds and formes, as the offering to God the father a garland decked with diuers and sundrie kinds of colours and flowers. For it so behooued the worthie champions of God, after they had suffered diuers kinds of torments, and so winning a triumphant victorie, to obtaine great reward of immortalitie.

Then Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus together, were brought to the common scaffold, there in the face of the people to be eaft and deuoured of the beasts. And Maturus with Sanctus being brought the second time to the scaffold, suffered againe all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing at all, yea rather as though the aduersaris being oftentimes put to the worst, they as striuing for the crowne, suffered againe more scourgings, the tearing of wild beasts, and what thing else soeuer the frantike people on euery side cried for & willed. And aboue all the rest they brought an iron chaire, in the which their bodies being set, were so fried & scorched as on a gridiron fried on the coles, & filled with the sauor of the frying all the people that stood by. And yet for all that, the tormentors ceased not, but waxed more fierce and mad against them, labouring to ouercome the patience of the saints. Notwithstanding al this, they could not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning hee declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued aliue in this their most horrible conflict, at the length were slaine, being made all that whole day a spectacle vnto the world, in place and in stead of the games and sights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

The spitefull handling of Gods people.

Maturus and Sanctus martyred.

Blandina brought forth againe.

Now concerning Blandina, who being fastened vpon a stake, was cast to the rauening beasts to bee deuoured, which thing was not done without the determinat will of God: to this end, that while she seemed to hang vpon a crosse, as it were by the feruentnesse of her prayer, she much comforted the rest of the saints, as beholding her Christ with her bodilie eies, which in that agonie suffered for them all, and that all which beleeue in him, and suffer for the glorie of Christ, might bee assured to liue with him for euer. And when they saw that no beast would come neere her thus hanging, they took her downe from the tree, & cast her again into prison till another time, that she hauing the victorie of many battels, might triumph ouer that vgly serpent the diuell, & that she being a weake & sillie woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ the inuincible conqueror, might incourage her brethren, and by the enduring of this battell might win a crowne of incorruptible glorie.

Now to Attalus: who being also required and called for of the people to punishment alreadie prepared (for his conscience sake) commeth forth to the fight. For he being worthilie exercised in the Christian profession, was alwaies a witnesse and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therefore when the pretse of people was about the scaffold, and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the Romane tongue, This is Attalus the christiã: then the people were in a maruellous rage against him. But the gouernor, vnderstanding that he was a Roman, commanded him againe to prison, with the rest of his prison fellowes: whereof he wrote to the emperour, and waited for answer what his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not idle in the meane season, nor vnprofitable to their brethren, but by their patience the vnspeakeable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before, were now reuiued by them that liued, and they which were martyrs profited them which were none, and the church did much reioyce, as receiuing them againe aliue, whom she had lost before as dead. For many of them which before had denied, now by their denial were restored and stirred vp, and learned to bee confessors. And now being reuiued and strengthened, and tasting the sweetnesse of him which desireth not the death of a sinner, but is mercifull to the penitent, came of their owne accord to the iudgement seat againe, that they might be examined of the iudge. And for that the emperor had written backe againe to him, that all the confessors should be punished and the other let goe, and that the sessions or sises were now begun, which for the multitude that had repaire thither out of euery quarter, was maruellous great:

Attalus commanded to prison.

The deniers returning againe to their confession.

he caused all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once againe examined them, and as many of them as hee thought had the Romane freedome he beheaded, the residue he gaue to the beasts to bee deuoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those which a little before had denied him, which againe contrarie to the expectation of the infidels confessed him euen vnto the death. For they were examined apart from the rest, because of their deliuery, which being found confessors, were ioyned to the companie of the martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then abroade which had no faith at all, neither yet so much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all of the feare of God, but blasphemed his waies by the leand conuersation of their life, euen such as were the children of damnation. All the residue ioyned themselues to the congregation: which when they were examined, one Alexander a Phrygian borne, and a physitian which had dwelt long in France, and knowne almost of all, for the loue hee had to God, and boldnesse of speaking (neither was he void of the apostolicall loue) this Alexander standing somewhat neere to the barre, by signes and becks perswaded such as were examined, to confesse Christ: so that by his countenance sometime reioycing, some other while sorrowing, hee was descried of the standers by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted, by and by again to sticke to their first confession, they cried out against Alexander as one that was the cause of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the iudge, and demanded what religion he was of: he answered: I am a christian. He had no sooner spoken the word, but he was iudged to the beasts of them to be deuoured.

Alexander the Phrygian martyred.

The next day following, Attalus of whom I made mention a little before, and Alexander, were brought forth together (for the gouernour granting Attalus vnto the people, was baited againe of the beasts.) When these men were brought to the scaffold, and had taken a taft of all the instruments that there were prepared for their execution, and had suffered the greatest agonie they could put them to, were also at the length slaine: of whom Alexander neuer gaue so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottome of his heart prased and prayed to the Lord. But Attalus, when he was set in the iron chaire, and began to frie, and the frying sauour of his burning bodie began to smell, he spake to the multitude in the Romane language: Behold (saith he) this is to eat mans flesh which you do, for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickednesse. And being demanded what was the name of their God: Our God (saith he) hath no such name as men haue. Then said they, Now let vs see whether your God can helpe you, and take you out of our hands or not.

The worthie patience and constancie of Attalus.

After this, being the last day of the spectacle, Blandina againe, and one Ponticus, a child of fifteene yeeres old was brought forth, and this was euery day, to the intent they seeing the punishment of their fellowes might bee compelled thereby to sweare by their idols. But because they constantly abode in their purpose, and defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the child, nor fauouring the sex of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and paine they could deuise, and oftentimes inforced them to sweare, and yet were not able to compell them thereunto. For Ponticus being so animated of his sister, as the Ethnikes standing by did see, after that he had suffered all torments and paines gaue vp the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore being the last that suffered, after she had like a worthy mother giuen exhortations vnto her children, and had sent them before as conquerors to their heauenly king, and had called to her remembrance all their battels and conflicts, so much reioyced of her childrens death, and so hastened her owne, as though she had been bidden to a bridall, and not in case to bee thrown to the wild beasts. After this her pitifull whipping, her deliuerie to the beasts, and her torments vpon the gridiron, at the length she was put in a net, and thrown to the wild bull, and when she had been sufficiently gored and wounded with the hornes of the same beast, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heauenly things, was thus slaine, insomuch that the very heathen men themselues confessed that there was neuer woman put to death of them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious crueltie thus allwaged against the christians. For the cruell barbarous people, like wild beasts when they be mooued, knew not when the time was to make an end, but inuented new and sundrie torments euery day against our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the christians to death, for that they wanted the sense of men: for which cause both the magistrat and people were bered at the very hearts, that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, He that is wicked, let him bee wicked still, and he that is iust let him be more iust. For those which in their prisons they strangled, they threw after to the dogs, setting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some halfe burned, some left of the wild beasts, and some all to bee mangled, also bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them

Blandina and Ponticus againe brought forth.

Ponticus martyred.

Blandina martyred.

Apoc. 20.

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them to the charge of the keepers to see them remaine vnburied.

The Gentiles grinded and gnashed at the christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplifie their punishment: some other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idols, attributing vnto them the cause of this crueltie and vengeance shewed to vs. Such which were of the meeker sort, and seemed to be moued with some pitie, did hit vs in the teeth, saying, Where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you giue your liues? These were the sundrie passions and affects of the Gentiles, but the christians in the meane while were in great heauines, that they might not burie the bodies and relikes of the holie martyrs. Neither could the darke night serue them to that purpose, nor any intreatie nor waging them with monie, which were appointed for watchmen: but they so narrowlie looked vnto the matter, as though they should haue gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martyrs made a wondering flocke, and lay fiue daies in the open streetes, at the length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the riuer of Rodes, so that there might appeare no remnant of them vpon the earth. And this did they as though they had been able to haue pulled God out of his seat, and to haue let the regeneration of the saints, and taken from them the hope of the resurrection, whereof they being perswaded (said they) bring in this new and strange religion, and set thus light by death and punishment. Atque hæc ex epistola Viennensium, &c.

Iustinus. Among others that suffered vnder Antoninus, mention was made also of Iustinus, who (as it is said before) exhibited two apologies, concerning the defense of christian doctrine, the one to the senat of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the emperor, concerning whose suffering, and the causes thereof is partly before declared: this Iustine was borne in Neapoli, in the countrie of Palestine, whose father was Priscus Bachius, as he himselfe doth testifie, by whom in his youth he was set to schole to learne, where in processe of time he became a famous and worthie philosopher, of whose excellencie many learned and notable men doe record. For first he being altogether inflamed and rauished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise bee satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructors singularlie seene in all kind of philosophie, whereupon he writeth of himselfe in the beginning of his dialogue Cum Tryphone thus, declaring that in the beginning he being desirous of that sect and societie, applied himselfe to be the scholer to a certaine Stoike, & remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in diuine knowledge (whereof the Stoike had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge therof not to be necessarie) he forsoke him, and went to another of the sect of the Peripatetiks, a sharpe witted man, as he thought; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiaritie. Wherupon Iustine accounting him as no philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind but desirous to heare of further learning in philosophie, adioyned himselfe to one that professed the Pythagorian sect, a man of great fame, & one who made no small account of himself. Whom after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any sight in Musike, Astronomie and Geometrie, without the sight of which science he said he could not be apt to receiue the knowledge of vertue and felicitie, vnlesse before hee had vsed to applie his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And speaking much in the commendation of these sciences, how profitable and necessarie they were: after that Iustine had declared himself not to be seene therin, the philosopher gaue him ouer, which grieued Iustine not a little, and so much the more because he thought his master to haue some knowledge in those sciences. After this, Iustine considering with himselfe what time was requisit to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he chose vnto him a singular learned man of that sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernall things, & inuisible formes, insomuch that he thought shortlie to aspire to such sharpenes of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might atchiue to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato his philosophie. And in this maner he bestowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said Iustine came to the knowledge and profession of christianitie, it followeth likewise in his said first apologie: where hee affirmeth of himselfe (as witnesseth Eusebius in his fourth booke) that when he did behold the christians in their torments & suffrings to be so constant in their profession, was therwith maruelouslie mooued: after this maner reasoning with himselfe, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subiect to any vice or carnalitie, which vices of their owne nature are not able to sustaine any sharp aduersity, much lesse the bitternes of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his owne nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge and vertue) to begin thereby to loue and imbrace christian religion, for so he doth witnesse of himselfe in the end of the first apologie: signifying there how it was his seeking and indeuor to attaine to christianitie: vnderstanding how the christians by malice of wicked persons were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be euill spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himselfe, he became a christian, through this occasion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietnesse to go aside to some desert and solitarie place void of concourse of people, vnto a village or grange neere to the sea side: whither as he approched, thinking there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old ancient father of a comely visage and gentle behauior, who following him a little off, began to reason with him: where after long disputation, when the old man had declared vnto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the holy Ghost: and further had reasoned with him of the immortalitie of the soule, of the reward of the godly, and punishment of the wicked: then Iustine being confirmed with his reasons & arguments, yeelded to him of his owne accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attaine to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken: who then counselled him to read and search the prophets, adioyning therewith prair. But what master (quoth Iustine) should I vse for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to helpe vs if these philosophers (as you say) lacke the truth, and are void of the same? To whom the old father answering, There haue been (said he) many yeers before these philophers other more ancient then all these, which being accounted for philosophers were iust and beloued of God: who spake by the spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to passe, and therefore they are called prophets. These only haue knowne the truth and reuealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any, who were seduced with no opinions of mans inuention, but only spake and taught those things which they themselues both heard and saw, being inspired with the holie spirit of God: whose writings and works yet to this day remaine, out of which the reader may receiue great profit and knowledge of things, as concerning the first creation of the world and end of the same, with all other things necessarie to be knowne of euery true philosopher which will giue credit vnto them. Neither in their teaching doe they vse any demonstration, as being more certaine of themselues, then that they need any such demonstration to be made, forasmuch as the accomplishing and the end of things both past and now present, constraineth vs of necessitie to beleeue the words and doctrin which they taught: which men not only therfore are to be beleeued, but also for their miracles and wonders done, are worthie of credit; for that they both preached of God the maker and creator of all things, and also did prophesie before of Christ his sonne to be sent of him; the which the false prophets being seduced with false & wicked spirits, neither haue done, nor doe, but onely take vpon them to worke certaine prodigious wonders for men to gaze at, setting out thereby to the world false and vncleane spirits. But then afore all things make thy prayer that the gate of light may be opened vnto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained vnto of euery man, but onlie of such to whom God and his Christ giueth vnderstanding.

Priscus Bachius, Iustinus father.

Iustine desirous of philosophie.

Iustine proueth all sects of philosophie.

Iustine a Platonist.

The end of Plato his philosophie.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.

Iustin beginneth to fauour christian religion.

Iustine goeth into a desert.

Iustinus miraculouslie conuerted by an old man.

The vanitie of the old philosophers reproued.

The doctrine of the prophets commended.

The vtilitie of reading the prophets.

Prophets to be credited for two causes.

These things, with much more (which now leisure serueth not to prosecute) after the foresaid old father had declared vnto him, hee departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken: and after that Iustine (as he himselfe witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediatlie after this, Iustine being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his brest, began to conceiue a loue and zeale toward the prophets and all such as were fauoured of Christ. And thus he reuoluing in his mind more and more these words, found only this philosophie among all other professions both sure and profitable, and so became hee a philosopher, and in time by these meanes afterwards hee was made a christian and baptised. But where he receiued this holy sacrament of baptisme, it is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Ierome, that he was in Rome, and there vsed certaine exercises which he called Diatribas, disputing there with Crescens a Cynicall philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certaine, how that Iustine after he had receiued the profession of christian religion, became an earnest defender of the same, trauelling and disputing against all the aduersaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintaine the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of christian beleeuers, as may appeare by his vehement disputations against the heathen philosophers: also moreouer as wel appeareth in that long disputation which he had with one Tripho at Ephesus, as also in his confutations of heretikes. Furthermore, his conflicts and apologies which with great courage and securitie he exhibited against the persecutors of the christians, both the emperor and the magistrats, yea and the whole senat of Rome do testifie the same.

Iustinus baptised.

Diatriba.

Iustinus an earnest defender of Christ.

Two apologies of Iustinus.

Of the which apologies, the first he wrote to the senat of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the emperor, as is before mentioned, where in the first writing with great libertie to the senat, hee declared, that of necessitie hee was compelled to write

The summe of his apologies.

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wrote and vttered his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the christians they did neglect their dutie, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to Urbicius lieutenant of the citie, said, that he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confession onely of the name of Christ, which proceedings and iudgements neither became the emperor nor his sonne, nor the senat: defending moreouer in the said apologie, and purging the christians of such crimes as falslie were laid and obiected against them by the ethniks.

The second apologie of Iustine.

And likewise in his second apologie writing to Antoninus the emperor and his successors, with like grauitie and free libertie declareth vnto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as vertuous philosophers, maintainers of iustice, louers of learning; but whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, neither for flatterie nor fauor at their hands, he was constrained thus to write vnto them, but only to sue vnto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their iudgements and sentences (for it becommeth princes to follow vprightnesse and pietie in their iudgements, not tyrannie and violence) and also in plaine words chargeth as well the emperour as the senat with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, iudging men to death not conuicted but only for the hatred of the name. Other men which be appeached (said he) in iudgement, are not condemned before they are conuicted: but on vs you take our name only for the crime, when as indeed you ought to see iustice done vpon our accusers. And againe (saith he) If a christian being accused only denie that name, him you release, being not able to charge him with any other offence: but if hee stand to his name, only for his confession you may call him, where indeede it were your dutie rather to examine their manner of life what thing they confesse or denie, and according to their demerits to see iustice done.

The Lord take away this spirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be conuicted.

And in the same further he saith; You examine not the causes, but incensed with rash affections as with the spurre of fury, ye slay and murther them not conuicted, without any respect of iustice. And further he addeth: Some peraduenture will say, certaine of them haue been apprehended and taken in euill doings: as though (saith he) you vsed to inquire vpon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemne them before due examination of their offense for the cause aboue mentioned. Where also in the end of the said apologie after this manner he reprehendeth them: You doe degenerat (quoth he) from the goodnesse of your predecessors, whose example you follow not: for your father Adrian of famous memorie caused to be proclamed that christians accused before the iudge, should not be condemned, vnlesse they were found guiltie of some notorious crime. I find that all his vehement and graue apologie standeth vpon most strong and firme probations, denying that the christians ought by conscience at the will and commandement of the emperor & senat to doe sacrifice to the idols: for the which they being condemned, affirme that both they suffer open wrong; affirming moreouer that the true and only religion is the religion of the christians, whose doctrine and conuersation hath no fault. Iustinus although with these and such like perswasions did not so preuaile with the emperour, to cause him to loue his religion and become a christian (for that is not written) yet thus much hee obtained, that Antoninus writing to his officers in Asia in the behalfe of the christians, required and commanded them, that those christians which onlie were found guiltie of any trespasse, should suffer, and such as were not conuicted, should not therefore only for the name be punished, because they were called christians. By these it is apparant with what zeale and faith this Iustinus did striue against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16.

A place of Epiphanius found faultie.

This Iustinus by the meanes and malice of Crescens the philosopher (as is before declared) suffered martyrdome vnder Marcus Antoninus Uerus, a little after that Polycarpus was martyred in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius, Lib. 4. Heere is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceiued in the time of his death, saying, that he suffered vnder Rusticus the president, and Adrian the emperor, being of thirtie yéeres of age, which indeed agréeth not either with Eusebius, nor Hierome, nor Swide, nor others more, which manifestly declare & testifie how he exhibited his apologie vnto Antoninus Pius which came after Adrian. Thus haue thou (good reader) the life of this learned and blessed martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fullie and amplie discoursed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable vertues, of whose finall end thus writeth Pholius, saying; that he suffering for Christ died cheerefully and with honor.

Cū dignitate & latus pro Christo pertulit.

Thus haue ye heard the whole discourse of Iustinus and of the blessed saints of France, Uetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certaine christian brethren of the same church and place of France. In the which foresaid writing of theirs, moreouer appeareth the great meekenesse and modest constancie of the said martyrs described in these words: Such followers were they of Christ, who when he was in the forme of God, thought it no robberie to be equall with God, being in the same glorie with him, that they not once nor twice but oft times suffered martyrdom, and taken againe from the beasts, & bearing wounds, tearings and skars in their bodies, yet neither would count themselues martyrs, neither would they suffer vs so to call them: but if any of vs either by word or letter would call them martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying; that The name of martyrdome was to be giuen to Christ the faithfull and true martyr, the first borne of the dead, and the captaine of life; testifying moreouer, that martyrdome belongeth to such, who by their martyrdom were alreadie passed out of this life: and whom as Christ by their worthie confession hath receiued vnto himselfe, and hath sealed vp their martyrdome by their end finished: as for them which were not yet consummated, they (said they) were not worthie the names of martyrs, but only were humble and worthie confessors, desiring also their brethren with teares to pray without ceasing for their confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true martyrs, in resisting the heathen with much libertie & great patience, without all fears of man, being replenished with the feare of God, refused to bee named of their brethren for martyrs. And after in the said writing it followeth more: They humbled themselues vnder the mightie hand of God by which they were greatly exalted, then they rendred to all men a reason of their faith, they accused no man, they losed all, they bound none, and for them which so euill did intreat them they prayed, following the example of Stephan the perfect martyr, which said: O Lord impute not their sinne to them. And after againe: Neither did they proudly disdaine against them which fell, but of such as they had they imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentifull teares for them to God the father, and prayed for their life and saluation, and as God gaue it them they also did communicat to their neighbours, and thus they as conquerors of all things departed to God. They loued peace, and leauing the same to vs, they went to God, neither leauing any molestation to their mother, nor sedition or trouble to their brethren, but ioy, peace, concord, and loue to all.

The holy martyrs refuse to be called martyrs.

Out of the same writing moreouer concerning these martyrs of France afore mentioned, is recorded also another history not vnworthie to be noted, taken out of the same booke of Eusebius cap. 3. which history is this.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Alcibiades.

There was among these constant and blessed martyrs, one Alcibiades, as is aboue specified: which Alcibiades euer vsed a very strict diet, receiuing for his food and sustenance nothing els but only bread and water. When this Alcibiades now being cast into prison went about to accustome the same strictnesse of diet, after his vsuall manner, before it was reuealed by God to Attalus afore mentioned, one of the said companie, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict vpon the scaffold, that Alcibiades did not well in that he refused to vse and take the creatures of God, and also thereby ministred to other a pernicious occasion of offensiue example. Whereupon Alcibiades being aduertised, and reformed, began to take all things boldly & with giuing thanks. Whereby may appeare to all scrupulous consciences, not only a wholesome instruction of the holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those daies they were not destitute of the grace of God, but had the holy spirit of God to be their instructor. Hæc Euseb.

The strict fasting of Alcibiades corrected by the holy ghost.

A lesson for scrupulous consciences.

Ireneus newly made minister, and commended to Eleutherus.

The foresaid martyrs of France at the same time commended Ireneus, newly then made minister, with their letters vnto Eleutherus bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Euseb. in the tenth chapter of the said booke, which Ireneus first was the hearer of Polycarpus, then made minister (as is said) vnder these martyrs: and after their death made bishop afterward of Lions in France, and succeeded after Photinus. Besides this Iustinus, there was also the same time in Asia, Claudius Apolinaris, or Apolinarius bishop of Hieropolis, and also Melito bishop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who succeeding after the time of the apostles, in the raigne of this Antoninus Uerus, exhibited vnto him learned and eloquent apologies in defense of Christs religion, like as Quadratus and Aristides aboue mentioned did vnto the emperour Adrian, whereby they moued him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apolinaris and Melito (stirred vp by God) aduenture to defend in writing the cause of the christians vnto this Antoninus. Of this Melito, Eusebius in his fourth booke making mention, excerpeth certaine places of his apologie in these words as followeth: Now, saith he, which was neuer séene before, the godly suffer persecution by occasion of certaine proclamations and edicts proclamed throughout Asia; for villanous sycophants robbers and spoilers of other mens goods, grounding themselues vpon those proclamations, and taking occasion of them, rob openly night and day, and spoile those which doe no harme. And it followeth after; Which if it be done by your commandement, be it so well done; for a good prince will neuer command but good things, and so we will be contented to sustaine the honor of his death. This only we most humblie beseech your maiestie, that calling before you and examining the authors of this tumult & contention, then your grace

Apolinaris and Melito exhibited apologies to the emperor for the christians.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.

The summe of the apologie of Melito.

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would iustly iudge whether wee are worthie of cruell death or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceedeth not by your occasion (which indeede against your barbarous enemies were too bad) the more a great deale we are petitioners to your highnesse, that hereafter you will vouchsafe to heare vs thus so vexed and oppressed with these kind of villanous robberies. And verilie our philosophie and doctrine did first among the barbarous take place, which doctrine first in the daies of Augustus your predecessor, when it did raigne and florish, thereby your empire became most famous and fortunat: and from that time more and more the state of the Romane empire increased in honor, whereof you most happily were made successors, and so shall your sonne too. Honor therefore this philosophie which with your empire sprang vp and came in with Augustus, which your progenitors aboue all other honored and most esteemed. And verily this is no small argument of a good beginning, that since our doctrine florished in the empire, no misfortune or losse happened from Augustus time: but contrarie alwaies victorie, good and honorable yeeres, as euer any man would wish: onelie among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian being kindled by diuers naughtie and spitefull persons cauillinglie obiected against our doctrine, of whom this sycophanticall slandering of vs by naughtie custome first came and sprang vp. But your godly fathers espying the ignorance of these, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerous attempts in that behalfe: among whom your grandfather Adrian with many others is read of, to haue written of Fundane the proconsull and lieutenant of Asia: and your father, your owne father I say, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the cities vnder his signet, as the Laersens, Thessalonicenses, Athenienses and Grecians, rashly to innouat or alter nothing of your highnesse: therefore, who in this case is of that sect as your predecessors were, yea and of a more benigne and philosophicall mind, we are in good hope to obtaine our petition and request.

The christians religion began with the empire of Rome.

Christian religion maketh common weals to flourish.

Thus much out of the apologie of Melito, who writing to Onesimus, giueth to vs this benefit, to know ẏ true catalogue and the names of all the autentike bokes of the old testament, receiued in the ancient time of the primitiue church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Melito in his letter to Onesimus declareth; how that he returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the bokes approoued of the old testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, & sendeth vnto him as followeth: The fiue bookes of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Iesus Naue, The Iudges, Ruth, Foure bookes of Kings, Two bookes Paralipomenon, The Psalmes, Prouerbs of Salomon, The booke of Wisdome, The Preacher, The song of songs, Iob, The prophets, Esay, Hieromie, Twelue prophets in one booke, Daniel, Ezechiel, Esdras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for that it is not vnprofitable for these latter times to vnderstand, what in the first times was receiued and admitted as autentike, and what otherwise.

The bookes of the old testament autentik and receiued.

But from this little digression to returne to our matter omitted, that is, to the apologies of Apolinarius and Melito, in the story so it followeth; that whether it was by the occasion of these two apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a philosopher, and a legat of the christians, it is vncertaine: but this is certaine, that the persecution the same time was staied. Some do thinke, which most probablie seeme to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution, did rise vpon a wonderfull miracle of God shewed in the emperors campe by the christians; the story whereof is this. At what time the two brethren Marcus Antoninus, & Marcus Aurelius Commodus emperors, ioyning together, warred against the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germans, in the expedition against them, their armie by reason of the imminent assault of their enemies was coped and shut in within the straits and hot drie places, where their souldiers besides other difficulties of battell, being destitute of water fiue daies, were like to haue perished, which dread not a little discomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this so great distresse and ieopardie, suddenly withdrew from the armie a legion of the christian souldiers for their succor, who falling prostrat vpon the earth, by ardent prayer by and by obtained of God double release: by meanes of whom God gaue certaine pleasant showers from the element, wherby as their souldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great nũber of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continuall lightnings which shooted out of the aire. This miracle so pleased and won the emperor, that euer after he waxed gentler and gentler to the christians, and directed his letters to diuers of his rulers (as Tertullian in his apologie witnesseth) commanding them therein to giue thanks to the christians, no lesse for his victorie, then for the preseruation of him and all his men. The copie of which letter insueth.

Ex Eusebio, ibidem.

A miraculous raine obtained by the christians.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus emperor, to the *senat and people of Rome.*

I Giue you hereby to vnderstand what I intend to doe, as also what successe I haue had in my warres in Germany, and with how much difficultie I haue vitelled my campe, being compassed about with seuentie and foure fierce dragons, whom my Scouts descried to be within nine miles of vs, and Pompeianus our lieutenãt hath viewed, as he signified vnto vs by his letters: wherefore I thought no lesse but to be ouerrunne and all my bands of so great multitude, as well my vaward, maineward, as rereward, with all my souldiours of Ephrata; in whose host there were numbred of fighting men, nine hundred seuentie and fiue thousand. But when I saw my selfe not able to encounter with the enemie, I craued aid of our countrie gods: at whose hands I finding no comfort, and being driuen of the enemie vnto an exigent, I caused to be sent for those men which wee call christians, who being mustered, were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage thẽ I had good cause, as afterwards I had experience by their maruellous power, who foorthwith did their indeuor, but without either weapõ, munition, armor or trumpets, as men abhorring such preparation and furniture, but only satisfied in trust of their God, whom they carie about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts. For they falling prostrat vpon the ground prayed not onlie for me, but for the host also which was with me, beseeching their God for helpe in that our extremity of victuals and fresh water: for we had been now fiue daies without water, and were in our enemies land, euen in the midst of Germany; who thus falling vpon their faces, made their prayer to a God vnknowne of me. And there fel amongst vs from heauen a most pleasant and cold shower, but amongst our enemies a great storme of haile mixt with lightning, so that immediatlie we perceiued the inuincible aid of the most mighty God to bee with vs: therefore we giue those men leaue to professe christianitie, lest perhaps by their prayer we be punished with the like, and thereby make my selfe the author of such hurt as shall bee receiued by the christian profession. And if any shal apprehend one that is a christian, only for that cause, I will that he being apprehended without punishment, may haue leaue to confesse the same, so that there bee none other cause obiected against him, more then that he is a christian; but let his accuser bee burned aliue. Neither will I that he confessing and being found a christian, shall be inforced to alter the same his opinion by the gouernor of any of our prouinces, but left to his owne choice. And this decree of mine I will to be ratified in the senat house, and command the same publikely to be proclamed and read in the court of Traianus: and that further from thence it may bee sent into all our prouinces by the diligence of Veratius gouernor of our citie Polione. And further, we giue leaue to all men to vse and write out this our decree, taking the same out of our copie publikely in the common hall set foorth.

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the christians began for a time to asswage partly by the occasion hereof, partly also vpon other causes incident, compelling the enemies to surceasse their persecution, as great plagues and pestilence lying vpon the countrie of Italie: likewise great wars, as well in the east parts, as also in Italie and France, terrible earthquakes, great flouds, noisome swarmes of flies and vermine deuouring their corne fields, &c. And thus much of things done vnder Antoninus Uerus, which Antoninus in the beginning of his raigne ioyned with him in the gouernment of the empire his brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also was with him at the miraculous victorie gotten by the christians, as Eusebius, cap. 5. lib. 5. recordeth. Contrarie, Platina in vita Soteris, and the booke intituled Flores historiarum, referre the same to the time of Antoninus Uerus, and his sonne Lucius Antoninus Commodus, & not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus his brother. But howsoeuer the truth of yeeres do stand, certaine it is, that after the death of Antoninus Uerus, and of Aurelius Commodus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus the sonne of Uerus, who raigned thirteene yeeres.

Antoninus Uerus, M. Aurelius Commodus emperors.

The difference between Eusebius and Platina.

Anno 175.

In the time of this Commodus, although hee was an incommodious prince to the senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietnesse vniuersally through the whole church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certaine. Some thinke, of whom is Xiphilinus, that it came through Marcia the emperors concubine, which fauored the christians: but howsoeuer it came (saith Eusebius) the furie of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was giuen by the grace of Christ vnto the church throughout the whole world: at what time, the wholesome doctrine of the gospell allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people vnto the true religion of God, insomuch that many both rich and noble personages of Rome with their whole families and households to their saluation, adioyned them to the church of Christ.

Quietnesse giuen to the church.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man and a senator of Rome, mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 5. cap. 21. who being maliciouslie accused vnto the senat by one whom Hierome writeth to be the seruant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Seuerus: but whose seruant soeuer he was, the wretched man came sone enough before the iudge, being condignelie rewarded for that his malicious diligence: for by a law which the emperor made, that no man vpon paine of death should

Apollonius martyr.

Apollonius accused by his owne seruant.

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should falsly accuse the christians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perennius the iudge, which being an heathen man he pronounced against him: but the beloued martyr of God when the iudge with much adoe had obtained of him to render an account before the honorable senat of his faith, vnder whose defense and warrant of life he did the same, deliuered vnto them an eloquent apologie of the christian beleefe: but the former warrant notwithstanding, he by the decree of the senat was beheaded, and so ended his life, for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ and therefore arraigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

Apollonius exhibiteth an apologie of his faith to the senat.

An old wicked law of the Romans.

This Commodus is said in stories to be so sure and steddie handed in casting the dart, that in the open theater before the people he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in place where he appointed. Among diuers other his vicious and wild parts he was too farre surprised in pride and arrogancie, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would shew himselfe to the people in the skinne of a lion, to bee counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts.

The ridiculous pride of the emperor.

Vpon a certaine time being his birth day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in a great roialtie hauing his lions skin vpon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Iupiter, causing it to be cried through the citie that Hercules was the patrone and defender of the city. There were the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men and instructors of the people, who following the steps of the apostles, went about from place to place where the gospel was not yet preached, conuerting the Gentils to the faith of Christ. These hearing the madnesse of the emperor and of the people, began to reprooue their idolatrous blindnesse, teaching in villages and townes all that heard them to beleeue vpon the true and only God, and to come away from such worshipping of diuels, and to giue honor to God alone which only is to be worshipped, willing them to repent and to be baptised, lest they perished with Commodus. With this their preaching they conuerted one Julius a senator, & others, to the religion of Christ. The emperor hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended of Vitellus his captaine, and to be compelled to sacrifice vnto Hercules: which when they stoutlie refused, after diuers grieuous torments & great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death. Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, martyrs.

Julius a senator conuerted to Christ.

Ex Vincen. lib. 10. cap. 119. Henr. de Erfor.

This Peregrinus aboue mentioned had been sent before by Xistus bishop of Rome into the parties of France, to supplie there the roome of a bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continuall and horrible persecutions there aboue touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of ministers and instructors, where after he had occupied himselfe with much fruite among the flock of Christ, and had stablished the congregation there, returning home againe to Rome, there finished at last (as it is said) his martyrdome.

Peregrinus sent to France and martyred at Rome.

Ex Platina in vita Sixti.

Now remaineth likewise to speake of Julius: which Julius being (as is afore described) a senator of Rome, and now wonne by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did eftsoones inuite them and brought them home to his house, where being by them more fullie instructed in christian religion, he beleeued in the gospell. And sending for one Rufinus a priest, was with all his familie by him baptised, who (not as the common sort was wont to doe) kept close and secret his faith, but incensed with a marueilous and sincere zeale, openlie professed the same, altogether wishing and praying to be giuen to him by God, not onely to beleeue in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperour hearing how that Julius had forsaken his old religion, and became a christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, vnto whom hee spake on this wise: O Julie, what madnes hath possessed thee, that thus thou doest fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged & worshipped Iupiter and Hercules their gods, and now doest imbrace a new and fond kind of religion of the christians? At which time Julius hauing good occasion to shew and open his faith, gaue straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Iupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them should perish with eternal damnation and punishments. Which the emperor hearing how that hee condemned and despised his gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature verie cholerike) committed him forthwith to Vitellus the master of the souldiors, a very cruell and fierce man, to see Julius either to sacrifice to mightie Hercules, or refusing the same to slay him. Vitellus (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obay the emperors commandement, and to worship his gods, alleaging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserued and maintained by them: which Julius denied vtterly to doe, admonishing sharply in like maner Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandements, lest hee with his maister should die some grieuous death: whereat Vitellus being moued, caused Julius with cudgels to be beaten vnto death.

Julius with his familie baptised and after martyred.

These things being thus briefly recited touching such holie martyrs as hitherto haue suffered, now remaineth that we returne againe to the order of the Romane bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, at whom wee left, whose successor next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixth bishop counted after Peter, and gouerned that ministerie the space of tenne yeeres, as Damasus and others do write. Urspergensis maketh mention but of nine yeeres. Platina recordeth that he died a martyr, & was buried at Vaticane. But Eusebius speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdome. In the second tome of the councels certaine epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damasus, Hierome, and other old authors, as they make no relation, so seeme they to haue no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit epistles, and in Platina appeareth that Xistus was the first author of these ordinances. First, that the holy mysteries and holy vessels should be touched but onelie of persons holie and consecrated, especiallie of no woman. Item, that the corporas cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linen. Item, that bishops such as were called vp to the apostolike see, returning home againe, should not bee receiued at their returne, vnlesse they brought with them letters from the bishop of Rome, saluting the people. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be sung this verse, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Saboth. Where moreouer is to be noted, that the said Platina, in the life of this Xistus, doth testifie that Peter ministred the celebration of the communion onely with the Lords prayer. These trifling ordinances of Xistus, who is so rude that seeth not or may not easily coniecture to bee falsly fathered of Xistus, or of any father of that time? first by the vniforme rudenesse and stile of all those decretall letters, nothing sauouring of that age, but rather of the latter dunsticall times that followed; also by the matter and argument in those letters contained, nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome daies. Neither againe is it to be supposed, that any such recourse of bishops was then to the apostolicall see of Rome, that it was not lawfull to returne without their letters: when as the persecution against the christians was then so hot, in the daies of Adrian, that the bishops of Rome themselues were more glad to flee out of the citie, then other bishops were to come to them vnto Rome. And if Xistus added the Sanctus vnto the masse canon, what peece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xistus? And if they came after Xistus that added the rest, why did they set their peeces before his, seeing they that began the first peece of the canon, came after him?

Xistus bishop of Rome.

The trifling ordinances of Xistus.

S. Peter celebrated the Lords supper onlie with the Lords prayer. *Platina in vita Sixti.*

The ordinance of Xistus suspected.

The same likewise is to be iudged of the epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next vnto Xistus, and being bishop of that congregation the terme of eleuen yeeres, the first yeere of the reigne of Antonius Pius, died martyr, about the yeere of our Lord, one hundred thirtie and eight. His epistle like vnto the rest containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath these ordinances. First he commandeth all that were of the clergie to fast and abstaine from flesh eating seuen weekes before easter. That three masses should be said vpon the nativitie day of the Lord. That no lay man should accuse either bishop or priest. He ordained moreouer Gloria in excelsis, to be added to the masse, &c. But these things falsly to be fained vpon him may easily be coniectured. For as touching the seuen weeks fast, neither doth it agree with the old Romane terme commonly receiued, calling it Quadragesima, that is, the fortie daies fast: neither with the example of our sauiour, who fasted not seuen weeks but onelie fortie daies. Moreouer, as concerning this fortie daies fast, we read of the same in the epistle of Ignatius, which was long before Telesphorus: whereby it may appeare that this Telesphorus was not the first inuentor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but vntrulie as by many coniectures may be prooued) there is read, that in the daies of S. Matthew this Lent fast of fortie daies was obserued long before Telesphorus; by these words that follow: In the daies (said he) either of Lent, or in the time of other lawfull fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from the eating meat as also from the mixture of bodies, doth incur in so doing not onelie pollution, but also committeth offense, which must be washed away with the teares of repentance. Againe, Apollonius affirmeth that Montanus the heretike was the first deuiser and bringer in of these lawes of fasting into the church, which before was vsed to be free. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. But especially by Socrates, writer of the ecclesiasticall storie, who liued after the daies of Theodosius, may be argued, that this seuen weekes fast is falsly imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates in his first booke, speaking of this time hath these words: Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas præter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas ieiunant, that is: The Romans (saith he) doe fast three weeks continuallie before easter, beside the sabbath and the sunday. And moreouer, speaking of the diuers and sundrie fastings of Lent in sundrie and diuers churches, he addeth these words: And because that no man can bring foorth any commandement written of this matter, it is therefore apparant, that the apostles left this kind of fast free to euery mans will and iudgement, lest any should bee constrained by feare and necessitie to doe that which is good. &c.

Telesphorus bishop of Rome and martyr.

The ordinances of Telesphorus.

Lent fast, and the originall thereof examined.

Montanus first brought in the laws of fasting. *Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18.*

Ex Socrat. eccl. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 22.

With

Sozomene, lib. 7. cap. 19.

With this of Socrates agrée also the words of Sozomenus, liuing much about the same time, in his seuenth book, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some comprehend in six weeks, as doe the Illirians, and the west churches, with all Libia, Egypt, & Palestina: some in seuen weeks, as at Constantinople, and the parties bordering to Phenica: other some in three weeks, next before the day of Easter, and some againe in two weeks, &c. By the which it may be collected, that Telesphorus neuer ordained any such fast of seuen weeks: which otherwise neither would haue bin neglected in Rome, and in the west churches: neither again would haue been vnremembred of these ancient ecclesiasticall writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not onely of his constitutions, but also of the other ancient bishops & martyrs, which followed after him, as of Higinus in the yére of our Lord one hundred fortie and two, who succeeding him and dying also a martyr, as Volateranus lib. 22. declareth, is said or rather fained to bring in the creame, one godfather and godmother in baptisme, to ordain the dedication of churches: when as in his time so far it was off, that any solemne churches were standing in Rome, that vnneth the christians could safely conuent in their owne houses. Likewise the distincting the orders of metropolitans, bishops, and other degrées, sauor nothing lesse then of that time.

The ordinãces of Telesphorus falsly to him ascribed.

Higinus bishop of Rome and martyr.

Ex Volaterano Anthrop. lib. 22.

Creame.

One godfather and godmother in baptisme.

Dedication of churches.

After Higinus followed Pius, who as Platina reporteth was so precisely deuout about the holy mysteries of the Lords table, that if any one crum therof did fall downe to the ground, he ordained that the priest should doe penance fortie daies: if any fell vpon the superaltar, he should doe penance three daies: if vpon the linnen corporas cloth fource daies: if vpon any other linnen cloth nine daies. And if any drop of the blood (saith he) should chance to be spilled, whersoeuer it fell it should be licked vp, if it were possible: if not, the place should be washed or pared, and so being washed or pared, should be burned and laid in the vestrie. All which toies may séeme to a wise man more vaine and trifling, then to sauor of those pure and strict times of those holy martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conuersant with Hermes, called otherwise Pastor. Damasus saith he was his brother. But how is that like that Hermes being the disciple of Paul, or one of the threescore disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes and of the reuelations the foresaid Pius in his epistle decretall (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaring that vnto him appeared the angell of God in the habit of a shepheard, commanding him that Easter day should be celebrated of all men vpon no other day, but vpon a sunday: whereupon, saith the epistle, Pius the bishop by his authoritie apostolicall decréed and commanded the same to bee obserued of all men.

Pius bishop of Rome.

The danger of letting the holy mysteries fall from the Lords table.

The reuelation of Hermes.

The decretall epistle of Pius.

Then succéeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the yéere of our Lord one hundred and fourescore. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius king of Britaine, sent to him Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the king was conuerted to Christs faith, and baptised about the yéere of our Lord one hundred threescore and nineteene. Nauclerus, lib. chro. Gen. 6. saith, it was in the yéere one hundred fiftie and fiue. Henr. de Erfordia saith, it was in the yeere one hundred threescore and nine, in the nineteenth yéere of Verus the emperor. Some say it was in the first yeere of Commodus, which should be about the yéere of our Lord one hundred fourescore and fiue. Timotheus in his storie thinketh that Eleutherius came himselfe: but that is not like. And as there is a variance among the writers for the count of yéeres: so doth there rise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus lib. 4. cap. 4. saith that Simon Zelotes came into Britaine. Some other alleage out of Gildas de victoria, Aurel. Ambrosi. that Joseph of Aramathy after the dispersion of the Jews, was sent to Philip the apostle from France to Britaine, about the yéere of our Lord threescore and three, and here remained in this land all his time, and so with his fellowes laid the first foundation of christian faith among the Britaine people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward confirmed the same and increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scotishmen and so doth count them as more ancient christians. For the confirmation hereof might be allaged the testimonie of Origen, of Tertullian, and the words also of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no lesse but that the faith of Christ was here in England among the Britaine people, before Eleutherius time, and before the king was conuerted: but hereof more shall be spoken hereafter (Christ willing) when after the tractation of these ten persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

Anicetus bishop of Rome and martyr.

Soter bishop.

Eleutherius bishop.

England conuerted to the faith of Christ.

Ex Nicep. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Ex Gilda de victor.

Aurel. Ambrosi.

Whether this land of Britaine receiued the gospell before king Lucius daies.

About this time of Commodus afore mentioned, among diuers other learned men & famous teachers, whom God stirred vp at that time (as he doth at all other times raise vp some) in his church, to confound the persecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirme the truth with their bloud, was Serapion bishop of Antioch, Egesippus a writer of the ecclesiasticall historie from Christs passion to his time, as witnesseth Hierome and Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which books of his be not now remaining: and those that be remaining (which be fiue De excidio Hierosol.) be not mentioned neither of Hierome, Eusebius, nor of Miltiades, which also wrote his apologie in defense of christian religion, as did Melito, Quadratus, and Aristides before mentioned. About the same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotatiõs and enarrations vpon the new testament, and epistles of the apostles. Also Theophilus bishop of Cesaria, Dionysius bishop of Corinth a man famously learned, which wrote diuers epistles to diuers churches, and among others writeth, exhorting Pentus a certaine bishop, Ne graue seruandæ castitatis onus necessariò fratribus imponat, sed multorum sese imbecillitati attemperet, that is, That he would lay no yoke of chastitie of any necessitie vpon his brethren: but that he would consider the infirmity of others, and beare with it. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreouer the said Dionysius in his epistles writing of Dionysius Areopagita, declareth of him how that he was first conuerted to the christian faith by S. Paul, according as in the acts is recorded, and afterward was made the first bishop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his book De hierarchia. Whereby it may easily appeare, what is to be iudged of that booke. Furthermore, by the epistles of the said Dionysius of Corinth, this we haue to vnderstand, to be the vse at that time in churches to read the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned bishops and teachers vnto the congregations, as may appeare by these words of Dionysius, who writing to the church of the Romans, and to Soter, saith: This day we celebrat the holie dominicall day, in which we haue read your epistle, which alwaies we will reade for our exhortation, like as we do reade also the epistle of Clement sent to vs before, &c. Eusebius, ibid. Where also mention is made of keeping sunday holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient authors, before his time, except onely in Justinus martyr, who in his description declareth two times most especially vsed for christian men to congregat together: first, when any conuert was to bee baptised, the second was vpon the sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be hallowed: first, because (saith he) vpon that day God made the world: secondly, because that Christ vpon that day first shewed himselfe after his resurrection to his disciples, &c.

Miltiades ecclesiasticall writer.

Heracletus ecclesiasticall writer.

Theophilus ecclesiasticall writer.

Dionysius Corinthius ecclesiasticall writer.

The yoke of chastitie not to be laid vpon the infirme brethren. Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23.

The booke of Dionysius Areopagita. De hierarchia suspected.

Celebration of the sunday.

Duer and beside these aboue named, about the daies of Commodus, wrote also Clemens Alerãdrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose books although for a great part be lost, yet certaine of them yet remaine, wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the books and gospels of the new testament, &c.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

The same time moreouer liued Pantenus, which was the first in Alexandria that professed in open schoole to read, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the christians to read and professe in vniuersities. This Pantenus for his excellencie of learning was sent by Demetrius bishop of Alexandria to preach to the Indians, where he found the gospel of S. Matthew written in Hebrue, left there by S. Bartholomew, which booke afterward he brought with him from thence to the librarie of Alexandria.

The gospell of S. Matthew in Hebrue.

During all the reigne of Commodus, God granted rest and tranquillitie, although not without some bloudshed of certaine holy martyrs, as is aboue declared, vnto his church. In the which time of tranquillitie, the christians hauing now some leasure from the forreigne enemie, began to haue a little contention among themselues about the ceremonie of Easter: which contention albeit of long time before had been stirring in the church, as is before mentioned of Polycarpus and Anicetus: yet the variance & difference of that ceremonie brought no breach of christian concord and societie among them: neither as yet did the matter excéed so farre, but that the bond of loue, and communion of brotherlie life continued, although they differed in the ceremonie of the day. For they of the west church pretending the tradition of Paul and Peter, but indéed being the tradition of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, which was vpon the sunday after the foureteenth day of the first moneth. The church of Asia following the ordinance of John the apostle, obserued another, as more shall be declared (the Lord willing) when wee come to the time of Victor bishop of Rome. In the meane time as concerning the fourth persecution let this hitherto suffice.

Difference about the ceremonie of Easter.

The fift persecution.

Seuerus emperor. Anno 195.

After the death of Commodus raigned Pertinax but few moneths, after whom succéeded Seuerus, vnder whom was raised the fifth persecution against the christian saints: who raigning the terme of eightéene yeeres, the first ten yéeres of the same was very fauourable and courteous to the christians: afterward through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no christians any more to bee suffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred vp on euery side, whereby an infinit number of martyrs were slaine, as Eusebius in his first booke recordeth, which was about the yéere of our Lord two hundred and fiue. The crimes and false accusations obiected against the christians are partly touched before; as sedition and rebellion against the emperour, sacriledge, murthering of infants,

The fift persecution.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 2. Anno 205.

The false accusations against the christians.

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fants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, whereof certaine indeed called then Gnostici, were infamed. Item, it was obiected against them for worshipping the head of an asse: which whereof it should rise, I find no certaine cause, except it were perhaps by the Iewes. Also they were charged for worshipping the sun, for that peraduenture before the sun did rise, they conuented together, singing their morning hymnes vnto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the east: but specially for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The captaines and presidents of this persecution vnder the emperor were Hilerianus, Aigellius, Claudius, Hermianus ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Aespronius, also Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila iudge of Alexandria, of whom Eusеb. lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The captaines and ministers of this persecution. Ex Tertul. ad Scapulam.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of the ecclesiasticall storie was innumerable. Of whom the first was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded: with whom also Origen his sonne, being of the age then of seuentéene yeares, should haue suffered (such a feruent desire hee had to be martyred for Christ) had not his mother prinilie in the night season conueied away his cloths and his shirt. Whereupon more for shame to be séene, then for feare to die, hee was constrained to remaine at home: and when hee could doe nothing else, yet he writeth to his father a letter with these words: Caue tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quàm martyrij constanter faciendi propositum cogites, that is, Take heed to your selfe, that you turne not your thought and purpose for our sake, &c. Such a feruencie had this Origen being yet yong, to the doctrine of Christs faith, by the operation of Gods heauenly prouidence, and partly also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him vp from his youth most studiously in all good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy scripture, wherein he had such inward and mysticall speculation, that many times he would moue questions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the scripture. In so much that his father diuers times would vncouer his brest being a sléepe, and kisse it, giuing thanks to God which had made him so happie a father of such a happie child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the emperor, he with his poore mother, and sir brethren, being brought to such extreame pouertie, did sustaine both himselfe and them by teaching a schole: till at length being wearie of the profession, hee transferred his studie onely to the knowledge and séeking of diuine scripture, and such other learning conducible to the same. So much he profited both in the Hebrue & other tongues, that hee conferred the Hebrue text with the translation of ỳ three score: and moreouer did confer and finde out the other translations which we call the common translation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adioyned to these aforesaid other foure translations, whereof more is in the storie of Eusebius expressed.

Leonides father of Origen martyr.

Origen kept from martyrdome by his mother.

Origen commended. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 3.

Ex Euseb. Antonino Simonetta, &c.

They that write of the life of Origen, testifie of him that he was of wit quicke and sharpe, much patient of labour, a great trauceller in the tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great father, his teaching and his liuing were both one: his going was much barefoot: a strict obseruer of that saying of the Lord, bidding to haue but one cote, &c. He is said to haue written so much as seuen notaries, and so many maids euery day could pen. The number of his bookes by the account of Hierome, came to seuen thousand volumes, the copies whereof he vsed to sell for three pence or a little more, for the sustentation of his liuing. But of him more shall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christs martyrs, that he nothing fearing his owne perill would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kisse them, in so much that he was oft in ieopardie to be stoned of the multitude: and sometimes by the prouision of christian men had his house guarded about with souldiers, for the safetie of them which daily resorted to heare his readings. And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the prouidence of God to preserue him in the midst of all this tempest of Seuerus. Among others which resorted vnto him, and were his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and died a martyr; and with him Serenus his brother who was burned. The third after these was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth, was an other Serenus, also beheaded, Rhais, and Potamiena, who was tormented with pitch powred vpon hir, and martyred with hir mother Marcella, who died also in the fire. This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beautie, who because she could not be remoued from hir profession, was committed to Basilides one of the captaines there in the armie to sée the execution done. Basilides receiuing hir at the iudges hand, and leading hir to the place, shewed hir some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked aduersaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin to requite againe his kindnesse, bad him bee of good comfort, saying that she would pray the Lord to shew mercie vpon him, and so went she to hir martyrdome, which she both strongly and quietly did sustaine.

Plutarchus scholar of Origen, and Serenus his brother martyred. Heraclides, Heron, Rhais, Potamiena, Marcella, scholars of Origen and martyrs.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required to giue an oath in a matter concerning his fellow souldiers, which thing he denied to doe, plainly affirming that hee was a christian: for their oath then was wont to bee by the idols and the emperor. At the first hee was thought dissemblingly to yeeld, but after when he was heard constantly and in earnest to confirme the same, he was had before the iudge, and so by him committed toward. The christians maruelling thereat, as they came to him in the prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conuersion. To whom hee answered againe and said, that Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and so he said a crowne put vpon his head: adding moreouer, that it should not be long but he should be receiued. Which things thus done, the next day following hee was had to the place of execution and there beheaded. Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the said Eusebius giueth this storie of no credit, but onely of heare say, as he there expresseth.

Basilides of a persecutor made a martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5.

As diuers and many there were that suffered in the daies of this Seuerus, so some were againe which through the protection of God his prouidence being put to great torments, yet escaped with life: Of whom was one Alexander, who for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made bishop afterward of Hierusalem togither with Narcissus, who being then an old man of an hundred and three score yeares and three, as saith Eusebius, was inuelde for his age to gouerne that function alone.

Alexander confessor and bishop of Ierusalem.

The notable age of Narcissus bishop of Ierusalem.

Of this Narcissus is reported in the ecclesiasticall history that certaine miracles by him were wrought, very notable if they be true. First of water by him turned into oyle at the solemne vigill of Easter, what time the congregation wanted oyle for their lamps. An other miracle is also told of him, which is this: There were three euill disposed persons, who seeing the soundnesse and graue constancie of his vertuous life, and fearing their owne punishment, as a conscience that is guiltie is alwaies fearefull, thought to preuent his accusations in accusing him first, and laying an hainous crime vnto his charge. And to make their accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath, one wishing to be destroyed with fire if hee said not true; the other to bee consumed with a grieuous sickenesse; the third to lose both his eyes if they did lie. Narcissus although hauing his conscience cleare, yet not able being but one man to withstand their accusation, bound with such oaths, gaue place, and remoued himselfe from the multitude into a solitarie desert by himselfe, where he continued the space of many yeares. In the meane time to them which so willingly and wickedly forswore themselues, this hapned: The first by casualtie of one little small sparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his familie. The second was taken with a great sickenesse from the top to the toe, and deuoured with the same. The third hearing and seeing the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance powred out such teares, that he lost both his eyes: and thus was their false periurie punished. Narcissus after long absence returning home againe, was by this meanes both cleared of the fact and receiued into his bishoprike againe: to whom as is said, for impotencie of his age, Alexander was ioyned with him in execution of the function. Eusebius, histor. eccles. lib. 6. cap. 10. Of this Alexander is recorded in the said ecclesiasticall history, that after his agonies and constancie of his confession shewed in the persecution of Seuerus, hee was admonished by a vision in the night season to make his iourney vp to Jerusalem and Palestina (for that place remained free from this persecution) to sée there the congregation and to pray. Thus he taking his iourney and drawing neere to the citie, a vision with plaine words was giuen to certaine chiefe heads of Jerusalem to goe out of the gate of the citie, there to receiue the bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and receiued, and ioyned partner with aged Narcissus, as is before expressed, in the citie of Jerusalem, where hee continued bishop aboue fortie yeares, vntill the persecution of Decius, and there erected a famous librarie, where Eusebius had his chiefest helpe in writing his ecclesiasticall history. Hee wrote also diuers epistles to diuers churches, and licenced Origen openly to teach in his church. At length being very aged, was brought from Jerusalem to Cesaria before the iudge vnder Decius, where after his constant confession the second time, he was committed to prison and there died.

A miracle of water turned into oyle. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 9.

A terrible example of periurie punished.

Narcissus and Alexander ioyned togither in one bishoprike.

Alexander ordained bishop of Jerusalem by Gods miracle. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 11.

The constancie and death of Alexand. bishop.

Besides these that suffered in this persecution of Seuerus recited of Eusebius, Vincentius also, Lib. 11. cap. 6. ex martyrologio, speaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had sent into France: which Andoclus because hee spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Seuerus, and first beaten with staues and bats, after was beheaded.

Andoclus martyr.

To these aboue named may also bee added Asclepiades, who although was not put to death in this persecution of Seuerus, yet constantly he did abide the triall of his confession, & suffered much for the same, as Alexander did before mentioned. Wherefore afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of seuen yeares, of whom Alexander writeth vnto the church of Antioch out of prison, much

Asclepiades bishop of Antioch confessor.

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sing & giuing thanks to God, to heare that he was their bishop.

Ireneus bishop of Lions, and martyr.

About the same time, during the raigne of Seuerus, died Ireneus. Henr. de Erfordia, Ado, and other martyr writers doe hold, that hee was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth yeare of Seuerus. This Ireneus as hee was a great writer, so was hee greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom he calleth Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimũ exploratorem: A great searcher of all kind of learning. He was first scholler and hearer of Polycarpus, from thence either was sent or came to France, & there by Photinus, and the rest of the martyrs was instituted into the ministerie, commended by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before premonished. At length after the martyrdome of Photinus, hee was appointed bishop of Lions, where he continued about the space of three and twentie yeares. In the time of this Ireneus, the state of the church was much troubled, not onely for the outward persecution of the forraigne enemie, but also for diuers sects and errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few of his bookes be now remaining. The nature of this man well agreeing with his name, was such, that he euer loued peace, and sought to set agreement when any controuersie rose in the church. And therfore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renued in the church, betweene Victor bishop of Rome, and the churches of Asia, and when Victor would haue excommunicated them as schismatiks, for disagreeing from him therein: Ireneus with other brethren of the French church, sorie to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, conuented themselues together in a common councell, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent vnto Victor, intreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselues agreed with him in obseruing the sunday Easter as he did: yet with great reasons and arguments exhorted him not to deale so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient custome of their countrie maner in that behalfe. And beside this hee wrote diuers other letters abrode concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Tertullian ecclesiasticall writer.

Not long after Ireneus followed also Tertullian, about the time of this Seuerus and Antoninus Caracalla his sonne, a man both in Greeke and Latine well expert, hauing great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his bookes declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testifie no lesse. To whõ Vincentius Lirinensis giueth such praise, that he calleth him the floure of all Latine writers: and of the eloquence of his stile he thus writeth, that with the force of his reasons, he saith, whom he could not persuade, them he compelled to consent vnto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences so many victories he had, &c.

Such men of doing and writing, God raised vp from time to time, as pillers and staies for his poore church, as he did this Tertullian in these dangerous daies of persecution. For when the christians were vexed with wrongs, and falslie accused of the Gentiles: Tertullian taking their cause in hand, defendeth them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. First, that they neuer minded any stir or rebellion, either against the empire or emperors of Rome: for so much as the vse of christians was to pray for the state of their emperors and gouernors. And whereas they were accused falsly to bee enimies to all mankind, how could that be (saith Tertullian to Scapula) seeing the proper office of the christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to loue their enemies, neuer requiting euill for euill, when as all other doe loue but onely their friends, and scarcely them? As touching the horrible slander of murthering infants, how can that bee true in the christians (saith hee) whole order is to abstaine from all blod and strangled: in so much that it is not lawfull for them to touch the blod of any beast at their tables when they feed? from filthie copulation no sort more free then they, which are and euer haue beene the greatest obseruers of chastitie, of whom, such as may, liue in perpetuall virginitie all their life, such as cannot, contract matrimonie, for auoiding all whoredome and fornication. Neither can it bee proued of the christians to worship the sunne, which false surmise Tertullian declareth to rise hereof, for that the maner of the christians was to pray toward the east. Much lesse was there any of them so mad as to worship an asses head, whereof the occasion being taken onely of the Iewes, the slander therof therefore he proueth to be falslie and wrongfully laid to the charge of the christians.

The apologie of Tertullian defending the christians.

Tertullianus ad Scapulam.

The occasion hereof, belike came of the Iewes worshipping the law of an asse in the storie of Samson.

And likewise against all other lies and slanders, obiected of the heathen against the christians, the said Tertullian purgeth the christians, declaring them falslie to be beleeued, and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but onely for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, he proueth in the same apologie, the religion of the christians nothing to bee empaired, but rather increased. The more (saith he) we are mowne downe of you, the more rise vp. The blod of christians is seed. For what man (saith he) in beholding the painefull torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is in the cause? And when hee hath found it out, who will not agree vnto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus (saith he) this sect will neuer die, which the more it is cut downe, the more it groweth. For euery man seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the saints, is moued the more thereby to search the cause; in searching, he findeth it, and in finding he followeth it. Tertullian in eodem apolog.

Tertul. in apologetico.

Thus Tertullian in this dangerous time of persecution, being stirred vp of God, defended the innocencie of the christians, against the blasphemie of the aduersaries; and moreouer for the instruction of the church hee compiled many fruitfull workes, whereof some are extant, some are not to bee found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous vertues of this worthie man, certaine errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origen and Ireneus, and likewise of them, were they neuer so excellent, that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this storie to prosecute. This by the way shall be sufficient to admonish the reader, neuer to looke for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular so euer he be (Christ onely excepted) but some blemish or other ioyneth himselfe withall, wherof more perchance shall be said when we come to Cyprian.

The errors and imperfections in learned men noted.

And now to returne againe to the order of bishops of Rome intermitted. After Eleutherius afore mentioned, next in the bishoprike of Rome succeeded Victor, who as Platina saith, died quietly in the daies of Seuerus. But Damasus, Supplement. lib. 8. and such as doe follow the common chronicles, affirme that he died a martyr, after he had sitten ten (or as some say twelue) yeares. This Victor was a great stirrer (as partly before is signified) in the controuersie and contention of Easter day. For the which he would haue proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Ireneus then bishop of Lions, with the counsell of other his brethren there assembled, represt his intended violence. As touching that controuersie of Easter in those daies of the primitiue church, the originall therof was this, as Eusebius, Socrates, Platina, and others record. First, certaine it is, that the apostles onely being intentiue and attendant to the doctrine of saluation, gaue no heed nor regard to the obseruation of daies and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies & rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, as strangled & blood, which was ordained then of the Holy ghost, not without a most vrgent and necessarie cause, touched partly in the history before. For when the murthering and blod of infants was commonly obiected by the heathen persecutors against the christians, they had no other argument to helpe themselues, nor to refell the aduersary, but onely their owne law, by the which they were commanded to abstaine not onely from all mens blod, but also from the blod of all common beasts. And therfore that law seemeth by the Holy ghost to bs giuen, and also to the same end continued in the church, so long as the cause, that is, the persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Beside these wee read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the libertie of christians, euery man to vse therein his owne discretion, for the vsing or not vsing thereof. Wherupon, as concerning all the ceremoniall obseruations of daies, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others: of all these things neither was the diuersitie among men greatly noted, nor any vniformitie greatly required. In so much that Ireneus writing to Victor of the tradition of daies, and of fastings, and of the diuersitie of these things then vsed among the primitiue fathers, saith: Nihilo tamẽ minus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt, & retinemus etiamnum, & ieiunij dissonantia fidei concordiam commendat, &c: that is, Notwithstanding all this varietie, all they kept peace among themselus, and yet we keepe it still, and this difference of fasting among vs commendeth more the concord of faith. And so long did the doctrine of christian libertie remaine whole and sound in the church till the time of Victor, which was about the yeare of our Lord two hundred, although the diuersitie of these vsages began something before also in the daies of Pius and Anicetus, about the yeare of Christ one hundred sixtie and three to be misliked: yet restraint hereof was not so much vrged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take such place, but that the doctrine of christian libertie was defended and maintained by meanes of Ireneus and others, and so continued in the church till after the councell of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of christian libertie of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Victor bishop of Rome.

Victor reported of some to die a martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26.

The doctrine of christian libertie in outward vsages.

{Anno 200}

The cause discussed why the Holy ghost forbad blood and strangled in the primitiue church.

Now to returne to Victor againe, to shew what diuersitie there was in obseruing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the storie. First, in the time of Pius and Anicetus in the yeare of Christ one hundred sixtie and three, the question of Easter day began first to be moued, at what time Pius, by the reuelation of Hermes, decreed the obseruation of that day to bee changed from the wonted maner of the fourteenth day of the moone in the first moneth vnto the next sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, & Eleutherius bishops of Rome, which also determined the same. Against these stood Melito bishop of Sardis, Polycarpus, & as some thinke, Egesippus, with other learned men of Asia. Which Polycarpus being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is afore said, to confer with Anicetus

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.

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Polycarpus and Anicetus disagreeing in controuersie, yet agreed in charitie.

tetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reuerence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easterday remained adiaphoron, as a thing indifferent in the church, till the time of Victor; who following after Anicetus and his fellowes, and chiefly stirring in this matter, indeuored by all meanes and might, to draw, or rather subdue the churches of Asia vnto his opinion, thinking moreouer to excommunicate all those bishops and churches of Asia, as heretiks & schismatiks, which disagreed from the Romane order: had not Ireneus otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the yeare of our Lord one hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the reigne of Commodus. Thus then began the vniformitie of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessarie, and all they accounted as heretiks and schismatiks, which dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome.

Anniuersarie ceremonies not to be required as a thing necessarie.

With Victor stood Theophilus bishop of Cesaria, Narcissus of Jerusalem, Ireneus of Lions, Palmas of Pontus, Bancchillus of Corinth, the bishop of Osroena, and others more. All which condescended to haue the celebration of Easter vpon the sunday, because they would differ from the Jewes in all things as neere as they might, and partly because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

Polycrates bishop of Ephesus.

On the contrary side diuers bishops were in Asia, of whom the principall was Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, who being assembled with a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parties, by the common assent of the rest, wrote againe to Victor, and to the church of Rome, declaring, that they had euer from the beginning obserued that day, according to the rule of scripture vnchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same. Alleaging moreouer for them the examples of the apostles and holy fathers their predecessors, as Philip the apostle, with his three daughters at Hierapolis: Also John the apostle, and euangelist at Ephesus, Polycarpus at Smyrna, Thraseas at Eumenia bishop and martyr, likewise of Sagaris at Laodicea bishop and martyr, holy Papirius & Melito at Sardis. Beside these bishops also of his owne kindred, and his owne ancestors, to the number of seuen which al were bishops before him, and he the eighth now after them. All which obserued (saith hee) the solemnitie of the same day, after the same wise and sort as we doe now.

Bishops in those dales maried.

Victor excommunicateth the churches of Asia.

Victor, being not a little moued herewith, by letters againe denounceth against them (more bold vpon authoritie, then wise in his commission) violent excommunication, albeit by the wise handling of Ireneus, and other learned men, that matter was staid, and Victor otherwise persuaded. What the persuasions of Ireneus were, partly may appeare in Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26. the sum whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the church of Christ, when as this varietie is not onely in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in diuers other vsages among the christians. For some fast one day, some two daies, some others fast more. Others there be, which counting fortie houres, both day and night, take that for a full daies fast. And this so diuers fashion of fasting in the church of Christ, began not onely in this our time, but was before among our forefathers. And yet notwithstanding, they with all this diuersitie were in vnitie among themselues, and so bee we; neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and such others, who neither obserued the same vsage themselues, nor prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept christian charitie with such as came to communicate with them, not obseruing the same forme of things which they obserued, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one vniforme custome of rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giuing reuerence vnto the other. Thus the controuersie, being taken vp betweene Ireneus and Victor, remained free to the time of Nicen councell. Hæc ex Iren. Eusebius. And thus much concerning the controuersie of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

Ireneus to Victor.

Diuersitie commendeth the concord of faith.

Zephirinus bishop of Rome.

After Victor succeeded in the see of Rome Zephirinus, in the daies of the foresaid Seuerus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and three. To this Zephirinus be ascribed two epistles, in the first tome of the councels. But as I haue said before of the decretall epistles of other Romane bishops: so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the stile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time, doth otherwise giue to thinke of these letters, but that they be verily ballard letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by some, which to set vp the primacie of Rome, haue most pestilently abused the authoritie of these holy and ancient fathers, to deceiue the simple church. For who is so rude, but that in considering only the state of those terrible times, may easilie vnderstand (except affection blind him) beside a number of other probable coniectures to lead him, that ỹ more persecuted bishops in that time, would haue been glad to haue any safe couert to put their heads in: so farre was it off, that they had any lust or leisure, then to seeke for any primacie or patriarchship, or to driue all other churches to appeale to the see of Rome, or to exempt all priests from the accusation of any laieman: as in the first epistle of Zephirinus is to be seene, written to the bishops of Sicilia, and likewise the second epistle of his to the bishops of the prouince of Egypt, containing no maner of doctrine, nor consolation necessarie for that time, but onely certaine rituall decrees to no purpose, argueth no lesse but the said epistles neither to sauor of that man, nor talk of the time.

The first epistle of Zephirinus to the bishops of Sicilia.

Patins of glasse borne before the priest.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patins of glasse, which Damasus saith that the same Zephirinus ordained to be caried before the priest, at the celebration of the masse. Againe Platina writeth that he ordained the ministration of the sacrament to be no more vsed in vessels of wood, or of glasse, or of any other metall, except onely siluer, gold, and tin, &c. But how these two testimonies of Damasus and Platina toyne together, let the reader iudge: especially seeing the same decree is referred to Urbanus, that came after him. Againe, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be stablished afterward in the councell of Tiber and Rhens, if it had been enacted before by Zephirinus? How long this Zephirinus sat, our writers do vary. Eusebius saith, he died in the reigne of Caracalla, & sat seuentene yeares. Platina writeth that he died vnder Seuerus, and sat eight yeares, and so saith also Nauclerus. Damasus affirmeth that he sat sixtene yeares and two noneths.

The ordinances of Zephirinus of small credit.

Golden chalices. Concilium Tiburstinum, Rhenense.

Mattheus author of the storie intituled Flores historiarum, with other latter chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Reuocatus, his brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the persecution of this Seuerus gaue ouer their liues to martyrdome for Christ, being throwne to wild beasts and deuoured of the same, in Carthage and in Afrike; saue that Saturninus brought againe from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secundulus died in prison about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth Florilegus.

Ex Florilego. Perpetua, Felicitas, Reuocatus, Saturninus, Satyrus, Secundulus, martyrs.

Seuerus warreth in Britain.

This Seuerus the persecutor reigned, as the most part of writers accord, the terme of eightene yeares, who about the latter time of his reigne came with his armie hither into Britain, where after many conflicts had with the Britains, in the borders of the north, he cast vp a ditch with a mightie wal made of earth and turffes, and strong stakes, to the length of one hundred thirtie and two miles from the one side of the sea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reached to the Scottish sea: which done, he remoued to Yorke, and there by the breaking in of the northern men & the Scots, was besieged and slaine, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and foureteene, leauing behind him two sonnes, Bassianus and Geta. Which Bassianus surnamed Caracalla, after hee had slaine his brother Geta here in Britain, gouerned the empire alone, the space of sir yeares. After whose death, he being slaine also of his seruants (as he had slaine his brother before) succeeded Macrinus with his son Diadumenus, to be emperor, who after they had reigned one yeare, were both slaine of their owne people.

A wall betweene England builded one hundreth fifteene and two miles in length.

Seuerus the persecutor slaine at Yorke.

Anno 215

Bassianus emperor. Macrinus with his sonne Diadumenus emperor.

Anno 219

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monster then a man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttonie, filthinesse, and ribaudrie. Such was his pompe, that in his lamps he vsed balme, & filled his fishponds with rose water. To let passe his sumptuous vestures which he would not weare but onely of gold, and most costly silkes: his shewes glittering with pretious stones finely ingraued, hee was neuer two daies serued with one kind of meate, he neuer wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickednesse, some daies his companie was serued at meale with the braines of ostriches, & a strange fowle called phenocoptery, an other day with the tongues of popingais, and other sweet singing birds. Being nigh to the sea, he neuer vsed fish: in places far distant from the sea, all his house was serued with most delicate fishes: at one supper hee was serued with seuen thousand fishes, and fiue thousand fowles. At his remouing in his progresse, often there followed him sir hundred chariots laden onely with bauds, common harlots, and ribauds. He sacrificed with yong children, and preferred to the best aduancements in the common weale most light personages, as bauds, minstrels, carters, and such like: in one word, he was an enemie to all honestie and good order. And when he was foretold by his sorcerers and astronomers, that he should die a violent death, he prouided ropes of silke to hang himselfe, swords of gold to kill himselfe and strong poyson in iacints, and emrauds to poison himselfe, if needs he must thereto be forced; moreouer hee made an high tower, hauing the floore of boords couered with gold plate, bordered with pretious stones from the which tower he would throw himselfe downe, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his prouision, he was slaine of the souldiers, drawen through the citie, and cast into Tiber after he had reigned two yeares and eight moneths, as witnesseth Eutropius others say foure yeares.

The monstrous life of Heliogabalus emperor.

A prodigious belliegod

Heliogabalus slaine of his souldiers. Ex Eutropio.

This Heliogabalus, hauing no issue, adopted to his sonne and heire Aurelius Alexander Seuerus, the sonne of Mammea, who entring his reigne the yeare of our Lord one hundred twentie and foure, continued thirteene yeares, well commended for vertuous, wise, gentle, liberall, and to no man hurtfull. And as hee was not vnlearned himselfe through,

Alexander Seuerus emperor.

Anno 224

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the diligent education of Mammea his mother, so he was a great fauourer of men wise and learned. Neither did hee any thing in the common weale, without the assistance of learned and sage counsellors. It is reported of him, to beare such stomacke against corrupt iudges, that when he chanced to meete with any of them, by the commotion of his minde he would cast vp choler, being so moued with them that he could not speake, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eies. From his court he dismissed all superfluous and vnnedfull seruants, saying, that he was no good pupill, which fed idle seruants with the bowels of his common weale.

Against corrupt iudges.

The saying of Alexander to be noted and followed.

Idle seruants eate vp the bowels of the common weale.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and fauorable vnto the christians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the christians had occupied a certaine publike place in some good vse, belike for the assembling and conuenting together of the congregation, the company of the cooks or tiplers made challenge of that place to belong vnto them. The matter being brought before the emperor, he iudged it more honest, the place to the worship of God, howsoeuer it were, then to the dirtie slubbering of cooks and scullians.

A note worthie to be marked.

By this it may be vnderstood, that in Rome no christian churches were erected vnto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this fauor of the emperor) no publike house could quietly be obtained for the christians. So that by the reason hereof may appeare the decretall epistle and ordinance of pope Higinus concerning the dedication of churches aboue mentioned to be falsified. And likewise the ordinance of Pius his successor, concerning the altar, or Superaltare to be also false. For what Superaltare was it like they had in the time of Higinus and Pius, when as at this time which was long after, no publike place almost could be granted them for the christians to assemble together?

Platina in vita Pontiani.

Of this Alexander Platina writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him, and bringeth in a storie of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people beleeue that he was of great authoritie with the emperor, and that he could helpe them to haue what soeuer they sued for. Whereof the emperor being certified, caused him in the open market to be fastened to a stake, and there killed with smoke, where the crier stood thus crying to the people: Smoke he sold, and with smoke he is punished.

Punished with smoke, that sold smoke.

Mammea, the mother of this Alexander aboue mentioned (whom Hierome calleth a deuout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origen, being then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antioch, desirous to heare and see him: vnto whom the foresaid Origen according to her request resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the emperour and his mother, returned againe to Alexandria.

Mammea the mother of the emperor.

And thus continued this good emperor his raigne the space of thirteene yeeres, at length at a commotion in Germanie, with his mother Mammea he was slaine. After whom succeeded Maximinus, contrarie to the mind of the senat, onely appointed by the souldiers to be emperor. During all this time betweene Seuerus and this Maximinus, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some meane tranquillitie from persecution. Albeit some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Nauclerus giueth this reason: For although (saith he) Alexander being perswaded through the intreating of his mother Mammea, did fauor the christians: yet notwithstanding, there was no publike edict or proclamation prouided for their safegard. By reason whereof, diuers there were which suffred martyrdome vnder Almachius and other iudges. In the number of whom after some stories, was Calixtus bishop of Rome, who succeded next vnto Zephirinus aboue mentioned; and after him Urbanus also, which both being bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, vnder Alexander Seuerus.

Ex Nauclero.

Calixtus bishop of Rome and martyr.

The decretall epistles of Calixtus examined

This Calixtus in his two decretall epistles, written to Benedictus, and to the bishops of France, giueth these ordinances, that no actions or accusations against the prelats or teachers of the church should bee receiued, that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops: item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate: also no bishop to excommunicate or to deale in an others diocesse. And here he expounded the diocesse, or the parish of any bishop or minister to bee his wife. The wife (saith the apostle) is bound to the law so long as the husband liueth: when he is dead, she is free from the law: so (saith Calixtus) the wife of a bishop (which is his church) so long as he liueth, is bound duely to him, neither ought to bee iudged or disposed by any other man, without his will and iudgement: after his death she is free from the law, to marrie to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is, Regulariter, regularly. In the end of the said his epistle decretall, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen, are not to be receiued againe. Which heresie after the time of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Nouatus, in the daies of Cornelius. Moreouer, in his said first epistle decretall, is conteined the fast of the foure times, commonly called the Ember fast, whereof also Marianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damasus speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of corne, wine, and oyle.

The place of S. Paul vnfitly expounded.

Ember fast first ordained.

By these hitherto premised, it is not hard for a quicke reader to smell out the craftie iugling of that person or persons whosoeuer they were, that falsely haue ascribed these decretall institutions to those holy fathers. For first, what leisure had the christians to lay in their accusations, against their bishops, when we neuer reade nor find in any storie any kinde of variance in those daies among them, but all loue, mutuall compassion, and hartie communion among the saints? And as wee read of no variance among the people in those daies, nor of any fault or backsliding among the bishops, who for the most part then died all constant martyrs: so neither doe wee read of any tribunall seate or consistorie vsed or frequented then about any such matters. Againe, if a man examine well the dangers of those busie daies, he shall see the poore flocke of the christians so occupied and pitiouslie oppressed by the cruell accusations of the heathen infidels, that though the cause did, yet the time would not serue them to commense any law against their bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against bishops, what conspiracie either would they then practise against them, which alwaies gaue their liues for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when neuer a true christian man durst once put his head out of his doores, neither was there in the church any christian man in those perillous daies, except he were a true man indeed, such as was far from all false conspiracies? And when as all the world almost in all places conspired against them: what time, what cause, or what heart trow yee could they haue to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that heresie, how standeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Nouatus the author of that heresie was after him in the time of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the law of Calixtus, euerie diocesse bee the proper wife of euery bishop or minister, then how many bishops loues, and parsons wiues had the adulterous pope of Rome defloured in these latter daies of the church, which so proudly and impudently hath intermedled and taken his pleasure and his owne profit, in euery diocesse and parish almost through all christendome, without all leaue and licence of the good man, who hath been in the meane time, and yet is compelled stil, whersoeuer the popes holinesse commeth, Vigilante stertere naso, and to giue him leaue vnasked, to doe what he lift? Wherfore if this canon decretal be truely his, why is it not obserued, so as it doth stand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsely forged vpon him, & the church of Christ deceiued? And certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions vnder the false pretense of antiquitie, either was begun in the church to deceiue the people: or that it hath remained so long vndetected. For as I thinke, the church of Christ will neuer bee perfectly reformed, before these decretall constitutions and epistles which haue so long put on the visor of antiquitie, shall be fullie detected, and appeare in their owne colour, wherein they were first painted.

Against the decretall epistles and constitutions.

And yet neither do I say this, or thinke contrarie, but that it may be, that bishops of Rome and of the same name haue béene the true authors of these traditions. But here commeth in the error (as I credible suppose) that when other latter bishops of the like name haue deuised these ceremoniall inuentions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitiue fathers, although being of an other time, yet bearing the same name with the true inuentors thereof. But of Calixtus enough: who as Damasus saith, in the daies of this Alexander Seuerus died a martyr. Vincentius affirmeth that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a window was throwen into a ditch. Eusebius speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdome, and saith hee sat fiue yeares, Platina saith fiue yeares, Sabellicus giueth him seuen yeares, and so doth Damasus.

Calixtus a martyr. *Ex. Vincen. in specul. hist.* *Ex Antonino tit. 7. cap. 6.*

After Calixtus followed Urbanus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred twentie and seuen, who in his epistle decretall (comming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all bishops, making no mention of the heauie persecutions of the church, nor ministring any exhortation of comfort or constancie to the brethren, onely giueth many strict precepts, for not transporting or alienating the goods of the church, and to pay truely their offerings, which they vow: also to haue all common among the clergie. Moreouer, about the end of his epistle he instituteth the confirmation of children after baptisme (which the papists be wont to take into the number of their seuen sacraments) affirming & denouncing more then scripture will beare, that the imposition of the bishops hand bringeth the Holy ghost, and thereby to be made full christians, &c. But of these decretall epistles inough is said before, more may be considered of the discréet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late storie writers doe hold as is afore said, that he died a martyr in the daies of Alexander Seuerus, after he had gouerned that seat foure yeares, as Damasus and Platina do witnesse, as Marianus saith, eight yeares.

Urbanus bishop of Rome. Anno 227

Confirmation of children instituted.

Urbanus martyred.

The same Damasus & Platina do testifie of him, that he by his preaching and holinesse of life conuerted diuers Ethnikes to the faith. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus the husband of Cecilia, which both being noble men of Rome,

Tiburtius, Valerianus, martyrs.

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Cecilia martyr. *Ex martyrologio Adonis.*

Rome, remained constant in the faith vnto the end and martyrdome. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the martyrologe by Ado, that Cecilia the virgin, after she had brought Valerian hir husband espoused, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and with hir exhortations had made them constant vnto martyrdome; after the suffering of them she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the idols to do sacrifice: which thing when she abhorred to doe, she should be presented before the iudge to haue the condemnation of death. In the meane time, the sergeants and officers which were about hir beholding hir comely beautie, and the prudent behauiour in hir conuersation, began with many persuasions of words to solicite hir mind to fauour hir selfe, & that so excellent beauty, and not to cast hir selfe away, &c. But she againe so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yeeld to that religion, which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiuing desired of the iudge Almachius a little respit: which being granted, she sendeth for Vrbanus the bishop home to hir house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they with diuers others at the same time baptised both men and women, to the number (as the storie saith) of foure hundred persons, among whom was one Gordianus a noble man. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the iudge where she was condemned; then after was brought to the house of the iudge, where she was inclosed in a hot bath, but she remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out againe, and commandement giuen that in the bath she should bee beheaded. The executor is said to haue foure strokes at her neck; and yet hir head being cut off, she (as the storie giueth) liued three daies after, and so died this holy virgin martyr, whose bodie in the night season Vrbanus the bishop take and buried among the other bishops. Ado the compiler of this martyrologe addeth that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. But that cannot be, for so much as Vrbanus by all histories was long after those emperors, and liued in the daies of this Alexander, as is aboue declared. Antoninus, Bergomensis, Equilinus, with such other writers set forth this historie with many strange miracles wrought by the said Cecilia, in conuerting hir husband Valerianus and his brother, in shewing them the angell which was the keeper of hir virginitie, and of the angell putting on crownes vpon their heads. But as touching these miracles, as I do not dispute whether they bee true or fabulous, so because they haue no ground vpon any ancient or graue authors, but taken out of certaine new legends, I doe therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

The martyrdome of Cecilia.

Under the same Alexander diuers others there be, whom Bergomensis mentioned to haue suffred martyrdome, as one Agapetus of the age of fifteene yeres, who being apprehended and condemned at Preneste in Italie, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundrie torments: first with whips scourged, then hanged vp by the feet, after hauing hot water poured vpon them, at the last cast to the wild beasts: with all which torments when he could not bee hurt, finallie, with sword was beheaded. The executor of these punishments (as by Henricus Erford may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who in the executing of the foresaid torments suddenly fell downe from his iudiciall seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gaue vp the breath. Henr. de Erfordia, lib. 6. cap. 29.

Agapetus a blessed martyr. *Ex Bergomense lib. 8.*

A notable example of Gods iust plague vpon a persecutor. *Ex Henr. Erfordiense lib. 6.*

Also with the same Agapetus is numbred Calepodius a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawen through the citie of Rome, and after cast into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Calepodius martyr.

Then followeth Pammachius a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of fortie and two.

Pammachius with his wife and children martyrs. Fortie and two martyrs.

Item, another noble senator of Rome named Simplicius, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged vp in diuers gates of the citie for a terror of others, that none should professe the name of Christ.

Simplicius martyr.

Besides these suffred also Quiritius a noble man of Rome, who with his mother Iulia and a great number more, were put likewise to death.

Quiritius, Iulia his mother, martyrs.

Also Tiberius and Valerianus citizens of Rome, and brethren, suffred (as Bergomensis saith) the same time, who first being buled and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Tiberius, Valerianus, brethren and martyrs.

Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Erfordiensis, make mention of Martina a christian virgin, which after diuers bitter punishments being constant in hir faith, suffered in like maner by the sword.

Martina a virgin and martyr.

Albeit as touching the time of these forenamed martyrs, as I find them not in older writers: so do I suppose them to suffer vnder Maximinus or Decius, rather then vnder Alexander.

The sixth persecution.

Maximinus emperor and persecutor. The sixth persecution.

Anno 237

After the death of Alexander the emperor, who with his mother Mammea (as is said) was murdered in Germanie, followed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the souldiers, rather then by the authority of the senat, about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred thirtie and seuen, who for the hatred he had to the house of Alexander (as Eusebius recordeth) raised vp the sixth persecution against the christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captaines of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose rather the martyrdome of Vrbanus the bishop, and of the rest aboue specified, to haue hapned vnder the tyrannie of this Maximinus then vnder Alexander. In the time of this persecution, Origen wrote his booke De martyrio: which booke if it were extant would giue vs some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, which now lie in silence vnknowen: and no doubt but a great number they were and more should haue been, had not the prouident mercie of God shortened his daies and bridled his tyrannie, for he reigned but three yeares. After whom succeeded Gordianus in the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fortie, a man no lesse studious for the vtilitie of the commonwealth, as mild and gentle to the christians. This Gordianus, after he had gouerned with much peace and tranquillitie the monarchie of Rome the space of six yeares, was slaine of Philip emperor after him.

Origenes de martyrio.

Gordianus emperor. Anno 240

In the daies of these emperors aboue recited, was Pontianus bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Vrbanus aboue rehearsed, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred thirtie and six, in the twelfth yere of Alexander, as Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth, declaring him to sit six yeares. Contrarie Damasus and Platina write, that he was bishop nine yeres and a halfe, and that in the time of Alexander, he with Philippus his priest was banished into Sardinia, and there died. But it seemeth more credible that he was banished rather vnder Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the reigne of Gordianus. In his epistles decretall (which seeme likewise to be fained) he appeareth very deuout after the common example of other bishops to vphold the dignitie of priests and of clergie men, saying; that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, & forgiueth their sins, and reconcileth them vnto him: also, that they do make the bodie of the Lord with their owne mouth, and giue it to others, &c: which doctrine how it standeth with the testament of God and glorie of Christ, let the reader vse his owne iudgement.

Pontianus bishop of Rome. Diuersitie betweene Damasus and Eusebius. Pontianus banished.

This doctrine seemeth derogatorie to Christ and blasphemous.

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised vp in the church, as Philetus bishop of Antioch, which succeeded after Asclepiades afore mentioned, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred and twentie, and after him Zebennus bishop of the same place, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred thirtie & one.

To these also may be added Ammonius the schoolmaster of Origen, as Suidas supposeth, also the kinsmen of Porphyrie the great enimie of Christ: notwithstanding, this Ammonius indued with better grace, as he left diuers bookes in defence of Christs religion, so did he constantly perseuere (as Eusebius reporteth) in the doctrine of Christ which he had in the beginning receiued, who was about the daies of Alexander.

Ammonius a christian writer.

Julius Aphricanus also about the time of Gordianus aforesaid, is numbred among the old and ancient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth to bee the scholar of Origen, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Julius Aphricanus writer.

Unto these doctors and confessors may be adioyned the storie of Natalius mentioned in the first booke of Eusebius. This Natalius had suffered persecution before like a constant confessor, who being seduced & perswaded by Asclepiodotus & Theodorus (which were the disciples of Theodocus) to take vpon him to bee bishop of their sect, promising to giue euery moneth an hundred and fiftie pieces of siluer, and so he ioyning himselfe to them, was admonished by vision & reuelation from the Lord, for such was the great mercy of God & of our Lord Christ Jesu, that he would not his martyr which had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his church: for the which cause (saith Eusebius) God by certaine visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honor, was at length all the night long scourged of the angels, in so much that he being made therby very sore, and early on the morrow putting on sackecloth, with much weeping & lamentation went to Zephirinus the bishop aboue mentioned, where he falling downe before him & all the christian congregation, shewed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be receiued into their communion againe, from which he had sequestred himselfe before, and so was admitted according as he desired.

Natalius, confessor. *Ex Euseb. libro 5. cap. 28.*

The Lord will not lose them which haue done or suffered any thing for him.

After the decease of Pontianus bishop of Rome afore mentioned, succeeded next in that place Anterius, of whom Isuardus writeth, that Pontianus departing away, did substitute him in his roome: but Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediatly after him. Damasus saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therfore he was put to martyrdome himselfe by Maximinus the iudge. Concerning the time of this bishop our writers do greatly iar. Eusebius and Marianus Scotus affirme that he was bishop but one moneth, Sabellicus saith that not to be so. Damasus assigneth to him twelue yeers & one moneth. Volateranus, Bergomensis, and Henricus Erford, giue to him three yeeres and one moneth. Nauclerus writeth that he sat one yeere and one moneth. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this bishop

Anterius bishop of Rome martyr.

Authors disagree.

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was Fabianus, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Hippolytus bishop and martyr.

Of Hippolytus also both Eusebius and Hieronymus maketh mention that he was a bishop, but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth Theodoretus witnesse him to be a bishop, and also a martyr, but naming no place. Gelatius contra Eutychen saith, hee died a martyr, & that he was bishop of an head city in Arabie. Nicephorus writeth, that hee was bishop of Ostia, a port towne neere to Rome. Certaine it is, hee was a great writer, and left many workes in the church, which Eusebius and Hierome do recite: by the supputation of Eusebius, he was about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred & thirty.

Prudentius Peristephan.

Prudentius in his Peristephanon, making mention of great heapes of martyrs buried by thēselues together, speaketh also of Hippolytus, and saith that hee was drawen with wild horses through fields, dales and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitifull storie.

Philippus emperor. Anno 246

Philippus the first christian emperor.

After the emperor Gordianus, the empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his son gouerned the space of seuen yeares, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred fortie and six. This Philippus with his son and all his familie was christened and conuerted by Fabianus and Origen, who by letters exhorted him and Seuera his wife to be baptised, being the first of all the emperors that brought in christianitie into the imperiall seat. Howsoeuer Pomponius Letus reporteth of him to be a dissembling prince, this is certaine, that for his christianitie he with his son was slaine of Decius one of his captaines. Sabellicus Bergomensis, lib. 8. sheweth this hatred of Decius against Philippus to be conceiued, for that the emperor Philip both the father and the son had committed their treasures vnto Fabianus then bishop of Rome.

The seuenth persecution.

Decius emperor. Anno 250

The seuenth persecution.

THus Philippus being slaine, after him Decius inuaded the crowne about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moued a terrible persecution against the christians, which Orosius noteth to be the seuenth persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant conceiued against the christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the emperor which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

The cause and occasion of this persecution.

Fabianus bishop of Rome.

Euseb. l. b. 6.

This Fabian first being a maried man (as Platina writeth) was made bishop of Rome after Anterius aboue mentioned by the miraculous appointment of God, which Eusebius doth thus describe in his sixth book. When the brethren (saith he) were together in the congregation about the election of their bishop, and had purposed among themselues vpon the nomination of some noble and worthie personage of Rome, it chanced that Fabianus among others was there present, who of late before was newly come out of the countrie to inhabit in the citie. This Fabian, as is said, thinking nothing lesse then of any such matter, suddenly commeth a doue flying from aboue, and sitteth vpon his head, whereupon all the congregation being moued, with one mind and one voice did chuse him for their bishop, in the which function he remained the space of thirteene yeares, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus say fourteene yeares vnto the time of Decius: who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treasures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his raigne caused him to be put to death, sending out moreouer his proclamation into all quarters, that all which professed the name of Christ should be slaine.

The miraculous election of Fabianus.

Fabianus martyr.

The ordinances of Fabianus pretended. Dyle and creame. Accusing of bishops. Appealing to the see apostolicall. Marriage not within the fifth degree.

To this Fabian be ascribed certaine ordinances, as of consecrating new oyle once euery yere, and burning the old, of accusations against bishops, of appealing to the see apostolike, of not marying within the fift degree, of communicating thrice a yeare, of offring euery sunday, with such other things more in his three epistles decretall: the which epistles, as by diuers other euidences may be supposed to be vntruely named vpon him, giuing no signification of any matter agreeing to that time: so doe I find the most part of the third epistle word for word standing in the epistle of Sixtus the third, which followed almost two hundred yeares after him, beside the vnseemely doctrine also in the end of the said epistles contained, where he contrarie to the tenor of the gospell applieth remission of sins (onely due to the blood of Christ) vnto the offrings of bread and wine by men and women euery sunday in the church.

Origen.

To this Fabianus wrote Origen De orthodoxia suæ fidei, that is, Of the righteousnes of his faith: wherby is to be vnderstood, that he continued to the time of Decius: some say also to the time of Gallus. Of this Origen partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold & feruent he was in the daies of Seuerus, in assisting, comforting, exhorting and kissing the martyrs that were imprisoned and suffred for the name of Christ, with such danger of his owne life, that had not been the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily to his house to bee catechised and instructed in the christian faith by him, that souldiers were hired of purpose to defend the place where he taught them. Againe, such search sometime was set for him, that vneth any shifting of place or countrie could couer him. In whose laborious trauels and affaires of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of fiftie two yeares, vnto the time of Decius and Gallus. Diuers and great persecutions he sustained, but especially vnder Decius, as testifieth Eusebius in his sixth booke, and declaring that for the doctrine of Christ he sustained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffred in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius recorded of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus following the same, saith further concerning him, that the said Origen after diuers and sundrie other torments which he manfully and constantly suffred for Christ, at length was brought to an altar, where a foule filthie Ethiop was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered vnto him, whether he would sacrifice to the Idol, or to haue his body polluted with that foule and vglie Ethiop. Then Origen (saith hee) who with a philosophicall mind euer kept his chastitie vndefiled, much abhorring that filthie villanie to bee done to his bodie, condescended to their request: whereupon, the iudge putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire vpon the altar: for the which impietie hee afterward was excommunicated of the church. Epiphanius writeth that he being vrged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the boughes in his hand, wherewith the heathen were wont to honor their gods, called vpon the christians to carie them in the honor of Christ. The which fact the church of Alexandria misliking remoued him from their communion: whereupon Origen driuen away with shame and sorrow out of Alexandria, went into Iurie, where being in Jerusalem among the congregation, and there requested of the priests and ministers (he being also a priest) to make some exhortation in the church, refused a great while so to doe. At length by importunate petition being constrained thereunto, rose vp, and turning the booke, as though he would haue expounded some place of the scripture, onely read the verse of the fortie ninth psalme; But God said to the sinner, why dost thou preach my iustifications, and why dost thou take my testament in thy mouth? &c. Which verse being read, he shut the booke, and sat downe weeping and waling, the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him. Suid. Niceph. More what became of Origen it is not found in histories, but onely that Suidas addeth, he died and was buried at Tyrus. Eusebius affirmeth, that hee departed vnder the emperor Gallus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred fiftie and fiue, and the seuentith yere of his age, in great miserie (as appeareth) and pouertie.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39.

The persecutions of Origen.

Ex Suida & Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 32.

The fall of Origen.

Origen excommunicated.

The repentance of Origen.

In this Origen diuers blemishes of doctrine bee noted, whereupon Hierome sometimes doth inueigh against him; albeit in some places againe he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his apologie against Ruff. and in his epistle to Pammachius and Ocean, where he praiseth Origen, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apostle, yet for an excellent interpretor, for his wit, and for a philosopher: and yet in his prologue vpon the homilies of Origen on Ezechiell, he calleth him another master of the churches, after the apostles. And in an other preface vpon his questions vpon Genesis, hee wisheth to himselfe the knowledge of the scriptures, which Origen had, also with the enuie of his name. Athanasius moreouer calleth him singular and laborious, and vseth also his testimonies against the Arians. Socrates, Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Blemishes noted in Origen.

Origen commended for his learning.

Ex Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 13.

After Origen, the congrue order of historie requireth next to speake of Heraclas his vsher, a man singularly commended for his knowledge, not onely in philosophie but also in all such faculties as to a christian diuine doe appertaine. This great towardnes of wit & learning when Origen perceiued in him, he appointed him aboue all others to be his vsher or vndertaker, to helpe in his schole or Vniuersitie of Alexandria in the reigne of Antoninus Caracalla sonne of Seuerus. And after in the tenth yeare of Alexander, Origen departing vnto Cesaria, he succeeded in his roome to gouerne the schole in Alexandria. Further also, in the time of Gordianus after the decease of Demetrius bishop of Alexandria, this Heraclas succeeded to be bishop of the said citie: Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which function he ministred the terme of thirteene yeres. Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas writeth Origen himselfe, that hee, although being priest, yet ceased not to read ouer and perusse the bookes of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their owne bookes confute their error, &c.

Heraclas bishop of Alexandria.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 29.

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius Alexandrinus in the bishoprike of Alexandria, like as he succeeded him in the schole before: which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas vnto Philemon a priest of Rome, thus saying; Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla papa nostro accepi, &c.: that is, This canon and type I receiued of blessed Heraclas, our pope, &c. This Heraclas was no martyr, which died three yeares before Decius about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fiftie. After whom succeeded next in the same seat of Alexandria Dionysius Alexandrinus, who also suffered much vnder the tyrannie of Decius, as hereafter shall be shewed (Christ willing) when we come to the time of Valerian.

Heraclas called pope, yet no bishop of Rome.

Anno 250

Nicephorus in his first booke, and others which write of this persecution vnder Decius declare the horriblenesse thereof to be

Ex Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 29.

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be so great and so innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith it is as easie to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this persecution did deuour. In the which persecuton the cheefest doers and tormentors vnder the emperor, appeere in the historie of Vincentius to be these: Optimus the vnder consull, Secundianus, Uerianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therefore it be hard heere to infer all and singular persons in order that died in this persecution, yet such as remaine most notable in stories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whose cause they suffred.

Persecutors.

Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, martyr.

In the former tractation of the first persecution, mention was made before of Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, and of his troubles suffred vnder Seuerus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed bishop of Hierusalem, where he continued a verie aged man aboue the terme of fortie yeeres gouernor of that church, till the time of the first yeere of Decius, at what time he being brought from Hierusalem to Cesarea into the iudgement place, after a constant and euident confession of his faith made before the iudge, was committed vnto prison, and there finished his life, as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the first booke of Eusebius. After whome succeeded in that seat Mezabanes the thirtie and first bishop of that citie, after Iames the apostle.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 41.

Asclepiades bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Ex specu. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52.

A place of Vincentius reprooued.

Mention was made also before of Asclepiades bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Seuerus did likewise perseuere a constant confessor, and as Vincent. testifieth in his eleuenth booke, suffred martyrdome at last vnder this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time, forsomuch as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, the said Asclepiades after Serapion, entred the bishops seat of Antioch, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and fourteene, & sat seuen yeeres before the time of Gordianus, after whom succeded Philetus, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred twentie & one, gouerning the function twelue yeeres. And after him Zebinus followed in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirtie and two, and so after him Babylas, which Babylas if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared.

Babylas bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Ex Chrysost. lib. contra Gentiles.

The storie of Babylas.

Of this Babylas bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that vnder Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander bishop of Hierusalem aboue rehearsed.

We read in a certeine treatise of Chrysostome, intituled Contra Gentiles, a notable and a long historie of one Babylas a martyr, who about these times was put to death for resisting a certeine emperor, not suffring him to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruell murder committed, the storie of which murder is this. There was a certeine emperor, who vpon conclusion of peace made with a certeine nation, had receiued for hostage or suretie of peace the sonne of the king being of yong and tender age, with conditions vpon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should euer be vexed of him. Upon this the kings sonne was deliuered not without great care & feare of the father vnto the emperor, whom the cruell emperor contrarie to promise, caused in short time without all iust cause to be slaine. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all hast would enter into the temple of the christians, where Babylas being bishop or minister, withstood him that he should not into that place approch. The emperor therwith not a little incensed, in great rage bade him forthwith to be laid in prison with as manie irons as he could beare, & from thence shortlie after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas going constantlie and boldlie to his martyrdome, desired after his death to be buried with his irons & bands, & so he was. The storie procedeth moreouer, and saith; that in continuance of time in the reigne of Constantinus, Gallus then made the ouerseer of the east parts, caused his bodie to be translated into the suburbs of Antioch called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with diuellish oracles and answers giuen by that idoll, or by the diuell rather in that place. In the which temple after the bringing of the bodie of Babylas, the idoll ceased to giue anie more oracles, saying, that for the bodie of Babylas hee could giue no more answers, but complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated vnto him, but now it was full of dead mens bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the comming of Julianus, who inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holie martyr to be remoued againe from thence by the christians, whom he then called Galileans. They comming in a great multitude both men, maidens, & children, to the tomb of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commandement of the emperor, singing by the waie as they went, the verse of the psalme in words as followeth; Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glorie in idols, &c. Which coming to the emperors ears, set him in great rage against the christians, stirring vp persecution against them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise, saying,

The bodie of Babylas stoppeth the oracles of idols.

Ex Zonara, tom. 3.

that so soone as the bodie of him & other martyrs were remoued awaie incontinent the temple of the idoll with the image, in the night was consumed with fire: for the which cause (saith Zonaras) Julian stirred vp with anger, persecuted the christians, as shall be shewed (Christ willing) in his order & place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the same Babylas bishop then of Antioch, or an other of the same name, it appeereth not by Chrysostome, which neither maketh mention of the emperors name, nor of the place where this Babylas was bishop. Againe, the stopping of the emperor out of the church importeth as much, as that emperor to haue bene a christian: for otherwise, if he had come in as an heathen and as a persecutor, it was not then the maner of christian bishops violentlie to withstand the emperors or to stop them out. Euer and beside the testimonie of Eusebius, Zonaras doth witnesse contrarie in his first booke, that this Babylas which was then bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison: wherefore it is not impossible, but this Babylas and this emperor which Chrysostome speaketh of, may be an other Babylas then that which suffered vnder Decius. Nicephorus in his fift booke maketh mention of an other Babylas beside this that suffred vnder Decius, which was bishop of Nicomedia.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39.

Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 25.

Babylas bishop of Nicomedia martyr.

Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52.

In the forenamed citie of Antioch, Vincentius lib. 11. speaketh of fortie virgins martyrs, which suffred in this persecution of Decius.

Fortie virgins martyrs.

Peter of Phrygia martyr.

In the countrie of Phrygia, and in the towne of Lampsar, the same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter which there was apprehended, & suffred bitter torments for Christs name vnder Optimus the proconsull. And in Troada likewise of other martyrs that there suffered, whose names were, Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionysia a virgin. Lib. 11. cap. 46.

Andreas, Paulus, Nicomachus, Dionysia virgin, martyrs.

Also in Babylon (saith he) diuers christian confessors were found of Decius which were led awaie into Spaine, there to be executed: Lib. eodem, cap. 43.

Martyrs of Babylon, Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, Vitalis, Polychronius, Nestor.

In the countrie of Cappadocia, at the citie of Cesarea, in like maner of the said author is testified of Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, and Vitalis, to suffer martyrdome for Christ. Eodem, cap. 52. and in the same booke mention also is made of Polychronius bishop of Babylon, cap. 89. and in Pamphilia of Nestor there bishop that died martyr, cap. 52.

At Perside in the towne of Cardala, Dimpiades & Maximus: in Tyrus also Anatolia virgin, and Audar gaue their liues likewise to death for the testimonie of Christs name.

Dimpiades, Maximus noble men. Anatolia virgin, Audar, martyrs.

Eusebius moreouer in his first booke reciteth out of the epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus, diuers that suffred diuerslie at Alexandria; the which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought heere good for the antientnesse of the author to insert and notifie in his owne words, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius bishop of Antioch, as followeth.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

The epistle of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria to Fabius.

This persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but began a whole yeere before, by the occasion and meanes of a wicked person, a southsaier, and a follower of wicked arts: who comming to our citie heere, stirred vp the multitude of the heathen against vs, and incited them to maintein their owne old superstition and gentilitie of their countrie, whereby they being set agog, and obteining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought and no lesse declared, all their pietie and religion to consist onelie in the idolatrous worship of diuels, and in our destruction. And first flying vpon a certeine priest of ours named Metra, apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speake after their wicked blasphemie, wich when he would not do, they laid vpon him with staues and clubs, and with sharpe reeds pricked his face and eies, & afterward bringing him out into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they tooke a faithfull woman called Quinta, & brought hir to the temple of their idols to compell hir to worship with them: which when she refused to doe, and abhorred their idols, they bound hir feet, & drew hir through the whole street of the citie vpon the hard stones, and so dashing hir against millstones, and scourging hir with whips, brought hir to the same place of the suburbs as they did the other before, where she likewise ended hir life. This done, in a great outrage and with a multitude running together, they burst into houses of the religious and godlie christians, spoiling, sacking, and carying awaie all that they could find of any price. The rest of things, such as were of lesse value and of wood, they brought into the open market and set them on fire. In the meane time the brethren voided aside, and withdrew themselues, taking patientlie and no lesse ioifullie the spoiling of their goods, then did they of whome S. Paul doth testifie: neither doe I know anie of them all (one onlie excepted) apprehended of them, which reuolting from his profession, denied the Lord yet to this present daie.

Metra, martyr.

Quinta a faithfull woman and martyr.

Patience and ioy in affliction. The constancie of the martyrs of Alexandria.

Among the rest that there were taken, there was a certeine virgin well stricken in yeeres named Apollonia, whome they brought forth, and dashing all hir teeth out of hir iawes, made a great fire before the citie, threatning to cast hir into the same, vnlesse she would blaspheme with them and denie Christ: whereat she staying a little with hir selfe as one that would take a pause, suddenlie leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

Apollonia a blessed virgin and martyr.

There was one also Serapion, whome they tooke in his owne house, and after they had assailed him with sundrie kinds of torments, and had broken almost all the ioints of his bodie, they cast him downe from an vpper loft, and so did he complet his

Serapion martyr.

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his martyrdome. Thus was there no way neither priuie nor publike, nor corner nor alley left for vs, neither by day nor by night to escape, all the people making an outcrie against vs, that vnlesse we vttered words of blaspheme, we should bee drawne to the fire and burned. And this outragious tumult indured a certaine space, but at length as the Lord would the miserable wretches fell at dissension among themselues, which turned the crueltie they exercised against vs vpon their owne heads. And so had we a little breathing time for a season, while the furie of the heathen people by this occasion all aged.

The first punishment of God turning the crueltie of aduersaries vpon themselues.

Shortly then after this, word was brought vnto vs of the state of the empire, which before was something fauourable to vs, to be altered and changed against vs, putting vs in great feare. And consequently vpon the same followed the edict of the emperor so terrible & cruell, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might haue been thereby subuerted. Vpon that edict such feare came ouer vs all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for feare came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawne by their neighbors being cited by name, to those impure and idolatrous sacrifices. Other some came trembling and shaking, as men not which should doe sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselues, the multitude laughing them to scorne. Some againe came boldly to the altars, declaring themselues neuer to haue been of that profession, of whom it is said, that hardly they shall bee saued. Of the residue, some followed one part, some an other, some ran away, some were taken; of whom certaine continued to bands and torments constant; others again after long imprisonment, before they should come before the iudge, renounced their faith. Some also after they suffered torments, yet after reuolted. But others being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillers of the Lord, fortified with constancie agreeing to their faith, were made faithfull martyrs of the kingdome of God.

Iulianus martyr.

Of whom the first was Iulianus, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to go, being caried of two men, of whom the one quickely denied; the other Cronion surnamed Eunus, with the foresaid Iulianus the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid vpon camels, and there scourged, at length cast into the fire, with great constancie were so consumed.

A certaine souldier martyr.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdome, there was a certaine souldier, who in their defence take part against them that railed vpon them. For the which cause the people crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and being constant in his profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Macar a blessed martyr.

Likewise one Macar, a man borne in Libia, being admonished and exhorted of the iudge to denie his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions was burned aliue.

Epimachus, Alexander, with foure women, martyrs.

After these suffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable paines and torments with razors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with foure other women with them, which all there ended their martyrdome.

Ammonarion virgin, martyr.

Also Ammonarion an holy virgin, whom the cruell iudge had long and bitterly tormented, for that shee promising the iudge before, that for no punishment she would yeeld to his request, and constantly performing the same, suffered likewise martyrdome, with two other women, of whom there was an aged matrone, named Mercuria, the other was called Dionysia, being a mother of many faire children, whom yet notwithstanding she loued not aboue the Lord. These after they could not be ouercome by any torments of the cruell iudge, but he rather ashamed and confounded to be ouercome of silly women, at length they being past feeling of all torments, were slaine with the sword, first Ammonarion like a valiant captaine suffering before them.

Mercuria, Dionysia, martyrs.

Heron, Ater, Isidorus, Dioscorus, martyrs.

Heron, Ater, and Isidorus Egyptians, and with them Dioscorus, also a child of fifteene yeares, were crowned with the same crowne of martyrdome. And first the iudge began with the child, thinking him more easie to bee won, with words to intice him, then with torments to constraine him: but hee persisted immoueable, giuing neither place to persuasions nor punishments. The rest, after he had grieuously tormented being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. At Dioscorus the iudge greatly marueling for his wise answeres and graue constancie dismissed him, sparing (as he said) his age to a longer respit: which Dioscorus is yet also with vs at this present, waiting for a longer triall.

Nemesion martyr. Theeues in the old time amongst the Romans burned.

Nemesion being also an Egyptian, first was accused for a companion of theeues, but being purged thereof before the centurion, was then accused of christianitie, and for that cause being in bands, was brought to the president, who most vnrighteously tormenting and scourging him double to all other theeues and fellons; at length among the theeues burned him to death, making him a blessed martyr.

Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, Theophilus. martyr confessors.

There were standing before the tribunall seat certaine of the warriers or knights, whose names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, and with them a certaine aged man called Theophilus, who standing by, at what time a certaine christian man was before the iudge examined, and there seeing him for feare ready to incline and fal away, did burst almost for sorrow within themselues, making signes to him with their hands, and all gestures of their bodie, to be constant. This being noted of all the standers by, they were readie to lay hold vpon them, but they preuenting the matter, prested vp of their owne accord before to the bench of the iudge, professing themselues to be christians. In so much that both the president with the benchers were all astonied, the christians which were iudged, more imboldened to suffer, and the iudges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and reioycing for the testimonie that they had giuen of their faith. Many other besides were in other cities and townes rent and torne asunder by the heathen, among whom one I will speake of for cause worthie of memorie.

A notable example of a christian courage in confessing Christ.

Ischirion martyr.

Ischirion, one that was in seruice with a certaine noble man, was commanded of his master to make sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after persisting in the same, was grieuously threatened with sharpe and menacing words. At last his master, when he could not preuaile against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

Cheremon, martyr. Cheremon, a bishop had a wife.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickneſſe, theeues, or wild beasts, of whole blessed victorie they which be aliue are yet witnesses? In the number of whom, one I will speake of, among diuers others, named Cheremon bishop of the citie called Nilus, an aged man; he with his wife flying to the mountaine of Arabia, neuer returned againe, nor euer could be seene after. And though they were sought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found: many others there were, which flying to these mountaines of Arabia, were taken of the barbarous Arabians: of whom some with much money could scarce be ransomed, some were neuer heard of yet to this present day. Thus much out of the epistles of Dionysius in Euseb. lib.6.cap.41.42.,&c.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

The epistle of Dionysius Alexandrinus, to Germanus.

Moreouer, the foresaid Dionysius in an other place writing to Germanus, of his owne dangers and of others, sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: I (saith he) behold before the sight of God, I lie not, and he knoweth, I lie not, how that I hauing no regard of mine owne life, and not without the motion of God, did flie and auoid the danger of this persecution. Yea and also before that this persecution of Decius did rage against vs, Sabinus the same houre sent a farmer to seeke me, at what time I remaining at home waited three daies for his comming. But he searching narowly for me by all waies, fields, flouds, and corners, where he thought I might best haue hid my selfe, or to haue passed by, was stricken with such blindnes, that he could not find my house, thinking with himselfe nothing lesse then ỳ I would abide at home in such so dangerous persecution. Thus these three daies being past, vpon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to flie, and also marueilously opening to me the way, I with my * children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of my selfe, but to be the worke of Gods prouidence, the sequell of those things declared, wherein afterward I was not vnprofitable peraduenture to some, &c.

This Germanus was a bishop in that time, which charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himselfe. God willed Dionysius to flie in persecution.

* Ergo bishops then had wiues and children.

Againe in another place shortly after, the foresaid Dionysius proceeding in the narration of himselfe, thus inferreth: Then I comming to Ierusalem with them which were with me, was brought by souldiers vnto Taposiris, where as Timotheus (by the prouidence of God) neither was present, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his house desert, and officers watching about the same, and vs within taken, &c. And againe shortly after it followeth: And to see (saith hee) the admirable disposing of God his workes; as Timotheus was thus flying with much haste and great feare, a certaine man, as happened, a dweller neere by met him by the way, and asked whither he went so hastily? to whom Timotheus answering declared al the matter simplie as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on his iourny, whither he was purposed to go, which was to a marriage, the maner of which mariages then was to sit vp all the night long feasting and drinking. Thus as he was come sitting with them at the feast, he telleth his companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forthwith vpon a head, as stricken with a sudden furie rushing out togither, made toward vs as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seeme very terrible. At the first hearing whereof, the souldiers that had vs in keeping, being afraid ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying vpon formes and benches. I then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my selfe that they had been theeues, which came to spoile and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt onely as I was, the rest of my garments lying by me, I offered to them: they then willed me in all hast to rise and get away, whereby I then perceiuing the cause of their comming, cried vnto them, desiring that they would suffer vs so to doe: and if they would do any benefit for me, for so much as I could not escape the hands of them which would pursue me and carie me away, I prayed them that they would preuent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus vnto them, calling my selfe grouelling vpon

The prouidence of God in preserving his.

The storie of the deliuerance of Dionysius and his followes.

the

Dionysius, Gaius, Faustus, Petrus, Paulus deliuered from the centurion and the souldiers.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. lib. 7. cap. 11.

the pauement as my companions can testifie, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking mee by the hands and feet, and caried me out of the doores, and led me away. There followed me Gaius, Faustus, Petrus, Paulus (who were witnesses of all the same) which brought me also out of the citie, and so setting me vpon a bare asse, conueied me away. Thus much writeth Dionysius of himselfe, the example of whose epistle is cited in the ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 40. also Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Ex Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 27.

Nicephorus in his first booke, cap. 27. maketh mention of one named Christophorus, which also suffered in this persecution of Decius. Of which Christophorus, whether the fable riseth of that mightie giant set vp in churches, wading through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking staffe, &c: it is vncertaine. Georgius Wicelius alleageth out of Ruggerus Fuldens. and mentioneth of one Christophorus, borne of the nation of Cananites, which suffred vnder Decius, being, as he saith, of twelue cubits high. But the rest of the historie painted in churches the said Wicelius derideth as fables of Centaurus, or other poeticall fictions.

Christophorus martyr. The fable of great S. Christopher.

Bergomensis in his eight booke maketh relation of diuers martyred vnder Decius, as Meniatus which suffered at Florens, of Agatha an holy virgin of Sicile, who is said to suffer diuers & bitter torments vnder Quintilianus the proconsul, with prisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking, rolled also vpon sharpe shels and hote coles, hauing moreouer hir breests cut from hir bodie, as Bergomensis and the martyrologe of Ado record. In the which authors as I deny not but that the rest of the storie may be true, so againe concerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to hir, & of the yong man clothed in a silken vesture, with an hundred yong men after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, Mentem sanctam, &c: I doubt.

Meniatus, Agatha, martyrs. *Ex Bergomens. lib. 8.* *Ex Martyrologio Adonis.*

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this persecution, when as whole multitudes went into wildernesses & mountaines, wandring without succour or comfort, some starued with hunger and cold, some with sicknesse consumed, some deuoured of beasts, some with barbarous theeues taken and carried away. Vincentius in his eleuenth booke speaking of Asclepiades, writeth also of fortie virgins and martyrs, which by sundrie kinds of torments were put to death about the same time, in the persecution of this tyrant.

Martyrs wandring in mountaines.

Likewise in the said Vincentius, mention is made of Triphon, a man of great holinesse, and constant in his suffering, who being brought to the citie of Nice, before the president Aquilus for his constant confession of Christs name, was afflicted with diuers and grieuous torments, and at length with the sword put to death.

Fortie virgins martyrs. Triphon martyr.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the citie of Ephesus, compelling al that were in the city there, to sacrifice to the idols: Seuen christians were found, whose names were Maximianus, Malchus, Martianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, and Constantinus, who refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same vnto the emperor to be christians. Which when they constantly professed and did not deny, notwithstanding, because they were souldiers, retaining to the emperors seruice, respit was giuen them for a certaine space, to deliberate with themselues, till the returne againe of the emperor, which then was going to war. In the meane space, the emperor being departed, they taking counsell together, went and hid themselues in secret caues of the mount Celius. The emperor returning againe, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed vp with heaps of stones, that they not able to get out, should bee famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The storie (if it bee true) goeth further, that they betweene feare and sorrow fell asleepe, in which sleepe they continued the space of certaine ages after, til the time of Theodosius the emperor, before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus, lib. 5. cap. 27; and partly also Henricus Erfordiens. But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list beleeue it. Certaine it is, that at the last day they shall awake in deed without any fable.

Maximianus, Malchus. Martinianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, Constantinus, seuen martyrs.

The fable of the awaking of these seuen martyrs. *Ex Vincent. Nicepho. Erfordiens.*

Hieronymus in the life of Paulus the heremite reciteth a story of a certain souldier, whom when the prætor could not otherwise with torments remoue from his christiantie; he deuised another way, which was this: he commanded the souldier to be laid vpō a soft bed in a pleasant garden among ỹ flourishing lilies and red roses; which done, all others being remoued away, and himselfe there left alone, a beautifull harlot came to him, who imbracing him, and with all other inticements of an harlot laboured to prouoke him to hir naughtinesse. But the godly souldier fearing God more then obeying flesh, bit off his owne tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was killing him, and so got hee the victorie, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.

A souldier martyr. *Ex Hieron. in vita Pauli Eremitæ.* A notable example of a chast souldier biting off his tongue, & spitting it in the face of an harlot.

An other like example of singular chastitie is written of the virgin Theodora, and an other souldier, by Ambrose lib. 2. de Virginibus. At Antioch, this Theodora refusing to do sacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the iudge to the stewes, which notwithstanding by the singular prouidence of God was well deliuered. For as there was a great companie of wanton yong men readie at the doore to presse into the house where she was, one of the brethren, named Didimus (as Ado saith) moued with faith and motion of God, putting on a souldiers habit, made himselfe one of the first that came in, who rounding hir in the eare, told hir the cause and purpose of his comming, being a christian as she was: his counsell was that she should put on the souldiers habit, and so slip away; and he putting on hir garments would there remaine to abide their force. And so did, whereby the virgin escaped vnknowne. Didimus left vnto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man in stead of a woman, was presented vnto the president, vnto whom without delay he vttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing him so as he was, to bee a christian, and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora vnderstanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing hir selfe, offered hir selfe as the partie guiltie vnto the iudge, claming and requiring the condemnation to light vpon hir, the other as innocent to be discharged. But the cruell iudge (crueller then Dionysius, which spared Damon and Pithias) neither considering the vertue of the persons, nor the innocencie of the cause, vntuskly and inhumanely proceeded in execution against them both, who first hauing their heads cut off, after were cast in the fire: Ambros. Ado. Although what time, or in what persecution these did suffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appeare.

Theodora, Didimus, martyrs.

Agathon a man of armes in the citie of Alexandria, for rebuking certaine lewd persons, scornefullie deriding the dead bodies of the christians, was cried out of and railed on of the people; afterward accused to the iudge, was condemned to lose his head. Erfordiensis.

Agathon, martyr.

The said Erfordiensis also maketh mention of Paulus, and Andreas, whom the proconsull of Troada gaue to the people, being scourged, and after drawne out of the citie, they were troden to death with the feet of the people. Hen. de Erford.

Paulus, Andreas, martyrs.

Among others that suffered vnder this wicked Decius, Bergomensis also maketh mention of one Iustinus a priest of Rome, and of an other Nicostratus a deacon. To these Vincentius also addeth Portius a priest of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the conuerter of Philip the emperor afore mentioned.

Iustinus, Nicostratus, Portius, martyrs.

Of Abdon and Sennas we read also in the foresaid Bergomensis and Vincentius, two noble men, who because they had buried the christians, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Cordoua, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to Decius, and brought to Rome, where they being commanded to sacrifice to dead idols, would not obey, and for the same were giuen to the wilde beasts to bee deuoured: but when the wild beasts more gentle then the men would not touch them, they were at length with the sword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to me it seemeth not vnpossible nor vnlike, this Abdon and Sennas to be the same, whom in other stories we find, and before haue mentioned to be Ammon and Zenon.

Abdon, Sennas, martyrs.

One Secundianus was accused to Valerian a captaine of Decius, to be a christian, which profession when he stoutly did maintaine, was commanded to prison. By the way as the souldiers were leading him to the gaile, Verianus and Marcellianus seeing the matter, cried to the souldiers, asking them whither they drew the innocent: At the which word when they also confessed themselues to bee christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a citie named Centumcellas: where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit vpon the idols, and so after sentence and iudgement giuen, first they were beaten with wasters or trunchions, after that were hanged and tormented vpon the gibbet, hauing fire set to their sides. Vincentius addeth moreouer that the tormentors some of them falling suddenly dead, other some being taken with wicked spirits, the martyrs with the sword at length were beheaded. Vinc. lib. 11. cap. 51.

Secundianus, Verianus, Marcellianus, martyrs. *Ex Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 51.*

To prosecute in length of history the liues and sufferings of all them, which in this terrible persecution were martyred, it were too long, and almost infinit; briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we find alleaged out of a certaine briefe treatise of Bede intituled De temporibus, cited by Henricus de Erford, it shall bee at this time sufficient. Vnder Decius suffered Hippolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria a virgine, being noble personages of Antioch, Bellias bishop of the citie of Apollonia, Leacus, Tirsus, and Gallinetus, Nazanzo, Triphon in the citie of Egypt called Tanais, Phileas bishop, Philocomus, with many other in Perside, Philetonius bishop of Babylon, Thesiphon bishop of Pamphilia, Nestor bishop in Corduba, Parmenius priest with diuers more. In the prouince called Colonia, Circensis, Marianus and Jacobus. In Africa, Nemesianus, Felix, Rogatianus priest, Felicissimus. At Rome Iouinus, Basileus, also Rufina, and Secunda virgins, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemesius, Sempronianus, and Olympius. In Spaine, Teragon. At Verona, Zeno bishop. At Cesarea, Marinus and Archemius. In the towne of Milaine Priuatus bishop, Theodorus surnamed Grecorius bishop of Pontus. Hæc Beda.

Ex lib. Bedæ de Temporibus, citante Henrico de Erfordia. A briefe catalogue of diuers which suffered vnder Decius. *Ex Beda.*

Vincentius in his eleuenth booke maketh mention, citing Ex Hugone, of certaine children suffering martyrdome vnder the

Children martyrs. *Ex Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52.*

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the same persecution, in a citie of Tuscia called Aretium, whose names I find not, except they be Pergentius and Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus, lib. 5. cap. 80.

Such as revolted and fell in this persecution.

Now that I haue recorded of them sufficiently, which vnder this tempest of Decius constantly gaue their liues to martyrdome for the testimonie of Christ: it remaineth, that a few words also be spoken of such that for feare or frailty in this persecution did shrinke and slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first commeth in the remembrance of Serapion an aged old man. Of whom writeth Dionysius Alexandrinus vnto Fabius, declaring: that this Serapion was an old man, which liued amongst them a sincere and vpright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many times desired to bee receiued againe, but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this, not long after he fell into sicknesse, where hee remained three daies dumbe, and benummed of all senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recouer, hee called to him his sisters sonne, and said How long, how long (my sonne) do ye hold me here? Make hast I pray you that I were absolued. Call hither some of the ministers to me: and so saying no more, held his peace as dumbe and speechlesse. The boy ran, it was then night, vnto the minister, who at the same time being sicke, could not come with the messenger, but said: For so much as he willed heretofore (as he said) that such as lay a dying, if they couet to be receiued and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence: therefore he gaue to the boy a little of the * eucharist, willing him to crumble it into the cup, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy eucharist. As he was now neere at hand before hee had entred in, Serapion the old man, speaking againe: Commest thou (said he) my sonne? The priest, quoth the messenger, is sicke and can not come, but doe as he willeth you, and let me goe. And the boy immired the eucharist, and dropt it in softly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had tasted a little, immediately gaue vp the ghost, &c. Hæc Dionys. ex. Euseb.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44.

* Note here the sacrament to be called the eucharist, and not the body of Christ.

The holy eucharist in time of great need & distresse committed to a boy.

The repentance and reconciliation of Serapion.

In the citie of Troad, as the proconsul was grieuously tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out that he was no christian, and so was let downe againe. And when after he had sacrificed, he was taken eftsones with a wicked spirit, and so throwne downe vpon the ground, where hee biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed. Hen. de Erford.

The goodnes of God shewed to Serapion. Ex Henr. de Erford.

A terrible example of denying, shewed vpon Nicomachus. Dyonisius ad Fabium.

Dionysius in his epistles also writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terrour of this persecution declareth how that many worthie and notable christians, for feare and horror of the great tyranny therof, did shew themselues feeble & weake men. Of whom some for dread, some of their owne accord, others after great torments suffred, yet after reuolted from the constancie of their profession. Also saint Cyprian in his treatise De lapsis reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth, how that a great number at the first threatning of the aduersarie, neither being compelled nor throwne downe with any violence of the enemie, but of their voluntarie weakenesse, fell downe themselues. Neither (saith he) tarying while the iudge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, turned their backes, and played the cowards; not only comming to their sacrifices, but preuenting the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreouer their infants and children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their owne accord, and exhorting moreouer others to do the like after their example.

Cyprianus Serm. de lapsis.

The weakenesse of christians denying their faith.

Of this weakenesse and falling, the said author sheweth two causes, either loue of their goods and patrimonie, or feare of torments: and addeth moreouer examples of the punishments of them which reuolted; affirming that many of them were taken and vered with wicked spirits; and of one man among other, which after his voluntarie dentall, suddenly was stricken dumbe. Againe, an other after his abiuration, as hee should communicate with others, in stead of bread receiued ashes in his hand. Item, of a certaine maiden, who being taken & vered with a spirit, did teare her own tongue with her teeth, & tormented with paine in her belly & inward parts so deceased.

Examples of God his punishment after denial. S. Cyprian de lapsis.

Among others of this sort, S. Cyprian. lib. 2. cap 8. maketh also mention of one Euaristus a bishop in Africa, who leauing his charge, and making shipwracke of his faith, went wandring about in other countries, forsaking his owne flocke. In like maner he maketh also mention of Nicostratus a deacon, who forsaking his deaconship, and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries, &c. Albeit Bergomensis giueth that this Nicostratus the deacon afterward died a martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there was, whom neither feare could remoue, nor paine could ouerthrow to cause them to betray their confession, but that they stood like glorious martyrs vnto the end. Cyprian.

Cyprian. lib. de mortalitate.

The same Cyprianus also in an other booke De mortalitate, reciteth a notable story of one of his owne collegues and fellow priest, who being oppressed with weakenesse, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leaue to depart, and to be discharged. As hee was thus intreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a yong man, of an honorable and reuerend maiestie, of a tall stature, and comely behauiour, so bright and cleare to behold, that scarce mans carnall eyes were able so to doe, which was now readie to depart this world. To whom this yong man speaking with a certaine indignation of minde and voice, thus said: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To suffer ye dare not, to goe out ye will not, what would ye me to doe vnto you?

A notable voice of God to a priest of Carthage.

Upon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose vp first the quarrell and heresie of Nouatus, who in these daies made a great disturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for feare of torments had offered incense to the idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the church of Christ. This Nouatus being first priest vnder Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by stirring vp discord and factions, began to disturbe the bishoprike of Cyprian, to appoint there a deacon called Felicissimus, against the bishops mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certaine of the brethren from the bishop; all which Cyprian, lib. 2. epist. 8. doth well declare. After this the said Nouatus going to Rome, kept there the like stirre with Cornelius (as the same Cornelius in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. doth testifie) setting himselfe vp as bishop of Rome against Cornelius, which was the lawfull bishop of Rome before. The which to bring to passe, hee vsed this practise. First he had allured to him to bee his adherents, three or foure of good men and holy confessors, which had suffered before great torments for their confession, whose names were Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this he enticed three simple bishops about the coasts of Italie to repaire to Rome, vnder pretence to make an end of certaine controuersies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them drunke, or by other craftie counsell, to lay their hands vpon him, and to make him bishop, and so did. Wherefore the one of those three bishops hardly was reconciled to the communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two by discipline of the church were displaced from their bishoprikes, and others possessed with their romes. Thus then were there two bishops together in one church of Rome, Nouatus and Cornelius, which was vnseemely, and contrarie to the discipline of the church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of saint Cyprian, writing in his epistles so much of one bishop, and of the vnitie to be kept in ecclesiasticall regiment, as appeareth, Lib. 4. epist. 2. de simplicitate prælat. Item lib. 3. epist. 11, &c. And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himselfe of one bishop, saying: Itaque vindex ille euangelij, ignorauit vnum esse debere episcopum in catholica ecclesia, &c: that is, He knew not that there ought to bee one bishop in a catholike church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I trust, I haue touched briefly, to detect or refute the caulling wrestling of the papists, which falsely applie these places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintaine the popes supreme mastership alone, ouer the whole vniuersall church of Christ in all places; when their meaning is otherwise, how that euery one catholike church or diocesse ought to haue one bishop ouer it, not that the whole world ought to be subiect to the dominion of him onely that is bishop of Rome. Now to the storie againe. Nouatus being thus bishop tooke not a little vpon him, going about by all meanes to defeate Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. In so much that (as in the foresaid booke of Eusebius appeareth) when Nouatus came to the distributing of the offerings, and should giue euery man his part, hee compelled the simple persons euery man to sweare, before they should receiue of the benediction, and of the collects or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long, speaking these words vnto them (Sweare to me by the body and blod of our Lord Iesu Christ, that thou wilt not leaue me and goe to Cornelius) till that they swearing vnto him, in stead of amen (to bee said at the receiuing of the * bread) should answere, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. Where note by the way, that the Latine booke of Christoforsons translation, in this place, craftily leaueth out the name of bread. This storie being written in Eusebius, also contained in Nicephorus, although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawne out of him, doth declare in plaine words in both the authors (who so will marke the same) that the sacrament of the body of Christ is tearmed with the plaine name of bread, after the consecration.

The occasion and rising vp of Nouatus heresie.

Cornelij epist. ad Fabium, Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

* Note here the sacrament of the body to be called bread. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. Nicepho. lib. 6. cap. 3.

The Latine translation of Eusebius corrupted by Christoforson. lib. 6. cap. 42.

It followeth more in the storie, that Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiuing at length the craftie dissimulation and arrogancie of Nouatus, left him, and with great repentance returned againe to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius, as they themselues writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an epistle gratulatorie doth declare: lib 3. epist. 3. and Cornelius also in his epistle to Fabius witnesseth the same. In this epistle the said Cornelius moreouer writeth of one Moses a worthie martyr, which once being a follower also of Nouatus, after perceiuing his wickednesse forsoke him, & did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth

Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus, confessors. Ex Cypri. lib. 3. epist. 3.

Moses martyr.

The meaning of Cyprian opened, writing of one bishop onely to gouern in a catholike church falsly wrested of the papists for the papasie. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

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leth him a blessed confessor. lib. 2. epist. 4. Damasus in his pontificall saith, that he was apprehended with Marinus and Nicostratus aboue mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life. And thus much of Nouatus, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a synod was holden at Rome of three score sundrie bishops in the time of Cornelius, and vnder the reigne of Decius, in the yere of our Lord two hundred fiftie & fiue; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

A synod at Rome.

Anno 255.

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Flauianus) next succeeded into the bishoprike of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthie bishop, & for his great vertue and maidenlie continencie much commendable, chosen to that rome, not so much of his own consent, as of the full agreement both of the clergiemen, and also of the people. Hierome addeth also that he was a man of great eloquence: whereby it may appeare those two epistles decretall, which go in his name not to be his, both for the rudenesse of the barbarous & grosse stile, and also for the matter therein conteined, nothing talking of that time, nor of that age nor doings then of the church. Whereof in the first he writeth to all ministers and brethren of the church, concerning the lifting vp of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul, De cathecumbis, & transposed to Vaticanum, at the instance of a certaine deuout woman named Lucina, hauing no great argument or cause to write thereof vnto the churches, but onelie that he in that letter doth desire them to pray vnto the Lord, that through the intercession of those apostolicall saints, their sinnes might be forgiuen them, &c. In the second epistle writing to Rufus a bishop of the East church, he decreeth and ordeineth that no oth ought of be required or exacted of any head or cheefe bishop, for any cause, or by any power. Also that no cause of priests or ministers ought to be handled in any strange or forreine court, without his precinct, except onelie in the court of Rome by appellation: whereby who seeth not the traine of our latter bishops, going about craftilie to aduance the dignitie of the court of Rome, vnder and by the pretensed title of Cornelius, and of ancient bishops? If Cornelius did write any epistles to any indeed in those so turbulent times of persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would haue touched in the said his letters, either in ministring consolation to his brethren, or in requiring consolation and praiers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would haue giuen some touch also of the matter of Nouatus, with whom he had so much to doe; as in deed he did: for so we find it recorded both in Eusebius, and in Hierome, that he wrote vnto Fabius bishop of Antioch, of the decrements of the councell of Rome, and an other letter of the maner of the councell; the third also of the cause of Nouatus, and againe of the repentance of such as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in these foresaid epistles decretall.

Cornelius bishop of Rome, and martyr.

Bishops were chosen then not without the voice of the people.

A censure of the decretall epistles of Cornelius.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Nouatus, sufficientlie is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himselfe verie constantlie and faithfully, which susteined great conflicts with the aduersaries, as saint Cyprian giueth witnesse, li. 1. epist. 1. Hierome testifieth that he remained bishop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, and so appeareth also by saint Cyprian, which hath these words: Et tyrannum armis & bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicit. But Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers, affirme that he was both exiled & also martyred vnder the tyrannous reigne of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this storie, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and saith: that Cornelius by the commandement of Decius, was banished a towne called Centumcellas, bordering in Hetruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian againe to him. This comming to the eares of Decius the emperor, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him: how he durst be so bold to shew such stubbornesse, that he neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his princes, durst against the commonwealth giue and receiue letters from others? To whom Cornelius answering againe, thus purged himselfe, declaring to the emperor, that letters indeed he had written and receiued againe concerning the praises and honoring of Christ, and of saluation of soules, but nothing as touching any matter of the common wealth. And it followeth in the storie: Then Decius moued with anger commanded him to be beaten with plumbats (which, as saith Sabellicus, a kind of scourging) and so to be brought to the temple of Mars: either there to doe sacrifice, or to suffer the extremitie. But he rather willing to die, then to commit such iniquitie, prepared himselfe to martyrdome, being sure that hee should die. And so commending the charge of the church vnto Stephanus his archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faithfull martyrdome. Eusebius in one place saith that he sat two yeres, in an other place he saith that he sat three yeres, and so doth Marianus Scotus, following also the diuersitie of the said Eusebius. Damasus giueth him onlie two yeres.

The constancie of Cornelius in his triall.

Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 1.

Cornelius accused for writing letters to Cyprian.

Plumbatis cædi.

Cornelius martyred.

In this foresaid persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished: but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reigne of Gallus next emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in this place hereafter. In the meane time the said Cyprian in his second booke, epist. 5. & 6. maketh mention of two that suffered either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthie and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his confession, which he neuer denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the aduersarie till he was banished, and also after: and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certaine brethren to haue him for their lectorer, as in the forenamed epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who in the date before he suffered, declaring to the proconsull in the midst of his torments, and saying; Videbis cras agonem: that is, To morrow you shall see the running for a wager, &c: was brought forth, according as he foresaid, to martyrdome, and there with no lesse constancie then patience did suffer.

Aurelius martyr.

Mappalicus martyr.

And thus much of the tyrannie of this wicked Decius against God his saints. Now to touch also the power of God his vengeance and punishment against him. Like as we see commonlie a tempest that is vehement, not long to continue: so it hapned with this tyrannicall tormentor, who reigning but two yeres, as saith Eusebius, or three at most, as writeth Orosius, among the middle of the Barbarians with whom he did warre was there slaine with his sonne, like as he had slaine Philippus and his sonne his predecessors before. so was he with his sonne slaine by the righteous iudgement of God himselfe. Eusebius lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius affirmeth that he warring against the Gothians, and being by them ouercome, lest he should fall into their hands, ran into a whirlepit, where he was drowned, and his bodie neuer found after.

The death and destruction of Decius.

Orosius lib. 4. cap. 14.

Neither did the iust hand of God plague the emperor onlie, but also reuenged as well the heathen Gentils and persecutors of his word throughout all prouinces and dominions of the Roman monarchie, amongst whom the Lord immediatlie after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lasting for the space of ten yeres together, that horrible it is to heare, and almost incredible to beleeue. Of this plague or pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hierar a bishop in Egypt: Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 21. 22. where he declareth the mortalitie of this plague to be so great in Alexandria where he was bishop, that there was no house in the whole citie free. And although the greatnesse of the plague touched also the christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more: beside that the order of their behauior in the one and in the other was much diuers. For as the foresaid Dionysius doth record, the christians through brotherlie loue and pietie, did not refuse one to visit and comfort an other, and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger: for diuers there were who in closing vp their eies, in washing their bodies, & interring them in the ground, were nert themselues which followed them to their graues. Yet all this staied not them from doing their dutie, and shewing mercie one to an other: whereas the Gentils contrarilie being extremelie visited by the hand of God felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their neighbor, but euerie man shifting for himselfe, neither cared one for an other, but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doores halfe dead to be deuoured of dogs and wild beasts, some they let die within their houses without all succor, some they suffered to lie vnburied for that no man durst come neere him: and yet notwithstãding for all their voiding and shifting, the pestilence followed them whither so euer they went, and miserablie consumed them. In so much that Dionysius bishop the same time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne citie, that such a mortalitie was then among them, that the said citie of Alexandria had not in number of all together both old and yong, as it was wont to conteine before of the old men onlie from the age of three score to seuentie, such as were found in time past commonlie almost in that citie. Pomponius Letus and other Latine writers also making mention of the said pestilitie, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they thinke) out of Ethiope, and from the hot countries, and so inuading and walking first the south parts, from thence spread into the east, and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world. especiallie wheresoeuer the edicts of the emperor went against the christians, it followed after and consumed the most part of the inhabitants, whereby many places became desolat and void of all concourse, and so continued the terme often yeres together.

The iust reuenge of God against persecutors.

The iust punishment of God vpon the heathen multitude for persecuting his people.

The plague and hand of God.

The brotherlie loue and pitie among the christians shewed in the time of plague.

A terrible pestilence reigning through all the Romane monarchie.

This pestiferous mortalitie (by the occasion whereof Cyprian tooke the ground to write his booke De mortalitate) began as is said, immediatlie after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the reigne of Albias Gallus, and Volusianus his sonne, who succeeded through treason next vnto Decius, about the yere of our Lord two hundred fiftie and fiue, and continued their reigne but two yeres.

Cyprianus lib. de mortalitate.

Gallus and Volusianus emperors.

Anno 255.

This Gallus, although the first beginning of his reignie was some thing quiet, yet shortlie after following the steps of Decius, by whom rather he should haue taken better heed, set forth edicts in like maner for the persecution of christians, albeit in this edict we find no number of martyrs to haue suffered, but onlie all this persecution to rest onlie in the exilement

of

of bishops or guides of the flocke. Of other sufferings or executiõs we doe not read, for the terrible pestilence following immediatlie kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Unto this time of Gallus, rather then to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage, of the which banishment he himselfe testifieth in diuers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise vpon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himselfe, lest the sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding the said Cyprian though being absent, yet had no lesse care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had been present with them, and therefore neuer ceased in his epistles continuallie to exhort and call vpon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst diuers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himselfe, writing to certaine that were condemned to mining for mettals, whose names were Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, with other bishops, priests and deacons, declareth vnto them; How it is no shame but a glory not to be feared, but to be reioiced at, to suffer banishment or other paines for Christ; and confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth how worthily they doe shew themselues to be as valiant captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodie, the hearts of the brethren to christian martyrdome, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children to follow the like: as for punishmẽt and suffering, it is (saith he) a thing not execrable to a christian: for a christian mans brest, whose hope doth wholie consist in the * tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and skarres of the bodie be ornaments to a christian man, such as bring no shame nor dishonestie to the partie, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the mettals be digged there be no beds for christian mens bodies to take their rest, yet they haue their rest in Christ: and though their wearie bones lie vpon the cold ground, yet is it no paine to lie with Christ. Their feet haue been fettered with bands and chains, but happilie he is bound of man, whom the Lord Christ doth loose: happilie doth he lie tied in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to heauen. Neither can any man tie a christian so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They haue no garments to saue them from cold, but he that putteth on Christ is sufficientlie coted. Doth bread lacke to their hungrie bodies? But man liueth not onlie by bread, but by euerie word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (saith he) shall be turned to honor, your mourning to ioy, your paine to pleasure, and felicitie infinit. And if this doo grieue you that ye cannot now employ your sacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner, yet your sacrifice dailie ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer vp dailie your bodies a liuelie and a glorious sacrifice vnto the Lord, which is the sacrifice, that pleaseth God. And though your trauell be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certaine to follow: for God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confesse his name, in their willing mind approoueth them, in their striuing helpeth them, in their victorie crowneth them, rewarding that in vs which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With these, and such like comfortable words he doth animat his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a ioifull iourney, hasting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enioy after this darknesse a stable light and brightnesse greater then all their passions, according to be apostles saying: These sufferings of this present time be nothing like comparable to the brightnesse of the glory that shall be reuealed in vs, &c.

And after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation writing to Seagrius and Rogatianus, which were in prison and bonds for the testimonie of truth, Doth encourage them to continue stedfast and patient in the way wherein they haue begun to run: for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiseth to be with vs to the worlds end, and therefore willeth them to set before their eies in their death immortalitie, in their paine euerlasting glory, of the which it is written: Pretious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Item, although before men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortalitie, and being vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters: for the Lord hath tried thẽ as gold in the fire. And writeth moreouer, admonishing them that it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteousnesse heere should suffer in secular conflicts, for so iust Abel was slaine in the beginning of the world, and after him all iust and good men, the prophets also & the apostles sent of the Lord himselfe, vnto whom all, the Lord first gaue an example in himselfe, teaching that there is no comming to his kingdome, but by that way which he entred himselfe, saying by these words: He that loueth his life in this world shall lose it, &c. And againe, Feare ye not them that slaie the bodie, but haue no power to slaie the soule. And S. Paul likewise admonishing all them whosoeuer couet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord, saith: If we suffer togither with him, we shal reigne togither, &c.

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage heere the holie martyrs which were in captiuitie, to persist: so likewise writing to the priests and deacons which were free, exhorteth them to be seruiceable and obsequious with all care and loue, to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds. Cypriã. lib. 3. epist. 6. Whereby maie appeare the feruent zeale and care of this good bishop toward the church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

In the same time and vnder the said Gallus reigning with his sonne Volusianus, was also Lucius bishop of Rome sent to banishment who, next succeeded after Cornelius in that bishoprike, about the yeere of our Lord two hundred fiftie and six. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epistle of S. Cyprian, lib. 3. epist. 1. may appeare. As to all other bishops of Rome in those primitiue dates certaine decretall epistles with seuerall ordinances be ascribed, bearing their names & titles as hath been afore declared: So also hath Lucius one epistle fathered vpon him, in the which epistle he writing to the brethren of France and of Spaine, appointeth such an order and forme of the church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present: for so he declareth in that epistle that a bishop in all places whither so euer he goeth, should haue two priests with three deacons waiting vpon him to be witnesses of all his waies and doings. Which ordinance although I denie not but it may be and is conuenient, yet I see not how that time of Lucius could serue then for a bishop to carie such a pompe of priests and deacons about him, or to studie for any such matter: for so much as bishops commonlie in those dates were seldome free to go abroad, went they neuer so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or els in banishment. Moreouer in the said epistle how pompoulie writeth he to the church of Rome? This holie and apostolicall church of Rome (saith he) the mother of all churches of Christ, which by the grace of God omnipotẽt hath neuer been prooued to swarue out of the path of apostolicall tradition, neither hath euer fallen or been depraued with heretical innouations: but euen as in the first beginning it receiued the rule of the apostolicall faith by his first instructors, the princes of the apostles, so it continueth euer immaculat and vndefiled vnto the end.

Vnto this Lucius also is referred in the decrees of Gratian this constitution, that no minister what soeuer after his ordination, should at any time reenter to the chamber of his owne wife in paine of losing his ministerie in the church, &c. Eusebius in his seuenth booke making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdome, saith that he sat but eight months: but Damasus in his martyrologe holdeth that he sat three yeeres, and was beheaded the second yeere of Valerian and Galienus emperors, and so doth also Martianus Scotus and Nauclerus, with other that follow Damasus affirme the same.

After him came Stephanus next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus, affirme to haue sit seuen yeeres and fiue months, and to die a martyr. Contrarie Eusebius and Volaterane holding with him, giue him but two yeers: which part cõmeth most neere to the truth, I leaue to the readers iudgement. Of his two epistles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to tarie for two respects, either for that cõcerning these decretall epistles suspitiouslie intituled to the names of the fathers of the primitiue church, sufficientlie hath been said before, or els because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue, and also the matter it selfe therein conteined is such, that although no testimonie came against it, yet it easilie refelleth it selfe. As where in the second epistle he decreeth, That no bishop being expulsed out of his seat, or depriued of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answere for himselfe, before that by the law regularly he be restored againe fully to his former state, and that the primats and the synod render vnto him againe all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the lawes canon and also secular. First heere I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to cõsider with himselfe, who be these heere ment which either vsed or might despoile these bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their seats for such wrongfull causes, but onely kings and emperors which at this time were not yet christened nor vsed any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as either primats or synods could restore them againe to their places and possessions: againe, what priuat goods or possessions had bishops then to be taken from them, when as churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the church, it pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in generall to the subuention of the poore in the church, as in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabius may appeare, alleaged in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. where he speaking of his church, and declaring how there ought to be but one bishop in the same, inferreth mention of fortie and six priests, seuen deacons, with seuen subdeacons, fortie two acoluthes, of widowes and poore afflicted persons to the number of fiftéene hundred and aboue, found and nourished in the same by the mercifull benignitie and prouidence of God: Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth more in the end of the said canon, Which thing is forbidden both by the lawes ecclesiasticall,

The first banishment of Cyprian.

The bishops and priests condemned to mettals.

Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius.

Bishops condemned for the name of Christ.

*That is, in the passion of him that died on the tree.

S. Cyprian exhorteth and cõfirmeth the christian martyrs. Cypr. lib. 3. Epist. vlt.

The Christian mans sacrifice.

Cypr. lib. 4. ep. 1. Seagrius, Rogatianus, martyrs.

Sapien. 3.

Cypr. lib. 3. epist. 6.

Lucius bishop of Rome banished. Anno 256.

The epistle decretall of Lucius bishop. The ordinances of Lucius.

The pompous stile of the church of Rome.

Dist. 81. ministri. Ministers restrained from their owne wiues.

Eusebius and Damasus varie in time. Lucius bishop of Rome, martyr.

Stephanus bishop of Rome, martyr.

The censure of the decretall epistles and ordinances of Stephanus.

No bishop ought to be accused, after he be expulsed, before he be restored againe.

The number of the poore found at Rome by the church goods.

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call, and also secular, &c. Now what lawes secular were in the time of Steuen for Bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored againe to their state, let any reader marking well the state of the heathen lawes that then were, iudge, and in iudging I doubt not but this matter alone though there were no other, will be enough to descrie the vntruth hereof.

Moreouer, by diuers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephanus it may be easily espied, this epistle to be feined and misauthorised, especially by the fift canon of the said epistle, where he so solemnely entreateth of the difference betweene primats, metropolitans, and archbishops, which distinction of degrees and titles sauouring more of ambition then of persecution, giueth me verily to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephan, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the church began to be setled in more prosperitie, and orders therein to be taken for euery man to know his degree and limits of his authoritie, according as is specified by the first and seuenth canon of Nicen councell, decreeing of the same matter.

Primats, metropolitans, archbishops.

The like estimation may be conceiued also of the seuenth canon of the said epistle, where he willeth and appointeth all causes iudiciarie to be decided and determined within the precinct of their owne proper prouince, and not to passe ouer the bounds thereof, vnlesse (saith he) the appeale be made to the apostolicall sea of Rome, which sauoureth in my nose rather of a smacke of poperie, then of the veine of christianitie, especially in these times, during ths terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretall epistle of Stephanus, although of the first epistle also written to Hilarius some thing may be said, as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestiments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the altar serving to diuine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, sauing of priests alone. Concerning all which implements, my opinion is this, that I thinke the church of Rome not to haue bin in so good state then, that either Stephanus or Sixtus before him being occupied about other more earnest matters, and scarce able to hide their owne heads, had any mind or cogitation to studie vpon such vnnecessarie inuentions serving in publike churches: neither do I see how the heathen in those daies would haue suffered these ornaments to be vnconsumed, which would not suffer the bishops themselues to liue amongst them, notwithstanding Isidorus and Polydorus iudge the contrarie. Betweene this Stephan and Cyprian bishop of Carthage was a great contention about rebaptising of heretikes, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Lawfull to appeale to Rome.

Vestiments and holy vessels serving for the altar.

Besides these bishops above specified, diuers others there were also sent into banishment vnder the forenamed emperors Gallus and Volusianus, as appeareth by Dionysius writing to Hermannus on this wise: That Gallus not seeing the euill of Decius, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seduction & ruine, stumbled himselfe also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes: for at the first beginning when his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he draue out holy men, which prayed for his peace and safegard, and so with them reiected also the prayers which they made for him, &c. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1. Otherwise of any bloodshed or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not reade.

Bishops banished in the time of Gallus.

After the raigne of which emperour Gallus and of his son Volusianus being expired, who raigned but two yeares, Emilianus which slue them both by ciuill sedition, succeeded in their place, who raigned but three months, and was also slaine. Next to whom Valerianus and his sonne Galienus were aduanced to the empire.

Gallus and Volusianus emperours slaine. Emilianus emperour three months. Valerianus and Galienus his sonne emperour.

About the changing of these emperors the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague raigning in all places, partly by the change of the emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the first entrance of the empire for the space of three or foure yeares was right curteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted to the senat. Neither was there any of all the emperours before him, no not of them which openly professed Christ, that shewed himselfe so louing and familiar toward the christians as he did: in so much that (as Dionysius writing to Herman doth testifie) all his whole court was replenished with holy saints and seruants of Christ and godly persons, so that his house might seeme to be made a church of God. But by the malice of Satan through wicked counsell these quiet daies endured not very long. For in processe of time this Valerian being charmed or incensed by a certaine Egyptian, a chiefe ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his magicall feats for the christians, was so far infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable prouocations of that diuellish Egyptian, he was wholly turned vnto abominable idols, and to execrable impietie, in sacrificing yong infants, and quartering bodies, and diuiding the intrals of children new borne, and so proceeding in his furie, moued the eight persecution against the christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not

Valerianus and Galienus his sonne emperour. Persecution ceased for a time. The good beginning of Valerian.

Ex Dionysio citante. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 10. & Niceph. lib. 6. cap. 10. Wicked counsell what euill it doth.

abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magicall inchantings, about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred fiftie and nine.

The eight persecution.

The eight persecution. {Anno 259}

In the which persecution the chiefe administers and executors were Emilianus president of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus vicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius speaketh also of Nicerius and Claudius presidents, &c.

The chiefe executors of this persecution.

What was the chiefe originall cause of this persecution, partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and politicall cause, so S. Cyprian sheweth other causes more speciall and ecclesiasticall in his fourth booke, epist. 4. whose words be these: But we (saith he) must vnderstand and confesse, that this turbulent oppression and calamitie, which hath walked for the most part all our whole companie, and doth daily consume, riseth chiefely of our owne wickednesse and sinnes, while we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor obserue his precepts left vnto vs for our institution. The Lord obserued the will of his Father in all points, but we obserue not the will of the Lord, hauing all our minde and studie set vpon lucre and possessions, giuen to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicitie and faithfull dealing, renouncing this world in word onely, but nothing in deed, euery man pleasing himselfe, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges doe we not deserue, when the confessors themselues (such as haue bid the triall of their confession) and such as ought to bee an example to the rest of well doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore because some such there be, proudly puft vp with this swelling and vnmannerly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send vs to the crowne, except by the mercie of God, some being taken away by quicknesse of death, doe preuent the tediousnesse of punishment. These things doe wee suffer for our sinnes and deserts, as by the Lords censure we haue been forewarned, saying: If they shall forsake my law and wil not walke in my iudgements; if thy shall prophane my institutions, and will not obserue my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (saith he) wee feele, which neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent in our euil deeds. Wherfore the said Cyprian adding this exhortation withall, exhorted them to pray and entreat from the bottome of their heart and whole mind, the mercie of God, which promiseth, saying: But yet my mercie I will not scatter from them, &c. Let vs aske, and we shall obtaine; and though (saith Cyprian) it be with variance, yet for so much as wee haue grieuously offended, let vs continue knocking, for to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if our praiers, sighings & weepings knock stil at the doore with continuance, and if our praiers be ioined together with brotherly agreement, &c. Moreouer, what vices were then principally raigning among the christians, hee further specifieth in the said epistle, vvhich chiefly were diuision & dissension among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a vision by these words, *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is, Pray, and ye shall obtaine; afterward it was required of the congregatiō there present, to direct their prayers for certaine persons assigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condescend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissonant in their consent and petition: which thing (saith Cyprian) did greatly displease him that spake vnto them; Pray, and ye shall obtaine, for that there was no vniforme equalitie of voice and heart, nor one simple and ioynt concord among the brethren, wherof it is written in the sixty and seuenth Psalme; God which maketh to dwell in the house together men of one accord, &c. And so by the occasion hereof, hee writeth vnto them in the foresaid epistle, and moueth them to prayer and mutuall agreement. For (saith he) if it be promised in the gospell to be granted whatsoeuer any two consenting together shall aske, what shall then the whole church do agreeing together? Or what if this vnanimity were among the whole fraternity? Which vnanimitie (saith Cyprian) if it had bin then among the brethren, *Non venissent fratribus haec mala, si in vnum fraternitas fuisset animata*, that is: These euils had not hapned to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimitie, &c.

The eight persecution. Anno 259.

The chiefe executors of this persecution.

The speciall causes of this persecution.

Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 4.

The sinnes of the christians cause of persecution.

Psalm. 67.

Discord and diuision among the brethren.

After the causes thus declared of this or other persecutions, the said S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed epistle (worthie to be read of all men) describeth likewise a certaine vision, wherein was shewed vnto them by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this. There was a certaine aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a yong man verie sad and pensiue, as one with an indignation sorrowfull, holding his hand vpon his brest, his countenance heauie and vncheerefull. On the left hand sate another person, hauing in his hand a net, which he threatned to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marueling that saw the sight thereof, it was said vnto him: The yong man whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad & sorie that his precepts be not

A vision foreshewing persecution to come. *Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 4.*

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obserued. But he on the left hand danceth and is merrie, for that occasion is giuen him to haue power of the aged father to afflict mẽ. And this vision was seene long before this tempest of persecution hapned, wherin is declared the same that before is said; The sinnes of the people to be the cause why satan in this persecution and all others, hath had and hath still such power with his net of destruction, to rage against the blood of christian men, and all because (saith Cyprian) we forslacke our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as we should: wherefore the Lord because he loueth vs, correcteth vs; correcteth vs to amend vs, amendeth vs to saue vs, &c. Cyprian.

Our sins giue satan power against vs.

Another reuelation shewed to S. Cyprian.

Furthermore, the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle writing of his owne reuelation or message sent to him, thus saith: And to his least seruant both sinfull and vnworthie (meaning by himselfe) God of his tender goodnesse hath vouchsafed to direct this word; Tell him (saith he) that he be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come, albeit a little stay there is for a while, for that some remaine yet to be proued and tried, &c. And sheweth also in the same place of another reuelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drinke, lest his mind giuen to heauenly meditation might be caried away with worldly allurements, or oppressed with too much surfet of meats and drinkes, should be lesse apt or able to prayer and spirituall exercise.

Spare diet and sober drinke conuenient in christian bishops.

The peace of the church to come, foreshewed by the Lord.

Finally, in the latter end of the foresaid epistle mention also followeth of other reuelations or shewings: Wherein the Lord (saith Cyprian) doth vouchsafe in many of his seruants to foreshew to come the restauring of his church, the stable quiet of our health and safegard; after raine faire weather, after darknesse light, after stormie tempest peaceable calme, the fatherly helpe of his loue, the wont and old glorie of his diuine maiesty, whereby both the blasphemie of the persecutor shall be repressed, and the repentance of such as haue fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shal reioyce and glorie. Thus much hath S. Cyprian, writing of these things to the clergie. Lib. 4. epist. 4.

Crimes and causes falsely laid to the christians.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the christians, this was the principall: First, because they refused to do worship to their idols and to the emperors; then, for that they professed the name of Christ; besides, al the calamities and euils that hapned in the world, as warres, famine, and pestilence, were only imputed to the christians. Against all which quarelling accusations, Cyprian doth eloquently defend the christians in his booke Contra Demetrianum: like as Tertullian had done before, writing Contra Scapulam. And first touching the obiection for not worshipping idols, hee cleareth the christians both in his booke *Contra Demetr.* and also *De vanitate idol.* prouing those idols to be no true gods, but images of certaine dead kings, which neither could saue themselues from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the testimonie of Sosthenes, Plato, and Trismegistus, the which God the christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the christians were thought to be the causes of publike calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles idols, he purgeth the christians therof, prouing that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Againe, for that it hath been so foresaid and prophesied, that toward the end of the world should come warres, famine, and pestilence. Moreouer, if there be any cause thereof more proper then other, it is most like to be imputed to their vaine idolatrie, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such euils be encreased by the wickednesse of the people, so that to speake in his owne words, *Famem maiorem facit rapacitas quàm siccitas*, that is, Famine commeth more by auarice of men, then by drought of the aire, but especially the cause thereof to proceed of the cruell shedding of the innocent blood of the christians, &c.

The apologie of Cyprian for the christians.

Cypr. contra Demetrianum.

Cypr. de idolorum vanitate.

Thus with many other mo probations doth Cyprian defend the christians against the barbarous exclamations of the heathen gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for so much as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulat heere in ample discourse the full summe, first of his life and bringing vp, then of his death and martyrdome, as the worthinesse of that man deserueth to be remembred. Of this Cyprian therfore, otherwise named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Iacobus de Morazine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and others; that he being an African and borne in Carthage, first was an idolater and gentile, altogether giuen to the studie and practise of the magicall arts, of whose parentage and education in letters from his youth, no mention is made but that he was a worthie rhetorician in Africa: of whose conuersion and baptisme he himselfe in his first booke and second epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent historie. Which his conuersion vnto the christian faith as Hieronymus affirmeth in his commentarie vpon Ionas, was through the grace of God and the meanes of Cecilius a priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the historie of the prophet Ionas. The same Hierome moreouer testifieth how he immediatly vpon his conuersion distributed among the poore all his substance, and after that being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted bishop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus of whom he often maketh mention, which also was the first author of rebaptisation, or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth vncertain. But this is most true, he himselfe shined in his office and dignitie with such good gifts and vertues, that as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the gouernment of the whole east church, and church of Spaine, and was called the bishop of the christian men.

The countrie and education of Cyprian.

The conuersion of Cyprian.

Cyprian made first priest, then bishop of Carthage.

And to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his owne works to them that list to perule the same, as also described by other worthie writers: he was curteous and gentle, louing and full of patience, and therwithall sharpe and seuere in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first booke and third epistle. Furthermore, as he was most louing and kind toward his brethren, and tok much paine in helping and relieuing the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the elders and deacons of his bishoprike, that with all study and endeuour they should gently entertaine and shew pleasure vnto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The vertues of Cyprians like described.

The care of Cyprian toward the afflicted brethren.

The third epistle of his first booke doth declare of what stomacke and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with maruellous modestie, whereby he attempted nothing vpon his owne head and iudgement, but with the consent of his fellow bishops and other inferior ministers: and that chiefely (among others) doth the tenth epistle of his third booke witnesse. He was of a maruellous liberall disposition towards the poore brethren of other countries: for so often as he had cause of absence, hee committed the care of those poore men to his fellow officers, and wrote vnto them, that of their owne proper goods they would helpe their banished brethren to that which was necessarie for them, as witnesseth the twentie and fourth epistle of his third booke. He reciteth among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the visions and heauenly admonitions of the persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the gouernment of the church in his first booke and third epistle, and fourth booke and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expounded the forme or manner of a certaine vision which we haue before sufficiently expressed.

The modestie of Cyprian in conferring with his fellow brethren.

Visions concerning the troubles and peace of the church, recited and expounded by Cyprian.

Hee had moreouer great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the first epistle of his fourth booke. Also Augustine doth attribute vnto him many worthie vertues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humilitie, in his second booke of baptisme, the fourth chapter, against the Donatists, and in his seuenth booke and eleuenth chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also of his courtesie and meekenesse: by which vertues he concealed nothing that he vnderstood, but vttered the same meekely and patiently. Also that he kept the ecclesiasticall peace and concord with those that were of another opinion then hee was of. Lastly, that hee neither circumuented nor did preiudice any man, but followed that thing which seemed good in his iudgement, it is manifest in S. Augustine his first booke, De baptismo contra Donatistas. Neither is this to be passed with silence, that Hierome writeth that hee was verie diligent in reading, especially the workes of Tertullian: for he saith that he saw a certaine old man whose name was Paulus, which told him he saw the notarie of blessed Cyprian, being then an old man when he himselfe was but a sprigall in the citie of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprians wont, neuer to let one day passe without some reading of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say vnto him: Giue me my master, meaning thereby Tertullian.

Cyprian meeke and patient.

Cyprian a great reader of Tertullian.

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdome. Of his epistles which he wrote backe to his congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made aboue, wherein he sheweth the vertue beseeming a faithfull pastour, in that he toke no lesse care as well of his owne church, as of other bishops being absent, then he did being present. Wherein also hee himselfe doth signifie that voluntarily hee absented himselfe, lest hee should do more hurt then good to the congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolat places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, hee writeth vnto his brethren, as in his third booke and tenth epistle is manifest, which thing seemeth to bee done in the raigne of Decius or Gallus. But after that hee returned againe out of exile in the raigne of this Valerianus, he was also after that the second time banished of Paternus the proconsull of Africa into the citie of Thurbin, as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian sheweth; or else as Pontius the deacon saith, into a citie named Furabilitana, or Curabilitana. But when Paternus the proconsull was dead, Galienus Marinus succeeded in the rome and office of Paternus, who finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his sergeants, and to bee brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Which when hee would not do, then the proconsull breaking forth in these words, said: Long hast thou liued in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracie, and hast shewed thy selfe an enemie to the gods

The second banishment of Cyprian.

The apprehension of Cyprian.

gods of the Romans, and to their holy lawes: neither could the sacred emperours Valerianus and Galienus reuoke thée to the sect of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to haue his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his necke to the stroke of the sword (as Hieronymus affirmeth.) And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord, Xistus then being bishop of Rome, as Eusebius noteth, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred fiftie and nine. Sabellicus saith that he was martyred in the raigne of Gallus and Volusianus, Lucius being bishop of Rome: but that séemeth not like.

The martyrdome of Cyprian.

Anno 259

Now remaineth to speake something likewise of his workes and bookes left behind him, although all peraduenture do not remaine that he wrote: whereof some are missing, some againe which in the liuerie of his name and title, are not his: but such as be certainly his by the stile and sense may some be discerned: such is the eloquence of his phrase, and grauitie of his sentence, vigor of wit, power in perswasion, so much differing from many others, as hée can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the which his bookes with vs extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the schole of Rhetoricians, so is the authoritie thereof no lesse of reputation, not only among vs of this age of the church, but also among the ancient fathers. Whereof Saint Augustine speaking in his commendation, saith: Ego (inquit) litteras Cypriani non vt canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis considero: & quod in eis diuinarum scripturarum autoritati congruit cum laude eius accipio: quod autem non congruit, cum pace eius respuo, &c. By which words it may appeare that Augustine, although he did not repute the bookes and writings of Cyprian to be equiualent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding next after the holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

The bookes of Cyprian.

The iudgement of Augustine vpon the books of Cyprian. *August. contra Cresconium. lib. 12. cap. 32.*

Vincentius and Lazarus Celestinus reciting the names of diuers bookes, bearing the title of Cyprian (more perchance then be truly his) do collect out of them a certaine extract of his most pithie sentences, all which héere to repeat were too tedious. To giue a taste of the speciall, I thought it not impertinent. As where he speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth, saying:

Sentences of Cyprian collected. *Ex Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 63.*

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.
Let it not sléepe in thy treasures, that may profit the poore.
Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine, cor semper nouas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.
Two things neuer wax old in man, the heart euer imagining new cogitations, the tongue euer in vttering the vaine conceptions of the heart.
Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro diuina remuneratione distribuendum est.
That which a man must néeds forgo of necessitie, wisedome it is a man to distribute so, that God may euerlastingly reward him.
Disciplina est morum præsentium ordinata correctio, & malorum præteritorum regularis obseruatio.
Discipline is an ordinat amendment of manners present, and a regular obseruation of euils past.
Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, vbi qui improbos damnent, desunt: & soli qui damnentur, occurrunt.
There can be no integritie, where as they which should condemne the wicked are euer wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are euer present.
Auari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent, vt ne alteri possidere liceat.
A couetous man only possesseth his goods for this, because another should not possesse them.
Sericum & purpurum indutæ, Christum induere non possunt.
Women that aduance themselues in putting on silkes and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.
Fœminæ crines suos inficiunt malo præsagio: capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metuunt.
They which colour their lockes with red and yellow, begin betime to prognosticat of what colour their haire shall be in hell.
Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quàm creauit Deus; metuant ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.
They which loue to paint themselues in this world otherwise then God hath created them: let them feare, lest when the day commeth of resurrection, the Creator will not know them.
Qui pauperi eleemosynam dat, Deo suauitatis odorem sacrificat.
He that giueth an almes to the poore, sacrificeth to God an odor of sweet smell.
Contemnenda est omnis iniuria præsentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.
All iniurie of euils present is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.
Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, & factis destruere.
To set out vertue in words, and to destroy the same in facts, is nothing worth.
Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum sed erogandum est, quia multorum iam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purgandæ conscientiæ.
The more children and greater household thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hord vp, but to disperse abroad, for that many sinnes are to be redeemed, many consciences are to be purged.

¶ Moreouer lest the papists héere should take an occasion by this text, grounded vpon the text of Tob. cap. 4. Almes (saith he) deliuereth from all sinne and death: to build vp the workes of satisfaction, the said Cyprian, lib. 4. epist. 2. more plainly expoundeth both himselfe, and that place of Scripture, writing in these words: Quia scriptum est, Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat: Tob. 4. Non vtique ab ea morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, & à qua nos salutaris baptismi & redemptoris nostri gratia liberauit, sed ab illa quę per delicta postmodum serpit, &c. that is, Almes doe deliuer from all sinne and from death: Tob. 4. Not from that (saith Cyprian) which the blood of Christ hath once extincted, and from which the wholesome grace of our baptisme, and of our redeemer hath deliuered vs, but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by sinne, &c. Cyprian, lib. 4. epist. 2. By which words it is apparant, that Cyprian meaneth this deliuerance (which commeth by almes giuing) from death and sinne, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death euerlasting, from which only the blood of Christ doth saue vs: but for temporall or transitorie punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this bodie of sinne. For so it is nothing repugnant, but that temporall vertues may haue their temporall rewards in this life, and likewise sinnes committed may haue temporall punishments both of vs and in our families, our eternall saluation standing euermore firme in Christ yet notwithstanding.

The place of Scripture expounded, *Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat.* Tob. 4. *Ex Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 2.*

The forsaid Vincentius moreouer speaking of another booke of Cyprian (although the said book be not numbred in the catalogue of his workes) maketh mention of twelue abuses, or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these:

1 Sapiens sine operibus. A wise man without good workes.
2 Senex sine religione. An old man without religion.
3 Adolescēs sine obediētia. A yong man without obedience.
4 Diues sine eleemosyna. A rich man without almes.
5 Fœmina sine pudicitia. A woman shameleſſe.
6 Dominus sine virtute. A guide without vertue.
7 Christianus contentiosus. A christian man contentious.
8 Pauper superbus. A poore man proud.
9 Rex iniquus. A king vnrighteous.
10 Episcopus negligens. A bishop negligent.
11 Plebs sine disciplina. People without discipline.
12 Populus sine lege. Subiects without law.

Twelue abuses in the life of man noted out of Cyprian.

As we haue hitherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian this blessed martyr: so must we now take héed againe, that we do not héere incur the old and common danger, which the papists are commonly accustomed to run into, whose fault is alwaies almost to be immoderat and excessiue in their proceedings, making too much almost of euery thing. So in speaking of the holy Sacraments, they make more of them then doth the nature of Sacraments require; not vsing them, but abusing them, not referring or applying them, but adoring them, not taking them in their kind for things godly as they are, but taking them for God himselfe, turning religion into superstition, and the creature to the Creator, the things signifying to the things themselues signified, &c. To the church likewise and ceremonies of the church, to generall councels, to the blessed virgin Marie mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, and to all other in like case, not contented to attribute that which is sufficient, they exceed moreouer the bounds of iudgement and veritie, iudging so of the church, and generall councels, as though they could neuer, or did neuer erre in any iot. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth doth giue; but to say that she was borne without all originall sinne, or to make of her an aduocat, or mother of mercie, there they runne further then truth will beare. The ceremonies were first ordained to serue but onlie for order sake, vnto the which they haue attributed so much at length, that they haue set in them a great part of our religion, yea and also saluation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein the papist haue not exceeded?

The learning of Cyprian ioyned with his blemishes.

The fault of papists to make too much of euerie thing.

Wherefore to auoid this common error of the papists, we must beware in commending the doctors and writers of the church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed martyrs were holy men; yet notwithstanding they were men, that is, such as might haue, and had their falles and faults; men I say, and not angels, nor gods, saued by God, not sauiours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthie doctors, yet with their learning they had their errours also annexed. And though their bookes be (as they ought to be) of great authoritie, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said it must stand for a truth. That preheminence of authoritie only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For

How far the authoritie of the Doctors ought to extend.

The blemishes and errors of Doctors noted.

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of men and doctors, be they neuer so famous, there is none that is void of his reprehention. In Origen (although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular) yet how many things be there, which the church now holdeth not? But examining him by Scriptures, where he said well, they admit him, where otherwise they leaue him. In Polycarpus ꝙ church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter day after the Iewes. Neither can holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings: as where he maketh the fasting vpon the Sunday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kill Christ himselfe: Ignat. epist. ad Philip. contrarie to this saying of Saint Paul, Let no man iudge you in meat and drinke: also where the said Ignatius speaketh De virginitate, and of other things more. Irenæus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free will in man, in those things also that be spirituall. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fifty yeares old, abusing this place of the Gospell: Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c. Tertullian (whom Saint Cyprian neuer laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chiliast: also to haue been of Montanus sect. The same did hold also with Iustine, Cyprian, and others, that the Angels fell first for the concupiscence of women: Lib. de habitu mulierum. He defendeth free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the errour of them, which defend the possibilitie of keeping Gods law. Concerning marriage; Vnum matrimonium (inquit) nouimus, sicut vnum Deum: that is, Wee know (saith he) one marriage, as we know one God; condemning the second marriage, Lib. de Monogam. Diuers other things of like absurditie in him be noted. Iustinus also seemeth to haue inclined vnto the errour of the Chiliasts, of the fall of certaine Angels by women, of free will of man, of possibilitie of keeping the law, and such others. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great scholler of Tertullian, vtterly exempt from the blot of them, who contrarie to the doctrine of the church, did hold with rebaptising of such, as were before baptised of heretikes, whereof speaketh Saint Augustine, misliking the same error of Cyprian, in these words contained in his second booke Contra Cresconium. Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego consequi non valeo, eius multis literis mea scripta non comparo, eius ingenium diligo, eius ore delector, eius charitatem miror, eius martyrium veneror: non accipio quod de baptisandis hæreticis & schismaticis sensit, &c. Upon the which matter there was a great contention betweene the said Cyprian, and Stephan bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himselfe likewise, of Ambrose, Hierome, Chrysostome, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearely passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose at this present to intreat. And thus much concerning the storie of Cyprian the holy learned martyr of Christ.

Albeit heere is to be noted by the way, touching the life and storie of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he whom the narration of Nazianzen speaketh of (as is aboue mentioned) who from art magike was conuerted to be a christian, which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward bishop of the same citie, and was martyred vnder Diocletian: whereas this Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, and died vnder Valerianus, as is said, &c. By the decrees of Gratian, dist. 10. quoniam, it appeareth moreouer that there was also a third Cyprian in the time of Julianus the emperour apostata, long after both these aforenamed: for so giueth the title prefixed before the said distinction, Cyprianus Iuliano imperatori: the distinction beginning: Quoniam idem mediator Dei & hominum homo Christus Iesus, sic actibus proprijs, & dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis vtriusque discernit, &c. Upon the which distinction the glosse commeth in with these words, saying: that the popedome, and the seat imperiall, haue both one beginning of one, that is, Christ: who was both bishop, and king of kings. And that the said dignities be distincted, albeit the pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both some time. And therefore although they be distincted, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally vnder the other, so that the imperiall dignity is subiect vnder the papal dignitie, as the inferiour is subiect vnder the superiour: that as there is one ruler ouer the whole world, which is God; so in the church is one monarch, that is, the pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawfull right both of the heauenly and terrene dominion. Hæc glossa.

Thus much I thought heere to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered vpon Cyprian, which is false, for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred yeares, and so likewise by the other Cyprian, which died martyr vnder Diocletian. Of any Cyprian besides these two we reade not; neither is it credible, that if there were any such Cyprian, he would euer haue written of any such matter, of the difference and mutuall need of christian emperours and christian popes: when as that emperour being an apostata, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any pope.

About this time, and vnder the same emperour Valerianus suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, bishop of Rome, who being accused of his aduersaries, to be a christian, was brought with his fiue deacons to the place of execution, where hee with Nemesius and other his deacons were beheaded and suffered martyrdome. Laurence in the same time being also deacon, followed after, complaining to Xistus (as one being grieued) that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the sonne from the father. To whom the bishop answering againe, declared that within three daies he should follow after. In the meane time he willed him to go home & to distribute his treasures, if he had any, vnto the poore. The iudge belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be giuen to the poore, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custodie, commanded him to bring the same to him, according as in the discourse of his storie heere vnder written more fully may appeare. Which historie, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose and other writers, and containeth in it more things worthie to bee noted of the reader; we haue therefore with the more diligence heere inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glorie shewed in him.

Now then as order requireth, let vs enter the storie of that most constant and couragious martyr of Christ S. Laurence, whose words and workes deserue to be as fresh and greene in christian hearts, as is the flourishing laurell tree. This thirstie hart longing after the water of life, desirous to passe vnto it through the strait doore of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepheard Xistus, led as an harmelesse lambe of harmefull tyrants to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart inuincible, saying; O deere father whither goest thou without the companie of thy deare sonne? Whither hastnest thou, O reuerend priest without thy deacon? Neuer wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? hast thou proued me vnnaturall? Now trie sweet father whether thou hast chosen a faithfull minister or not? Denest thou vnto him the fellowship of thy blod, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lords blod? See that thy iudgement bee not misliked, whilest thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abasing of the scholar, is the disgracing of the master. What? Haue we not learned that worthie masters haue obtained most worthie fame by the worthie acts of their disciples and scholars? Finally Abraham sacrificed his onely begotten Isaac; stoned Stephan prepared the way to preaching Peter: euen so father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy sonne. Offer thou him that proffereth himselfe; grant that the bodie of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified. These words with teares Saint Laurence vttered, not because his master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to taste of deaths cup which hee thirsted after.

Then Xistus to his sonne shaped this answere: I forsake thee not O my sonne, I giue thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weake old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lustie and yong thou art, and more lustilie, yea more gloriously shalt thou triumph ouer this tyrant; thy time approcheth, cease to weepe and lament, three daies after thou shalt follow me: decent is it that this space of time come betweene the priest and the Leuit. It may not beseeme thee, O sweet pupill, to triumph vnder thy master, lest it bee said hee wanted an helper. Why crauest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath vnto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enioy my presence? Let weake scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victorie, which haue no need by master to be gouerned. So Helias left behind him his beloued Heliseus. I yeeld vp into thy hands the succession of my vertues. Such was their contention not vnmeet for so godly a priest, and so zealous a minister, striuing with themselues who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragicall histories we haue it mentioned, that through ioy and admiration, people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himselfe Orestes; Orestes (as truth it was) affirmed himselfe to be Orestes: Pilades wishing to die for Orestes, Orestes not suffering Pilades to lose his life for his sake, but neither of them might escape death, for both these louers were guiltie of blod, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Laurence the martyr most constant, was by no meanes enforced to make this proffer, saying only by his ardent zeale and feruent spirit, who thirsting after the cup of martyrdome, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let vs draw neere to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The mercilesse tyrant vnderstanding this vertuous Leuit, not onely to bee a minister of the sacraments, but a distributer also of the church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Xistus) promised to himselfe a double prey by the apprehension of one silly soule. First with the rake of auarice to scrape to himselfe the treasure of poore christians? then with the fierie forke of tyrannie so to tosse and turmoile them, that they should war wearie of their cruell profession: with furious face and cruell countenance the greedie wolfe demanded where this

Dyigen.

Polycarpus.

Ignatius.

Irenæus.

Tertullianus.

Iustinus.

Cyprian.

Contention betweene Cyprian and Stephanus bishop of Rome.

Cyprians diuers of that name.

Dist. 10. Quoniam.

Glossa. ibid. A blind glosse challenging both the swords to the popes hand.

A distinction of Gratian disproued.

Xistus the second bishop of Rome martyr.

Six deacons with Xistus martyred.

The storie and martyrdome of Laurence. Ex Ambros. lib. 1. offic. cap. 41. Ex Prudentio. lib. peristeph.

The words of Laurence to Xistus.

The answere of Xistus to Laurence.

Some say that this tyrant was Decius the emperour, but that cannot be, except Galienus or some other iudge now was called by the name of Decius.

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this deacon Laurence had bestowed the substance of the church. Who craving three daies respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the meane time he caused a good number of poore christians to be congregated. So when the day of his answere was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Laurence stretching out his armes ouer the poore, said: These are the pretious treasure of the church, these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ raigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion place. What more pretious iewels can Christ haue, then those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, I was hungrie and ye gaue me to eat: I was thirstie, and yee gaue me to drinke: I was harborlesse, and ye lodged me. And againe: Loke what ye haue done to the least of these, the same haue ye done to me. What greater riches can Christ our master possesse, then the poore people, in whom he loueth to be seene? Oh, what tongue is able to expresse the furie and madnesse of the tyrants heart! Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a bore foamed, his teeth like a helhound grinded. Now not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no spare. Hath this villaine deluded the emperour? Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, yerke him with rods, buffet him with fists, braine him with clubs. Jesteth the traytor with the emperour? Pinch him with firie tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chaines, and the fire forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebell hand and foot, and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: rost him, broile him, tosse him, turne him: on paine of our high displeasure do euery man his office, O ye tormentors. The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done.

The true treasure of Christ his church.

Laurence tormented on the firie gridiron.

After many cruell handlings, this meeke lambe was laid, I will not say on his firie bed of iron, but on his soft bed of downe. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire, not a bed of consuming paine, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it vnto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the emperor might seeme to be tormented: the one broyling in the flesh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant martyr had been pressed downe with fire-pikes for a great space, in the mightie Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:

The singular patience of Laurence in his paines.

This side is now rosted enough, turne vp ô tyrant great:
Assay whether rosted or raw, thou thinkst the better meat.

O rare and vnaccustomed patience! O faith inuincible! that not only not burnest, but by meanes vnspeakable dost recreat, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they beleeue in Gods promises infallible. By thee this glorious martyr ouercommeth his torments, vanquisheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the christians, slæpeth in peace, and raigneth in glorie. The God of might and mercie grant vs grace, by the life of Laurence to learne in Christ to liue, and by his death to learne for Christ to die, Amen.

The martyrdome and end of blessed Laurence.

Such is the wisedome and prouidence of God, that the blood of his deare saints (like good seed) neuer falleth in vaine to the ground, but it bringeth some encrease: so it pleased the Lord to worke at the martyrdome of this holy Laurence, that by the constant confession of this worthie and valiant deacon, a certaine souldier of Rome being therewith compunced and conuerted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptised of him: for the which he being called for of the iudge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

A Romane souldier conuerted by Laurence, and martyred.

Under the same Valerianus suffered also Dionysius bishop of Alexandria much affliction and banishment, with certaine other brethren: of the which he writeth himselfe, and is alledged in the ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius, lib. 7. cap. 11. the words whereof tend to this effect. Dionysius with three of his deacons, to wit, Marimus, Faustus, and Cheremon also with a certaine brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then president, who there declared vnto them in circumstance of words how he had signified vnto them the clemencie of his lords and emperors: who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would returne to them, and worship the gods and keepers (as he called them) of their emperie, asking them what answere they would giue him thereunto: trusting as he said that they would not shew themselues ingrateful to the clemencie of them which so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said: All men worship not all gods, but diuers men diuers gods; so as euery one hath in himselfe a mind or phantasie to worship. But wee worship not many nor diuers gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our lords Valerianus and Galienus the gouernement of their emperie, making to him our prayers incessantly for their prosperous health and continuance. Then the president said: And what hurt is it, but that you may both worship your God, what god soeuer he be, and these our gods also? For you are commanded to worship such gods as all men know to be gods. Dionysius answered, We worship none other, but as we haue said. Emilianus the president said: I see you are vngratefull men, and consider not the benignitie of the

Dionysius bishop of Alexandria with his fellowes banished.

Marimus, Faustus, Cheremon, a certaine Roman banished.

The examination of Dionysius before the president.

The constant confession of Dionysius and his deacons.

emperor, therefore you shall remaine no longer in this citie, but shall be sent out to the parts of Libia, vnto a towne called Cephro: for that place by the commandement of the emperor I haue chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawfull for you, to conuent your assemblies, or to resort, as ye are wont to your buriall places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your perill be it. And thinke not contrarie, but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place as is commanded you. And it followeth more in the said Dionysius speaking of himselfe: And as for me (saith he) although I was sicke, yet he urged me so strictlie to depart, that he would not giue me one daies respit. And how (saith he, writing to Germanus) could I congregat or not congregat any assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth: And yet neither am I altogether absent from the corporall societie of the Lords flocke, but I haue collected them together, which were in the citie, being absent, as though I had been present, absent in bodie, yet present in spirit. And in the same Cephro, a great congregation remained with me, as well of those brethren which followed me out of the citie, as also of them which were remaining there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the doore of his word, although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their idols and were conuerted vnto the Lord. And so by vs the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which ministerie after that we had accomplished there, the Lord remoued vs to another place. For Emilianus translated vs from thence to more sharpe and stritter places of Libia, commanded vs to meet all together at the citie Mareota, thinking there to separate vs seuerally into sundrie villages, or thinking rather to take and preuent vs by the way. After we were come thither, it was assigned to me (saith Dionysius) to go to Colluthion, which place I neuer heard of before: which was the more griefe to me, yet some solace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was neere to a citie named Paretonium. For as my being at Cephro got me the acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, so my hope was that the vicinitie of that place (where I should be) to the citie, might procure the familiaritie and concourse of certaine louing brethren, which would resort and assemble with vs, and so it came to passe, &c.

Dionysius in his epistle Ad Domitium & Dydimum, making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian, recordeth in these words, saying: It were superfluous (saith he) heere to recite the names peculiarly of all our brethren slaine in this persecution, which both were many and to me vnknowne. But this is certaine, that there were men, women, yong men, maidens, old wiues, souldiers, simple innocents, and of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword obtained victorie, and got the crowne. Some continued a great time, and yet haue been reserued. In the which number am I reserued hitherto to some other opportune time knowne vnto the Lord, which saith: In the time accepted I haue heard thee, and in the day of saluation I haue helped thee, &c. Now as concerning my selfe in what state I am, if thou desire to know first how I and Caius, and Faustus, Petrus and Paulus, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certaine of the towne of Mareota, I haue declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left heere included in a weak place of Libia, distant the space of three daies iourney from Paretonium, &c. And in processe further hee addeth: In the citie (saith hee) were certaine priuily which visit the brethren: of priests, Marimus, Diostorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the deacons besides them whom sickenesse hath consumed, Faustus, Eusebius, and Cheremon, are yet aliue. Eusebius hath God raised and stirred vp to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to burie the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the president ceale yet to this day, cruelly murthering such as be brought afore him, some tearing with torments, some imprisoning and keeping in custodie, commanding that no man should come to them, enquiring also who resorted vnto them. Yet notwithstanding God with cheerefulnes and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. Hæc Dionysius.

Dionysius banished to Cephro.

Iewdels conuerted by Dionysius in his banishment. *Ex Dionysio contra Germanum. Euseb. lib. 7.*

Ex Dionysio ad Domitium & Dydimum. Euseb. ibid.

Martyrs of all sorts and ages.

Concerning these deacons aboue recited, heere is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Marimus the priest aforesaid had the ministration of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, vnto the latter persecution, where he being a verie old man at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

Commendation of Eusebius the deacon.

Eusebius the deacon made bishop of Laodicea.

Marimus bishop of Alexandria.

Faustus long preserued, at last a martyr.

As touching Dionysius himselfe, thus the stories report, that hee surviuing all these troubles and persecutions, by the prouidence of God, continued after the death of Valerian vnto the twelfth yeare of the raigne of Galienus, which was about the yeare of our Lord two hundred threescore and eight, and so departed in peace in great age, after that he had gouerned the church of Alexandria the space of seuenteene yeares, and before that had taught the schole of the said citie of Alexandria

The end and death of Dionysius.

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the terme of sixteene yeares, after whom succeeded Maximus, as is aboue specified. And thus much touching the full storie of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other also martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

Pilæus, Malchus, Alexander, a woman, martyrs.

In Cesarea Palestine suffered also the same time, Pilæus, Malchus, and Alexander, the which three dwelling in the countrie, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieued with themselues, began to repent and accuse their so great sluggishnesse, and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselues so cold and faint hearted, in laboring for the crowne of christian martyrdome: first consulting and agreeing with themselues, came to Cesarea, and there stepping to the iudge, declared themselues what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being giuen to the wilde beasts. After which like manner also and in the same citie of Cesarea, a certaine woman whose name Eusebius expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion was brought before the president, and likewise obtained the same martyrdome. Eusebius. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Eusеb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Three hundred martyrs in Carthage. *Ex specul. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 83.*

Neither was the citie of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be giuen to the speculatiue glasse of Vincentius, who citing out of Hugo, recordeth of three hundred martyrs, of which three hundred martyrs the historie saith thus, that the president setting before them coales and incense to do sacrifice, by a lime kilne, which was there neere at hand, offered vnto them this condition, either to set incense to the coales for sacrifice to Iupiter, or else to go into the fornace of lime: wher vpon they all together with a generall motion suddenly rushed into the kilne, and there with the dulling smoke of the lime were smothered. Vincent. Erford.

Maxima, Donatilla, Secunda, virgins, martyrs.

In Africa also in the citie of Tuburba, the said Vincentius out of the martyrologe inferreth mention of three constant virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda, who in the persecution of this Valerian and Galienus, first had giuen for their drinke vineger and gall, then with scourges were tried, after that vpon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime: then were scorched vpon the fierie gridiron, at last were cast to the wilde beasts, who being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded. Vincent. Erford.

Pontius martyr. *Ex Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77. Ex Bergomen. lib. 8. Erford. lib. 6. cap. 17.*

In Simela a citie in Italie, vnder the Alps, one Pontius being there apprehended, by the commandement of Claudius the president, was hanged first vpon the racke, then was cast to the wilde beasts, of whom hee being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally neither touched therewith, (if the storie of Vincentius be true) was beheaded by the riuers side, and his bodie throwne into the flood, where immediatly the same houre, the foresaid Claudius with his assistant Anabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserablie vexed, that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Zenon martyr.

Zenon also bishop of Verona is said also in the same persecution to sustaine martyrdome.

Bergomensis reproued.

Moreouer in the same citie of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomensis in his eight booke, writing of the storie of Valerianus emperor, maketh mention of Philippus, bishop of the said sea of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was vnder the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approued storie, nor standeth with the truth of time that any such Philippus then was bishop of Alexandria, or any other except only Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteene yeares, and after him Theonas, &c. So that by the ancient records of old writers it appeareth not, that Philippus or any other of that name was bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other latter writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certaine historie of one Philippus, president of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the emperour and senat of Rome, to gouerne those quarters, where he was at length conuerted to the christian faith, and after made priest or bishop (as they say) of Alexandria: but that not to be so, the testimonie of ancient writers doth refell. The historie of this Philippus witnessed in our latter chronicles, is this: Philippus being promoted to the presidentship of Alexandria, came downe with his wife Claudia, and his two sons, Auitus, and Sergius, and with his daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long historie full of strange and prodigious miracles is written of Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the storie, leauing to the iudgement of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.

Ex Antonin. part. 1. cap. 6.

The storie of Philippus and Eugenia.

Eugenia, Protus, Hiacinthus, conuerted.

This Eugenia daughter of Philippus, being of singular beautie, and diligently brought vp by her parents in the studie of science and learning, was by occasion of hearing christians, reduced and brought vp to christianite, with two other eunuchs her schole-fellowes, called Protus, and Hiacinthus: with whom shee taking counsell, vpon occasion, whether to auoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marrie with a pagan, vnknowne to her parents and friends did flie away; and because the more boldly she might resort to heare the readings of Helenus then an aged bishop and of others, changed her selfe into mans apparell, and named her selfe Eugenius, vnder the which name she was at length admitted vnto a certaine monasterie, or a societie of christians in the suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly beleeue that any monasterie of christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted) where also at the last for her excellencie of learning and vertue, she was made head of the place.

Eugenia leauing her parents, changeth her selfe into mans apparell.

Helenus bishop of Hierapolis.

Here by the way I omit the miracles of the foresaid Helenus, bishop (as the storie saith) of Hieropolis) how he caried burning coales in his lap, and how he aduentured himselfe to go in the burning fire, to refell wicked Zereas a pagan, remaining in the same vnburned. Here also I omit the carefull search of her parents for her, and of the answere of the Pithonisse againe vnto them, that she was taken vp to the heauen among the goddesses. I omit moreouer the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The storie proceedeth thus: Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certaine matrone of Alexandria named Melancia, who after she had vsed the helpe and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate loue, seeking by all meanes how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence. In so much that in her daily visiting of her, at length shee began secretly to breake her minde, and to entice her to her leaudnesse. Eugenius contrarie exhorted her to vertue and honestie, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the perill of that folly. Melancia seeing that by no meanes she would be allured nor by force drawne to her desire, and fearing moreouer that she in detecting of her would bring her to shame, beginneth first to make an outcrie of Eugenius, declaring how that shee went about corruptly to defloure her, and so presented her accusation before Philippus the president, as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that companie. This matter being heard, and the woman well knowne, the crime began to seeme suspicious, and so much the more, because it was obiected against the christians. By reason whereof Eugenius with her fellow christians was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius purging her selfe and her honestie, although with sufficient probation, yet notwithstanding perceiuing that it could take no place, whatsoeuer shee said, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her owne selfe, as specially of her brethren which troubled her more: desired of the iudge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and so shewed her selfe what she was, and how she was his daughter, the other to be Protus and Hiacinthus the two eunuchs, her schole-fellowes, vttering moreouer to him and to her brethren the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof Philippus her father, and her two brethren comming to the knowledge of her, conceiued no little ioy, in receiuing their Eugenia againe, whom they thought had been lost. No lesse gladnesse was among the people, to see the euidence of the matter so plainly to trie out the truth of the one, and the falsenesse of the other. Wherat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first for her dishonestie falsely cloaked, secondly for the vntruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth moreouer, that the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia trying her honestie to her parents and friends, not only was receiued of them againe, but also by the grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did winne them to Christ. Whereby Philippus the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his owne daughter to a more perfect life, and whom once he thought to haue been lost, not only he found againe, but also with her found his owne soule, and his owne life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philippus (saith the storie) was made afterward bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdome. Concerning whose martyrdome I deme not but it may be true; but that hee was bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proued out of Eusebius and other ancient historicians.

Eugenia accused of Melancia.

False accusation conuicted.

Philippus by his daughter conuerted vnto Christ.

Philippus martyr.

Likewise it is said, that Eugenia after the martyrdome of her father, returning to Rome with Protus and Hiacinthus, by occasion of conuerting Basilla (who should haue been married to a pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the christian faith, was assailed with sundrie kinds of death, first being tied to a great stone and cast into Tiber, where she was carried vp from drowning, then put in the hot baths, which were extincted, and she preserued: afterward by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Sauiour: all which legendarie miracles I leaue to the reader to iudge of them as shall seeme good vnto him. At last the storie saith, shee was with the sword beheaded. Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

Basilla, Eugenias, martyrs.

And because in this present historie mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellowes noteth to be the bishop of Hieropolis, heere is to be vnderstood and obserued by the way, that as Philippus in the foresaid historie is falsely said to be bishop of Alexandria, so likewise vntrue it is that Helenus was bishop of Hieropolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, lib. 7. cap. 5. alledging the words of Dionysius, that hee was bishop

Corrections in the storie aboue touched. *Eusеb. lib. 7. cap. 5.*

Helenus bishop of Carius.

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bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and had there ouersight of that church from the time of our Lord God two hundred fiftie and foure, to the yeere of our redemption, two hundred seuentie and foure.

Anno 262 Victor, Victorinus, Claudianus, Bolla, martyrs.

The first yere of Valerianus and Galienus we reade in the historie of Herfordiensis, citid out of Isuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in prison the space of three yeeres with Claudianus & Bolla his wife, are said to haue sustained great torments and martyrdome for the testimonie and name of Christ. Ex Isuardo.

Fructuosus bishop of Tarracona in Spaine with his two deacons Augurius, Eulogius, martyrs. Ex Prudent. perist. eph.

Aurelius Prudentius in his book intituled Peristephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuosus bishop of Tarracona in Spaine, who with his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, suffered also martyrdome, being burned after six daies imprisonment vnder the foresaid emperors in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christs name; their iudge and condemner was Emilianus; their imprisonment indured six daies; the kind of death ministred vnto them was fire; wherin they being all together cast with their armes bound behind them, their bands (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolued, their hands vntouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this iudge vnto the bishop was this, that he should worship the gods whom the emperor Galienus worshipped. To whom Fructuosus the bishop answering; Nay (said he) I worship no dumbe God of stocks and blocks, whom Galienus doth worship, but I worship the Lord and maker of Galienus, the father and creator of all times, and his only sonne sent downe to vs, of whose flocke I am here the pastor and shepheard. At this word Emilianus answering againe; Nay (saith he) say not thou art, but say thou wilt. And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their bands and manicles being losed by the fire, they lifted vp their hands to heauen, praising the liuing God to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that ẏ element which seemed to flie from them, might worke his full force vpon them, and spéedilie dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the meane space as they were in the fire, there was a certaine souldier in the house of Emilianus, who did sée the heauens aboue to open and these foresaid martyrs to enter in the same, which souldier likewise shewed the sight the same time vnto the daughter of Emilianus the president, who beholding the same sight with the souldier, was a present witnesse of the blessednesse of them whom her cruell father had condemned.

Fructuosus and his deacons strengthned in the fire.

The fauour of God toward his martyrs openly declared.

As this godly bishop was preparing to his death (saith Prudentius) the brethren approching to him, brought him drinke, desiring him with much weeping to receiue and drinke with them; but that he refused to doe, requiring them moreouer to refraine their teares. With like readinesse the brethren also were diligent about him to plucke off his shoes and hose as hee was addressing himselfe to the fire: but neither would he suffer any seruants helpe in that wherein he was no lesse willing as able to helpe himselfe. And thus this blessed and fruitfull bishop Fructuosus with his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of Christ with the shedding of their bloud. Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.

The modestie of Fructuosus.

And thus far continued wicked Valerian in his tyrannie against the saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before, and oppressors of the christians had their deserued reward at the iust hand of God, which rendreth to euery man according to his works: so this cruell Valerian, after he had raigned with his sonne Galienus the terme of sixe or seuen yéeres, and about two yéeres had afflicted the church of Christ, felt the iust stroke of his hand, whose indignation before he had prouoked, wherof we haue to witnesse Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volaterranus: for making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud & treason of some about him, or whether by his owne rashnesse, it is doubtfull: but this is certaine, that hée fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of foure score yéeres, where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captiuitie. In so much that Sapores the king of the Persians vsed him (and well worthie) not for his riding sole, but for his riding blocke: for whensoeuer the king should light vpon his horse openlie in the sight of the people, Valerian emperor Quondam, was brought forth in stead of a blocke for the king to tread vpon his backe in going to his horsebacke. And so continued this blockish butcherlie emperour with shame and sport enough vnto his finall end, as witnesseth Letus and Aurelius Victor.

The notable plague of God against Valerian the persecutor.

Gods punishment to be noted.

Albeit Eusebius, in a certaine sermon to the congregation, declareth a more cruell handling of him, affirming that he was slaine, writing in these words: Sed & tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum sæuitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, iustum Dei iudicium declarasti, dum captiuus ac vinctus vna cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu abductus, ac tandem a Sapore Persarum rege excoriari iussus, salóque conditus, perpetuum infœlicitatis tuæ trophæum erexisti, &c: that is, And thou Valerian for so much as thou hast exercised the same crudelitie in murthering of the subiects of God, therefore hast prooued vnto vs the righteous iudgement of God, in that thy selfe hast been bound in chaines, and caried away for a captiue slaue with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperiall attire, and at length also being commanded of Sapores king of the Persians, to be slaine and powdered with salt, hast set vp vnto all men a perpetuall monument of thine owne wretchednesse, &c. Euseb.

Ex Euseb. in sermone ad conuentum Sanctorum. Valerian the persecuting emperor excoriat of the Persians.

The like seueritie of God his terrible iudgement is also to be noted in Claudius his president and minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was possessed and vexed of the diuell, in such sort, that he biting off his owne tongue in many small péeces, so ended his life. Erford.

The punishment of God vpon Claudius president to the emperor.

Neither did Galienus the sonne of Valerian after the captiuitie of his father vtterly escape the righteous hand of God: for beside the miserable captiuitie of his father, whom he could not rescue, such portents strange and out of the course of nature, such earthquakes did happen; also such tumults, commotions and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth reckon vp to the number of thirtie together, which in sundry places all at one time tooke vpon them to be tyrants and emperors ouer the monarchie of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to succor his father though he would. Notwithstanding the said Galienus being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did remooue; at least did moderat the persecution stirred vp by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperiall proclamation, the tenor wherof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be séene in Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13. Emperor and Cæsar, Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius Fortunatus, Augustus, vnto Dionysius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian, and to all other the like bishops. The bountifull benignitie of my gift, I haue willed and commanded to be proclamed through the whole world, to the intent that such which are detained in banishment for discipline sake, may safelie returne home againe from whence they came; and for the same cause I haue heere sent to you the example of my rescript for you to peruse and to enioy, so that no man so hardie to vexe or molest you; and this which you may now lawfullie enioy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the same, I haue committed the exemplar heereof to the custodie of Aurelianus Cirenius my chiefe steward, where you may fet the copie to see at your pleasure.

Galienus giueth ouer his persecution.

Peace granted to the church.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13.

This mandat aboue prefixed did Galienus send to Dionysius Alexandrinus, and other bishops as is premised. Another rescript also the said emperor sent to other christian bishops, permitting to them full libertie to receiue againe their wonted places where they were wont to associat together, called of them Cœmiteria.

Another grant of Galienus vnto the christian bishops.

Anno 263 Marinus martyr.

By this it may appeare that some peace was grãted then vnder this Galienus to the church of Christ: albeit not so, but that some there were which suffered, of whom was one Marinus mentioned in Eusebius lib. 7. This Marinus being a warrior and a noble man in Cesarea, stood for the dignitie of a certaine order, which by a order of course was next to fall vpon him by right, had not the enuious ambition of him that should follow next after him, supplanted him both of office and life: for he accused him to be a christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted vnto their offices, which was against their religion. Whereupon Achaius then being iudge examined him of his faith, who finding him to be a christian in déede, and constantly to stand to his profession, gaue him three houres to deliberat and aduise with himself. There was the same time in Cesarea a bishop named Theotechnus, otherwise called Theodictus, who perceiuing him to stand in doubtfull deliberation and perplexitie in himselfe, tooke him by the hand and brought him into the house or church of the christians, laying before him a sword (which he had vnder his cloke for the same purpose) and a booke of the new testament, and so willed him to take his frée choice which of them both he would prefer. The souldier immediatlie without delay ran to the booke of the gospell, taking that before the sword. And thus he being animated by the bishop, presented himselfe boldlie before the iudge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr. Eusebius ibidem.

Theotechnus bishop of Cesarea.

Marinus animated by the bishop to die.

Euseb. ibid.

Whose bodie being dead, one Asyrius a noble senator of Rome, and a man very wealthie among the chiefe of that order (who in the same time was there present at his martyrdome) tooke vp and bare vpon his owne shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed, and so honorablie committed it to the buriall. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Asyrius a rich senator and counseller.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Of which Asyrius the said author writeth moreouer this storie: how that in the foresaid citie of Cesarea, the Gentils vsed there of an ancient custome to offer vp a certaine sacrifice by a fountaine side, the which sacrifice by the working of the diuell was wont suddenly to vanquish out of their eies, to the great admiration of the inhabiters by. Asyrius séeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting vp his eies to heauen, made his prayer to almightie God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the diuell any longer: by the vertue of whose prayer the sacrifice was séene to swim in the water of the fountaine, and so the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.

The worke of Satan disappointed by the prayer of Asyrius.

Euseb lib. 7. cap. 17.

And

A miracle noted in *Euseb. lib.7. cap.18.*

And because mention is made here of Cesarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the same citie was the woman which in the gospell came to our saviour, and was healed of her bloudie issue, her house being in the citie of Cesarea. Before the dore therof was set vp a certaine pillar of stone, and vpon the pillar an image was made of brasse, of a woman mékelie kneeling on her knees, and holding vp her hands as one that had some suit. Against the which there was another image also of a man proportioned of the same mettall, cunningly ingraven in a short sémelie vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foote of which pillar grew vp a certaine herbe of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation, which growing vp to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to haue such vertue, that it was able to cure al maner of diseases. This picture of the man (they say) represented the image of Christ. The historie is written in Eusebius, as is said, the credit whereof I referre to the reader, whether he will thinke it true or false. If he thinke it false, yet I haue shewed him mine author: if he thinke it true, then must he thinke withall that this miraculous operation of the herbe proceéded neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumbe pictures, and ingraven no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels, but to be wrought by some secret permission of God his wisdome, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the beléefe of the storie, or to admonish the christians to consider with themselues what strength & health was to be looked for only of Christ and no other aduocat, séeing the dumbe picture ingraven in brasse, gaue his efficacy to a poore herbe to cure so many diseases. This picture (saith Eusebius) remained also to his time which was vnder Constantinus the great.

A miraculous operation of an herbe touching the hem of Christs picture to heale diseases.

No vertue to be ascribed to pictures.

As touching the line and order of the Roman bishops hitherto intermitted, after the martyrdome of Xistus aboue specified, the gouernment of that church was committed next to one Dionysius, about the yéere of our Lord two hundred sixtie and six, who continued in the same the space of nine yéeres, as Eusebius saith; as Damasus recordeth but onlie fiue yéeres and two moneths. Of his decretall epistles because sufficient hath been said before concerning that matter, I omit to speake. After whom succeéded Felix in the first yéere of Probus the emperor, about the yéere of our Lord two hundred and eightie, who gouerned that church fiue yeres, and died as Platina saith a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, both martyrs, as the histories of some doe record.

Dionysius bishop of Rome. Anno 266.

Felix bishop of Rome and martyr.

Eutychianus bishop of Rome and martyr.

Gaius bishop of Rome and martyr.

About the time of these bishops liued Theodorus bishop of Neocesarea, who is otherwise called Gregorius Magnus, whom also Nicephorus for his miracles calleth Θαυματουργὸν.

Thus Galienus the foresaid emperor raigned as is declared, with his father Valerian seuen yéeres, after whose captiuitie he ruled the monarchie alone about nine yéeres, with some peace and quietnesse granted to the church.

The daies of this Galienus being expired, followed Claudius a quiet emperor, as most stories doe record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mouer of persecution against the christians, and maketh mention of two hundred sixtie and two martyrs, which in his time did suffer; but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius, who would not haue omitted some memoriall thereof if it had been true, therefore I refer the same to the frée iudgement of the reader to find such credit as it may. This Claudius raigned but two yéeres, after whom came Quintilianus, his brother next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but only seuentéene daies, and had to his successor Aurelianus, vnder whom Orosius in his seuenth booke doth number the ninth persecution against the christians.

Claudius emperor. Anno 272.

Quintilianus emperour.

The ninth persecution.

The ninth persecution. Aurelianus emperour.

HItherto from the captiuitie of Valerian the church of Christ was in some quietnesse till the death of Quintilianus, as hath been declared: after whom Aurelianus the next successor possessed the crowne, who in the first beginning of his raigne (after the common maner of all princes) shewed himselfe a prince moderat and discréet, much worthie of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agréeing to the same. Of nature hee was seuere and rigorous in correcting, dissolute in maners, in so much that it was said of him in a vulgar prouerbe, that he was a good physician, sauing that he gaue too bitter medicines. This emperor being sicke, neuer sent for physician, but cured himselfe with abstinence, and as his beginning was not vnfruitfull to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the christians, whom he did not only tolerat in their religion, but also in their councell, & being the same time assembled at Antioch, séemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding in continuance of time through sinister motion and instigation of certaine about him (as commonlie such are neuer absent in all places from the eares of princes) his nature somewhat inclinable to seueritie, was altered to a plaine tyrannie, which tyrannie first he shewed beginning with the death of his owne sisters sonne, as witnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceéded either to moone, or at least to purpose persecution against the christians; albeit that wicked purpose of the emperor, the mercifull working of God his hand did soone ouerthrow. For as the edict or proclamation should haue been denounced for the persecuting of the christians, and the emperor now readie to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mightie stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from aboue did stop his purpose, binding (as a man might say) the emperors hands behind him, declaring (as Eusebius saith) to all men, how there is no power to worke any violence against the seruants of God, vnlesse his permission do suffer them, and giue them leaue. Eusebius lib.7. cap.30. Eutropius and Aurelius affirme, that as the said Aurelianus was purposing to raise persecution against vs, he was suddenly terrified with lightning, and so stopped from his wicked tyrannie. Not long after about the fift or sixt yéere of his raigne, he was slaine betweene Bisance and Heraclea, in the yéere of our Lord two hundred seuentie and eight. Thus Aurelianus rather intended then moued persecution. Neither is there any more then this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the church: wherefore I marueil the more that Vincentius collecting out of the martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs, which in France and in Italy (saith he) suffered death and torments vnder this emperor Aurelianus, whereunto Orosius also séemeth to agrée in numbring this to be the ninth persecution vnder the said Aurelian.

A notable example of Gods hand stopping persecution.

Ex Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.

No power against the people of God, except God giue leaue.

The death of Aurelianus. Anno 276

Next after Aurelianus the succession of the emperie fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who raigned but sixe moneths, him succeéded his brother Florianus, who raigned but three score daies, and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appeare.

Ex Eutropio; Tacitus emperour. Florianus emperour.

In the meane time within the compasse of these emperors falleth in a storie recorded of Eusebius & not vnworthie here to be noted, whereby to vnderstand the faithfull diligence of good ministers, what good it may doe in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius the deacon of Dionysius, whom God stirred vp to visit and comfort the saints that were in prison and bands, & to burie the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great perill of his owne life, and after was made bishop (as is said) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be bishop there, it chanced the said Eusebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the citie to be besieged of the Romans, Pyrrhus being there captaine. In which siege halfe of the citie did hold with the Romans, the other halfe withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman captaine was Eusebius, being also in great fauor with the captaine for his worthie fidelitie and seruice shewed: with the other halfe that resisted the Romans, was Anatholius gouernor or moderator then of the schole of Alexandria, who also was bishop after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatholius perceiuing the citizens to be in miserable distresse of famine and destruction, by reason of penurie and lacke of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius being then with the Romans, & certifieth him of the lamentable penurie and perill of the citie, instructing him moreouer what to doe in the matter. Eusebius vnderstanding the case, repaireth to the captaine, desiring of him so much fauour, that so many as would flie out of the city from their enemies, might be licenced to escape and freélie to passe; which was to him eftsoones granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captaine, on the other side Anatholius for his part laboured with the citizens, mouing them to assemble together, and persuading them to giue themselues ouer, in yéelding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; Yet (said Anatholius) this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you in this miserable lacke of things to auoid out of your citie all such superfluities and vnnecessarie impediments vnto you, as old women, young children, aged men, with such other as be féeble and impotent, and not to suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they die, and lesse if they liue, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serue them that be more able to defend the citie. The senat hearing this sentence, and vnderstanding moreouer the grant of the captaine, promising them their safetie, were well consenting thereunto. Then Anatholius hauing a speciall care to them that belonged to the church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and perswading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to void the citie, and not onlie them, but also a great number of other mo, who perswaded by him vnder that pretense, changing themselues in womens apparell, or feining some impotencie, so escaped out of the citie. At whose comming out, Eusebius on the other side was readie to receiue them, and refreshed their hungrie and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole citie of Alexandria was preserued from destruction. Eusebius lib.7. cap.32.

Eusebius deacon of Alexandria.

Anatholius rector of the Vniuersitie of Alexandria.

The pietie of Anatholius and Eusebius to their country.

Euseb. lib.7. cap.32.

By this little historie of Eusebius and Anatholius, described in the seuenth booke of Eusebius, cap.32. and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle reader) thou maiest partly vnderstand the practise of the prelats, what it was in those daies in the church, which was then only imployed in sauing of life, and succoring the common weales wherein they liued, as by these two godlie

The prelats of Rome are cleane contrarie to these good prelats.

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godly persons Eusebius and Anatholius may well appeare. Unto the which practise if we compare the practise of our latter prelats of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appeare.

Marcus Aurelius Probus emperor. Peace in the church.

The next emperour to Florianus (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus a prince both wise and vertuous, and no lesse valiant in martiall affaires, as fortunat in the successe of the same. During his time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the church but much quietnesse, as well in matters of religion, as also in the commonwealth. In so much that after his great and many victories, such peace insued, that his saying was, there needed no more souldiers, seeing there were no more enemies to the commonwealth to fight against. It was his saying also, that his souldiers need not to spend corne and victuall, except they laboured to serue the commonwealth. And for the same cause he caused his souldiers to be set aworke about certain mountaines in Smyrna and in Pellia to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest, therefore by them at length he was slaine, after he had raigned the space of fiue yéeres and foure moneths, in the yéere of our Lord two hundred eightie and foure: Eutrop.

The saying of Marcus Aurelius.

Souldiers brought vp in idlenes can abide no labour.

Marcus Aurelius slaine.

Anno 284

Carus with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus succéeded next after Probus in the empire, the raigne of which emperors continued in all but three yéeres. Of the which three first Carus, warring against the Persians, was slaine with lightning. Of Numerianus his sonne, being with his father in his warres against the Persians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers, which testified of him to be a valiant warriour, an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamations and writings sent to the senat; thirdlie, to be an excellent poet. This Numerianus sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderat weeping fell into a great sorenesse of his eies, by reason whereof he keeping close, was slaine not long after of his father in law, named Aper, who traitorously aspiring to the empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people, asking for him, saying, for the paine of his eies he kept in from the wind and weather, till at length by the stinch of his bodie being carried about, his death was vttered.

Carus with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus emperors. Carus emperor slaine with lightning.

Correction of a certaine place of Eutropius, *ex editione Frobeniana.*

In the life of this emperour Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius in the latter edition set forth by Frobenius, I find (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus the sonne of this Carus, was he that slue Babylas the holy martyr, whose historie before we haue comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like, both by the narration of Chrysostom, and also for that Vrspergensis declaring the same historie, and in the same words, as it is in Eutropius, saith that it was Cyrillus whom Numerianus killed, the storie whereof is this: What time Carus the emperour in his iourney going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerianus his son would enter into the church of the christians, to view and behold their mysteries. But Cyrillus their bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the church, saying that it was not lawfull for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with sacrifices of idols. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyrillus, in his furie did slay the godly martyr. And therefore iustly (as it seemed) was he himselfe slaine afterward by the hands of Aper.

Cyrillus resisteth the emperour.

Cyrillus bishop of Antioch martyr.

Ex Chron. Vrspergen.

Thus Carus with his sonne Numerianus being slaine in the east parts, as is declared, Carinus the other sonne raigned alone in Italie, where he ouercame Sabinus straining for the empire, and raigned there with much wickednesse, till the returning home of the armie againe to the Persians, who then set vp Diocletian to be emperor, by whom the foresaid Carinus for the wickednesse of his life, being forsaken of his host, was ouercome, and at length slaine with the hand of the tribune, whose wife before he had defloured. Thus Carus with his two sonnes, Numerianus and Carinus, ended their liues, whose raigne continued not aboue three yéeres.

Carinus emperour slaine.

Adulterie punished.

All this meane space we read of no great persecution stirring in the church of Christ, but was in meane quiet state and tranquillitie, vnto the nintenth yéere of the raigne of Diocletian, so that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian, vnto this aforesaid yéere of Diocletian, the peace of the church which God gaue to his people, séemeth to continue aboue foure and fortie yéeres. During the which time of peace and tranquillitie, the church of the Lord did mightily increase and florish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honor and reuerence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous, in so much that (as Eusebius in his seuenth booke describeth) amongst the emperours themselues, diuers there were which not onely bare singular good will and fauor to them of our profession, but also did commit vnto them offices and regiments ouer countries and nations, so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they priuileged the same with libertie and indemnitie. What needeth to speake of them which not onely liued vnder the emperors in libertie, but also were familiar in the court with the princes themselues, intertained with great honour and speciall fauour beyond the other seruitors of the court? As was Dorotheus with his wife, children, and whole familie, highly accepted and

Anno 289

The peace of the church from Valerian to the tenth persecution lasted foure and fortie yeeres. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, chiefe christians of great reputation in the emperors court.

aduanced in the palace of the emperour, also Gorgonius in like maner with diuers others more, who for their doctrine & learning which they professed, were with their princes in great estimation. In like reuerence also were the bishops of cities and diocesses, with the presidents and rulers where they liued: who not onely suffered them to liue in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselues vpright, and continued in God his fauor. Who is able to number at that time the mightie and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in euery citie, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cause they being not able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great churches new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by processe of time did the church of Christ grow and shoot vp daily more and more, prospering and spreading through all quarters, which neither enuie of men could infringe, nor any diuell could inchant, neither the craftie policie of mans wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God his heauenly arme went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of christian life.

The peaceable state of the church described.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of it selfe vnrulie and vntoward, alwaies seeketh and desireth prosperitie, and yet can neuer well vse prosperitie; alwaies would haue peace, and yet hauing peace alwaies abuseth the same: so here likewise it happened with these men, which through this so great libertie and prosperitie of life began to degenerat and languish vnto idlenesse and delicacie, and one to worke spite and contumelie against another, striuing and contending amongst themselues for euery occasion, with railing words after most despitefull maner: bishops against bishops, and people against people, mouing hatred and sedition one against another, besides also cursed hypocrisie and simulation with all extremitie increasing more and more. By reason whereof the iudgement of God after his wonted maner (whilest yet the congregation began to multiplie) began by a little and a little to visit our men with persecution, falling first vpon our brethren which were abrode in warfare, but when that touched the other nothing or very little, neither did they seeke to appease Gods wrath, and call for his mercie, but wickedlie thinking with our selues, that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one vpon another, and they which seemed to be our pastors, refusing the rule of pietie, were inflamed with mutuall contentions one against another. And thus whilest they were giuen onely to the study of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutuall hatred, and discord, euerie man seeking his owne ambition, and persecuting one another after the manner of tyrannie: then, then, I say, the Lord according to the voice of Jeremie tooke away the beautie of the daughter of Sion, and the glorie of Israel fell downe from heauen, neither did he remember the footstoole of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord ouerturned all the comelie ornaments of Israel, and destroyed all her gorgious buildings, and according to the saying of the psalme, subuerted and extinguished the testament of his seruant, and prophaned his sanctuarie in destruction of his churches, and in laying waste the buildings thereof, so that all passengers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the dwellers about. For he hath exalted the strength of his enemies, and turned away the helpe of his sword from her, nor aided her in the battell, but ceased from the purging of her and her seat. He stroke downe to the ground, and diminished her daies, and ouer all this powred vpon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled vpon vs, when we saw the temples raced from the top to the ground, and the sacred scriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the pastors of the church to hide themselues some here, some there, some other taken prisoners with great shame, were mocked of their enemies, when also according to the saying of the prophet in another place: Contempt was powred out vpon the princes, and they caused to goe out of the way, and not to keepe the straight path.

Corruption through much peace and prosperitie crept into the church.

Hatred and debate among the churchmen.

Christians persecuting one another.

The wrath of God towards his people.

The tenth persecution.

The tenth persecution.

By reason whereof (the wrath of God being kindled against his church) insued the tenth and last persecution against the christians, so horrible and grieuous, that maketh the pen almost to tremble to write vpon it; so tedious that neuer was any persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lacking the space of ten yéeres together. This persecution although it passed through the hands of diuers tyrants & workers more then one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Diocletian who was emperor as is aboue noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Diocletian euer hauing an ambitious mind, aspired greatlie to be emperour. To whom Prisca his concubine said, that first he should kill a wild bore before he should be emperor. He taking effect at these words, vsed much with hands to kill wild bores: but seeing no successe to come thereof, vsed this prouerbe: Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is: I kill the bores, but others do eat the flesh. At length the said Diocletian being nominated to be emperor, and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerianus the emperour)

Diocletian emperour. *Eut. Vopis.*

Aper slaine which slue Numerianus.

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perour) standing thereby sware to the souldiers that Numerianus was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running vpon Aper with his sword, slue him: Vopisc. After this he being stablished in the empire, and seeing on euery side diuers and sundrie commotions rising vp against him, which he was not well able himselfe to sustaine, in the first beginning of his raigne he chooseth for his collegue Maximianus surnamed Herculius, father of Maxentius. Which two emperors, because of diuers warres that rose in many prouinces, chose to them two other noble men, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called Cesars. Of whom Galerius was sent into the east parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent ouer to Britane to this our countrie of England to recouer the tribute, where he tooke to wife Helena the daughter of king Coill, which was a maiden excelling in beautie, and no lesse famoustie brought vp in the studie of learning, of whom was borne Constantinus the great.

Anno 290

Maximianus Herculius, fellow emperour with Diocletian.

Galerius, Constantinus, Cesars, vnder Diocletian and Maximian.

Helena daughter of Coil, maried to Constantius.

All this while hitherto no persecution was yet stirred of these foure princes against the church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they gouerned the common wealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings & affaires, & gaue them great victories, Diocletian in Egypt, Maximiam in Aphrike and in France, Galerius in Persia, Constantius in England and in France also. By reason of which victories, Diocletian and Maximian puft vp in pride, ordained a solemne triumph at Rome, after which triumph Diocletian gaue commandement that he would be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the sunne and moone, and adorning his shoes with gold and pretious stones, commanded the people to kisse his feet.

Pryde in Diocletian.

And not long after by the iudgement of God, for certaine enormities vsed in the church, aboue touched, began the great and grieuous persecution of the christians, mooued by the ragious crueltie of Diocletian, which was about the nineteenth yeere of his raigne, who in the moneth of March, when the feast of Easter was nie at hand, commanded all the churches of the christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the bookes of holy scripture to be burned.

Cruelties followeth pride.

Anno 308

Persecution against the christians.

Thus most violent edicts and proclamations were set forth, for the ouerthrowing, as is said, of the christians temples throughout all the Romane empire. Neither did there want in the officers any cruell execution of the same proclamations. For their temples were defaced euen when they celebrated the feast of Easter: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the first edict giuen out by Diocletian. The next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the bookes of the holy scripture; which thing was done in the open market place as before: then next vnto that were edicts giuen forth for the displacing of such as were magistrats, and that with great ignominie, and all other whatsoeuer bare any office; imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abiure christianitie, and subscribe to the heathen religion: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonoras also in his second tome. And these were the beginning of the christians euils.

Christian temples destroyed. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2.*

Bookes of the scriptures burned.

Christian magistrats displaced.

Christian subiects imprisoned *Euseb. lib 8. c. 3. Nicepho. lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonoras tom. 2.*

It was not long after but that new edicts were sent forth, nothing for their crueltie inferiour to the first: for the casting of the elders and bishops into prison, and then constraining them with sundrie kinds of punishments, to offer vnto their idols. By reason whereof insued a great persecution amongst the gouernours of the church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were ouercome therewith, being tormented and examined diuers of them diuerslie, some scourged all their bodies ouer with whips and scourges, some with racks, raisings of the flesh intolerable were cruciated; some one way, some another way put to death. Some againe violently were drawne to the impure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let goe. Other some neither comming at all to their altars, nor touching any peece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that stood by, that they had sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies, quietly went away. Other as dead men were caried and cast away, being but halfe dead. Some they cast downe vpon the pauement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people beleeue that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some said they were christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried saying, that neither they had, nor would euer be partakers of that idolatrie: and those being bufketed on the face and mouth with the hands of the souldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the saints did seeme ner so little to doe what the enemies would haue them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpose of the aduersarie did nothing preuaile against the holy and constant seruants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weake sort innumerable there were, which for feare and infirmitie fell and gaue ouer, euen at the first brunt.

Bishops and elders constrained with torments to sacrifice.

The noble courage and constancie of a christian martyr.

At the first comming downe of these edicts into Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worthie of memorie, of a christian, being a noble man borne, which mooued by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was set vp, by and by ran and tooke downe the same, and openly tare and rent it in peeces, not fearing the presence of the two emperours, then being in the citie. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancie endured euen to the last gaspe. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & 5.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. 4.

After this the furious rage of the malignant emperours, being let lose against the saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making hauoke of Gods people throughout all quarters of the world. First Diocletian (which had purposed with himselfe to subuert the whole christian religion, executed his tyrannie in the east) and Maximianus in the west. But wilie Diocletian began very subtillie, for he put the matter first in practise in his owne campe, among whom the marshall of the field, as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. affirmeth, put the christian souldiers to this choice, whether they would obay the emperors commandement in that maner of sacrifie he commanded, and so both to keepe their offices, and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armor and weapons. Whereunto the christian men couragiouslie answered, that they were not onelie readie to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death if it should with tyrannie be inforced vnto them, rather then they would obay the wicked decrees and commandements of the emperor.

Persecution first beginning in the emperors campe.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4.

A notable religion and faith in souldiers.

There might a man haue seene very many which were desirous to liue a simple and poore life, and which regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true pietie and godlines. And this was no more but a subtill and wilie flatterie in the beginning, to offer them to be at their owne libertie, whether they would willingly abiure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifestlie to braik out into persecution. It can hardly be expressed with words what number of martyrs, and what bloud was shed through all cities and regions for the name of Christ. Eusebius in his eight booke and seuenth chapter saith, that he himselfe knew the worthie martyrs that were in Palestina. But in Tyre of Phenicia he declareth in the same a maruellous martyrdome made, where certaine christians being giuen to most cruell wild beasts, were preserued without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those lions, beares and libards (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to deuoure them, which notwithstanding most vehementlie raged against those by whom they were brought into the stage, & standing as they thought without danger of them, such were first deuoured. But the christian martyrs because they could not bee hurt of the beasts, being slaine with the sword, were afterward throwne into the sea. At that time was martyred the bishop of Sidon. But Syluanus the bishop of Gazensis with nine and thirtie others were slaine in the mettall mines of Phenicia. Pamphilus the elder of Cesarea, being the glorie of that congregation, died a most worthie martyr, whose both life and most commendable martyrdome Eusebius oftentimes declareth in his eight booke and thirteenth chapter, in so much that he hath written the same in a booke by it selfe. In Syria all the chiefe teachers of the congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heauie and cruell spectacle to behold, as also the bishops, elders, and deacons, which all were esteemed as menquillers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 6. After that we reade of another, whose name was Tirannion, which was made meat for the fishes of the sea, and of Zenobius which was a very good physician, which also was slaine with brickbats in the same place: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 13.

Martyrs of Tyre in Phenicia.

Pamphilus bishop of Cesarea martyr. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Martyrs of Syria. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6.*

Tirannion martyr.

Zenobius a physician martyr.

Furthermore he maketh mention in the same place of others which were not tormented to death, but euery day terrified and feared without ceasing: of some others that were brought to the sacrifices and commanded to doe sacrifice, which would rather thrust their right hand into the fire, then to touch the prophane or wicked sacrifice; also of some others that before they were apprehended, would cast downe themselues from steepe places, lest that being taken they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two virgins very faire and proper, with their mother also which had studiously brought them vp, euen from their infancie in all godlinesse, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictlie kept by their keepers, whilest they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselues downe headlong into a riuer: also of other two young maidens being sisters, and of a worshipfull flocke, indued with many goodly vertues, which were cast of the persecutors into the sea: and these things were done at Antioch, as Eusebius in his eight book and thirteenth chapter affirmeth. But Syluanus the bishop of Emilia the notable martyr together with certaine others, were throwne to the wild beasts: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Two virgins with their mother, martyrs.

Two other maidens sisters martyrs.

Syluanus bishop of Emilia martyr.

Martyrs of Mesopotamia. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Diuers and sundrie torments were the christians in Mesopotamia molested with, where they were hanged vp by the feet, and their heads downewards, and with the smoke of a smal fire strangled; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Martyrs of Cappadocia.

Martyrs of Tharsus.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the martyrs of Tharsus in Cilicia, as Tharatus, Probus, & Andronicus: but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus suffered farre more passing

Tharatus, Probus, Andronicus, martyrs.

Martyrs of Pontus.

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Martyrs of Nicomedia. Perſecution in Nicomedia exceeding.

Peter a moſt valiant and conſtant martyr.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, martyrs.

Anthimus biſhop of Nicomedia with a great multitude of martyrs beaded.

Lucianus the elder of Antioch martyr.

Serena wife of Diocleſian emperor martyr. *Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14.*

Eulampius, Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, Anaſtaſia, martyrs.

Twentie thouſand martyrs burnt together in one church.

Martyrs of Arabia. *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Martyrs in a certaine citie of Phrygia burnt with the whole citie. *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 11. 6.*

Martyrs of Melitina in Armenia.

Euſtratius of a perſecutor made a martyr. *Ex Nicepho. lib. 7. cap. 14.*

Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14.

Dieſkes martyr.

Eugenius, Aurentius, Hardarius, Peleus, Nilus, biſhops and martyrs in Egypt.

paſſing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention: Euſebius ibid. So outragious was the beginning of the perſecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bithynia, as before is ſaid, that he refrained not from the ſlaughter of the children of emperors, neither yet from ſlaughter of the moſt chiefe princes of his court, who a little before he made as much of as if they had been his owne children. Such another was Peter, which among diuers and ſundrie torments (among whom he being naked was licked vp, his whole bodie being beaten with whips and drone, that a man might ſée the bare bones, and after they had mingled vinegar and ſalt together, they powred it vpon the moſt tender parts of his bodie, & laſtly roſted at a ſoft fire, as a man would roſt fleſh to eate) as a victorious martyr ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius being in great authoritie and office vnder the emperour, after diuers torments were ſtrangled with a halter, which both being of the priuie chamber to him, when they ſaw and beheld the grieuous puniſhment of Peter their houſhold companion: Wherefore (ſaid they) O emperor, do you puniſh in Peter that opinion which is in all vs? Why is that accounted in him an offence, that all we confeſſe? We are of that faith, religion, and iudgement that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almoſt with like paines to bee tormented as Peter was, and afterwards hanged: Euſeb. Rufin. lib. 8. cap. 6. After whom Anthimus the biſhop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confeſſion, and bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men being thus diſpatched, the emperour vainely thought that he might cauſe the reſt to doe what euer him liſted. To this end came Lucianus the elder of the congregation of Antioch, and was martyred, after he had made his apologie before the emperor: Euſebius lib. 8. cap. 13.

Hermanus alſo, that monſter, cauſed Serena the wife of Diocleſian the emperor, to be martyred for the chriſtian religion: ſo much did the rage of perſecution vtterly forget all naturall affects. Other martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his ſeuenth booke & fourteenth chapter recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, & Anaſtaſia, vnder Illyricus chiefe officer, were bound hand & foote to a poſt & burnt: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 66. And alſo Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth ſuch another like matter full of horror & griefe. There aſſembled together in their temple many chriſtian men to celebrate the memorie of the natiuitie of Chriſt, of euery age and ſort ſome. There Maximianus thinking to haue been giuen a very fit occaſion to execute his tyrannie vpon the poore chriſtians, ſent thither ſuch as ſhould burne the temple, the doores being ſhut & cloſed round about; thither come they with fire, but firſt they commanded the crier with a loud voice to crie, that Whoſoeuer would haue life, ſhuld come out of the temple, and doe ſacrifice vpon the next altar they came to of Jupiter; & vnleſſe they would doe this, they ſhould all be burnt with the temple. Then one ſtepping vp in the temple, anſwered in the name of all the reſt with great courage & boldnes of mind, that they were all chriſtians, & beléeued that Chriſt was their only God and king, & that they would doe ſacrifice to him, with his Father & holy ghoſt, & that they were now all readie to offer vnto him. With theſe words the fire was kindled & compaſſed about the temple, & there were burnt of men, women, and children certaine thouſands. There were alſo in Arabia very many martyrs ſlaine with ares, as Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phrygia a city, vnto which the emperor ſent his edicts that they ſhould doe ſacrifice to the gods, and worſhip idols; all which citizens, the maior himſelfe, the queſtor and chiefe captaine confeſſed that they were all chriſtians. The citie vpon this was beſieged and ſet on fire, and all the people: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina a region of Armenia, the biſhops and elders were caſt in priſon: Euſeb. eodem cap. 6. In Arabyace a region néere adioining to Armenia Euſtratius was martyred, as Nicephorus declareth, lib. 7. cap. 14. This Euſtratius was that countrie man borne, and very skilfull in the Gréeke tongue, executing by the emperors commandement the shiriffes office at Licia in the eaſt, which alſo did execution there vpon the chriſtians, and was a ſcribe of great eſtimation, called Ordinis ducalis. This man beholding the maruellous conſtancie of the martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of martyrdome, for that he had priuily learned the chriſtian religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accuſers, detected himſelfe, & worthilie profeſſed that he was a chriſtian, openly execrating the madnes and vanitie of the wicked ethniks. He therefore being carried away, was tied vp, being firſt moſt bitterly beaten. After that hee was parched with fire being put vnto his bowels, & then baſted with ſalt & vinegar, and laſtly ſo ſcorched and bemangled with the ſhards of sharpe and cutting ſhels, that his whole bodie ſeemed to be all one continuall wound; howbeit, by Gods great goodnes afterward, it was reſtored to the firſt integritie. After this he was carried away to Sebaſtia, where, with his companion Dieſkes he was burnt. At that time alſo ſuffered Eugenius, Aurentius, Hardarius: Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no leſſe wiſe raged this perſecution throughout all Egypt, where Euſebius in his eight booke & thirteenth chapter maketh mention of Peleus & Nilus martyrs & biſhops in Egypt. But at Alexandria eſpecially were declared moſt notable conflicts of chriſtian and true conſtant martyrs that ſuffered: which Phileas the biſhop of Thmuitan deſcribeth, as after (God willing) ſhall be declared. In this perſecution of Alexandria, the principall that then ſuffred was Peter the biſhop of Alexandria, with the elders of the ſame, moſt worthie martyrs, as Faulus, Didius, & Ammonius, alſo Phileas, Heſichius, Pachyminus, and Theodorus, which all were biſhops of the congregations within Egypt, & beſides them many other both famous & ſingular men. The whole legio of chriſtia ſouldiers, which lay at Thebes in Egypt, vnder the chriſtian captaine Mauritius, when they would not obay the emperors commandement touching the worſhipping of images, were tithed to death once, & then again: and at laſt through the exhortatio of Mauritius, died al together like conſtant martyrs: Vincentius in ſpeculo, lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewiſe at Antino diuers chriſtian ſouldiers, notwithſtading they were ſeriouſlie diſſuaded, ſuffered death together, among whom were Aſcla, Philemon, & Apollonius, ibidé. cap. 50. And alſo in the other parts of Africa & Mauritania, was great perſecution, as Euſeb. li. 8. ca. 6. Alſo in Sammium, of which place Chronicon maketh mention, and Sicilia, where were 79. martyrs ſlaine for the profeſſion of Chriſt: Henr. de Erfordia.

Peters biſhop of Alexandria. Faulus, Didius, Ammonius, Phileas, Heſichius, Pachyminus, Theodorus, biſhops and martyrs.

The chriſtian ſouldiers and martyrs of Thebes.

The chriſtian ſouldiers and biſhops in Antino, Aſcla, Philemon, Apollonius, martyrs.

Seuentie nine martyrs.

Now let vs come vnto Europe. Nicephorus in his ſeuenth booke and fourteenth chapter ſaith, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the martyrs were in moſt miſerable and pitifull wiſe handled, where Liſias had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon ſuffered Euphemia vnder Priſcus the proconſull: Vincent. li. 12. ca. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia ſaith that at Rome, Johannes & Criſpus being prieſts, had the execution of martyrs. And at Boemia, Agricola, & Vitalis: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the emperor commanded euery man to kill the chriſtians: Vincent. lib. eod. ca. 58. And among thoſe martyrs he maketh mention of Felices & Fortunatus. Reginus alſo writeth that in other places of Italie the perſecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Naples, Campania, Beneuentus, at Venuſa in Apulia, and in Thuſcia: Henricus de Erfordia ſaith alſo at Verona. In France doubtleſſe Rectionarus appointed to that office plaied the cruell helhound, of whole great cruelty againſt the chriſtians many hiſtories are full. At Mediolanus ſuffered Victor. And at Maſſilia. Maximianus ſet forth his decrée, that either they ſhould all do ſacrifice vnto the gods of the gentils, or elſe be all ſlaine with diuers kinds of torments. Therfore many martyrs there died for the glory of Chriſt: Antoninus & Vincent. lib. 12. ca. 2. In Beluacus ſuffered Lucian.

The perſecution in Europe. Euphemia.

Perſecution in France. Victor martyr.

Lucianus martyr.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spaine where was great perſecution, as at Emerita, where ſuffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth hereafter, & Adula, where alſo ſuffered Vincentius, Sabina, & Chriſtina. At Toletum ſuffered Leucadia ỳ virgin, at Celarea Auguſta, where were put to death eightéene, beſide a great number of other martyrs which ſuffered vnder Decianus the gouernor, which afflicted with perſecution al the coaſt of Spaine, as ſaith Vincent. li. 13. ca. 123. 124. 128. 130. 134. The foreſaid Rectionarus made ſuch perſecution at Treuers néere the riuer of Moſella, that the bloud of the chriſtiã men that were ſlaine ran like ſmall brooks, and coloured great and maine riuers. Neither yet did this ſuffice him, but from thence ſent certain horſemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into euery place, and charge all ſuch as had taken and apprehended any chriſtians, that they ſhould immediatlie put them to death: Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 136.

The perſecution in Spaine.

Eulalia, Adula, Vincentius, Sabina, Chriſtina, Leucadia, martyrs.

Eighteene martyrs in Spaine.

Rectionarus, a notable tyrant.

The bloud of the chriſtians made riuers.

Alſo Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention of great perſecution to be at Colonia, where Agrippina and Auguſta were martyred, as alſo in the prouince of Rhetia.

Agrippina, Auguſta, martyrs.

Beda alſo ſaith, that this perſecution reached euen vnto the Britains, in his booke De ratione temporum. And the chronicle of Martinus, and the Nolegay of time do declare that all the chriſtians in Britannie were vtterly deſtroyed: furthermore, that the kinds of death & puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, as no mans tongue is able to expreſſe. In the beginning, when the emperor by his ſubtiltie and willineſſe rather dallied then ſhewed his rigor, he threatned them with bands and impriſonment: but within a while, when he began to worke the matter in good earneſt, hee deuiſed innumerable ſorts of torments and puniſhments, as whippings and ſcourgings, rackings, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire, and ſhipbotes, wherin a great number being put were ſunke and drowned in the bottom of the ſea: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. & 7. Alſo hanging them vpon croſſes, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads downeward, hanging them by the middles vpon gallowſes, till they died for hunger, throwing them aliue to ſuch kind of wild beaſts as would deuour them, as lions, beares, libards, & wild buls: Euſeb. li. 8. cap. 8. pricking and thruſting them in with bodkins and talens of beaſts till they were almoſt dead, lifting them vp on high with their heads downward, euen as in Thebaide they did vnto the women being naked and vnclothed, one of their féet tied and lifted on high, and ſo hanging downe with their bodies, which thing to ſée was very pitifull, with other deuiſed ſorts of puniſhments moſt tragicall, or rather tyrannicall, and pitifull to deſcribe: as firſt, the binding of them to trées, and to the boughes thereof; the pulling and tearing aſunder of their members and ioints, being tied to the boughes and armes of trees: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9. the mangling of them with ares, the choking of them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires, the diuiſion

Diocleſians did but dally in the beginning of the perſecution.

Sundrie ſorts of torments deuiſed againſt the chriſtians.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. 7. 8.

The women of Thebaide martyrs.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

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The persecution in Antioch.

dismembred of their hands, eares, and feet, with other ioynts, as the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching & broiling of them with coles, not vnto death, but euery day renewed. With such kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus other horrible punishments and feare full to be heard, did the martyrs of Christ suffer, of which, some had their fingers ends vnder the nailes thrust in with sharpe bodkins, some all to besprinkled with boiling lead, hauing their most necessarie members cut from them, some other suffering most filthie, intollerable, and indurable torments and paines in their bowels and priuie members: Eusebius eodem cap. 12.

Persecution in Pontus.

Persecution in Alexandria.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which raigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundrie kinds of new deuised punishments the martyrs were afflicted: Phileas, the bishop of the Thumitans, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his epistle to the Thumitans, the copie whereof Eusebius hath in his eight booke and tenth chapter, out of the which we meane here briefly to recite somewhat. Because (saith he) euery man might torment the holy martyrs as they listed themselues, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords, and this example of beating was in sundrie wise executed, and with much crueltie. For some of them hauing their hands bound behind their backes, were lifted vp vpon timber logs, and with certaine instruments their members and ioynts were stretched foorth, whereon their whole bodies hanging, were subiect to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their sides only, (like as homicides were) but vpon their bellies, thighs, and legs, they scratched them with the talens and clawes of wild beasts. Some others were seene to hang by one hand vpon the engine, whereby they might feele the more grieuous pulling out of the rest of their ioynts and members. Some others were in such sort bound vnto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, hauing no stay vnder their feete, and were violently weighed downe with the peise of their bodies, that by reason of their strict binding, they being drawne out, might be more grieuously tormented. And this suffered they not onely during the time of their examination, and while the shiriffe had to doe with them, but also the whole day long. And whilest the iudge went thus from one to another, he by his authoritie appointed certaine officers to attend vpon those hee left, and not to be let downe, vntill either through the intollerableneese of the paine, or by the extremitie of cold, they being neere the point of death, should be let downe: & so were they haled vpon the ground. And further they were commanded that they should shew not so much as one sparke of mercie or compassion vpon vs, but so extreamely and furiously did deale with vs, as though our soules and bodies should haue died together. And therfore yet another torment our aduersaries deuised, to augment our former plagues. After that they had most lamentablie beaten them, they deuised moreouer a new kind of racke, wherein they lying vpright, were stretched by both the feete aboue the fourth stop or hole with sharpe shels or shares strowed vnder them, after a strange kind of engine to vs here vnknowne. Othersome were cast downe vpon the pauement where they were oppressed so thicke, and so grieuously with torments, that it is not almost to be thought what afflictions they suffered.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Strange kinds of torments.

Thus they lying in paines and torments, some died therewith, not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular patience. Some halfe dead and halfe aliue were thrust into prison, where shortly after by paines and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some againe being cured of their wounds by their indurance in prison, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their cursed sacrifice and inioy their wicked liberty, or else sustaine the sentence of death, did willinglie and without delay abide the extremitie, remembring with themselues what is written in the scriptures, He that sacrificeth (saith he) to strange gods, shall be exterminat, &c. Item, Thou shalt not haue any strange gods beside me, &c. Thus much wrot Phileas to the congregation where hee was bishop, before hee receiued the sentence of death, being yet in bāds, and in the same exhorteth his brethren constantly to persist after his death, in the truth of Christ professed. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10. Ex Sabellico, lib. 7. cap. 9.

An holy martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

Sabellicus in his seuenth Ennead. and eight booke, saith that that christened man, which tore and pulled downe the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being script and beaten that the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vineger, was then slaine with this cruell kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.

But as all their torments were for their horriblenes, martellous and notable, and therewithall so studiously deuised, and no lesse grieuous and sharpe: so notwithstanding, therewith were these martyrs neither dismaid, nor ouercome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened, so merilie and ioyfullie sustained they whatsoeuer was put vnto them. Eusebius saith, that he himselfe beheld and saw the huge & great persecution that was done in Thebaide, in so much that the very swords

Eusebius a beholder and a witnesse of their suffering.

of the hangmen and persecutors being blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselues for wearinesse sat downe to rest them, and others were faine to take their places. And yet all this notwithstanding the murthered christians shewed their maruellous readinesse, willingnes, and diuine fortitude, which they were indued with, with stout courage, ioy, and smiling receiuing the sentence of death pronounced vpon them, & sung euen vnto the last gaspe hymnes and psalmes to God. So did also the martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas aboue mentioned. The holy martyrs (saith he) keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the loue of better rewards, sustained not only at one time whatsoeuer labour and deuised punishments they had to lay vpon them: but now also the second time haue done the same, and haue borne all the menaces of the cruell souldiers, not onely in words wherewith they threatned them, but also whatsoeuer in deed and worke they could deuise to their destruction, and that with most manly stomachs, excluding all feare, with the perfection of their vnspeakeable loue towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed. And Sulpitius saith in the second booke of his sacred history, that then the christians with more greedie desire praised and sought for martyrdome, then now they doe desire bishoprikes.

The swords blunt, and the hangmen wearied with slaughter.

The marueilous constancie of the martyrs of God in persecution and at the time of death.

Martyrdome more desired in the old time then bishoprikes be now.

Although some there were also, as I haue said, that with feare and threatnings, and by their owne infirmities were ouercome and went backe: Eusebius lib. 8. ca. 4. among whom Socrates nameth Miletius, lib. 1. cap. 6. and Athanasius in his second apologie nameth the bishop of Licus, a citie in little Egypt, whom Peter the bishop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed vnto the gentiles gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus the bishop of Rome, I will speake afterwards; for he being perswaded by others, and specially of the emperour Diocletian himselfe, did sacrifice, whereupon he was excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the same, was againe receiued into the congregation, & made martyr, as Platina, and the compiler of the booke of the generall councels affirme. The number of the martyrs increased daily, sometimes ten, sometimes twentie were slaine at once, somewhiles thirtie, and often times three score, and otherwhiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by diuers kinds of death: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 9. Also Damasus, Beda, Orosius, Honorius, and others do witnes, that there were slaine in this persecution by the names of martyrs, within the space of thirtie dates, seuenteene thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the metall mines and quaries with like crueltie.

Christians that denied in this persecution.

Welius reuoleth from the faith, and is excommunicated.

Marcellinus the bishop reuolteth and commeth again to the faith, and is martyred.

A hundred martyrs in one day.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

Seuenteene thousand martyrs in one moneth.

At Alexandria with Peter the bishop, of whom I haue made mention before, were slaine with axes three hundred and aboue as Sabellicus declareth. Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with three hundred of his fellowes, as saith Henricus de Erfordia. Maurittius the captaine of christian religion, with his fellowes six thousand six hundred sixtie and six. Victor in the citie of Troy now called Xanthus, with his followes three hundred and three score were slaine, as saith Otto Phrisingensis, lib. 2. cap. 45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twentie.

Three hundred slaine at one time in Alexandria.

Gereon martyred.

Maurittius with 6666. martyrs.

Victor with 360 martyrs slaine.

And for so much as mention here hath been made of Maurittius and Victor, the particular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado and other storie writers, as insueth.

Maurittius came out of Syria into France and Italie, being captain of the band of the Theban souldiers, to the number of six thousand sixe hundred & three score, being sent for of Maximianus, to goe against the rebellious Bangandes: but rather as it should seeme by the treason of the tyrant, which thought he might better in these quarters vse his tyrannie vpon the christians then in the east part. These Thebans with Maurittius the captaine, after that they had entred into Rome, who were there of Marcellus the blessed bishop confirmed in the faith, promising by oth, that they would rather be slaine of their enemies, then forsake that faith which they had receiued, who followed the emperors host through the Alpes euen into France. At that time the Colarians were incamped not farre from the towne called Octodor, where Maximianus offred sacrifice to his diuels, and called al the souldiers both of the east and west to the same, strictly charging them by the altars of his gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bangandes, and persecute the christian enemies of the emperors gods: which his commandement was shewed to the Thebans host, which were also encamped about the riuer of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne; but to Octodor they would in no wise come, for that euery man did certainely appoint and perswade with themselues rather in that place to die, then either to sacrifice to the gods, or beare armour against the christians. Which thing indeed very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, vpon their oth before taken to Maximianus when he sent for them. Wherwith the tyrant being wrathful and al moued, commanded euery tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, whereto shriuinglie and with great reioycing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, Maurittius himselfe was a great incourager, who by and by with a most graue oration exhorted & animated his souldiers both

The history of Maurittius captaine of the Theban souldiers.

Euery tenth man in the legion slaine.

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both to fortitude and constancie. Which being againe called of
The oration of the souldiers to the emperour.
the emperour, answered in this wise saying: We are ô emperor your souldiers, but yet also to speake freely, the seruants of God. We owe to thee seruice of warre, to him innocencie: of thee we receiue for our trauell wages; of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wise obey thee ô emperour, to denie God our author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewise, will ye, nil ye. If we be not so extreamely enforced that we offend him, doubtlesse as we haue hitherto before, we will yet obey you: but otherwise we will rather obey him then you. We offer heere our hands against any other enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. These right hands of ours haue skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies: but to spoile and murther the godlie and citizens, they haue no skill at all. We haue in remembrance how wee tooke armour in hand for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We fought alwaies for iustice sake, pietie, and for the health of innocents. These haue been alwaies the rewards of our perils and trauell. We haue fought in the quarell of faith, which in no wise we can keepe to you, if we do not shew the same to our God. We first sware vpon the sacraments of our God, then afterward to the king: and doe you thinke the second will auaile vs, if we breake the first? By vs you would plague the christians, to do which feate we are only commanded by you. We are heere readie to confesse God the author of all things, and belieue in his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellowes and partakers of our labours and trauels, to be put to the sword, and we sprinkled with their blood; of which our most blessed companions and brethren, their end and death we haue not bewailed nor mourned, but rather haue been glad, and haue reioyced thereat, for that they haue bin counted worthie to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreame necessitie of death cannot moue vs against your maiesty, neither yet any desperation, ô emperour, which is wont in ventrous affaires to do much, shall arme vs against you. Behold here we cast downe our weapons, and resist not, for that we had rather to be killed, then kill, and guiltlesse to die, then guiltie to liue. Whatsoeuer more yee will command, appoint and enioyne vs, we are heere readie to suffer, yea both fire and sword: and whatsoeuer other torments. We confesse our selues to be christians, we cannot persecute christians, nor will do sacrifice to your diuellish idols.

Mauricius and his companie martyred.
With which their answere the king being altogether incensed and moued, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case murthered. That crueltie also being accomplished, at length when the christian souldiers would in no wise condescend vnto his mind, he set vpon them with his whole host, both footmen and also horsemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force set vpon them, they making no resistance, but throwing downe their armour, yéelded their liues to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

The constant boldnes of Victor in refusing to eat with the cruell persecutors, for the which he was also slaine. Victor martyr.
Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any souldier, but one being an old souldier, and dismissed for his age. At which time he comming suddenly vpon them as they were banquetting and making merrie with the spoiles of the holy martyrs, was bidden to sit downe with them: and first asking the cause of that their so great reioycing, and vnderstanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eate with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a christian or no: openly confessed and denied not, but that he was a christian, and euer would be. And thereupon they rushing vpon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdome and honor.

The number of the christians encreased for all this persecution.
Beda in his historie writeth, that this persecution being vnder Diocletian, endured vnto the seuenth yeare of Constantinus. And Euseb. lib. cap. 6. saith, that it lasted vntill the tenth yeare of Constantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the day in which Diocletian and Maximinian ioining themselues together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the christians rather to encrease then to diminish, notwithstanding all the crueltie that euer they could shew, and now were out of all hope for the vtter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise, & hauing now euen their fill of blod, and lothing as it were the shedding therof, they ceased at the last of their owne accord to put any more christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legges at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of mettals, not so much for the vse of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemencie and release of the crueltie of those princes, which said ý it was not meet that the cities should be defiled with the blod of citizens, and to make the emperours highnesse to be disdained with the name of crueltie, but to shew his princely beneficence and liberalitie to all men. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Diocletian and Maximinian were tired with persecution, and gaue vp their kingdome.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

When Diocletian and Maximinian had raigned together emperours one and twentie yeares (Nicephorus saith two and twentie yeares) at length Diocletian put himselfe from his emperiall dignitie at Nicomedia, and liued at Salona, Maximinian at Mediolanum, and led both of them a priuat life in the three hundred and ninth yeare after Christ. This strange and

{Anno 309}

marueilous alteration gaue occasion, and so came to passe, that within short space after, there were in the Roman commonwealth many emperours at one time.

The names of the tyrants. Diocletian and Maximinian emperours deposed. Galerius Maximinus, Constantius emperours.
In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Diocletian being made emperour, tooke to him Maximinian. Also how these two gouerning as emperours together, chose other two Cesars vnder them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius the father of Constantine the great. Thus then Diocletian raigning with Maximinian, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, began his furious persecution against the christians, whose raigne after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrants mouth, that within two yeares after, he caused both him and Maximinian (for what cause he knoweth) to giue ouer their emperiall function, and so to remaine not as emperours any more, but as priuat persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the emperiall dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two diuided the whole monarchie betweene them: so that Maximinus should gouerne the east countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius as a modest prince, onely contented with the emperiall title, refused Italie and Aphrike, contenting himselfe only with France, Spaine, and Britaine. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to him his two sonnes Maximinus and Seuerus. Likewise Constantius tooke Constantinus his sonne Cesar vnder him. In the meane time, while Maximinus with his two Cesars were in Asia, the Romane souldiers set vp for their emperour Maxentius the sonne of Maximinian, who had before deposed himselfe. Against whom Maximinus the emperour of the east sent his sonne Seuerus, which Seuerus was slaine in the same voyage of Maxentius, in whose place then Maximinus tooke Licinius. And these were the emperors and Cesars, which succéeding after Diocletian and Maximinian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Diocletian and Maximinian before begunne, during néere the space of seuen or eight yeares, which was to the yeare of our Lord three hundred and eightéene: saue onely that Constantius with his sonne Constantinus, was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Clorus for his palenesse, was the sonne of Eutropius, a man of great nobilitie of the Romane nation, as Letus affirmeth. Hée came of the line of Eneas and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man had not the desire of great and mightie dominions, and therefore parted hée the empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britaine and Spaine, refusing the other kingdomes for the troublesome and difficult gouernment of the same. Otherwise hée was a prince, as Eutropius maketh description of him, verie excellent, ciuill, méeke, gentle, liberall, and desirous to doe good vnto those that had any priuate authoritie vnder him. And as Cyrus once said, that hée gat treasure enough, when hée made his friends rich: euen so it is said that Constantius would often times say, that it were better that his subiects had treasure, then he to haue it in his treasure-house. Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, in so much that he vsed to eat and drinke in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation) and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, hée would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. To these vertues he added yet a more worthie ornament, that is, deuotion, loue, and affection towards the word of God, as Eusebius in his eight booke and thirteenth chapter affirmeth: after which vertues ensued great peace and tranquillitie in all his prouinces. By which word he being guided, neither leuied any warres contrarie to pietie and christian religion, neither aided he any other that did the same, neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the christians should be preserued and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious iniuries. And when that in the other iurisdictions of the empire, the congregations were molested with persecution, as Sozomenus declareth in his first booke and first chapter, he only gaue licence vnto the christians to liue after their accustomed manner. This wonderfull act of his following, besides others, doth shew that he was a sincere worshipper of the christian religion.

Maximinus, Seuerus, Constantinus, Cesars.

Maxentius emperour. Licinius Cesar.

{Anno 318}

The commendation of Constantius.

Happie Constantius.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13. Constantius gratious to the christians.

Sozomenus lib. 1. cap. 6.

Those which bare the chiefe offices amongst the ethnikes, draue out of the emperours court all the godlie christians: whereupon this ensued, that the emperours themselues at the last were destitute of helpe, when such were driuen away: which dwelling in their courts, and liuing a godly life, powred out their prayers vnto God for the prosperous estate & health both of the empire and the emperor. Constantius therefore minding at a certaine time to trie what sincere and god christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and seruants in the same, faining himselfe to chuse out such as would do sacrifice to diuels, and that those only should dwell there and keepe their offices; and that those which would refuse to do the same should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers diuided themselues into companies: the emperor marked which were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said that they would willingly do sacrifice, other some openly and boldly denied to do the

Constantius proueth who were true christians in his court, and who were not. Ex Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 1. Ex Sozomeno lib. 1. cap. 6.

False christians discerned from true.

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same, then the emperour sharpely rebuked those which were so readie to do sacrifice, and iudged them as false traytors vnto God, accounting them vnworthie to be in his court, which were such traytors to God, and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended them, which refused to do sacrifie and confessed God, affirming that they only were worthie to be about a prince, forthwith commanding them that thenceforth they should be the trustie counsellers and defenders both of his person and kingdome, saying thus much more, that they only were worthie to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to haue them in more estimation, then the substance he had in his treasurie. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first booke of the life of Constantinus, and also Sozomenus in his first booke and first chapter.

Euseb. lib. de vita Constant.

Maximinus an enemie to the christians.

With this Constantius was ioyned (as hath been afore said) Galerius Maximinus, a man, as Eutropius affirmeth, very ciuill and a valiant good souldier: furthermore, a fauourer of wise and learned men, of a quiet disposition, not rigorous, but in his drunkennesse, whereof he would soone after repent him, as Victor writeth; whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus his sonne, it is vncertaine. But Eusebius farotherwise describeth the conditions of him in his eight booke and first chapter. For he saith he was of a tyrannicall disposition: the fearefullest man that might be, and curious in all magicall superstition, in so much that without the diuinations and answeres of diuels he durst doe nothing at all, and therefore he gaue great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore that he was an exactor and extortioner of the citizens, liberall to those that were flatterers, giuen to surfetting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkennesse most like a mad man, a ribaud, an adulterer, which came to no citie but he rauished virgins and defiled mens wiues. To conclude, he was so great an idolater, that he built vp temples in euery citie, and repared those that were fallen in great decay: and he chose out the most worthie of his politicall magistrates to be the idols priests, and deuised that they should execute that their office with great authoritie and dignitie, and also with warlike pompe. But vnto christian pietie and religion he was most intensiue, and in the east churches exercised cruell persecution, and vsed as executioners of the same, Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus beside others.

The wickednes of Maximinus described.

A terrible plague sent by God to Maximinus.

Notwithstanding he was at length reuoked from his crueltie by the iust iudgement and punishment of God. For hee was suddenly vexed with a fatall disease most filthie and desperat, which disease to describe was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his bodie. For in the priuie members of his bodie there happened vnto him a sudden putrifaction, and after in the bottome of the same a botchie corrupt bile, with a fistula, consuming and eating vp his intrals, out of the which came swarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with such a pestiferous stinke that no man could abide him, and so much more, for that all the grossenesse of his bodie by abundance of meat before he fell sicke, was turned also into fat; which fat now putrified, and stinking, was so vgsome and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the physitians which had him in cure, some of them not able to abide the intollerable stinke were commanded to be slaine. Other some, because they could not heale him being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death. At length being put in remembrance that his disease was sent of God, hee began to forethinke the wickednesse that hee had done against the Saints of God, and so comming againe to himselfe, first confesseth to God all his offences, then calling them vnto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecutions of the christians: requiring moreouer that they should set vp his emperiall proclamations, for the reforing and reedifying of their temples, and that they would obtaine this of the christians, in their assemblies (which without all feare and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would deuoutly pray to their God for the emperour. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the emperiall proclamations in euery citie were set vp, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the christians were before decreed, the copie whereof ensueth.

Maximinus killeth his physicians.

Maximinus his countermand in the behalfe of the christians.

Amongst other things, which for the benefit and commoditie of the common weale we established, we commanded to reforme all things according to the ancient lawes and publike discipline of the Romans, and also to vse this policie, that the christians, which had forsaken the religion of their forefathers, should be brought againe to the right way. For such phantasticall singularitie was amongst them, that those things which their elders had receiued and allowed, they reiected and disallowed, deuising euery man such lawes as they thought good, and obserued the same, assembling in diuers places great multitudes of people.

Therefore when our foresaid decree was proclamed, many there were that felt the penaltie thereof, and many being troubled therefore suffered many kinds of death. And because we see yet that there be many which persuere in the same, which neither giue due worship vnto the celestiall gods, neither receiue the God of the christians, we hauing respect to our accustomed benignitie, wherewith we are wont to shew fauour vnto all men, thinke good in this cause also to extend our clemencie, that the christians may be againe tollerated, and appoint them places where againe they may meet together, so that they doe nothing contrarie to publike order and discipline. By another epistle we meane to prescribe vnto the iudges, what shal be conuenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountifull clemencie deserueth, let them make intercession to God for our health, commonweale, and for themselues; that in all places the state of the commonweale may be preserued, and that they themselues may be able safely to liue within their bounds.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. vlt.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. vlt.

But one of his inferior officers, whose name was also Maximinus, was not well pleased when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the prouinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not conuenient for him to repugne the pleasure of those princes which had the chiefe authoritie, as Constantinus and Maximinus, set forth of himselfe no edict touching the same: but commanded his officers in the presence of others, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the christians: of which commandement of the inferior Maximinus, each of them gaue intelligence vnto their fellowes by their letters. But Sabinus, which then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignitie, to the substitutes of euery countrie wrote by his letters the emperours pleasure in this wise.

Sabinus in the fauour of the christians publisheth the decree.

The maiestie of our most gratious and soueraigne lords the emperours, hath lately decreed with speciall diligence and deuotion, to enduce all men to an vniforme life, so that they which seemed to dissent from the Romane custome by a strange manner of liuing, should exhibit to the immortall gods their due and proper worship: but the wilfull and obstinate mind of diuers so much, and so continually resisted the same, that by no lawfull meanes they might be reuoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terrour or punishment. Because therefore it so came to passe, that by this meanes many put themselues in perill and ieopardie: the maiestie of our soueraigne lords the emperours, according to their noble pietie, considering that it was far from the meaning of their princely maiesties that such things should bee, whereby so many men and much people should bee destroyed, gaue mee in charge that with diligence I should write vnto you, that if any of the christians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exercise of their religion, that in no wise you molest the same, neither for that cause you do iudge anie man worthie of punishment: for that in all this time it hath euidently appeared, that by no meanes they might be allured from such wilfulnesse. It is therefore requisit that your wisdome write vnto the questors, captaines, and constables of euery citie and village, that they may know it not to be lawfull for them, or any of them, to do contrarie to the prescript of this commandement, neither that they presume to attempt the same.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Persecution ceaseth for a time.

The gouernors therefore of euery prouince supposing this to be the determinat pleasure (and not fained) of the emperour, did first aduertise thereof, the rusticall and pagan multitude: after that they released and set at libertie all such prisoners as were condemned to the mettall mines, and to perpetuall imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceiued) that the doing therof would please the emperor. This therefore seemed to them as vnlooked for, and as light to trauellers in a darke night. They gather themselues together in euery city, they cal their synods and councels, and much marueil at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselues extoll the only and true God of the christians. The christians receiue againe all their former liberties, and such as fell away before in the time of persecution, repent themselues, and after penance done, they returned againe to the congregation.

The infidels acknowledge the God of the christians.

Now the christians reioyced in euery citie, praysing God with hymnes and psalmes: Eusebius ibidem. This was a maruellous sudden alteration of the church, from a most vnhappie state into a better: but scarce suffered Maximinus the tyrant the same sir moneths vnviolated to continue. For what soeuer seemed to make for the subuersion of the same peace (yet scarcely hatched) that did he only meditate. And first of all he toke from the christians all libertie and leaue for them to assemble and congregat in churchyards vnder a certaine colour. After that he sent certaine miscreants vnto the Atheniens, to solicit them against the christians, and to prouoke them to aske of him as a recompence and great reward, that he would not suffer any christian to inhabit in their countrie: and amongst them was one Theotechnus, a most wicked miscreant, an inchanter, and a most deadly enemie against the christians. Hee first made the way whereby the christians were put out of credit and accused to the emperour, to which fraud also he erected a certaine idoll of Iupiter to be worshipped of the inchanters and coniurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies full of deceiueable witchcraft. Lastly, hee caused the same idoll to giue this sound out of his mouth, that is: Iupiter commandeth the christians to bee banished out of the citie and suburbs of the same, as enemies vnto him. And the same sentence

One alteration vpon another.

The diuelish practise of Theotechnus.

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sentence did the rest of the gouernours of the prouinces publish against the christians, and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appointed and instituted high priests and bishops in euery citie to offer sacrifice vnto idols, and enueigled all those that were in great offices vnder him, that they should not only cease to pleasure them and to do for them, but also that they should with new deuised accusations against them, at their pleasure, put as many to death as by any meanes they might. They also did counterfeit certaine practises of Pilat against our Sauiour Christ full of blasphemie, and sent the same into all the empire of Maximinus by their letters, commanding that the same should be published and set vp in euery citie and suburbs of the same, and that they should be deliuered to the schoolemaisters, to cause their scholers to learne by rote the same.

The vaine practises of the heathen against Christ and his religion.

A deuised accusation against the christians by harlots.

After that, one named Præfectus castrorum, whom the Romans do call captaine, allured certaine light women, partlie by feare, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus in Phenicia, and taken out of the court, wherein they were accused, that they should openly say in writing that they were once christians, and that they knew what wicked and lasciuious acts the christians were wont to execute amongst themselues vpon the sundaies, and what other things they thought good to make more of their owne head, to the slander of the christians. The captaine sheweth vnto the emperour their words, as though it had ben so indeed: and the emperour by and by commanded the same to be published throughout euerie citie. Furthermore, they did hang vp in the middest of euery city (which was neuer done before) the emperours edicts against the christians, grauen in tables of brasse. And the children in the scholes with great noyse and clapping of hands did euerie day resound the contumelious blasphemies of Pilat vnto Iesus, and what other things soeuer were deuised of the magistrates, after a most despitefull manner. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And this is the copie of the edict, which Maximinus caused to be fastened to pillers, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ.

Maximinus recountermand grauen in brasse.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 3.

The copie of the recountermand made against the christians.

The weake and imbecill rebellion of mans mind (all obscuritie and blindnesse of ignorance set apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the minds of impious and miserable men in the pernicious darkenesse of ignorance) is now at the length able to discerne, that the same is gouerned, as also corroborated by the prouidence of the immortall gods the louers of vertue: which thing, how acceptable it is to vs, how pleasant and gratefull, and how much proofe the same hath declared of your well disposed willing minds, is incredible to be told: although this was not vnknowne before, with what diligence and deuotion ye serued the immortal gods, whose wonderfull and constant faith is not knowne by bare and naked words, but by your worthy & notable deeds. Wherefore worthily is your citie called the habitation and seat of the immortall gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth, & prospereth by the presence of the celestiall gods. For behold, your citie not regarding your priuat businesses, nor esteeming that which should haue bin for the speciall commoditie thereof, when it perceiued that cursed vanitie to begin againe to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brands therof began to kindle & make a great flame: by and by without delay ye hauing recourse vnto our pietie, as vnto the metropolitan of all diuine worship & religion, craued remedy and help, which wholsome mind for your pieties sake, it is most manifest that the gods haue indued you with. Therefore he, euen that most mightie Iupiter, I say, which preserueth your most famous citie: to that intent he might deliuer and make free your countrie gods, your wiues and children, your houshold gods and houses, from all detestable corruption, hath inspired you with this wholesome and willing mind, shewing and declaring how worthie, notable, and healthfull a thing it is, to worship and to sacrifice to the immortall gods. For who is so void of reason and vnderstanding, that knoweth not that this thing hapneth vnto vs by the careful studie of the goodnesse of our gods, that the ground denieth not to giue her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the husbandmans hope, nor that wicked war dare shew her face vpon the earth, nor that the corruption of the aire is now cause of pestilence, neither that the sea swelleth with immoderat winds, neither that sudden storms are cause of hurtfull tempests: to conclude, that the ground which is as the nurse and mother of all things, is not swallowed vp of her deep chaps and gapings, by terrible earthquake; neither that the hils made leuell with the earth, are not with gaping clifts deuoured; all which euils and greater then these, before this time to haue hapned, euery man knoweth. And all these mischiefes came vpon vs for the pernicious errors sake of the extreme follie of those wicked men the christians, when filthinesse it selfe (as I may call it) so occupied their minds, and ouerran the world. Let them behold the fields now all about full of corne, and ouerflowen as it were with ears of corne. Let them view the pleasant medows clothed with flowers, & moistned with showers from heauen, and also the pleasant and temperat weather. Therefore let all men reioyce, that by your pietie, sacrifices and worshipping, the maiestie of the most sterne god of battell Mars is appeased, and that therefore wee enioy pleasant and firme peace. And how many soeuer haue left that blind errour and straying of the christians vnfainedly, and bee of a better mind, let them specially reioice, as men deliuered out of a sudden great tempest, and from a grieuous disease, and haue afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtlesse, if they had remained in that execrable vanitie, far off had they been chased from your city and suburbs of the same (according to your desire) that your citie by that meanes, according to your commendable diligence, clensed from all impuritie and impietie, may offer sacrifices according to the meaning of the same, with due reuerence of the immortall gods. And that you may perceiue in how good part your supplication was vnto vs (yea vnasked and desired) we are most willing and readie to further your honest endeauours, and grant vnto you for your deuotion, whatsoeuer you aske of our magnificence. And that this thing may be accomplished, forthwith aske and haue. And this thing with all speed endeuour you to obtaine, which shall be a perpetuall testimonie of pietie exhibited of your citie to the immortal gods, and shal be a president to your children and posteritie, and withall you shall obtaine of vs for this your willing desire of reformation, condigne and worthie rewards. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.

Thus came it to passe that at the length persecution was as great as euer it was, and the magistrates of euery prouince were very disdainefull against the christians which condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three christians at Emisa in Phenicia, with whom Syluanus the bishop a verie old man, being fortie yeares in the ecclesiasticall function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus the elder of Antioch, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the emperor his apologie concerning the doctrine of the christians, was cast in prison, and after put to death. In Amasea a citie of Cappadocia, Bringes the lieutenant of Maximinus, had at that time the executing of that persecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a most worthie bishop was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. li. 7. ca. 44. Quirinus the bishop of Scescanus hauing a handmill tied about his necke, was throwne headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floted aboue the water, and when he opened his mouth to speake to the lokers on that they should not be dismaid with that his punishment, was with much ado drowned: Chron. Euseb. At Rome died Marcellus the bishop, as saith Platina, also Timotheus the elder, with many other bishops and priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sundrie places euery where were martyred, whose names ye book intituled Fasciculus temporum declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Cassorius with his wife, Cassulus, Celsarius, Nemnas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martyrs. Erasmus, Bonifacius, Iuliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basilinus, with seuen others. Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hirenæus, Ianuarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea, Theodora, & two hundred threescore & ten other martyrs. Florianus, Primus & Felicianus, Vitus & Modestus, Crescentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the virgin, & Antheus the king with many thousand martyrs mo. Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Iustus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other more (to an infinit number) suffered martyrdome in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the booke of life. Also Felix Victor with his parents, Lucia the widow, Gemenianus with threescore and nineteene others, Sabinus, Anastasia, Chrysogonus, Felix and Audactus, Adrianus, Natholia, Eugenia, Agnes also when she was but thirteene yeeres old was martyred. Eusebius in his eight booke and fifteenth chapter rehearseth these kinds of torments and punishments, that is to say, fire, wilde beasts, the sword, crucifyings, the bottome of the sea, the cutting and burning of members, the thrusting out of eyes, dismembring of the whole bodie, hunger, imprisonment, and whatsoeuer other cruelties the magistrates could deuise. All which notwithstanding the godly ones, rather then that they would do sacrifice as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they being enticed to the filthie vse of their bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselues. Neither yet could the christians liue safely in the wildernesse, but were fetched euen from thence to death and torments, in so much that this was a more grieuous persecution vnder Maximinus the tyrant, then was the former cruell persecution vnder Maximianus the prince: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6.

Persecution renued afresh.

Syluanus bishop, Lucianus elder, Petrus bishop, Quirinus bishop, Marcellus bishop, Timotheus elder, martyrs.

The persecution of Maximinus the younger.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44.

Ex fasciculo temporum.

Cosmas, Damianus, Dorothea, with other martyrs.

Two hundred threescore and ten martyrs.

Gemenianus with threescore and nineteene martyrs.

Generall kinds of torments: *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

And for so much as yee haue heard the cruell edict of Maximinus proclamed against the christians, grauen in brasse, which hee thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion: now marke againe the great handie worke of God, which immediatly fell vpon the same, checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, proouing all to be false and contrarie that in the brasen proclamation was contained. For where the foresaid edict boasted so much of the prosperitie and plentie of all things in the same time of this persecution of the christians, suddenly befell such vnseasonable drought, with famine and pestilence among the people, besides also the wars with the Armenians, that all was found vntrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which famine and pestilence the people were greatly consumed, in so much that one

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6. 10.

The worke of God against the foresaid edict.

The proud and blasphemous proclamation of the emperour proued false and contrarie.

Wicked blasphemie.

Horrible blasphemie.

The like argument of weather and corne, and plentie, made the vnfaithful Iewes, and also make now our faithlesse papists.

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measure of wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Athens coine, by reason whereof innumerable died in the cities, but many more in the countrie and villages, so that most part of the husbandmen and countrimen died vp with the famine and pestilence. Diuers there were which bringing out their best treasure, were glad to giue it for any kind of sustenance, were it neuer so little. Others selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreame pouertie and beggerie. Certains eating grasse, and feeding on other vnwholesome herbs, were faine to relieue themselues with such food as did hurt and poyson their bodies. Also a number of women in the cities, being brought to extreame miserie and penurie, were constrained to depart the citie, and fall to begging throrow the countrey. Some others were weake and faint (as images without breath) wandring vp and downe, and not able to stand for feblenesse, fell downe in the middle of the streets, and holding vp their hands most pitifull, cried for some scraps or fragments of bread to be giuen them, and being at the last gaspe, readie to giue vp the ghost, and not able to vtter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungrie. Of the richer sort diuers there were, who being wearie with the number of beggers and askers, after they had bestowed largely vpon them, became hard hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same miserie themselues, as they which begged. By reason whereof, the market place, streets, lanes, and allies lay full of dead and naked bodies, being cast out and vnburied, to the pitifull and grieuous beholding of them that saw them. Wherefore many were eaten of dogs, for which cause they that liued fell to the killing of dogs, lest they running mad, should fall vpon them, and kill them.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 8.

A terrible hunger among the heathen persecutors described.

Pestilence among the persecutors.

In like manner the pestilence scattering throughout all houses and ages of men, did no lesse consume them, especially those which through plentie of victuals escaped famine. Wherefore the rich princes and presidents, and other innumerable of the magistrates, being the more apt to receiue the infection, by reason of their plentie, were quickly dispatched, and turned vp their heeles. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning, neither was there any thing else seene, but wailing and weeping in euery corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence, in short time brake vp and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from one house to one funerall.

These were the rewards of the vaine brags of Maximinus and his edicts, which he did publish in all townes and cities against vs, when it was euident to all men, how diligent and charitable the christians were to them all in this their miserable extremitie. For they only in all this time of distresse, shewing compassion vpon them, trauelled euery day, some in curing the sicke, and some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their owne sort were forsaken. Other some of the christians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in ieopardie of famine, distributed bread vnto them, whereby they ministred occasion to all men to glorifie the God of the christians, and to confesse them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their workes. By the meanes and reason hereof, the great God and defender of the christians, who before had shewed his anger & indignation against all men, for their wrongfull afflicting of vs, opened againe vnto vs the comfortable light of his prouidence, so that by meanes thereof peace fell vnto vs, as light vnto them that sit in darkenesse, to the great admiration of all men, which easily perceiue God himselfe to bee a perpetuall directer of our doings, who many times chalteneth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction againe sheweth himselfe mercifull and fauourable to them which with trust call vpon him.

The charitie of the christians to the enemies. Let your light so shine among men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen.

By the narration of these things heretofore premised, taken out of the storie of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so is it wonderfull to marke and note, how those counsels and rages of the gentiles atchieued against Christ and his christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselus. And whereby they thought most to confound the church and religion of Christ, the same turned most to their owne confusion, and to the profit and praise of the christians (God of his maruellous wisedome so ordering and disposing the end of things.) For where the brasen edict of the emperour promised temperat weather, God sent drought: where it promised plentie, God immediatly sent vpon them famine and penurie: where it promised health, God strooke them euen vpon the same, with grieuous pestilence, and with other more calamities, in such sort, that the most reliefe they had, was chiefely by the christians, to the great praise both of them, and to the honor of our God.

The wisedome and policie of man ouerthrowne in his owne turne. Qui comprehendit sapientes in astutia.

Thus most plainly and euidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his church, affirming and assuring vs. that The gates of hell shall not preuaile against his church builded vpon his faith: as sufficiently may appeare by these ten persecutions aboue specified and described. Wherein as no man can denie, but that satan and his malignant world haue allayed the vttermost of their power and might to ouerthrow the church of Iesus: so must all men needs grant, that reade these stories, that when satan and the gates of hell haue done their worst, yet haue they not preuailed against this mount of Sion, nor euer shall. For else what was heere to be thought, where so many emperours and tyrants together, Diocletian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Parentius, Licinius, with their captaines and officers, were let lose, like so many lions, vpon a scattered and vnarmed flocke of sheepe, intending nothing else, but the vtter subuersion of all christianity, and especially also when lawes were set vp in braue against the christians, as a thing perpetually to stand: what was heere to bee looked for, but a finall desolation of the name and religion of christians? But what followed, partly yee haue heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the storie following.

The gates of hell shall not preuaile against the church builded vpon the faith of Christ.

I shewed before how Parentius, the sonne of Maximinian, was set vp at Rome by the pretorian souldiers to be emperour. Whereunto the senat, although they were not consenting, yet for feare they were not resisting. Maximinian his father, who had before depryued himselfe with Diocletian, hearing of this, toke heart againe to him, to resume his dignitie, and so laboured to perswade Diocletian also to do the same: but when he could not moue him thereunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his sonnes hands. But when the souldiers would not suffer that, of a craftie purpose he flieth to Constantinus in France, vnder pretence to complaine of Parentius his sonne, but in very deed to kill Constantinus. Notwithstanding that conspiracie being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Constantinus had married, so was Constantinus through the grace of God preserued, and Maximinian retired backe. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximinian.

The death and end of Maximinian.

Now let vs returne to Parentius againe, who all this whille raigned at Rome, with tyrannie and wickednesse intollerable, much like to another Pharao or Nero. For hee slew the most part of his noble men, and toke from them their goods. And sometime in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his souldiers, as Eusebius declareth, Lib. 8. cap. 14. Also he left no mischieuous nor lasciuious act vnattempted, but was the vtter enemie of all womanly chastitie, which vsed to send the honest wiues, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonestie vnto their husbands (being worthie senators) after that he had rauished them. Hee abstained from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the inquenchable lust of deflouring of women. Letus declareth that he being at a time far in loue with a noble and chast gentlewoman of Rome, sent vnto her such courtiers of his, as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation then any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the commonweale. These first fell vpon her husband and murthered him within his owne house; then when they could by no meanes neither with feare of the tyrant, or with threatning of death pull her away from him: at length she being a christian desired leaue of them to go into her chamber, and after her praiers she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her chamber, vnder this pretence, she killed her selfe. But the courtiers when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they being displeased therewith, brake open the doores, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the emperour, who was so farre past shame, that in stead of repentance he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

The wickednesse of Parentius described.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 14.

A shamefull act of incontinencie.

He was also much addict to the art magicall, which to execute, he was more fit then the emperiall dignitie. Also sometime he would rip women when they were in labor, and would search the place where the infant lay, being borne a little before. Often he would inuocate diuels in a secret manner, and by the answeres of them he sought to breake the wars, which he knew Constantinus and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrat his mischieuous and wicked attempts, which in his vngratious mind hee had conceiued, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his raigne hee fained himselfe to be a fauourer of the christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, hee commanded that they should cease from persecuting of the christians. And he himselfe in the meane season abstained from no contumelious veration of them, till that he began at the last to shew himselfe an open persecutour of them: at which time as Zonaras writeth he most cruelly raged against the christians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner iniuries. Which thing he in no lesse wise did, then Maximinus, as Eusebius in his eight booke and fifteenth chapter seemeth to affirme. And Platina declareth in the life of Marcellus the bishop, that hee banished a certaine noble woman of Rome, because shee gaue her goods to the church.

A monster in the likelihood of an emperour.

A lively patterne of an hypocrite.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 15.

Thus by the grieuous tyrannie and vnspeakeable wickednesse of this Parentius, the citizens and senatours of Rome being much grieued and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters vnto Constantinus, with much sute and most heartie petitions, desiring him to helpe and release their countrie and citie of Rome: who hearing and vnderstanding their miserable and pitifull state, and grieued therewith not a little,

The Romans send to Constantine for succour.

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little, firſt ſendeth by letters to Maxentius, deſiring and exhorting him to refraine his corrupt doings, and great crueltie. But when no letters nor exhortations would preuaile, at the length pitying the wofull caſe of the Romans, gathered together his power and armie in Britaine and France, wherewith to repreſſe the violent rage of that tyrant. Thus Conſtantinus ſufficiently appointed with ſtrength of men, but eſpecially with ſtrength of God, entred his iourney comming towards Italie, which was about the laſt yeare of the perſecution, three hundred and eightéene. Maxentius vnderſtanding of the comming of Conſtantine, and truſting more to his diuelliſh art of magike, then to the good will of his ſubiects, which he little deſerued, durſt not ſhew himſelfe out of the citie, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with priuie garrisons laid in wait for him by the way, in ſundrie ſtraits as he ſhould come. With whom Conſtantine had diuers ſkirmiſhes, & by the power of the Lord did euer vanquiſh them and put them to flight. Notwithſtanding Conſtantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approching now néere vnto Rome) for the magicall charmes and ſorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquiſhed before Seuerus ſent by Galerius againſt him, as hath béen declared, which made alſo Conſtantinus the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexitie in himſelfe, and reuoluing many things in his mind, what helpe he might haue againſt the operations of his charming, which vſed to cut women great with child, to take his diuelliſh charms by the intrals of ỹ infants, with ſuch other like feats of diuelliſhneſſe which he practiſed: theſe things (I ſay) Conſtantinus doubting and reuoluing in his mind, in his iourney drawing foward the citie, and calling vp his eyes many times to heauen, in the ſouth part, about the going downe of the ſunne, ſaw a great brightneſſe in heauen, appearing in the ſimilitude of a croſſe, with certaine ſtarres of equall bigneſſe giuing this inſcription like Latine letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is: In this ouercome. Euſebius de vita Conſtant. lib. 2. Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrſpergenſis. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. This miraculous viſion to be true, for the more credit, Euſebius Pamphilus in his firſt booke De vita Conſtantini, doth witneſſe moreouer, that he had heard the ſaid Conſtantinus himſelfe oftentimes report, and alſo to ſweare this to be true and certaine, which he did ſée with his owne eyes in heauen, and alſo his ſouldiers about him. At the ſight whereof when he was greatly aſtonied, and conſulting with his men vpon the meaning thereof, behold in the night ſeaſon in his ſléepe Chriſt appeared to him with the ſigne of the ſame croſſe, which he had ſéene before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carrie it in his wars before him, and ſo ſhould he haue the victorie.

Anno 318

Maxentius feared for his magicke and ſorcerie.

A miracle of a croſſe appearing to Conſtantine in heauen.

In hoc vince.

Euſeb. lib. 2.

Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29.

Eutrop. lib. 11.

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Vrſpergenſ. Chronic.

Paul. Diacon. lib. 11.

This viſion reported and teſtified by Conſtantine himſelfe to be true.

¶ Wherein is to be noted (good reader) that this ſigne of the croſſe, and theſe letters added withall, In hoc vince, was giuen to him of God, not to enduce any ſuperſtitious worſhip or opinion of the croſſe, as though the croſſe it ſelfe had any ſuch power or ſtrength in it, to obtaine victorie: but only to beare the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an admonition to him, to ſéeke and aſpire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified vpon the croſſe for the ſaluation of him, and of all the world, and ſo to ſet forth the glorie of his name, as afterward it came to paſſe. This by the way. Now to the matter.

An admonition concerning the materiall croſſe not to be worſhipped, but to be a meanes to bring Conſtantine to the faith of him which was crucified.

The next day following after this nights viſion, Conſtantinus cauſed a croſſe after the ſame figuration to be made of gold and precious ſtone, and to be borne before him in ſtead of his ſtandard: and ſo with much hope of victorie and great confidence, as one armed from heauen, ſpéedeth himſelfe toward his enemie. Againſt whom Maxentius being conſtrained perforce to iſſue out of the citie, ſendeth all his power to ioyne with him in the field beyond the riuer of Tiber, where Maxentius craftily breaking downe the bridge called Pons Miluius, cauſed another deceitfull bridge to be made of botes and whirries, being ioined together, and couered ouer with bords and planks in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Conſtantine as in a trap. But héere it came to paſſe, which in the ſeuenth Pſalme is written; Hée digged a pit, and fell therein himſelfe; let his working returne vpon his owne head, and his vnrighteouſnes vpon his owne pate. Which héere in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two hoſts did meet, he being not able to ſuſtaine the force of Conſtantine fighting vnder the croſſe of Chriſt againſt him, was put to ſuch a flight, and driuen to ſuch an exigent, that in retiring backe, for haſte thinking to get the citie, vpon the ſame bridge which he did lay for Conſtantine, was ouerturned by the fall of his horſe into the bottome of the flood, and there with the waight of his armour, he with a great part of his beaten men were drowned. Repreſenting vnto vs the like example of Pharao and his hoſt drowned in the red ſea, who not vnaptly ſéemeth to beare a prophetical figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Iſrael were in long thraldome and perſecution in Egypt vnder tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharao their laſt perſecutour: ſo was this Maxentius and Maximinus and Licinius the laſt perſecutors in the Roman monarchie of the christians, whom this Conſtantinus, fighting vnder the croſſe of

Conſtantinus with his armie approcheth toward Rome.

Pſalm. 7.

Maxentius taken in his owne trap.

Maxentius beaten in the field.

Maxentius drowned by his owne bridge.

Pharao a figure of Maxentius the laſt perſecutour in Rome.

Pharao and Maxentius compared.

Chriſt did vanquiſh and ſet the christians at libertie, who before had béen perſecuted now three hundred yeares in Rome, as hath béen hitherto in this hiſtorie declared.

Wherefore as the Iſraelites with their Moſes at the drowning of their Pharao, ſung gloriouſly vnto the Lord, who miraculouſly had caſt downe the horſe and horſemen into the ſea: ſo no leſſe reioycing and exceeding gladneſſe was héere, to ſée the glorious hand of the Lord Chriſt fighting with his people, and vanquiſhing his enemies and perſecutors.

Exod. 15. The figure of the old teſtament verified in the new.

In hiſtories we reade of many victories and great conqueſts gotten: yet we neuer reade, nor euer ſhall, of any victorie ſo wholeſome, ſo commodious, ſo opportune to mankind as this was, which made an end of ſo much bloodſhed, and obtained ſo much libertie and life to the poſteritie of ſo many generations. For albeit that ſome perſecution was yet ſtirring in the eaſt countries by Maximinus and Licinius, as ſhall be declared: yet in Rome and in all the weſt parts, no martyr died after this heauenly victorie gotten. And alſo in the eaſt parts the ſaid Conſtantinus with the ſaid croſſe borne before him, conſequently vpon the ſame ſo vanquiſhed the tyrants, and ſo eſtabliſhed the peace of the church, that for the ſpace of a full thouſand yeares after that, we reade of no ſet perſecution againſt the christians, vnto the time of John Wickliffe, when the biſhops of Rome began with fire to perſecute the true members of Chriſt, as in further proceſſe of this hiſtorie (Chriſt granting) ſhall appeare. So happie, ſo glorious (as I ſaid) was this victorie of Conſtantine, ſurnamed the great. For the ioy and gladneſſe whereof, the citizens who had ſent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the citie of Rome, where he with the croſſe was moſt honorably receiued and celebrated the ſpace of ſeuen daies together, hauing moreouer in the market place, his image ſet vp, holding in his right hand the ſigne of the croſſe, with this inſcription: Hoc ſalutari ſigno, veraci fortitudinis indicio, ciuitatem noſtram iugo tyranni ereptam liberaui: that is, With this wholeſome ſigne, the true token of fortitude, I haue reſcued and deliuered our citie from the yoke of the tyrant. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

The glorious and victorious hoſt of Chriſt.

Perſecution in the weſt ceaſed for a thouſand yeares till the time of Wickliffe.

Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

By this heauenly victorie of Conſtantinus, and by the death of Maxentius no little tranquillitie came vnto the church of Chriſt. Although notwithſtanding in the eaſt churches the ſtorme of this tenth perſecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that ſome taile thereof in thoſe parts remained for the ſpace of two or three yeares. But of this we mind to ſpeake (Chriſt willing) hereafter. In the meane ſeaſon to returne againe to the weſt parts héere in Europe, where Conſtantinus then had moſt to do, grat tranquillitie followed, and long continued in the church without any open ſlaughter for a thouſand yeares together (to the time of John Wickliffe and Waldenſes, as is before touched) by the meanes of the godly beginning of good Conſtantinus, who with his fellow Licinius, being now eſtabliſhed in their dominion, eftſoones ſet forth their generall proclamation or edict, not conſtraining therein any man to any religion, but giuing libertie to all men, both for the christians to perſiſt in their profeſſion without any danger, and for other men freely to adioyne with them, whoſoeuer pleaſed. Which thing was very well taken and highly allowed of the Romans, and all wiſe men. The copie of the edict or conſtitution héere enſueth.

Note well this thouſand yeares and then reade the twentith chapter of the Apocalypſe. Satanas was bound vp for a thouſand yeres &c.

The copie of the emperiall conſtitution of *Conſtantinus and Licinius, for the eſtabliſhing* of the free worſhipping of God, after the *chriſtian religion.*

The copie of the emperiall conſtitution of Conſtantinus and Licinius. *Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

NOt long agone we weying with our ſelues, that the libertie and freedome of religion ought not in any caſe to be prohibited, but that free leaue ought to be giuen to euery man to do therin according to his wil and mind, we haue giuen commandement to all men to qualifie matters of religion as they themſelues thought good; and that alſo the chriſtians ſhould keep the opinions and faith of their religion: but becauſe that many and ſundry opinions by the ſame our firſt licence ſpring and encreaſe through ſuch libertie granted, we thought good manifeſtly to adde therunto, and make plaine ſuch things whereby perchance ſome of them in time to come, may from ſuch their obſeruance be let or hindred. When therfore by proſperous ſucceſſe, I Conſtantinus Auguſtus, and I Licinius Auguſtus came to Mediolanum, and there ſat in councel vpon ſuch things as ſerued for the vtilitie and profit of the commonweale, theſe things amongſt others we thought would be beneficiall to all men, yea and before all other things we purpoſed to eſtabliſh thoſe things wherein the true reuerence and worſhip of God is comprehended, that is, to giue vnto the chriſtians free choice to follow what religion they think good, and whereby the ſame ſincerity and celeſtiall grace which is in euery place receiued, may alſo be imbraced & accepted of al our louing ſubiects. According therfore vnto this our pleaſure vpon good aduiſement and ſound iudgement, we haue decreed, that no man ſo hardie be denied to chuſe and follow the chriſtian obſeruance or religion: but that this libertie be giuen to euery man, that he may applie his mind to what religion he thinketh meet himſelfe, whereby God may performe vpon vs all his accuſtomed care and goodnes. To the

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intent therefore you might know that this is our pleasure, we thought it necessarie this to write vnto you, wherby all such errors and opinions being remoued, which in our former letters (being sent vnto you in the behalfe of the christians) are contained, and which seeme very vndiscreet and contrarie to our clemencie, may bee made frustrate and adnihilat. Now therefore firmely and freely we will and command, that euery man haue a free liberty to obserue the christian religion, and that without anie griefe or molestation he may bee suffered to doe the same. These things haue we thought good to signifie vnto you by as plaine words as we may, that we haue giuen to the christians free and absolute power to keep and vse their religion. And for so much as this libertie is absolutely giuen of vs vnto them, to vse and exercise their former obseruance, if anie be disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establish the publike tranquillitie of our time, euery man to haue licence and libertie to vse and chuse what kind of worshipping he list himselfe. And this is done of vs only for the intent, that we would haue no man to be enforced to one religion more then another. And this thing also amongst others we haue prouided for the christians, that they may haue againe the possession of such places, in which heretofore they haue been accustomed to make their assemblies; so that if any haue bought or purchased the same either of vs, or of any other: the same places without either money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay we will to be restored againe vnto the said christians. And if any man haue obtained the same by gift from vs, and shall require anie recompence to be made to them in that behalfe: then let the christians repaire to the president (being the iudge appointed for that place) that consideration may be had of those men by our benignitie: all which things we will and command, that you see to be giuen and restored freely, and with diligence vnto the societie of the christians, all delay set apart. And because the christians themselues are vnderstood to haue had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certaine other peculiar places also, not being priuat to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation and societie: you shall see also all those to be restored vnto the christians, that is to say, to euery fellowship and company of them, according to the decree, whereof we haue made mention, all delay set apart. Prouided that the order we haue take in the meane time be obserued, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust but be sure to be saued harmelesse by vs. In all these things it shall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foresaid companie of the christians, whereby this our commandement may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by our clemencie the common and publike peace may be preserued. For vndoubtedly by this meanes, as before we haue said, the good will and fauour of God towards vs (whereof in many cases we haue had good experience) shall alwaies continue with vs. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisit that the copie of these our letters be set vp in all places, that men may reade and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof.

The effect of the decree which Maximinus made against his will, or surrecountermand for feare of C. and L. in the behalfe of the christians.

wherein he pretendeth to write to Sabinus afore mentioned, first repeating vnto him the former decree of Diocletian and Maximinian in few words, with the commandement therein contained touching the persecution against the christians. After that, he reciteth the decree which he himselfe made against them, when he came first to the emperiall dignitie in the east part ioyned with Constantius. Then the countermand of another decree of his again, for the rescuing of the christians, with such fained and pretensed causes, as is in the same to be seene. After that, he declareth how he comming to Nicomedia, at the sute and supplication of the citizens (which he also fained, as may appeare before) he applying to their sute, reuoked that his former edict, and granted them that no christian should dwell within their citie or territories. Vpon which Sabinus also had giuen forth his letters, rehearsing withall the generall recountermand sent forth by him, for the persecution againe of the christians. Last of all now he sendeth downe againe another surrecountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safetie of the christians, and tranquillitie of them: commanding Sabinus to publish the same. Which edict of his is at large set forth of Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 9. But this surrecountermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he making wars, and fighting a battell with Licinius, wherein he lost the victorie, comming home againe, tooke great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that time he had great regard vnto, and honoured: vpon whose answeres he trusting, and depending vpon their inchantments, began his war against Licinius. But after that he perceiued himselfe to be deceiued by them, as by wicked inchanters and deceiuers, and such as had betrayed his safetie and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the christians, and made a most absolute law for the safetie and preseruation of them, with franchise and libertie: the copie whereof ensueth.

The surrecountermand of Maximinus dissembled. *Ex Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.*

The vnfained repentance and finall decree of Maximinus for the christians.

Imperator Cæsar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus. It is necessarie that we alwaies carefully prouide and see vnto the benefit and commoditie of such as be our subiects, and to exhibit such things vnto them, whereby they may best obtaine the same. But we suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but know and vnderstand what things make best for the profit and commoditie of the commonweale, and best please euery mans disposition. But it is meet and conuenient that euery man haue recourse to that which they haue seene done before their eyes, & that all sorts of men consider the same, and beare it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, vpon the occasion that Diocletianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitors of famous memorie, commanded the assemblies and meetings of the christians to be cut off, there were many of them spoiled and robbed of our officials: which thing we also perceiue is now put in practise against our subiects, that they in like case may bee spoiled of their goods and substance, which thing chiefely to preuent is our only endeuour. By our letters sent to the gouernors of euery prouince the yeare past, we ordained that if any man were disposed to leane vnto the christian religion, that he might without any iniurie done vnto him accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested: and that he might without any feare or suspicion, do whatsoeuer he therein thought good. But now also we vnderstand that there be certain iudges which haue neglected our commandement, and haue put our subiects in doubt, whether that hath been our pleasure or not; which thing they did, that such men might be the better aduised, how they entred into such religion: wherin they followed their own phantasie. To the intent therefore that after this, all suspicion, doubt, and feare may be taken away: we haue thought good to publish this our edict, whereby it may be made manifest to euery man, that it shall be lawfull for all such as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our grant and letters patents, to vse what religion they like best. And also hereby we grant to them licence to build them oratories or temples. And furthermore, that this our grant may more amplie extend vnto them, we vouchsafe to appoint and ordaine, that whatsoeuer lands and substance before belonging and appertaining to the christians, and by the commandement of our predecessors were transposed to our reuenue and excheker, or else be in the possession of any citie, by meanes of the franchises of the same, or else otherwise sold or giuen to any man: all and euery parcell thereof we command shall be restored vnto the proper vse of the christians againe, wherby they may all haue in this matter more experience of our godly deuotion and prouidence. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.*

A large grant of Maximinus to the christians.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

Anno 319

God maketh his enemies to confesse him.

Maximinus thus being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease in the guts, sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and aduersitie to confesse the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the fauour of those christians, whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they neuer so sterne and stout, at length to stoope, and maugre their hearts to confesse him, as this Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemencie of his disease ended his life. Whereby no more tyrants now were left aliue, to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his

The end and death of Maximinus.

The consideration of Gods worke in defending his christians.

The kings of the earth haue risen, and princes together against the Lord, and against his Christ. Psalm. 2.

No counsell standeth against God.

The destruction of the cruell emperours.

Diocletian dieth for sorrow.

By these histories I doubt not (good reader) but thou doest right well consider and behold with thy selfe the maruellous working of Gods mightie power; to see so many emperors at one time conspired and confederat together against the Lord and Christ his annointed, whose names before we haue recited, as Diocletian, Maximinian, Galerius, Marentius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Licinius, who hauing the subiection of the whole world vnder their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and deuices to extirpat the name of Christ, and of all christians. Wherin if the power of man could haue preuailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more then they did? If policie or deuices could haue serued, what policie was there lacking? If torments or paines of death could haue helped, what crueltie of torment by man could be inuented, which was not attempted? If lawes, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but ingrauen in brasse, could haue stood, all this was practised against the weake christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsell can stand against the Lord, note heere how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his church doth stand. First, of the taking away of Maximinian you haue heard, also of the death of Seuerus, of the drowning moreouer of Maxentius enough hath been said. What a terrible plague was vpon Galerius, consuming his priuie members with lice, hath been also described. How Diocletian the quondam being at Salona, hearing of the proceedings of Constantinus, and this edict, either for sorrow died, or as some say did poison himselfe. Only Maximinus now in the east parts remained aliue, who bare a deadly hatred against the christians, and no lesse expressed the same with mortall persecution, to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be deliuered. At the sight whereof, although he was somewhat appalled, and defeated of his purpose: yet for so much as he saw himselfe too weake to resist the authoritie of Constantinus and Licinius the superiour princes: he dissembled his counterfeit pietie, as though he himselfe had tendered the quiet of the christians: directing downe a certaine decree in the behalfe of the christians,

persecutions stirred vp in the east parts, against the saints of God, now remaineth in order of storie to prosecute.

The persecution of the church vnder Licinius.

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made first Cesar by Galerius, as is aboue specified, was afterward ioined with Constantinus in gouernment of the empire, and in setting forth the edicts, which before we haue described: although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all histories described, to be a man passing all others in desire of vnsatiable riches, giuen to lecherie, hastie, stubborne, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poison and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the lawes. He thought no vice worse became a prince then learning, because he himselfe was vnlearned. Eutropius, Lætus, Ignatius, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

An enemie to learning. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

There was betweene him and Constantinus in the beginning great familiaritie, and such agreement, that Constantinus gaue vnto him his sister Constantia in matrimonie, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man haue thought him to haue been of any other religion then Constantinus was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Wherevpon he made a decree with Constantinus for the behalfe of the christians, as we haue shewed: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. And such was Licinius in the beginning: but after arming himselfe with tyrannie, began to conspire against the person of Constantinus, of whom he had received so great benefits, neither fauourable to the law of nature, nor mindfull of his oths, his bloud, nor promises. But when he considered that in his conspiracies hee nothing preuailed, for that he saw Constantinus was preserued and safely defended of God: and partly being puffed vp with the victorie against Maximinus, he began vehemently to hate him, and not onely to reiect the christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said hee would become an enemie vnto the christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantinus. Therefore first by little and little and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the christians, and banished them his court, which neuer were by any means preiuditiall to his kingdome. Then he commanded that all those should be depriued which were knights of the honorable order, vnlesse they would do sacrifice to diuels: Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. The same persecution afterwards stretched hee from his court, into all his prouinces, which with most wicked and deuised lawes he set forth. First, that for no cause the bishops should in any matter communicat together: neither that any man should come at the churches next vnto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessarie matters and vtilitie of the church.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

Licinius an apostata.

The fountaine of apostasie.

Knights of the order depriued for not doing sacrifice. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8.

After, that the men and women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the women should come in those places where they vsed to preach and reade the word of God; neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the bishops, but should chose out such women amongst them as should instruct them. The third most cruell and wickedst of all was, that none should helpe and succour those that were cast in prison, nor should bestow any almes or charitie vpon them, though they should die for hunger: and they which shewed any compassion vpon those that were condemned to death should be as greatly punished, as they to whom they shewed the same should bee: Eusebius libro primo de vita Constantini. These were the most horrible constitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

A strict charge against the releiuing of the imprisoned christians.

Euseb. lib. 1. de vita Constatini.

After this he vsed violence against the bishops, but yet not openly, for feare of Constantinus, but priuilie and by conspiracie: by which meanes he slue those that were the worthiest men amongst the doctors and prelats. And about Amasea and other cities of Pontus, hee raced the churches euen with the ground. Other some he shut vp, that no man should come after their accustomed maner to pray and worship God: and therefore as we said before, his conscience accusing him, all this he did, for that he suspected they prayed for Constantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the east parts to the Libians, which bordered vpon the Egyptians, the christians durst not assemble and come together for the displeasure of Licinius, which he had conceiued against them. Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 2.

Secret persecution for feare of Constantinus.

Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 2.

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were vnder him, thinking by this means to please him, slue and made out of the way many bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had bene homicides and hainous offendors: and such rigorousnes vsed they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small peeces in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the sea to feed the fishes. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. What shall we speake of the exiles and confiscations of good and vertuous men? For he tooke by violence euery mans substance, and cared not by what meanes he came by the same: but threatned them with death, vnlesse they would forgo the same. He banished those which had committed none euill at all. Hee commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should bee made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gaue their daughters that were vnmaried to varlets and wicked ones to be defloured. And Licinius himselfe (although that by reason of his yeres his bodie was spent) yet shamefullie did he vitiate many women, mens wiues & maids. Euseb. lib. 1. de vita Constantini. Which cruell outrage of him caused many godly men of their owne accord to forsake their houses: and it was also seene, that the woods, fields, desert places and mountains were faine to be the habitations and resting places of the poore and miserable christians. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 14. Of those worthie men and famous martyrs, which in this persecution found the way to heauen, Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 10. first speaketh of Theodorus, who first being hanged vpon the crosse, had nailes thrust into his armepits, and after that his head stricken off. Also of another Theodorus being the bishop of Tyre: the third was a man of Perga; Basilius also the bishop of Amasenus, Nicholaus the bishop of Myrorus, Gregorius of Armenia the great; after that Paul of Neocesaria, which by the impious commandement of Licinius had both his hands cut off with a searing iron. Besides these were in the citie of Sebastia fortie worthie men, and christian souldiers in the vehement cold time of winter soiled and drowned in a horse pond, when Lucias as yet, of whom wee spake before, and Agricolaus executing the shiriffes office vnder Licinius in the east parts, were aliue: and were in great estimation, for inuenting of new and strange torments against the christians. The wiues of those fortie good men were carried to Heraclea a city in Thracia, and there, with a certaine deacon whose name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly indured) slaine with the sword. These things writeth Nicephorus. Also Sozomenus in his ninth book and second chapter maketh mention of the same martyrs. And Basilius in a certaine oration seemeth to intreat of their historie, sauing that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And surelie Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to haue ouerrun all the christians: to which thing neither counsell, nor good will, nor yet opportunitie perchance wanted; vnlesse God had brought Constantinus into those parts where he gouerned: where, in the warres which he himselfe began (knowing right well that Constantinus had intelligence of his conspiracie and treason) ioyning battell with him, was most cowardly ouercome.

The christians flee into the wilderneste.

Hot persecution renewed.

Theodorus.

Another Theodorus bishop of Tyrus.

A man of Perga.

Nicholaus bishop of Myrotus.

Gregorius bishop of Armenia.

Paulus bishop of Neocesaria, with fortie other martyrs.

Fortie good men and their wiues martyrs.

Amones with fortie wiues of fortie men martyrs.

The wicked purpose of Licinius, had he not been preuented by God and slaine by Constantinus.

Diuers battels betweene them were fought, the first fought in Hungarie, where Licinius was ouerthrowne: then he fled into Macedonia, and reparing his armie, was againe discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, he lastly at Nicomedia yeelded himselfe to Constantine, and was commanded to liue a priuat life in Thessalia, where at length he was slaine by the souldiers.

Licinius ouercome in battell by Constantinus.

Thus haue ye heard the end and conclusion of al the seuen tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God. The chiefe captaine and incentour of which persecution was first Diocletian, who died at Salena as some say, by his owne poison, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and nineteene. The next was Maximinian, who (as is said) was hanged of Constantine at Massilia, about the yeere of our Lord three hundred and tenne. Then died Galerius, plagued with an horrible disease sent of God. Seuerus was slaine by Maximinã, father of Maxentius the wicked tyrant, who was ouercome & vanquished of Constantine, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and eightéene. Maximinus the first tyrant tarried not long after, who being ouercome by Licinius, died about the yeere of our Lord three hundred and twentie. Lastly, how this Licinius was ouercome by Constantine and slaine, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred twentie and foure, is before declared. Onelie Constantius, the father of Constantine being a good and a godlie emperour, died in the third yeere of the persecution, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and ten, and was buried at Yorke. After whom succeeded after his godly father Constantinus, as a second Moses sent and set vp of God to deliuer his people out of this so miserable captiuitie, into libertie most ioyfull.

The end and death of the tyrants which were the authors of this tenth persecution.

Now remaineth after the end of these persecutors thus described, to gather vp the names and stories of certaine particular martyrs, which now are to be set forth worthie of speciall memorie, for their singular constancie and fortitude, shewed in their sufferings and cruell torments. The names of all which that suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, being in number infinit, in vertue most excellent, it is impossible heere to comprehend: but the most notable, and in most approoued authors expressed, we thought here to insert, for the more edification of other christians, which may and ought to loke vpon their examples, first beginning with Albanus, the first martyr that euer in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

A briefe storie of the most notable martyrs, that suffered in this tenth persecution.

At what time Diocletian and Maximinian the pagan emperours had directed out their letters with all seueritie, for the persecuting of the christians; Alban being then an infidell, receiued into his house a certaine clerke, fleeing from the persecutors hands, whom when Alban beheld, continuallie both day and night to persenere in watching and prayer, suddenlie by the great mercie of God, hee began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life: whereupon by little and little hee being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leauing the blindnesse of his idolatrie, became at length a perfect christian. And when the forenamed clerke had lodged with him a certaine time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confessour of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albans house, or very nere vnto him. Wherevpon

Albanus martyr.

Point of holy fralitie to be noted.

Albanus first conuerted, and by what occasion.

vpon immediatly he gaue in charge to the souldiers, to make more diligent inquisition of the matter. Who as sone as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, he by and by putting on the apparell wherewith his ghest and master was apparelled (that is, a garment at that time vsed, named caracalla) offered himselfe in the stead of the other to the souldiers: who binding him, brought him forthwith to the iudge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought vnto the iudge they found the same iudge at the altars offering sacrifice vnto diuels, who as sone as he saw Alban, was straightwaies in a great rage, for that he would presume of his owne voluntarie will, to offer himselfe to perill, and giue himselfe a prisoner to the souldiers, for safegard of his ghest whom he harbored; and commanded him to be brought before the images of the diuels whom he worshipped, saying: For that thou haddest rather hid and conuey away a rebell, then to deliuer him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our gods) he should not suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemie: loke what punishment he shuld haue had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceiue thée any whit to reuolt from our manner of worshipping. But blessed Alban, who of his owne accord had bewraied to the persecutors that he was a christian, feared not at all the menaces of the prince, but being armed with spirituall armour, openly pronounced that he would not obay his commandement. Then said the iudge; Of what stocke or kindred art thou come? Alban answered, What is that to you, of what stocke so euer I came of, if you desire to heare the veritie of my religion, I doe yée to wit that I am a christian, and apply my selfe altogether to that calling. Then said the iudge, I would know thy name, and sée thou tell mee the same without delay. Then said he, My parents named me Alban, and I worship and honor the true and liuing God, which hath created al the world. Then said the iudge fraught with furie, If thou wilt inioy the felicitie of this present life, doe sacrifice (and that out of hand) to these mightie gods. Alban repleth: These sacrifices which yée offer vnto diuels, can neither helpe them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants: but rather shall they, whatsoeuer they be, that offer sacrifice to these idols, receiue for their méed euerlasting paines of hell fire. The iudge, when he heard these words, was passing angrie, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessour of God, indeuoring to ouercome the constancie of his heart with stripes, which had preuailed nothing with words. And when he was cruellie beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay rather ioyfully for the Lords sake. Then when the iudge saw that he would not with torments be ouercome, nor be reduced from the worship of christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

Aldanus offereth himselfe to death for another.

The words of the iudge to Alban.

The constancie and zeale of Alban.

The confession of Alban.

The suffering and martyrdom of Alban.

The rest that followeth of this storie in the narration of Beda, as of drying vp the riuer, as Alban went to the place of his execution; then of making a welspring in the top of the hill, and of the falling out of the eies of him that did behead him (with such other prodigious miracles mentioned in his story) because they séeme more legendlike then truthlike: againe, because I sée no great profit nor necessitie in the relation thereof, I leaue them to the frée iudgement of the reader, to thinke of them as cause shall moue him.

Superfluous miracles in this storie written by Beda omitted.

The like estimation I haue of the long storie, wherein is written at large a fabulous discourse of all the doings and miracles of S. Alban, taken out of the librarie of S. Albans, compiled (as there is said) by a certaine pagan, who (as he saith) afterward went to Rome, there to be baptised. But because in the beginning or prologue of the booke, the said writer maketh mention of the ruinous walles of the towne of Verolamium, containing the storie of Albanus, & of his bitter punishments: which walles were then falling downe for age, at the writing of the said booke, as he saith: thereby it séemeth this storie to be written a great while after the martyrdome of Alban, either by a Britaine, or by an Englishman. If he were a Britaine, how then did the Latine translation take it out of the English tongue, as in the prologue he himselfe doth testifie? If he were an Englishman, how then did he go vp to Rome for baptisme, being a pagan, when he might haue béen baptised among the christian Britains more nére at home?

The legend of S. Alban disproued.

But among all other euidences and declarations sufficient to disproue this legendarie storie of S. Alban, nothing maketh more against it, then the very storie it selfe: as where hée bringeth in the head of the holy martyr, to speake vnto the people after it was smitten off from the bodie. Also where he bringeth in the angels going vp and comming down in a pillar of fire, and singing all the night long. Item, in the riuer which he saith S. Alban made drie, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottome, were found aliue. With other such like monkish miracles and grosse fables, wherewith these abbie monks were wont in times past to deceiue the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their owne aduantage. Notwithstanding this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithfull martyr of God, who was the first that I did euer find in this realme, to suffer martyrdome for the testimonie of Christ. And worthie no doubt of condigne commendation, especially of vs héere in this land; whose christian faith in the Lord, and charitie toward his neighbour, I pray God all wée may follow. As also I wish moreouer that the stories both of him, and of all other christian martyrs might haue been deliuered to vs simplie as they were, without the admixture of all these abbeylike additions of monkish miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glorie of such saints to the most, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receiue most aduantage.

S. Alban the first martyr in this realme of England.

The stories of the saints corrupted with lies.

As touching the name of the clerke mentioned in this storie, whom Alban receiued into his house, I find in the English stories to bee Amphibalus, although the Latine authors name him not, who the same time flying into Wales, was also fet from thence againe to the same towne of Verolamium, otherwise called Verlancaster, where he was martyred, hauing his bellie opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawne out, then thrust in with swords and daggers: and at last was stoned to death, as the forsaid legend declareth.

Amphibalus, martyr. Flores Historiarum

The martyrdome of Amphibalus.

Moreouer the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the forsaid citie of Verlancaster, whose names were Aaron and Julius: beside others, whereof a great number the same time no doubt did suffer, although our chronicles of their names dos make no rehearsall.

Aaron, Julius martyrs.

The time of the martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, séemeth to be about the second or third yéere of this tenth persecution, vnder the tyrannie of Diocletian, and Maximinianus Herculius, bearing then the rule in England, about the yéere of our Lord three hundred and one, before the comming of Constantius to his gouernment. Where, by the way is to be noted, that this realme of Britaine being so christened before, yet neuer was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Diocletian and Maximinian. In which persecution our stories and Polychronicon doe record, that all christiantie almost in the whole Iland was destroyed, the churches subuerted, all bookes of the scripture burned, many of the faithfull both men and women were slaine: amongest whom the first and chiefe ringleader (as hath been said) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britaine. Now from England to returne againe vnto other countries, where this persecution did more behementlie rage: we will adde hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that suffred in this persecution (which were impossible) but of certaine most principall, whose singular constancie in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in latter histories: beginning first with Romanus the notable and admirable souldier and true seruant of Christ, whose historie set forth in Prudentius, doth thus proceed: so lamentablie by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with drie cheekes to heare it.

Persecution in this realme of Britaine.

Pitiesse Galerius with his grand captaine Asclepiades violentlie inuaded the citie of Antioch, intending by force of armes to driue all christians to renounce vtterly their pure religion. The christians as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus hastily ran, declaring that the wolues were at hand which would deuoure the christian flocke: but feare not (said he) neither let this imminent perill disturbe you my brethren. Brought was it to passe, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens were all of one will and mind, most readie to shed their bloud in defence of their christian profession. Word was brought vnto the captaine, that the band of armed souldiers was not able to wrest the staffe of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus so mightily did incourage them, that they sticke not to offer their naked throtes, wishing gloriouslie to die for the name of their Christ. Séeke out that rebel (quoth the captaine) and bring him to me that he may answer for the whole sect. Apprehended he was, and bound as a sheepe appointed to the slaughter house, was presented to the emperor, who with wrathfull countenance beholding him, said: What? Art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their liues? By the gods I sweare thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the paines, whereunto thou hast incouraged the hearts of thy fellowes. Romanus answered: Thy sentence O emperour I ioyfully imbrace, I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell means as thou maist inuent: and whereas thy souldiers were repelled from the christian congregation, that so happened, because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of diuels, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Asclepiades wholie inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed vp, and his bowels drawne out. The executioners themselues more pitifull in heart then the captaine, said: Not so sir, this man is of noble parentage, vnlawfull is it to put a noble man to so vnnoble a death. Scourge him then with whips (quoth the captain) with knaps of lead at the ends. In stead of teares, sighs and grones, Romanus sung psalmes all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to fauour him for nobilitie sake; Not the bloud of my progenitors (said he) but christian profession maketh me noble. Then with great power of spirit he inueied against the captaine, laughing to scorne the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God

The lamentable storie of Romanus martyr.

The exhortation of Romanus to the christians.

The christian boldnes of Romanus.

The noble patience of Romanus in his suffering.

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God of the christians to be the true God that created heauen and earth, before whose iudiciall seat all nations shall appeare. But the wholsome words of the martyr were as oile to the fire of the captains furie. The more the martyr spake, the madder was he, in so much that he commanded the martyrs sides to be lanced with knives, vntill the bones appeared white againe. Sorie am I, O captaine (quoth ẏ martyr) not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorowfull, who being corrupted with damnable errours, seducest others. The second time hee preached at large the liuing God, and the Lord Iesus Christ his welbeloued sonne, eternall life through faith in his bloud, expelling therewith the abomination of idolatrie, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the liuing God. At these words Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his téeth being stricken out, his pronunciatiõ at least wise might be impaired. The commandement was obayed, his face buffeted, his eie lids torne with their nails, his cheeks scorched with knives, the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh, finallie his seemely face was wholly defaced. The meeke martyr said: I thanke thée, O captaine, that thou hast opened vnto me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Sauiour Christ. Looke how many wounds I haue, so many mouths I haue lauding and praysing God. The captaine astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to ceasse from the tortures. He threatneth cruell fire, he reuileth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying: Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterdaies God, the gods of the gentiles are of most antiquitie.

The preaching of Romanus to the captaine.

Antiquitie alleaged of the pagans.

Heere againe Romanus taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternitie of Christ, of his humane nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said: Giue me a child (O captaine (but seuen yéeres of age, which age is frée from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt heare what he will say. His request was granted. A prettie boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. Tell mee my babe (quoth the martyr) whether thou thinke it reason that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one father, or els that we worship

The confession of a child against idolatrie.

infinit gods? Vnto whom the babe answered: That certainly, whatsoeuer it be that men affirme to be God, must néeds be one: which with one, is one & the same: and in as much as this one is Christ, of necessitie Christ must be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot beleeue. The captaine hereat cleane amazed, said: Thou young villaine and traitor, where and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother (quoth the child) with whose milke I sucked in this lesson, that I

A child martyred for the testimonie of Christ.

must beléeue in Christ. The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The captaine commanded the child to be hoysed vp, & scourged. The pitifull beholders of this pitifull act, could not temper themselues from teares: the ioyfull and glad mother alone, stood by with drie cheéks: yea, she rebuked her sweet babe for crauing a draught of cold water, shée charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethléem once dranke of, forgetting their mothers milke and paps: shée willed him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender necke to the dint of his fathers sword. Whilest this counsell was in giuing, the butcherly tortor plucked the skin from the crowne of his head haire and all. The mother cried,

An example of vertuous education.

Suffer my child, anon thou shalt passe to him that will adorne thy naked head with a crowne of eternall glorie. The mother counselleth, the child is counselled: the mother incourageth, the babe is incouraged, and receiued the stripes with smiling countenance. The captaine perceiuing the child inuincible, and himselfe vanquished, committeth the sillie soule, the blessed babe, the child vncherished, to the stinking prison, commanding the torments of Romanus to bee renewed and increased, as chiefe author of this euill.

A godly mother of a godly child.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes and punishments, to be renewed & receiued vpon his old sores, in so much as the bare bones appeared, the flesh al torne away: wherein no pity was shewed, but the raging tyrant puffing out of his blasphemous mouth, like a mad man these words, cried out to the tormentors, saying:

The cruell words of the tyrant.

Where is (quoth the captaine) where is your might?
What? are yee not able one bodie to spill?
Scant may it, so weake is it, stand vpright:
And yet in spite of vs, shall it liue still?

The griph with talen, the dog with his tooth,
Could soone ye dastards, this corps rent and teare:
He scorneth our gods in all that he dooth,
Cut, pricke, and pounce him, no longer forbeare.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbeare, but néeds he must draw neerer to the sentence of death. Is it painefull to thée (said he) to tarrie so long aliue? A flaming fire doubt thou not shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy thy fellow of rebellion shall be consumed into ashes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, hee looked backe, saying: I appeale from this thy tyrannie, O Iudge vniust, vnto the righteous throne of Christ that vpright iudge: not because I feare thy cruell torments and merciless handlings, but that thy iudgements may be knowne to be cruell and bloudie. Now when they were come to the place, the tormentor required the child of the mother, for she had taken it vp in her armes: and she oncle kissing it, deliuered the babe; Farewell, she said, my sweet childe. And as the hangman applied his sword to the babes necke, shee sang on this manner:

The christian child beheaded for confessing of Christ.

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord we yeeld to thee:
To whom the death of all thy saints,
We know most deare to bee.

Nature ouercome of religion.

The innocents head being cut off, the mother wrapped it vp in her garment, and laid it to her breast. On the other side a mightie fire was made, whereinto Romanus was cast, who said, that he should not burne: wherewith a great storme arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The captaine gaue in commandement that his tongue should bee cut out. But was it plucked by the hard roots and cut off: neuertheleslie hee spake, saying: He that speaketh Christ shall neuer want a tongue; thinke not that the voice that vttereth Christ, hath néed of the tongue to be the minister. The captaine at this, halfe out of his wit, bare in hand that the hangman deceiued the sight of the people by some subtill sleight and craftie conueiance. Not so (quoth the hangman) if ye suspect my déed, open his mouth and diligently search the roots of his tongue. The captain at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commandeth him to be brought backe into the prison, and there to be strangled. Where his sorowfull life and paines being ended, he now inioyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetuall hope of his miserable bodie to be restored againe with his soule into a better life: where no tyrant shall haue any power: Prudentius in hymnis de coronis martyrum.

The fire quenched with raine that should burne Romanus.

Romanus speaketh after his tongue was plucked out.

Romanus after long torments strangled in prison. *Prudent. in hymnis de coronis martyrum.*

Gordius was a citizen of Cesaria, a worthie souldier, and captaine of an hundred men. He in the time of extreame persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his owne accord willing exile, and liued in the desert many yéeres a religious and solitarie life. But vpon a certaine day when a solemne feast of Mars was celebrated in the citie of Cesarea, and much people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games: he left the desert, and got him vp into the chiefe place of the theatre, and with a loud voice vttered this saying of the apostle: Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me haue I openlie appeared. By which words he let it to be vnderstood, that of his owne accord he came vnto those games. At this noise, the multitude little regarding the sights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soone as it was knowne to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded silence, hee was brought vnto the shiriffe, who at that instant was present, and ordained the games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of euery thing as it was; I am come, saith he, to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the christian religion, but that I professe Iesu Christ to be my hope and saletie; and when I vnderstood with what crueltie yée handle other men, I tooke this as a fit time to accomplish my desire. The shiriffe with these words was greatly moued, and reuengeth all his displeasure vpon poore Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while gibbet, and whatsoeuer torments els might be deuised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, that it should be to him an hinderance and damage if he could not suffer and endure diuers torments and punishments for Christ his cause. The shiriffe being more offended with this his boldnesse, commanded him to feele as many kind of torments as there were. With al which Gordius notwithstanding could not be mastered or ouercome: but lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, singeth this saying out of the psalmes: The Lord is my helper, I will not feare the thing that man can doe to me: and also this saying, I will feare none euill, because thou Lord art with me.

The tortor brought to him.

Gordius of his owne accord confereth himselfe to be a christian.

Gordius brought to examination.

The confession of Gordius.

After this, he against himselfe prouoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they fauour him any thing at all. When the shiriffe saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentlenesse and inticing words, to turne the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will deny Christ: as to make him a captaine of as many men as any other is, to giue him riches, treasure, and what other thing soeuer he desireth. But in vaine (as the prouerb is) pipeth the minstrell to him that hath no eares to heare, for he deriding the foolish madnesse of the magistrat saith, that it lieth not in him to place any in authoritie, which be worthie to haue a place in heauen. The magistrat with these words throughlie angred and vered, prepareth himselfe to his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he causeth to be had out of the citie to be burnt. There run out of the citie great multitudes by heapes to see him put to execution, some take him in their armes, and louingly kisse him,

The bold constancie and courageous spirit of Gordius.

Gordius attempted with faire promises and good gifts.

Gordius condemned to be burnt.

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him, perswading him to take a better way, & saue himselfe and that with weeping teares. To whom Gordius answered, Weep not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which alwaies make war against the christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for vs a fire, purchasing hell fire for themselues in the day of vengeance: and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my setled mind. Truly (saith he) I am readie for the name of Christ, to suffer & indure a thousand deaths if need were. Some other came vnto him, which perswaded him to denie Christ with his mouth, and to keepe his conscience to himselfe. My tongue (saith he) which by ȳ goodnes of God I haue, cannot be brought to denie the author and giuer of the same: for with the heart we beleeue vnto righteousnesse, and with the tongue we confesse vnto saluation. Many mo such like words he spake: but especially vttering to them such matter, whereby he might perswade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdome. After all which, with a merrie and glad countenance, neuer changing so much as his colour, hee willinglie gaue himselfe to bee burnt. Basilius in sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.

The answere of Gordius to his friends.

A subtill kind of disswaders.

None ought to denie Christ with his mouth, and confesse him with his heart.

The martyrdome of Gordius.

Ex Basilio in ser. in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.

Not much vnlike to the storie of Gordius is the storie also of Menas an Egyptian, who being likewise a souldier by his profession, in this persecution of Diocletian forsoke all, and went into the desert; where a long time he gaue himselfe to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the scriptures. At length returning againe to the citie Cotis, there in the open theatre, as the people were occupied vpon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclamed himselfe to bee a christian, & vpon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the president: of whom hee being demanded of his faith, made this answer: Conuenient it is that I should (saith he) confesse God, in whom is light and no darkenesse, for so much as Paul doth teach that with heart we beleeue to righteousnesse, with mouth confession is giuen to saluation. After this the innocent martyr was most painefully pinched and cruciat with sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith inuincible, hauing these words in his mouth being in the middest of his torments: There is nothing in my mind that can bee compared to the kingdome of heauen; neither is all the world, if it were weied in balance, able to bee conferred with the price of one soule: and said, Who is able to separate vs from the loue of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish? And moreouer (said he) I haue thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to feare them which kill the bodie and haue no power to kill the soule, but to feare him rather, who hath power to destroy both bodie and soule in hell fire. To make the storie short, after manifold torments borne of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was vpon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded; Menas being then had to the place of execution said: I giue thee thanks my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy pretious death, and hast not giuen me to be deuoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made mee to remaine constant in thy pure faith vnto this my latter end. And so this blessed souldier fighting valiantly vnder the banner of Christ, lost his head, and wone his soule. Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 5. In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixitie I doe omit.

Menas martyr. *Ex Simeon. Metaphr. tom. 9.*

Torments brought out to terrifie the christians.

The courageous boldnesse and christian confession of these fortie martyrs.

The words of Menas in his torments.

All the world is not to be weied with one soule saued.

The prayer of Menas at his death.

Menas martyred.

Simeon Metaphr. tom. 5.

Martyrdome and death for Christ, preferred before life and riches of this world.

The storie of fortie martyrs.

Basilius in a certaine sermon of fortie martyrs rehearseth this storie not vnworthie to be noted. There came (saith he) into a certaine place (of which place he maketh no mention) the emperous marshall or officer, with the edict which the emperour had set out against the christians, that whosoeuer confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death. And first they did priuily suborne certaine, which should detect and accuse the christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Vpon this the sword, the gibbet, the wheele, and the whips were brought forth: at the terrible sight whereof, the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for feare did flee, some did stand in doubt what to doe: certaine were so terrified at the beholding of these engins and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agonie of martyrdome, but vanquished at length, by the intollerable paine of their torments, made shipwracke of their consciences, and lost the glorie of their confession. Among others, fortie there were at that time, young gentlemen, all souldiers, which after the marshall had shewed the emperors edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely and boldly of their owne accord confessed themselues to be christians, & declared to him their names. The marshal somewhat amazed at this their boldnes of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to doe. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with faire words, aduertising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a cruell and vntimelie death for a sweete and pleasant life: after that he promiseth them monie, and honorable offices in the emperors name. But they little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignitie, nor mony, but onely the celestiall kingdome of Christ, saying further that they are readie for the loue and faith they haue in God, to indure the affliction of the wheele, the crosse and the fire. The rude marshall being herewith offended, deuiseth a new kind of punishment. He spied out in the middle of the citie a certaine great pond, which lay full vpon the cold northerne wind, for it was in the winter time, wherin he caused them to be put all that night: but they being merrie and comforting one another, receiued this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their cloths: We put off (said they) now not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence; wee giue thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparell wee may also put off by thy grace the sinfull man: for by meanes of the serpent wee once put him on, and by the meanes of Jesus Christ we now put him off. When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they felt most vehement cold: in so much that all the parts of their bodies were starke and stiffe therewith. Assoone as it was day, they yet hauing breath, were brought into the fire, wherin they were consumed, & their ashes throwne into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more liuely, and not so neere dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pitie, said vnto his mother standing by, that they would saue his life. But shee with her owne hands taking her sonne, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lie readie to be burnt, & admonished him to accomplish the blessed iournie hee had taken in hand with his companions. Basil.

The martyrs in a cold pond all a winters night.

The martyrs taken out of the pond were cast into the fire.

A good mother, caring more for the soule then for the bodie of her sonne.

Ex Basil. in serm. de 40. martyribus.

A like storie of fortie martyrs, which were maried men, we reade of in Nicephorus and Sozomenus, lib. 9. ca. 2. which were killed likewise in a lake or pond at Sebastia, a towne of Armenia, vnder Licinius; if the storie bee not the same with this: Niceph. Sozom.

Another storie of fortie martyred in a cold pond at Sebastia.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot bee left out and forgot the storie of Cyrus. This Cyrus was a physician borne in Alexandria, which flying into Egypt, in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, lead a solitarie life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles, vnto whose companie after a certaine time did Joannes borne in the citie of Edessa, beyond the riuer Euphrates, ioyne himselfe, leauing the souldiers life which before that time he had exercised. But whilest as yet the same persecution raged in a citie in Egypt called Canope, there was cast into prison for the confession of their faith, a certaine godly christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodata, and Eudoxia: with whom Cyrus was well acquainted. At whose infirmities hee much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, came and visited them for their better confirmation: at which time Lucianus was chiefe captaine and lieutenant of Egypt, of whose wickednesse and crueltie, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his apologies, and in his epistle to those that lead a solitarie life. This Cyrus therefore and Joannes, being accused and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whose perswasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contumeliously despised the gods and the emperors religion, and could by no means be brought to doe sacrifice, were after the publication of their constant confession put to death by the sword: Athanasia also and her three daughters being condemned to death. This historie writeth Simeon Metaphrastes.

Cyrus, Joannes.

Athanasia with her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodota, Eudoxia, martyrs.

The louing care of one christian toward another.

Cyrus to doe others good lost his life.

Sebastian being borne in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis was a christian, and was lieutenant generall of the vaward of Diocletian the emperour, who also incouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations vnto constancie, and kept them in the faith. Hee being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his owne souldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrows, and after that his bodie was throwne into a lakes or sinke. Ambrosius maketh mention of this Sebastian the martyr in his commentarie vpon the hundred and eightéenth psalme; and Simeon Metaphrastes amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian numbreth also these following: Nicostratus with Zoe his wife, Tranquillinus with Martia his wife, Traglinus, Claudius, Castor, Tiburtius, Castellus, Marcus, and Marcellinus, with others mo.

The storie of Sebastian martyr.

A worthie example of a captaine to bee followed.

Marcus, Marcellinus, Nicostratus with Zoe his wife. Tranquillinus with Martia his wife. Traglinus, Claudius, Castor, Tiburtius, Castellus, martyrs.

Basilius in another sermon also maketh mention of one Barlaam being a noble and famous martyr, which abode all the torments of the executioners euen to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him vpon the altar, where they did vse to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein hee had yet some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would haue scattered the burning incense vpon the altar, and so haue sacrificed. But of that their hope, the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same indured euen as though it had been couered with hot embers, when as Barlaam recited out of the psalmes this saying: Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.

Barlaam.

What desire the heathen had by some meanes to allure the christians to offer sacrifice.

To this narration of Basilius touching the martyrdome of Barlaam, wee will annex consequently another storie of Ambrose. He making a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdoms of Agricola and Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution vnder

Agricola, with his seruant Vitalis martyred. *Ex Ambro. in sermone Virginis.* Vitalis first martyred.

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vnder Diocleſian and Maximinian (as they ſo affirme) at Bononie. This Vitalis was ſeruant to Agricola, who both together betweene themſelues had made a compact to giue their liues with other martyrs for the name of Chriſt. Whereupon Vitalis being ſent before of his maſter to offer himſelfe to martyrdome, fell firſt into the hands of perſecutors, who laboured about him by all means to cauſe him denie Chriſt. Which when he would in no caſe doe, but ſtoutly perſiſted in the confeſſion of his faith, they began to exerciſe him with all kind of torments, ſo vnmercifully that there was no whole ſkin left on all his bodie. So Vitalis in the middeſt of the agonie and painefull torments, after he had in a ſhort prayer commended himſelfe to God, gaue vp his life. After him the tormentors ſet vpon Agricola his maſter, whoſe vertuous manners and gentle conditions, becauſe they were ſingularly well liked and knowne to the enemies, his ſuffering therfore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abiding the long delay and driuing off, and prouoking moreouer the aduerſaries to quicker ſpeed, at length was faſtned vnto the croſſe, and ſo finiſhed his martyrdome, which he ſo long deſired. Ambroſ. in exhortatione ad virgines.

Agricola deſirous of martyrdome.

Agricola died martyr vpon the croſſe.

No leſſe worthie of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdome of Vincentius, whoſe hiſtorie here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Leuite moſt godly and vertuous, who at this time ſuffered martyrdome at Valence vnder Dacianus the preſident, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne. Bergomenſis in his ſupplement reciteth theſe words concerning his martyrdome, out of a certaine ſermon of Saint Auguſtine: Our heart conceiued not a vaine and fruitleſſe light (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but certainly a great light and maruellous, and therewith ſingular pleaſure receiued it, when the painefull paſſion of victorious Vincentius was read vnto vs. Is there any ſo heauie hearted, that will not be moued in the contemplation of this inuincible martyr, ſo manly, or rather ſo godlie, fighting againſt the craft and ſubtiltie of that ſerpent, againſt the tyrannie of Dacianus, againſt the horrors of death, and by the mightie ſpirit of his God conquering al? But let vs in few words rehearſe the degrees of his torments, though the paines thereof in many words cannot be expreſſed. Firſt, Dacianus cauſed the martyr to be laid vpon the torture, and all the ioynts of his bodie to be diſtended and racked out, vntill they crackt againe. This being done in moſt extreame and cruell manner, all the members of his painfull and pitifull bodie were grieuouſly indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly (that his dolors and griefes might be augmented) they miſerably vered his fleſh with iron combs ſharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meeke & milde martyrs fleſh, the tormentors themſelues alſo were vſed to ſcourge at the Preſidents commandement. And leſt his paſſion through want of paines might ſeeme imperfect or elſe too eaſie, they laid his bodie being all out of ioynt, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they ſeared it with firie plates, with hot burning ſalt ſprinkling the ſame. Laſt of all into a vile dungeon was this mightie martyr drawne, the floore whereof firſt was thicke ſtrewed with the ſharpeſt ſhels that might be gotten, his feete then being faſt locked in the ſtockes, there was he left alone without all worldlie comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the holie ſpirit of God (whoſe office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with ioy and gladneſſe. Haſt thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruel tyrant, O deuouring lion) for the martyrs bed? The Lord ſhall make that bed ſoft and ſweet vnto him. Racketſt thou his bones and ioynts al aſunder? His bones, his ioynts, his haires are all numbred. Tormenteſt thou his fleſh with mortall wounds? The Lord ſhall powre abundantlie into all his ſores of his oile of gladneſſe. Thy ſcraping combes, thy ſharpe fleſh-hookes, thine hote fearing irons, thy parched ſalt, thy ſtinking priſon, thy cutting ſhelles, thy pinching ſtockes ſhall turne to this patient martyr to the beſt. All together ſhall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plentie of ioy ſhall he reape into the barne of his ſoule, out of this mightie harueſt of paines that thou haſt brought him into. Yea thou ſhalt prooue him Vincentius in deede: that is, a vanquiſher, a triumpher, a conqueror, ſubduing thy madneſſe by his meekeneſſe, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold meanes of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifullie inriched.

The cruell martyrdome of Vincentius. *Ex Auguſt. in ſermo.*

The torments exerciſed vpon Vincentius.

The comfort of the Lord vpon his ſaints.

In this catalogue or companie of ſuch holy martyrs, as ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth perſecution, many mo and almoſt innumerable there be expreſſed in authors, beſide them whom we haue hitherto comprehended. as Philoromus, a man of noble birth and great poſſeſſions in Alexandria, who being perſuaded by his friends to fauour himſelfe, to reſpect his wife, to conſider his children and familie, did not onely reiect the counſels of them, but alſo neglected the threats and torments of the iudge, to keepe the confeſſion of Chriſt inuiolat vnto the death, and loſing of his head: Euſebius lib. 8. cap. 9. Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 9. of whom Euſebius beareth witneſſe that he was there preſent himſelfe.

Philoromus, martyr. *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9.*

The confeſſion and martyrdome of Philoromus.

Procopius martyr.

The torments and conſtancie of Procopius to death.

Like eſtate and dignitie was alſo Procopius in Paleſtina, who after his conuerſion brake his images of ſiluer and gold, and diſtributed the ſame to the poore, and after all kind of torments, of racking, of ſeeding, of tearing his fleſh, of goring and ſtabbing in, of fiering, at length had his head alſo ſmitten off, as witneſſeth Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15. *Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 15.*

To this may be ioyned alſo Georgius a young man of Cappadocia, who ſtoutly inueying againſt the impious idolatry of the emperours, was apprehended and caſt into priſon, then torne with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, ſtretched with cords, after that his hands and feet with other members of his bodie being cut off, at laſt with a ſword had his head cut off: Nicephorus ibid.

Georgius martyr, the ſundrie torments of Georgius.

With theſe aforenamed adde alſo Sergius and Bacchius, Panthaleon a phyſitian in Nicomedia, mentioned in Supplem. lib. 8. Theodorus of the citie of Amaſia in Helleſpont, mentioned of Vincentius, lib. 3. Fauſtus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon with three hundred and eightéene fellow martyrs, which ſuffered about Colour: Petr. de nat. lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the preſident of Athens, who being conuerted by the conſtancy of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their torments, ſuffered alſo for the like faith. Item, Samonas, Gurias and Abibus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphraſt. Hieron alſo with certaine of his confellors, vnder Maximinus, mentioned in Metaphraſtes. Judes and Domuas, who ſuffered with many other martyrs aboue mentioned at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphraſtes. Eualaſius, Maximinus, the emperors officers, whom Faulta the virgin in her torments conuerted. Alſo Thirſus, Lucius, Callinicus, Apollonius, Philemon, Allas, Leondes, with Arriamus preſident of Thebaide, Cyprianus likewiſe a citizen of Antioch, who after he had continued a long time a filthie magitian or ſorcerer, at length was conuerted and made a deacon, then a prieſt, and at laſt the biſhop of Antioch. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 120. of whom partlie wee touched ſomewhat before. This Cyprian with Juſtina a virgin ſuffered among the martyrs. Item Glicerius at Nicomedia, Felix a minider, Fortunatus, Achilleus, deacons in the citie of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Ciriacus deacon to Marcellus the biſhop, Carpophorus prieſt at Thuſcia, with Abundus his deacon. Item Claudius, Sirinus, Antoninus which ſuffered with Marcellinus the biſhop: Sabel. Enead. 7. lib. 8. Cucufatus in the citie Barcinona. Felix biſhop of Apulis, with Adauctus and Januarius his prieſt, Fortunatus and Septimius his readers, who ſuffered in the citty Venuſina vnder Diocleſian: Bergom. lib. 8.

Sergius, Bacchius, Panthaleon, Theodorus, Faulſtus, Gereon, with 318. fellowes.

Hermogenes, Menas a man of Athens, Eugraphus, Samonas, Gurias, Abibus, Hieron with his fellowes, Judes, Domuas.

Eualaſius, Maximinus, Thirſus, Lucius, &c: as in the text.

It were too long a trauell or trouble to recite all and ſinguler names of them particularly, whom this perſecution of Dioclelian did conſume. The number of whom being almoſt infinit, is not to be collected or expreſſed. One ſtorie yet remaineth not to be forgotten of Callianus, whoſe pitifull ſtorie being deſcribed of Prudentius we haue here inſerted, rendring metre for metre as followeth.

The lamentable ſtorie of Callianus martyr. *Ex Aurel. Prudent. lib. peri Stephan.*

THrough Forum, as in Italie, I paſſed once to Roome,
Into a church by chance came I, and ſtood faſt by a roome.
Which church ſometime a place had been, where cauſes great in law
Were ſcand and tried, and iudgement giuen, to keep brute men in aw.
This place Sylla Cornelius, firſt built, he rais'd the frame;
And call'd the ſame Forum, and thus, that citie tooke the name.
In prayer feruent as I ſtood, caſting mine eie aſide,
A picture in full pitious mood (imbrude) by chance I ſpide:
A thouſand wounded marks full bad, all manged, rent, and torne;
The skin appear'd as though it had been iagd and prickt with thorne.
A ſcull of pictured boies did band, about that lothſome ſight,
That with their ſharpned gads in hand, his members thus had dighe.
Theſe gads were but their pens, wherewith their tables written were,
And ſuch as ſcholars often ſith, vnto the ſcholes doe beare.
Whom thou ſeeſt here thus pictur'd ſit, and firmelie doeſt behold,
No fable is, I doe thee wit, vnaskt a prelat told
That walkt thereby: but doth declare, the hiſtorie of one,
Which written, would good record beare, what faith was long agone.
A skilfull ſchoolemaſter this was, that here ſometime did teach:
The biſhop once of Brixia was, and Chriſt full plaine did preach.
He knew well how to comprehend, long talke in a few lines:
And at length how to amend, by order and by times.
His ſharpe precepts and his ſterne looks, his beardles boies did feare:
When hate in heart (yet for their bookes) full deadlie thy did beare.
The child that learnes, I doe yee weet, termes aie his tutor crule:
No diſcipline in youth ſeemes ſweet, count this a common rule.
Behold the raging time now here, oppreſſing ſo the faith,
Doth perſecute Gods children deere, and all that Chriſt bewraith.
This truſtie teacher of the ſwarme, profeſt the liuing God:
The chiefe good thing they count their harme, perhaps he ſhakes his (rod.
What rebels (askt the preſident) is he I heare ſo loud?
Vnto our youth an inſtrument, they ſay, and low they bowd.
Go bring the caitiffe foorth, he bids, and make no long delay:
Let him be ſet the boies amids: they doe as he doth ſay.
Let him be giuen vnto them all, and let them haue their will,
To doe to him what ſpite they ſhall, ſo that they will him kill.
Euen as they liſt let them him fray, and him deride ſo long,
Till wearineſſe prouoks their play, no longer to prolong.
Let them I ſay then vncontrold, both pricke and ſcotch his skin:
To bathe their hands let them be bold, in the hot bloud of him.
The ſcholars hereat make great game, it pleaſeth them full well:
That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a hell.
They bind his hands behind his backe, and naked they him ſtrip:
In bodkin wiſe at him they nacke, they laugh to ſee him skip.
The priuie hate that each one hath in heart, it now appeares:

They

They powre it foorth in gawly wrath, they wreak them of their teares.
Some cast great stones, some other breake, their tables on his face:
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke (oh barren boies of grace)
The bloud runs downe his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leams:
Where notes by thē were made (though loth) & wel proponed theams.
Some whet, some sharpe their pensels points, seruing to write withall:
Some other gage his flesh and ioynts, as with a pointed nall.
Sometime they pricke, sometime they rent, this worthie martyrs flesh.
And thus by turnes they doe torment this confessor afresh.
Now all with one consent on him, their bloudie hands they lay:
To see the bloud from lim to lim, drop downe they make a play.
More painefull was the pricking pang, of children oft and thicke,
Then of the bigger boies that stang, and neere the heart did sticke.
For by the feeble strokes of th'one, death was denied his will:
Of smart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill.
The deeper strokes the great ones gaue, and neerer toucht the quick:
The welcomer he thought the same, whom longing death made sick.
God make you strong, he saith, I pray, God giue you might at will:
And what you want in yeeres I say, let crueltie fulfil.
But whilest the hangman breatheth still, and me with you do match,
That weakely worke, yet want no will, my life for to dispatch;
My griefs wax great: what gron'st thou now? said some of them againe,
In schoole, aduised well art thou, whom there thou putst to paine?
Behold we pay, and now make good, as many thousand stripes,
As when with weeping eies we stood, in danger of thy gripes.
Art thou now angrie at thy band, that alwaies criedst write, write,
And neuer wouldst that our right hand, should rest in quiet plite?
We had forgot our playing times, thou churle deniedst vs of:
We now but pricke and point our lines, and thus they grin and scof.
Correct good sir your viewed verse, if ought amisse there be:
Now vse thy power and then rehearse, that haue not marked thee.
Christ pitying this groning man, with torments torne and tired,
Commands his heart to break euen then, and life that was then hired,
He yeelds againe to him that gaue, and thus he makes exchange:
Immortall for mortall to haue, that in such paine did range.
This is, saith he, that this picture, thou so beholdst, oh ghest,
Cassianus martyr. Of Cassianus martyr pure, doth preach I doe protest.
If thou prudence haue ought in store, in pietie to deale,
In hope of iust reward therefore, now shew thy louing zeale.
I could not but consent, I weepe, his tombe I doe imbracc:
Home I returne, and after sleepe, this pitifull preface
I write as a memoriall, for euer to indure,
Of Cassianus scholemaster, all others to allure
To constancie vnder the crosse, of their profession:
Accounting gaine what euer losse for Christ they take vpon.

No lesse admirable then wonderfull was the constancie also of women and maidens, who in the same persecution gaue their bodies to the torments, and their liues for the testimonie of Christ, with no lesse boldnes of spirit, then did the men themselues aboue specified, to whom how much more inferiour they were in bodilie strength, so much more worthie of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples heere we mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our stories & chronicles seeme most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we haue taken out of ỹ forelaid Prudentius as followeth.

In the west part of Spaine called Portingall, is a citie great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought vp a virgin, borne of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia: which Emerita although for the apt situation thereof, was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renowne thereof, by the martyrdome, bloud, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin Eulalia. Twelue yeeres of age was she, and not much aboue, when shee refused great and honorable offers in mariage, as one not skilfull, nor yet delighting in courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleasure in purple and gorgious apparell, or else in pretious balmes, or costlie ornaments and iewels: but forsaking and despising all these and such like pompous allurements, then shewed shee her selfe most busie in preparing her iournie to her hoped inheritance, and heauenly patronage. Which Eulalia as shee was modest and discreet in behauiour, sage and sober in conditions, so was shee also wittie and sharpe in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution inforced her to ioyne her selfe amongst Gods children in the houshold of faith, and when the christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to diuels or dead gods: then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and readie wit, thought forthwith (as a couragious captaine) to giue a charge vpon this so great and disordered a battell: & so shee sillie woman, powring out the bowels of her innocent heart before God, more prouoketh thereby the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godlie care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of the damsell, so readie to die for Christs cause, might make her guiltie of her owne death, hid her and kept her close at their house in the countrie, being a great way out of the citie. Shee yet misliking that quiet life, as also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doores (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great hast leauing the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) passed through the thornie and brierie places, accompanied yet with spirituall gard: and although darke and dreadfull was the silent night, yet had shee with her the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Israel comming out of Egypt, had by the mightie power of God, a cloudie piller for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; so had this godly virgin,

Eulalia martyr.

Ex Aurel. Prudentio. lib. peristeph.

The chast and continent behauiour of Eulalia.

Eulalia giueth the onset, denying to sacrifice to diuels.

Eulalia kept secret by her parents.

trauelling in this darke night, when shee flying and forsaking the place where all filthie idolatrie abounded, and hastened her heauenlie iourny, was not oppressed with the dreadfull darknesse of the night: but yet shee before the day appeared in this her speedie iournie, with her selfe considered and mused on a thousand matters and more.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage shee goeth vnto the tribunall or iudgement seat, and in the midst of them all with a loud voice crying out, said: I pray you what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without aduisement to destroy and kill mens soules, and to throw their bodies aliue against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you vnfortunat) what I am? Behold, I am one of the christians, an enemie to your diuellish sacrifices, I spurne your idols vnder my feet, I confesse God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. Isis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Mariminus himselfe, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the workes of mens hands; the other but a cast away, because he worshippeth the same worke. Therefore friuolous are they both, and both not worthie to bee set by. Mariminus is a lord of substance, and yet he himselfe falleth downe before a stone, and boweth the honour of his dignitie vnto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppresse so tyrannicallie, more worthie stomachs and courages then himselfe? He must needs be a good guide and an vpright iudge, which feedeth vpon innocent bloud: and breathing in the bodies of godlie men, doth rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in destroying and subuerting the faith.

Eulalia dispraiseth the heathen iudge.

The godly confession of Eulalia.

Goe to therefore thou hangman, burne, cut and mangle thou these earthlie members. It is an easie matter to breake a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst doe. The pretor then or iudge, with these words of hirs, set in a great rage, saith; Hangman take her and pull her out by the haire of her head, and torment her to the vttermost; let her feele the power of our countrie gods, and let her know what the imperiall gouernment of a prince is. But yet, O thou sturdie girle, faine would I haue thee (if it were possible) before thou die, to reuoke this thy wickednesse. Behold what pleasures thou maiest inioy by the honorable house thou camest of, thy fallen house and progenie followeth thee to death with lamentable teares, and the beauie nobilitie of thy kindred maketh dolefull lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thy selfe so young a flower, and so neere these honorable mariages and great dowries thou maist inioy? Doth not the glittering and golden pomp of the bride bed moue thee? Doth not the reuerend pietie of thine ancestors pricke thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy rashnesse and weaknes grieueth? Behold heere the furniture readie prepared for thy terrible death: Either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beasts shalt thou be pulled in peeces, or else thou being cast into the fierie flames, shalt be (although lamentablie bewailed of thy friends & kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou shalt be deliuered from all these punishments. To this Eulalia made no answere, but being in a great furie, shee spitteth in the tyrants face, shee throweth downe the idols, and spurneth abrode with her feet the heape of incense prepared to the censers. Then without further delay the hangmen with both their strengths tok her, and puld one ioynt from another, and with the talens of wild beasts scotched her sides to the hard bones: she all this while singing and praysing God in this wise; Behold O Lord I will not forget thee: what a pleasure is it for them O Christ ỹ remember thy triumphant victories, to attaine vnto these high dignities, and still calleth vpon that holy name, all stained and imbrued with her owne bloud. This sang she with a bold stomach, neither lamentinglie nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merrie, abandoning from her mind all heauinesse and gricke, when as out of a warme fountaine her mangled members with fresh bloud bathed her white & faire skin. Then proceed they to ỹ last and finall torment, which was not onely the gozing and wounding of her mangled bodie with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned on euery side with flaming torches her tormented breasts & sides: her haire hanging about her shoulders in two parts diuided (wherwith her shamefast chastity and virginitie was couered) reached downe to the ground. But when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her haire, and reacheth the crowne of her head: then shee desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame, and so rested shee in peace.

Eulalia allured with faire perswasions.

Eulalia put in the fire. The end and martyrdome of Eulalia.

The said Prudentius and Ado, also Equilinus adde moreouer, writing of a white doue issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her bodie, also of her bodie couered miraculouslie with snow, with other things more, whereof let euery reader vse his owne iudgement.

Ex Prudent.

As yee haue heard now the christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthie of praise and commendation: so no lesse commendation is worthilie to be giuen to blessed Agnes, that constant damsell and martyr of God, who as she was in Rome of honorable parents begotten, so lieth she there as honora-

Agnes martyr.

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honourably intombed & buried. Which Agnes, for hir vnspotted and vndefiled virginitie, deserueth no greater praise, and commendation then for hir willing death and martyrdome. Some writers make of hir a long discourse, more in my iudgement then necessary, reciting diuers and sundrie strange miracles by hir done in the processe of hir historie; which partly for tedious nesse, partly for the doubtfulnesse of the author (whom some father vpon Ambrose) & partly for the strangenes & incredibilitie ther of I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of hir, as followeth: She was (saith he) yong and not mariageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the emperor; lest that through idolatry she might haue denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet first proued by diuers and sundrie policies to induce hir to the same (as now with the flattering & inticing words of the iudge, now with the threatnings of the storming executioner) stood notwithstanding stedfast in all couragious strength: and willingly offered hir body to hard and painfull torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer what soeuer it should bee, yea though it were death it selfe. Then said the cruell tyrant: If to suffer paine and torment be so easie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginitie is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thée. Wherefore this is determined, that vnlesse thou wilt make obeisance to the altar of Minerua, and aske forgiuenesse of hir for thy arrogancy, thou shalt be sent or abandoned to the common stewes or brothel-house. Agnes the virgin with more spirit and vehemencie inueieth against both Minerua and hir virginitie: the youth in skuls flocke and run together, and craue that they may haue Agnes their lubrious prey. Then, saith Agnes, Christ is not forgetfull of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastitie, neither will he leaue them so destitute of helpe: he is alwaies at hand and readie to fight for such as are shamefast and chast virgins, neither suffereth he his gifts of holy integritie or chastitie to bee polluted. Thou shalt, saith shee, willingly bath thy sword in my blood if thou wilt, but thou shalt not defile my body with filthie lust for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but hee commanded that she should bee set naked at the corner of some street (which place at that time, such as were strumpets commonly vsed) the greater part of the multitude both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameless a sight, went their waies, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with vncircumcised eyes beholding the damsell, and that in such opprobrious wise, behold a flame of fire like vnto a flash of lightening falleth vpon him, striketh his eyes out of his head, whereupon hee for dead falling vnto the ground, spralleth in the kennell durt, whose companions taking him vp, and carying him away, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin for this hir miraculous deliuerie from the danger & shame of that place, singeth praises to God & Christ.

There be (saith Prudentius) that report, how that she being desired to pray vnto Christ for the partie, that a little before with fire from heauen for his incontinencie was stricken, was restored by hir prayer both vnto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes after that she had climed this hir first greese and step vnto the heauenly palace, forthwith began to climbe another: for furie ingendring now the mortall wrath of hir bloodie enemie, wringing his hands crieth out, saying: I am vndone, O thou the executioner draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdie and cruell fellow (to behold) stand behind hir, or approching neere to hir with a naked sword in his hand: I am now gladder, saith she, and reioyce, that such a one as thou being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy souldier art come, then one more feeble, weake, and faint should come, or elle any other yong man sweetly imbalmed, and wearing gay apparell that might destroy me with funerall shame. This, euen this is hee, I now confesse, that I do loue. I will make hast to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receiue into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof euen vnto the hilts, that thus I being married vnto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkenesse of this world, that reacheth euen vnto the skies. O eternall gouernour vouchsafe to open the gates of heauen once shut vp against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receiue (oh Christ) my soule that seeketh thee. Thus speaking and kneeling vpon hir knees, she prayeth vnto Christ aboue in heauen, that hir necke might bee the readier for the sword, now hanging ouer the same. The executioner then with his bloodie hand finished hir hope, and at one stroke cutteth off hir head, and by such short and swift death doth hee preuent hir of the paine thereof.

I haue often times before complained, that the stories of saints haue been powdred and sauced with diuers vntrue additions, and fabulous inuentions of men, who either of a superstitious deuotion, or of a subtill practise, haue so mingle-mangled their stories and liues, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and vncorrupt, as in the vsuall postues wont to bee read for daily seruice is manifest and euident to bee seene, wherein felo legends there be able to abide the touch of histo-

rie, if they were truly tried. This I write vpon the occasion specially of good Katharin, whom now I haue in hand. In whom although I nothing doubt, but in hir life was great holinesse, in hir knowledge excellencie, in hir death constancie: yet that all things be true that be storied of hir, neither dare I affirme, neither am I bound so to thinke: so many strange fictions of hir be fained diuersly of diuers writers, whereof some séeme incredible, some also impudent. As where Petrus de natalibus writing of hir conuersion declareth, how that Katharine sleeping before a certaine picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his mother Mary appeared vnto hir: and when Marie had offered hir vnto Christ to be his wife, he first refused hir for hir blacknesse. The next time, she being baptised, Marie appearing againe, offred hir to marrie with Christ, who then being liked, was espoused to him & married, hauing a golden ring the same time put on hir finger in hir sleepe, &c. Bergomensis writeth thus, that because shé in the sight of the people openly reuiled the emperor Maxentius to his face, and rebuked him for his crueltie, therefore she was commanded and committed vpon the same to prison: which séemeth hitherto not much to digresse from truth. It followeth moreouer, that the same night an angell came to hir, comforting & exhorting hir to be strong and constant vnto the martyrdome, for that she was a maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with hir, for whose honor she did fight, and that he would giue hir a mouth and wisdome which hir enemies should not withstand: with many other things more which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning the fiftie philosophers, whom she in disputation conuicted, and conuerted vnto our religion, & died martyrs for the same. Item of the conuerting of Porphyrius kinsman to Maxentius & Faustina the emperors wife. At length (saith the storie) after she proued the racke, and the foure sharpe cutting wheeles, hauing at last hir head cut off with the sword, so she finished hir martyrdome, about the yeere of our Lord (as Antoninus affirmeth) three hundred & ten. Simeon Metaphrastes, writing of hir, discourseth the same more at large, to whom they may resort which couet more therein to be satisfied.

Among the workes of Basil a certaine oration is extant concerning Julitta the martyr, who came to hir martyrdome (as he witnesseth) by this occasion. A certaine auaricious and greedie person of great authoritie, and (as it may appeare) the emperor his deputie, or other like officer (who abused y decrees and lawes of the emperor against the christians, to his owne lucre and gaine) violently toke from this Julitta all hir goods, lands, cattels, and seruants, contrarie to all equitie and right. She made hir pitifull complaint to the iudges: a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman and the spoiling extortioner stood forth together, the woman lamentablie declareth hir cause, the man frowningly beholdeth hir face. When she had proued that of god right the goods were hir owne, and that wrongfully he had dealt with hir: the wicked and bloodthirstie wretch preferring vile worldly substance, before the precious substance of a christian body, affirmed hir action to be of no force, for that she was as an outlaw in not seruing the emperors gods, since hir christian faith hath bén first abiured. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon incense and fire were prepared for hir to worship the gods, which vnlesse shee would doe, neither the emperors protection, nor lawes, nor iudgement, nor life should shee inioy in that common weale. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, thee said; Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome pouertie. All that I haue, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, then to speake one wicked and blasphemous word against God my creator. I yéeld thee thankes most heartie, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemne and despise this fraile and transitorie world, estéeming christian profession aboue all treasures. Henceforth when any question was demanded, hir answere was: I am the seruant of Iesus Christ. Hir kindred & acquaintance flocking to hir, aduertised hir to change hir mind. But that vehemently shee refused, with detestation of their idolatrie. Forthwith the iudge with the sharpe sword of sentence, not onely cutteth off all hir goods and possessions, but iudgeth hir also to the fire most cruelly. The ioyfull martyr imbraceth the sentence as a thing most sweete and delectable. She addresseth hirselfe to the flames, in countenance, gesture, and words, declaring the ioy of hir heart, coupled, with singular constancie. To the women beholding hir, sententiously she spake: Sticke not, O sisters, to labour and trauell after true pietie and godlinesse. Cease to accuse the fragilitie of feminine nature. What? are not wee created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after Gods image and similitude are we made, as liuely as they: Not flesh onely God vsed in the creation of the woman, in signe and token of hir infirmitie and weakenes, but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and liuing God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all idolatrie renounced; patient in aduersity, all worldly ease refused. Mar weary (my decre sisters) of your liues led in darkenesse, and bee in loue with my Christ, my God, my redéemer, my comforter, which is the true light of the world. Persuade your selues, or rather the spirit of the liuing God persuade you, that there is a

Strange and vnnecessarie miracles omitted.

Ex Pruden. lib. de coronis.

Agnes constant in the confession of hir faith.

Agnes threatned to the brothel-house. Agnes bold vpon the helpe of Christ.

The incontinent eies of a yong man beholding Agnes stricken out.

The yong man restored againe to his health by the prayer of Agnes.

Agnes desirous of martyrdome.

Agnes beheaded.

The historie of Katharine martyr. All things be not true and probable that be written of saints liues.

Petrus de natalibus, lib. 10.

Katharine reuileth the emperor openly to his face.

Katharine committed to prison and comforted by an angell.

The torments and end of Katharine.

The historie of Julitta martyr. *Ex Basil. in serm.*

Julitta violently spoyled of hir goods.

Julitta once abiured.

Julitta standeth to the confession of hir faith. A christian voice of a true martyr.

The answere of Julitta.

Julitta condemned to the fire.

The words and exhortations of Julitta to women about hir.

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world to come, wherin the worshippers of idols and diuels shal bee tormented perpetually, the seruants of the high God shall be crowned eternally. With these words she imbraced the fire and sweetly slept in the Lord.

Barbara, Fausta, Euelasius, Maximinus, Iuliana, Anisia, Iustina, Tecla, martyrs.

There haue been moreouer beside these aboue recited, diuers godly women and faithfull martyrs, as Barbara a noble woman in Thulcia, who after miserable prisonment, sharpe cords, and burning flames put to hir sides, was at last beheaded. Also Fausta the virgin which suffred vnder Maximinus, by whom Euelasius a ruler of the emperors palace, and Maximinus the president were both conuerted, and also suffered martyrdome, as witnesseth Metaphrastes. Item, Iuliana a virgin of singular beautie in Nicomedia, who after diuers agonies suffered likewise vnder Maximinus. Item, Anisia a maid of Thessalonica, who vnder the said Maximinus suffred: Metaph. ibid. Iustina which suffred with Cyprianus bishop of Antioch; not to omit also Tecla; although most writers doe record that she suffred vnder Nero. Platina in vita Caij maketh also mention of Lucia and Agatha. All which holy maids and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdome, in this tenth and last persecution of Diocletian.

Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Eusebius, Miltiades, bishops of Rome and martyrs.

During the time of which persecution, these bishops of Rome succeeded one after another, Caius who succeeded next after Eutus before mentioned, Marcellinus, Marcellus (of whom Eusebius in his story maketh no mention) Eusebius, & then Miltiades: all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First Marcellinus after the martyrdome of Caius, was ordained bishop; he being brought by Diocletian to the idols, first yelded to their idolatrie, and was seene to sacrifice, therfore being excommunicated by the christians, fell into such repentance, that hee returned againe to Diocletian, where hee standing to his former confession, and publikely condemning the idolatrie of the heathen, recouered the crowne of martyrdome, suffering with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus.

Marcellus likewise was vrged of Maxentius to renounce his bishoprike & religion, & to sacrifice with them to idols; which when he constantly refused, was beaten with cudgels, & so expelled the citie. Then hee entring into the house of Lucina a widow, assembled there the congregation; which when it came to the eares of Maxentius the tyrant, hee turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts, and so with the stinke thereof & miserable handling, was put to death. Eusebius sate bishop of Rome, as Euseb. in Chro. saith, seuen moneths, Marianus Scotus saith eight moneths, Damasus affirmeth six yeares. Sabellicus alleageth certaine authors that say, that hee was slaine by Maximianus, but correcteth ỳ himselfe, affirming that Maximianus died before him.

Euseb. in Chron.

Authors dissent. *Ex Sabel. Enead. 7. lib. 8.*

Miltiades by the testimony of Platina, & others that follow him sat three yeares and seuen months, & suffered vnder Maximianus. But that seemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time: for so much as the said Galerius Maximianus raigned but two yeres, and died before Miltiades. Also Eusebius manifestly expresseth the example of a letter of Constantine written to this Miltiades bishop of Rome, plainly conuicting that to be false which Platina affirmeth.

Sabel. ibid.

A place of Platina confuted.

The order and proceeding described in iudgement against the bishop of Rome.

In the booke collected of generall councels, among the decretall epistles, there is a long tractation about the iudgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: whereof the maisters and patrons of poperie in these our daies take great hold to proue the supremacie of the pope to bee aboue all generall councels, and that he ought not to be subiect to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written; Nemo vnquam iudicauit pontificem, nec præsul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes nõ iudicabitur a quoquam, &c. Although this sentence of Miltiades seemeth apparantly to bee patched in rather by some Heldibrandus then by Miltiades, both for that it hangeth with little order of sense vpon that which goeth before; and againe, because that Prima sedes here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the see of Rome before the councell of Nice, where the order and placing of bishops was first established. But to let this sentence passe, yet notwithstanding the circumstance and proceeding of this iudgement, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the bishops of this councell of Sinuesse, did not condemne Marcellinus, for the words of the councell bee plaine; Subscripserunt igitur in eius damnationem & damnauerunt eum extra ciuitatem, that is, They subscribed therefore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the citie. Moreouer by the said councell were brought in the fortie two witnesses against Marcellinus. In the said councell the verdict of the same witnesses was demanded, & also receiued. Furthermore, Quirinus there one of the bishops openly protested, that he would not depart the councell, before the malice of the bishops were reuealed: What doth all this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there, and did appeare before the iudgement seat of the councell, and there stood subiect to their sentence and authoritie, by the which he was expelled out of the citie? As for the words of the councell, whereupon our papists stand so much, Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius iudicio condemnaberis, &c. Item, Tuo ore iudica causam tuã, &c. These words import not here the authoritie of the Romane bishop to bee aboue the councell, neither doe they declare what the councell could not do, but what they would & wished rather to be done, that is, that hee should rather acknowledge his crime before God and them, with a voluntarie yeelding of his heart, then that the confession of such an hainous fact should bee extorted from him through their condemnation: for that they saw to be expedient for his soules health, otherwise their condemnation should serue him to small purpose; and so it came to passe. For he being vrged of them to condemne himselfe, so did: prostrating himselfe and weeping before them. Whereupon immediatly they proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the citie. Now whether by this may be gathered that the bishop of Rome ought not to bee cited, accused and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent reader iudge simple.

The bishop of Rome condemned by the councell.

An obiection of the papists answered vnto.

The bishop of Rome cited vp and appeareth before the councell.

As touching the decretall epistles, which be intituled vnder the name of these foresaid bishops, who so well aduiseth them, and with iudgement will examine the stile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the constitutions in them contained (little seruing to any purpose, and nothing seruing for those troublesome daies then present) may easilie discerne them, either in no part to bee theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which liued in other times; especially seeing all the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting vp, and to exalt the see of Rome aboue all other bishops and churches, and to reduce all causes and appeales to the said see of Rome. So the epistle of Caius beginning with the commendation of the authoritie of his see, endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all prouinces whatsoeuer emerging, to be referred to the see apostolicall. Moreouer, the greatest part of the said epistle from this place (Quicunque illi sunt, ita obcæcati, &c: to the end of this period, Quoniam sicut ait B. apostolus, magnum est pietatis, &c.) is contained in the epistle of Leo, vnto Leo the emperor; and so rightly agreeth in all points with the stile of Leo, that euident it is the same to bee borrowed out of Leo, out of the epistle of Caius, or to be patched into the epistle of Caius taken out of Leo.

The decretall epistles and constitutions of these bishops of Rome examined.

The chiefe scope of the constitutions decretall, to magnifie the church of Rome.

The epistle of Caius.

A great part of the epistle of Caius, taken out of the epistle of Leo, to Leo the emperor.

Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus, to get more authoritie with the reader, is admired with a great part of Pauls epistle to the Ephesians, word for word. And how is it like that Marcellinus, which died in the twentith yeare of Diocletian, could write of consubstantiality of the diuine persons, when that controuersie & terme of consubstantiality was not heard of in the church before ỳ Nicen councel, which was twentie three yeares after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bewray themselues, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more then only the reading of the same. Such a glorious stile of ambition therin doth appeare, as it is easie to be vnderstood, not to proceed either from such an humble martyr, or to sauour any thing of the miserie of such a time. His words of his first epistle written vnto the brethren of Antioch, and alleaged in the popes decrees by Gratianus are these:

The epistle of Marcellinus.

The epistles decretall of Marcellus.

24. q. 1. Regamus vos fratres.

We desire you brethren, that you doe not teach nor conceiue any other thing but as ye haue receiued of the blessed apostle saint Peter, and of other apostles and fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed, wherefore you must not forsake your owne father and follow others. For he is the head of the whole church, to whom the Lord said: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my church, &c. Whose seate was first with you in Antioch, which afterward by the commandement of the Lord, was translated from thence to Rome, of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the gouernour. From the which church of Rome, neither ought you to separate your selues, seeing to the same church all maner causes ecclesiasticall, being of any importance (Gods grace so disposing) are commanded to bee referred: by the same to bee ordered regularly, from whence they tooke their first beginning, &c. And followeth consequently vpon the same, And if your church of Antioch, which was once the first, will now yeeld hir selfe vnto the see of Rome, there is no other church else which will not subiect it selfe to our dominion: to whom all other bishops, whosoeuer listeth, and as they must needs doe (according to the decrees of the apostles and of their successors) ought to flie vnto, as to their head, and must appeale to the same, there to haue their redresse and their protection, from whence they tooke their first instruction and consecration, &c.

In what chapter or leafe of all the Bible doth the Lord command the see of Peter to be translated from Antioch to Rome?

The church of Rome sueth to the church of Antioch to yeeld vnto hir.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus that blessed martyr in those so dreadfull daies, I say no more, but onely desire thee (gentle reader) to iudge.

The second epistle of Marcellus written to Maxentius.

In his second epistle moreouer, the said Marcellus writing to Maxentius the bloodie tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his crueltie, sharply admonishing him how and what to doe: to learne and seeke the true religion of God, to maintaine his church, to honor and reuerence the priests of God, and specially exhorteth him to charitie, and that he would cease from persecution, &c. All this is possible and like to bee true. But now marke (good reader) what blanched stuffe here followed withal: as where he, alleaging the statutes and sanctions of his predecessors, declareth and discussеth that no bishop nor minister ought to be persecuted or depriued of his goods. And if they be

The epistle of Marcellus to Maxentius blanched.

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be, then ought they to haue their possessions and places againe restored (by the law) before they were bound (by the law) to answere to their accusations laid in against them: and so after that, in conuenient time, to be called to a councell; the which councell notwithstanding without the authoritie of the holy see, cannot proceed regularly (albeit it remaine in his power to assemble certaine bishops togither.) Neither can he regularly condemne any bishop, appealing to this his apostolicall see, before the sentence definite do proceed from the foresaid see, &c. And it followeth after; And therefore (saith he) let no bishop of what crime soeuer he be attached, come to his accusation or be heard, but in his owne ordinarie synod at his conuenient time: the regular and apostolicall authoritie being ioyned withall. Moreouer in the said epistle writing vnto Marentius, he decreeth that no lay men, or any suspected bishop ought to accuse prelats of the church: So that if they be either lay men, or men of euill conuersation, or proued manifest enemies or incensed with any hatred, their accusations against any bishops ought not to stand. With other such matters more, concerning the disposition of iudiciall court. Which matter, if pope Gregorie the seuenth had written vnto Henrie the third emperour, or if pope Alexander the third had written to the emperour Fredericus the first: it might haue stood with some reason and opportunitie of time. But now for Marcellus to write these decrees in such persecution of the church, to Marentius the heathen and most cruell emperor, how vnlike it is to be true, and how it serued then to purpose, the reader may soone discerne. And yet these bee the epistles and constitutions decretall, whereby (vnder the pretensed title of the fathers) all churches of late time, and all ecclesiasticall causes haue been, and yet are in this realme of England to this day gouerned, directed and disposed.

The church of England gouerned by the popes canon law without sufficient ground of antiquity.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other epistles that follow of Eusebius and Miltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no prelate or bishop ought to come to his answere (or Ad litem contestatam, as the words of their writing do tearme it) before they be orderly and fully restored againe to their possessions. Who moreouer in the said their epistles still harpe vpon this key of the scripture, Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Declaring moreouer that this priuiledge of iudging all men & to be iudge of no man, but onely to bee left to the iudgement of the Lord, was giuen to this foresaid holy see of Rome, from time of the apostles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy key-keeper: so that although the election of the apostles was equall, yet this was chiefly granted to S. Peter, to haue preheminence aboue the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, Quòd semper maiores causæ, sicut sunt episcoporum, & potiorũ curæ negotiorum, ad vnam beati principis apostolorum Petri sedẽ confluerent; that is, That alwaies all greater causes, as bee the matters of bishops, and such other cares of weightie importance, should be brought to the see of saint Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles, &c. These be the words of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly bee smelled of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these writings and letters vpon these ancient holy martyrs.

Ex epist. decretal. Miltiades.

A place of the third epistle decretall of Eusebius found untrue.

This I cannot but maruell at, in the third epistle of Eusebius the bishop of Rome, that whereas Marcellinus his late predecessor before, in his owne time and remembrance did fall so horriblie, and was condemned for the same iustly to bee expulsed the citie by the councell of three hundred bishops: yet notwithstanding the foresaid Eusebius in his third epistle alleaging that place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a proofe of the same, and saith: Quia in sede apostolica extrà maculam semper est catholica seruata religio, &c: that is, For in the apostolicall see, alwaies the catholike religion hath been preserued without any spot or blemish.

Miltiades the last bishop of Rome being in danger of persecution.

But howsoeuer the forgers of these decretall epistles haue forgotten themselues, most certaine it is, that these holy bishops, vpon whom they were and are ascribed, liued perfect good men and died blessed martyrs. Of whom this Miltiades was the last among all the bishops of Rome here in the west church of Europe, that euer was in danger of persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

The end of these persecutions in all the west churches.

And thus haue ye heard the stories and names of such blessed saints, which suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth yeare of Diocletian, to the seuenth and last yeare of Marentius, with the deaths also and plagues described vpon these tormentors and cruell tyrants, which were the captaines of the same persecution. And here commeth in (blessed bee Christ) the end of these persecutions here in these west churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantinus did chiefly extend.

The persecution vnder Licinius. Hermulus, Stratonicus, martyrs. Theodorus captaine, martyr.

Yet notwithstanding in Asia all persecution as yet ceased not for the space of foure yeares, as aboue is mentioned by the meanes of wicked Licinius, vnder whom diuers there were holy and constant martyrs, that suffered grieuous torments: as Hermilus a deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the prison, which both after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the flood Ister. Metast. Also Theodorus the captaine, who being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, & because he brake his gods in pieces, and gaue them to the poore, therfore was fastned to the crosse, and after being pierced with sharpe prickes or bodkins, in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Adde to this also Miles, who first being a souldier, afterward was made bishop of a certaine citie in Persia, where he seeing himselfe could doe no good to conuert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the citie and departed. Which citie shortly after by Sapores king of Persia was destroyed.

Miles martyr. The kings of Persia were commonly called by the name of Sapores.

Persecution in Persia. Acindinus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus, Simeon archbishop, Ctesiphon bishop, martyrs. 128 martyrs in Persia. The storie of Simeon archbishop of Seleucia. Ex Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 8. 9. 10.

In the same countrie of Persia, about this time suffered vnder Sapores the king (as recordeth Simeon Metaphrastes) diuers valiant and constant martyrs, as Acindinus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus, also Simeon archbishop of Selucia, with Ctesiphon an other bishop in Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred twentie eight. Of this Simeon and Ctesiphon thus writeth Sozomen lib. 2. That the idolatrous magicians in Persia, taking counsell together against the christians, accused Simeon and Ctesiphon to Sapores the king, for that they were gratefull & accepted vnto the Roman emperor, & bewaid to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Sapores being moued, toke great displeasure against the christians, oppressing them with taxes & tributes vnto their vtter impouerishing, killing also their priests with the sword: after that calleth for Simeon the archbishop, who there before the king declared himselfe a worthie and a valiant captaine of Christs church. For when Sapores had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, hee neither shrunke for any feare, nor shewed any great humble suite of submission for any pardon: whereat the king partly maruelling, partly offended, asked why he did not kneele downe as he was wont before to doe? Simeon to this answered: For that, saith he, before this time I was not brought vnto you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now, so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order & custome of the realme of me required; but now it is not lawfull for me so to doe, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine. When Simeon thus had answered, the king persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship with him after his maner (promising to him many great gifts, if he would so doe) or if hee would not, threatneth to him & to all the other christians within his land, destruction. But Simeon neither allured with his promises, nor terrified with his threatnings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so as neither he could bee induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, to the kings pleasure further knowne.

The worthie answere of Simeon vnto the king.

The constancie of Simeon.

It befell in the way as he was going to the prison, there was sitting at the kings gate a certaine eunuch, an old tutor or scholemaster of the kings, named Ufthazares, who had been once a christian, and afterward falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatrie. This Ufthazares sitting at the doore of the kings palace, and seeing Simeon passing by led to the prison, rose vp and reuerenced the bishop. Simeon againe with sharpe words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, which being once a christian, would so cowardly reuolt from his profession, and returne againe to the heathenish idolatrie. At the hearing of these words the eunuch forthwith burling out into teares, laying away his courtly apparell, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting vpon him a blacke and mourning weed, sitteth before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himselfe: Woe is me, with what hope, with what face shall I looke hereafter for my God, which haue denied my God, when as this Simeon my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?

The fall of Ufthazares.

The fruit of ecclesiasticall discipline and chastisment.

The repentance of Ufthazares.

These words being brought to the eares of the king (as such tale-carriers neuer lacke in princes courts) procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Sapores the king sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speake him faire, asking him what cause hee had so to mourne, and whether there was any thing in his house, which was denied him, or which he had not at his owne will & asking? Whereunto Ufthazares answering againe said: that There was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire stood. Yea would God (said he) O king, any other griefe or calamitie in all the world, what soeuer it were, had happened to me rather then this, for the which I doe most iustly mourne and sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day aliue, who should rather haue died long since, and that I see this sunne, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to worship, for which cause double wise I am worthie of death. First, for that I haue denied Christ; secondly, because I did dissemble with you. And incontinent vpon these words, swearing by him that made both heauen and earth, affirmed most certainely, that although he had played the fole before, he would neuer be so mad againe, as in stead of the creator & maker of all things to worship the creatures which hee had made and created. Sapores the king being astonied at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himselfe whether to bee angrie with those inchanters or with him; whether to intreate

The answere of Ufthazares to the king.

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him with gentlenesse or with rigor, at length in this mood commanded the said Asthazares his old ancient seruant, and first tutor and bringer vp of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, hee desired of the executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message vnto the king, which was this (sent in by certaine of the kings most trustie eunuches) desiring him, that for all the old and faithfull seruice he had done to his father, and to him, hee would now requite him with this one office againe, to cause to be cried openly by a publike crier in these words following, That Asthazares was beheaded, not for any trechery or crime committed against the king or the realme, but onely for that he was a christian, and would not at the kings pleasure deny his God. And so according vnto his request, it was performed and granted. For this cause did Asthazares so much desire the cause of his death to bee published: because that as his shrinking backe from Christ, was a great occasion to many christians to doe the like, so now the same hearing that Asthazares died for no other cause but onely for the religion of Christ, should learne likewise by his example to bee feruent and constant in that which they profesle. And thus this blessed eunuch did consummate his martyrdome. Of the which his said martyrdome Symeon hearing, being in prison was very ioyfull, and gaue God thankes; who in the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and constantly refusing to condescend vnto the kings request, to worship visible creatures, was likewise by the commandement of the king beheaded, with a great number more, which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of an hundred and more; all which were put to death before Symeon, hee standing by, and exhorting them with comfortable words: admonishing them to stand firme and stedfast in the Lord, preaching and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true pietie, and proued by the scriptures that to bee true which he had said: declaring moreouer that to bee true life indeed, so to die; and that to bee death indeed, to denie or to betray God for feare of punishment: and added further, that there was no man aliue, but needs once must die: For so much as to all men is appointed necessarilie heere to haue an end. But those things which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternall, which neither shall come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life in diuers men doth differ, and is not in all men like: so the time shall come, when all men in a moment shall render and receiue according to their doings in this present life immortall rewards: such as haue here done well, of life and glorie; such as haue done contrarie, of perpetuall punishment. As touching therefore our well doing, heere is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, then if a man heere lose his life for his Lord God. With these words of comfortable exhortation, the holy martyrs being prepared, willingly yéelded vp their liues to death. After whom at last followed Symeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church: Abedecalaas and Ananias, which also with him were partakers of the same martyrdome.

Asthazares the kings tutor condemned to be beheaded.

The message of Asthazares to the king.

The cause openly cried, why Asthazares was beheaded.

The end and martyrdome of Asthazares.

The martyrdome of Symeon archbishop.

The exhortation of Symeon the archbishop to the martyrs at their death, when he also himselfe should suffer.

Abedecalaas, Ananias, martyrs.

At the suffring of those aboue mentioned, it happened that Pusices one of the kings officers, and ouerséer of his artificers, was there present: who séeing Ananias being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered: O father (said hee) a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt sée the sight of God. Vpon these words thus spoken, Pusices immediatly was apprehended and brought vnto the king; who there confessing himselfe constantly to be a christian, and for that hee was very bold and hardie before the king in the cause of Christs faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdome. For in the vpper part of his necke they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and plackt out his tongue out of his mouth, and so hee was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of Pusices, a godly virgin, by the malicious acculation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The next yeare following, vpon the same day, when the christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lords passion, which we call good friday before Easter (as witnesseth the said Sozomenus) Sapores the king directed out a cruell and sharpe edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them, whosoeuer confessed themselues to be christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in citie and in towne: some being sought for, some offering themselues willingly, lest they should séeme by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the christians that could bee found, without pitie were slaine, and diuers also of the kings owne court and houshold. Amongst whom was also Azades an eunuch, one whom the king did intirely loue and fauour; which Azades after that the king vnderstood to be put to death, being greatly moued with the sorrow thereof, commanded after that no christians to bee slaine, but them onely which were the doctors and teachers of christian religion.

The free speech and boldnesse of Pusices.

The cruell martyrdome of Pusices.

The daughter of Pusices martyr.

A cruell edict of Sapores against the christians.

Innumerable martyrs in Persia.

Azades a noble courtier, martyr.

The prouision of God to saue the christians.

In the same time it happened that the queene fell into a certaine disease, vpon the occasion whereof, the cruell Iewes with the wicked magicians, falslie and maliciouslie accused Trabula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with an other sister also of hirs: that they had wrought priuie charmes to hurt the queene, for the reuenging of the death of Simeon. This acculation being receiued and beleeued, innocent Trabula, with the others were condemned, and with a saw cut in sunder by the middle, whose quarters were then hanged vpon stakes, the queene going betweene them, thinking thereby to bee deliuered of hir sicknesse. This Trabula was a maid of a right comely beautie and verie amiable, to whom one of the magicians cast great loue, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards sent into the prison to win hir to his pleasure: promising that if she would applie to his request, she should be deliuered and set at libertie. But she vtterly refusing to consent vnto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did chuse rather to die, then to betray either the religion of hir mind, or the virginitie of hir bodie. Sozom.

Trabula with hir sister martyrs.

Trabula the sister of Simeon.

False accusation rashly beleeued.

Trabula and hir sister sawne in sunder.

The blind charme of the wicked queen.

Example of maidenly chastitie in Trabula.

Now for so much as the king had commanded that no christians should be put to death, but onely such as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke: the magicians and archmagicians left no diligence vntried to set forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and persecution was among the bishops and teachers of the church, which in all places went to slaughter, especially in the countrie of Diobenor, for that part of Persia aboue all other was most christian. Where Acepsimas the bishop with a great number of his flocke and clergie were apprehended and taken: vpon the apprehension of whom, the magicians to satisfie the kings commandement, dismissed all the rest, onely depriuing them of their liuing and goods. Onely Acepsimas the bishop they retained, with whom one Iacobus a minister, or priest of his church was also ioyned: not of any compulsion, but onely as himselfe so desired and obtained of those magicians that he might follow him, and bee coupled in the same bonds to serue the aged bishop, and to releeue (so much as hee might) his calamities, and heale his wounds. For hee had been sore scourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the sunne: which thing because he would not doe, they cast him into prison againe, where this Iacobus was waiting vpon him. At the same time likewise Athalas a priest or minister, also Azadanes and Abdiesus deacons were imprisoned, and miserablie scourged for the testimonie of the Lord Iesus. After this, the archimagus espying his time, complaineth vnto the king of them, hauing authoritie and commission giuen him (vnlesse they would worship the sunne) to punish them as hee pleased. This commandement receiued of the king, the master magus doth declare to them in prison. But they answered againe plainely, that they would neuer be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the sunne; whereupon without mercie they were put to bitter torments, where Acepsimas strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, indureth to death. The other being no lesse rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marueilouslie aline, and because they would in no case turne from their constant sentence, were turned againe into prison. Of whom Athalas in the time of his whipping was so drawne and rackt with pulling, that both his armes being losed out of the ioynts, hanged downe from his bodie: which hee so carried about without vse of any hand to feed himselfe, but as hee was fed of others.

Ex Eccles. hist. Sozo. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Persecution against the bishops and teachers of the church in Persia.

Acepsimas bishop, martyr.

Iacobus priest martyr.

Example of true christian charitie, and singular pietie in Iacobus.

Athalas deacon, Azadanes deacon, Abdiesus deacon, martyrs.

This archimagus and magi (as Xenophon saith) was an order of religion among the Persians which had the greatest stroke in the land, next to the king.

The end and martyrdome of Acepsimas bishop.

Athalas lost the vse of both his armes being pluckt from the ioynts of his body.

Ex Soz. lib. 2. cap. 13. Ex Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37.

Miserable and almost innumerable were the slaughters vnder the reigne of this Sapores, of bishops, ministers, deacons, religious men, holy virgins, and other ecclesiastical persons, such as did then cleaue to the doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same. The names of the bishops besides the other multitude taken in persecution, are recited in Sozom. lib. 2. and in Nicephor. lib. 8. cap. 37. in this order following: Barbasimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Ioannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Isaac, Dausas, Bicor also with Maureanda his fellow bishop, and the rest of his churches vnder him, to the number of two hundred and fiftie persons, which were the same time apprehended of the Persians, &c. Brieflie to comprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the maner of their apprehension, the cruelnesse of their torments, how and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any historie to discharge. Neither are the Persians themselues (as Sozomenus recordeth) able to recite them. In summe, the multitude and number of them, whom they are able to recite by name, commeth to the summe of sixteene thousand men and women.

Barbasimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Ioannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Isaac, Dausas, Bicor, Maureanda, with 250 other martyrs.

The rumor and noise of this so miserable affliction of the christians in the kingdome of Persia, comming to the eares of Constantinus the emperor, put him in great heauinesse, studying and reuoluing with himselfe, how to helpe the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to doe. It so befell the same time, that certaine ambassadors were then at Rome from Sapores king of Persia, to whom Constantinus did easilie grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands, thinking

The number of the martyrs that suffered in Persia were 16 thousand.

Constantinus the emperor writeth to the king of Persia in the behalfe of the afflicted christians.

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thinking thereby to obtaine the more friendship at the kings hands, that at his request he would be good to the christians, to whom he writeth his epistle in their behalfe, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus:

The copie and effect of the epistle of Constantine to Sapores.

Diuinam fidem seruans veritatis lucem sortior. Veritatis luce doctus diuina fide cognosco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agendas confirmat, sanctissimam religionem cognitam reddo, & hunc me cultum doctore cognitionis sancti Dei habere confiteor, &c. Eusebius De vita Constantini, lib. 4. The contents whereof, briefly doe tend to this effect. Declaring vnto him how hee should stand much beholden to him, if at his request hee would shew some quiet and rest to the christians, in whose religion there was nothing which he could iustly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they vse to kill nothing, nor to shed no blood, but onely to offer vp vnbloodie sacrifices, to make their prayers vnto God, who delighteth not in bloodshedding, but only in the soule that loueth vertue, & followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing vnto true pietie. And therefore such men as doe leade him, and learne so to beleeue and to worship God, are more to bee commended. Moreouer, hee assureth him to find God more mercifull vnto him, if he would imbrace the godly pietie and truth of the christians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the stories of Galienus and Valerianus, who so long as they were fauourers of the christians did prosper and flourish. But as soone as they moued any persecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other emperors before them, that all went backeward with them, as especially might appeare by Valerianus, who after hee had raged so cruelly against the christians, was eftsoones ouercome of the Persians, the reuenging hand of God falling vpon him, where hee led euer a miserable life, in wretched captiuitie. Further also for the more euidence of the same, inferreth the examples of those emperors & tyrants in his time whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gaue him the victorie in many battels, and triumph ouer great tyrants, whereby he hath so inlarged the dominion of the Romane monarchie from the west ocean vnto the vttermost parts well neere of all the east. To the doing and working whereof, he neither called to him the helpe of any charmer, or diuination of soothsayer, nor vsed the killing of any sacrifice: but onely the following of the crosse, and prayer made to almightie God, without any other bloodie sacrifice, was the armour wherewith hee ouercame, &c. And in the end of the epistle addeth these words. What ioy (saith he) what gladnesse would it be to my heart, to heare the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by imbracing this sort of men, the christians I meane? So that both you with them, & they with you in long prosperitie may inioy much felicitie together as your hearts would desire, and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you haue God, which is the author and creator of all this vniuersall world, to be mercifull and gratious to you. These men therefore I commend vnto you vpon your kingly honor, and vpon your clemencie and pietie, wherewith you are indued, I commit them vnto you, desiring you to imbrace and receiue them according to your humanitie and benignitie, agreeing and conuenient to your estate: who in so doing shall now both procure to your selfe grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthie of thankes.

The generall care of godly Constantinus for all christians in all places.

This example wrote Constantinus to king Sapores, such care had this godly prince for them that beleeued in Christ, not onely in his owne monarchie, but also in all places of the world: neither is it to bee doubted but this intercession of the emperor did something mittigate the heate of the Persians persecution, although therof we reade no certaine thing in our histories.

Other foure persecutions in Persia. Andas bishop, martyr. The storie of Hormisda martyr. *Ex Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 39.* The faithfull constancie of Hormisda. Hormisda banished the countrie of Persia.

Of other troubles and persecutions we reade, which happened afterward in the said countrie of Persia, vnder Isdigerdes the king, but these followed long after about the time of the emperor Theodosius. At which time suffred Andas their bishop, and Hormisda a great noble mans sonne, and of great reputation among the Persians, whom when the king vnderstood to be a christian, and to denie to turne from his religion, condemned him to keepe his elephants naked. In processe of time, the king looking out and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the sunne, commanded him to haue a shirt put on, and to bee brought before him, whom then the king asked, if hee would denie Christ. Hormisda hearing this, tare off his shirt from his body and cast it from him, saying; If ye thinke that I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, haue here your gift againe, &c. And so was vpon that expelled the countrie: Theodor. lib. 5.

Suenes martyr.

Another there was that same time named Suenes, which had vnder him an hundred seruants. The king taking displeasure with him for that hee would not alter from his religion and godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his seruants, and him the king made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him with his maisters wife, brought also Suenes vnder his subiection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of Suenes: but it was builded vpon a sure foundation.

The constancie of Suenes.

The storie of Beniamin, deacon and martyr.

Of Beniamin the deacon, thus writeth the said Theodoret in his first booke, that after two yeares of his imprisonment, at the request of the Romane legat he was deliuered, who afterward contrarie to the kings commandement preached and taught the gospel of Christ, & was most miserablie excarnificat, hauing twentie sharpe pricks of reeds thrust vnder his nailes; but when hee did laugh at that, then in his priuie yard had a sharpe reed thrust in with horrible paine. After that a certaine long stalke ragged & thornie, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him, with the horriblenesse of the paine wherof the valiant & inuincible souldier of the Lord gaue ouer his life. Theod. ibid. And thus much concerning the martyrs & persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, which came (as it is said) long after the daies of Constantinus, about ye yere of our Lord, 425.

Beniamin tormented. The martyrdome of Beniamin.

Likewise vnder Julian the wicked apostata, certaine there were which constantly suffered martyrdome by the heathen idolaters, as Emilianus who was burned in Thracia, and Domitius which was slaine in his cate. Theodorus also for singing of a psalme at the remouing of the body of Babilas (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, & so cruelly excruciat from morning almost to none, that hardly hee escaped with life. Who being asked afterward of his friends, how hee could abide so sharpe torments, said that at the first beginning hee felt some paine, but afterward there stood by him a yong man, who as he was sweatting wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oft times: wherwith he was so delighted, that when he was let downe from the engin, it grieued him more then before: Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The martyrs vnder Julianus apostata. Emilianus. Domitius martyrs.

The storie of Theodorus martyr. *Ruff. lib. 5. c. 36. Theod. li. 3. c. 11. Sozom. li. 5. c. 20.*

A miracle to be noted.

Artemius also, the captaine of the Egyptian souldiers, the same time lost his head for his religion indeed: although other causes were pretended against him: Theodor. Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Artemius martyr.

Vnto these moreouer Eusebius and Nestabus, two brethren, with Nestor also, who for their christianitie were dragged through the streets and murthered of the idolatrous people of Gaza: Sozo. lib. eod. cap. 11.

Eusebius, Nestabus, brethren, Nestor, martyrs.

But especially the crueltie of the Arethusians, a people of Syria, exceeded against the christian virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned; after that being shauen, they couered them with swill and draffe wont to be giuen to their hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be deuoured of the hungrie swine. This rage and furie of the wicked Arethusians, Sozomenus supposeth to come of this, because that Constantinus before had broken them from their countrie maner of setting forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whomsoeuer lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis, restraining the people there from their filthinesse and vile whoredome. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Eupsychius, with other men of Cesarea martyrs.

Miserable crueltie against the christian virgins of Arethusa.

The people made to be plucked from their old customs, though it be neuer so wicked.

Of the lamentable storie, or rather tragedie of Marcus Arethusius their bishop, thus writeth the said Sozomenus, and also Theodoretus in his third booke, in these words as follow.

The storie of Marcus Arethusius.

This tragedie (saith he) of Marcus Arethusius, both require the eloquence and worthinesse of Eschilus and Sophocles, which may, as the matter deserueth, set forth and beautifie his great afflictions. This man, at the commandement of Constantinus, pulled downe a certaine temple dedicated to idols, and in stead thereof built vp a church where the christians might congregat. The Arethusians remembring the little good will that Julianus bare vnto him, accused him as a traitor and enemie to him. At the first, according as the scripture teacheth, he prepared himselfe to flie: but when hee perceiued that there were certaine of his kinsmen or friends apprehended in his stead, returning againe of his owne accord, he offered himselfe to those that thirsted for his blod. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worne yeares, nor abashed at his vertuous conuersation, being a man so adorned both with doctrine and manners, first stript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a while after, they cast him into a foule filthie sinke, and from thence being brought, they caused boyes to thrust him in with sharpened sticks made for the nonce, to prouoke his paine the more. Lastly, they put him into a basket, and being anointed with honie and broth, they hung him abrode in the heate of the sunne as meate for wasps and flies to feed vpon. And all this extremitie they shewed vnto him, for that they would inforce him to doe one of these things, that is, either to build vp againe the temple which hee had destroyed; or else to giue so much money as should pay for the building of the same: but euen as he purposed with himselfe to suffer and abide their grieuous torments, so refused hee to doe that they demanded of him. At the length they taking him to be but a poore man, & not able to pay such a summe of money, promised to forgiue him the one halfe, so that hee would be contented to pay the other halfe. But hee hanging in the basket wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boyes and children, and al to bebitten with wasps and flies, did not onely conceale his paine & griefe, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himselfe to bee exalted and set on high. At length they demanding of him but a small summe of money, he answered thus; It is a great wickednesse to confer one halfe penie in case of impietie, as if a man should beslow the whole. Thus they being not able to preuaile against him, let him downe, and leauing him went

The true conscience of Marcus Arethusius.

Great crueltie shewed.

Counterfeiteth the cause of crueltie.

A notable saying.

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their way, so that every man might learne at his mouth the example of true pietie and faithfulnesse.

Although the tractation of these foresaid stories and persecutions of Persia, aboue premised, doe stray somewhat out of the order and course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine nor be pertinent to the monarchie of Rome: yet because in this present historie we are in hand with the holy martyrs and saints of Christ; for so much as these also gaue such a faithfull testimonie of the Lord Jesus with their blod, I thought therefore not to passe them ouer without some testimony in this our catalogue of holy martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the primitiue church.

It may peraduenture bee marueiled of some, reading the historie of these so terrible persecutions aboue specified, why God the almightie director of all things, would suffer his owne people and faithfull seruants, beleeuing in his owne and onely begotten sonne Jesus, so cruelly to bee handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to bee tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many yeares together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appeare. To the which admiration I haue nothing to answer, but to say with the words of Hierom, *Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c.* We ought not to be moued with this iniquitie of things, to see the wicked to preuaile against the godly: for so much as in the beginning of the world we see Abel the iust to be killed of wicked Cain, and afterward Jacob being thrust out, Esau to reigne in his fathers house: in like case the Egytians with bricke and tile afflicted the sonnes of Israel, yea and the Lord himselfe, was hee not crucified of the Iewes, Barrabas the theefe being let goe? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon vp how the godly in this world goe to wracke, the wicked flourishing and preuailing: Briefly, howsoeuer the cause hereof procedeth, whether for our sinnes here in this life, or how else soeuer, yet this is to vs, and may bee to all men a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the prouident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old law by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured these persecutions of his christians. So by the words of Christs owne mouth in the gospell, hee did forewarne his church of these troubles to come. Againe, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall vpon his seruants, before that hee had premonished them sufficiently by speciall reuelation in the Apocalyps of John his seruant, in the which Apocalyps hee declared vnto his church before, not onely what troubles were comming at hand towards them, where and by what men they should come, but also in plaine number, if the words of the prophesie bee well vnderstood, assigneth the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For as there is no doubt but by the beast with seuen heads, bearing the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blod of saints, is signified the citie of Rome: so in my iudgement, the power of making fortie two moneths (in the thirteenth of the Apocalyps) is to be expounded, taking euery moneth for a sabbath of yeares, that is, reckoning for seuen yeares a moneth: so that fortie and two such sabbaths of yeares, being gathered together, make vp the yeares iust, betweene the time of Christs death, to the last yeare of the persecution of Marentius, when Constantinus fighting vnder the banner of Christ, ouercame him, and made an end of all persecution within the monarchie of Rome. The number of which yeares by plaine computation, come to two hundred ninetie and foure; to the which two hundred ninetie and foure yeares, if ye adde the other six yeares, vnder the persecution of Licinius in Asia, then it filleth vp full the three hundred yeares. And so long continued the persecution of Christs people vnder the heathen tyrants, and emperors of the monarchie of Rome, according to the number of the fortie two moneths which the beast had power to make, specified in the thirteenth of Apocalyps. For the better explication whereof, because the matter being of no small importance greatly appertaineth to the publike vtilitie of the church, and lest any should misdoubt me herein, to follow any priuat interpretation of mine owne, I thought good to communicate to the reader, ẏ which hath been imparted vnto me, in the opening of these mysticall numbers in the foresaid booke of Reuelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

As I was in hand with these histories, and therein considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intollerable torments of the blessed saints, so cruelly rackt, rent, torne, and pluckt in peeces with all kind of tortures, paines and punishments that could bee deuised, more bitter then any death it selfe; I could not without great sorrow and passion of mind behold their sorrowfull afflictions, or write of their bloodie passions. Wherein much like it happened to me as did to Titus Liuius, who writing of the wars of Carthage, was so moued in the writing thereof: *Ac si in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset.* Further I procéded in the storie, and the hater the persecutions grew, the more my griefe with them and for them increased, not onely pitying their wofull case, but also almost reasoning with God, thus thinking like a foole with my selfe, why God of his goodnesse would suffer his children and seruants so vehemently to bee cruciated and afflicted. If mortall things were gouerned by heauenly prouidence (as must needs be granted) why did the wicked so rage and flourish and the godly goe so to wracke? If sinnes deserued punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death aboue all other so sharpe and bitter? At least why would the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to indure so long time against his poore church, shewing vnto them no certaine determined end of their tribulations, whereby they knowing the appointed determination of almightie God, with more consolation might indure out the same? As the Israelites in the captiuitie of Babylon had seuentie yeares limited vnto them: and vnder Pharao they were promised a deliuerance out. Also vnder the Syrian tyrants three score and two weekes were abridged vnto them. Onely in these persecutions I could find no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliuerance. Whereupon much marueiling with my selfe, I searched the booke of Reuelation, to see whether any thing there might be found; where although I well perceiued the beast there described to signifie the empire of Rome, which had power to ouercome the saints, yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions vnder the beast, I found nothing to satisfie my doubt. For albeit I read there, of forty two months, of a time, times, and halfe a time, of one thousand two hundred and three score daies; yet all this by computation comming but to three yeares and a halfe, came nothing neere the long continuance of these persecutions, which lasted three hundred yeres. Thus being vexed and turmoiled in spirit, about the reckoning of these numbers and yeares, it so happened vpon a sunday in the morning lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a maiestie, thus inwardly saying within me: Thou fole, count these moneths by sabbaths, as the weekes of Daniel are counted by sabbaths. The Lord I take to witnesse thus it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the fortie two moneths by sabbaths; first of moneths, that would not serue; then by sabbaths of yeares, wherein I began to feele some probable vnderstanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to haue ẏ matter more sure, ex ciuiles I repaired to certaine merchants of mine acquaintance; of whom one is departed a true faithful seruant of the Lord, the other two be yet aliue, and witnesse hereof. To whom the number of these foresaid fortie two moneths being propounded, & examined by sabbaths of yeares, the whole summe was found to surmount vnto two hundred ninetie and foure yeares, containing the full and iust time of these foresaid persecutions, neither more nor lesse.

Now this one claspe being opened, the other numbers that follow are plaine and manifest to the intelligent reader to bee vnderstood. For where mention is made of three yeares and a halfe, of one time, two times and halfe a time, also of one thousand two hundred and three score daies, all these come to one reckoning and signifie forty & two moneths, by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these primitiue persecutions, as here in order may appeare.

The mysticall numbers in the *Apocalyps opened.*

1 One thousand two hundred and sixtie. Reuel. 11. 12.

2 Three daies and a halfe. Reuel. 11.

3 A time, times, and halfe a time. Reuel. 12.

4 Fortie two moneths or three yeares and a halfe. Reuel. 11.

First, where mention is made, Apocalyps, chapt. eleuen, that the two prophets shall prophesie 1260 daies; and also that the woman flying into the desert shall there bee fed 1260 daies: who knoweth not that 1260 daies make three yeares and a halfe? that is, moneths ——— 42.

Secondly, where we reade, cap. 11. the bodies of the two foresaid prophets shall lie in the streets of the great citie vnburied the space of three daies and a halfe, and after the said three daies and a halfe they shall reuiue againe, & call the houres of these three daies and a halfe (which be 42) be reckoned euery day for a sabbath of yeares, or else euery day for a moneth, and they come to moneths ——— 42.

Thirdly, whereas in the same booke is expressed that the woman had two wings giuen hir to flie vnto the desert for a time, times, and halfe a time: giue for one time one yeare, or one day; for two times, two yeares or two daies; for halfe a time, halfe a yeare, or halfe a day; & so it is manifest that these three yeares and a halfe, mount to moneths 42.

Fourthly, account these fortie two moneths aforesaid (which the beast had power to make, Apoc. 11.) by sabbath of yeares, that is, seuen yeares for a moneth, or euery moneth for seuen yeares; and it amounteth to the sum of yeares ——— 294.

And so haue ye the iust yeres, daies, times, & moneths of these foresaid persecutions vnder the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of John Baptist vnder Herod the Romane king to the end of Marentius, and of Licinius, the two last great persecutors, the one in the west, the other in the east, who were both vanquished by godly Constantinus. And so peace was giuen to the church, albeit not in such ample wise, but that diuers tumults & troubles afterward insued, but they lasted not long; and the chiefe brunt, to speake of these Romane persecutions

Hieron. in Aba. cap. 1.

The wicked in this world doe most flourish and preuaile.

Persecution commeth by no chance.

Persecution of Gods people prefigured and forewarned of God.

The church forewarned of Christ by speciall reuelation in the Apocalyps.

The beast in the Apocalyps expounded.

Two and fortie moneths in the apoc. 13. expounded.

The beast has power to make 42 moneths.

The persecuting time of the primitiue church vnder the beast lasted 300 yeares.

The Israelites 400 yeares.

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perſecutions which the Holie ghoſt eſpeciallie conſidered aboue all other in this his Reuelation thus ended in the time of this Conſtantinus. Then was the great dragon the diuell, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious perſecuting, tied ſhort for a thouſand yeeres after this, ſo that he could not preuaile in any ſuch ſort, but that the power and glory of the goſpell by little and little increaſing and ſpreading with great ioie and libertie, ſo preuailed that at length it got the vpper hand and replenished the whole earth, rightlie verifying therein the water of Ezechiel, which iſſuing out of the right ſide of the altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole Ocean ſea, and healed all the fiſhes therin. No otherwiſe the courſe of the goſpell proceeding of ſmall and hard beginnings, kept ſtill his ſtreame; the more it was ſtopped, the ſwifter it ran: by bloud it ſeeded, by death it quickned, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it ſprung; till at laſt out of thraldome and oppreſſion it braſt forth into perfect libertie, and flouriſhed in all proſperitie, had it ſo been that the Chriſtians wiſelie and moderatlie could haue vſed this reſt and libertie, and not abuſed the ſame, forgetting their former eſtate to their owne pride, pompe, and worldlie eaſe, as it came afterward to paſſe, whereof more is to be ſéene and ſaid (the Lord willing) in place and time conuenient.

Ezech. 47.

And thus much touching the propheticall numbers in the Apocalypſe. Wherein is to be noted and magnified the eternall wiſdome and hie prouidence of almightie God, ſo diſpoſing and gouerning his church, that no aduerſitie or perturbation happeth at any time to it, which his prouident wiſdome doth not foreſee before and prepoſe; neither doth he preordeine or determine any thing which he doth not moſt truelie performe, both foreſeing the beginning of ſuch perſecutions, and limiting the end therof how long to cõtinue and when to ceaſe. In much like ſort we read in the books of Geneſis, how the ſtocke of Iſrael was foure hundred yéeres in the land of Egypt. During the ſpace of which foure hundred yeeres, after the death of Joſeph (who beareth a plaine figure of Chriſt) they were hardlie intreated and cruellie afflicted of the Egyptians, about the ſpace of three hundred yéeres, reckoning from after the death of Joſeph, to their deliuerance out of the bondage of Egypt, reſemblable as theſe chriſtians, after Chriſts time ſuffered the like bondage vnder the Romane tyrants.

The perſecuted Iſraelus bearing a figure of the perſecuted church of Chriſt.

Thus much by the waie I thought to inſinuat, leſt any ſhould muſe or take any offence in himſelfe, to ſée or read of the church ſo long and ſo many yéeres to be vnder ſo miſerable and extreme afflictions: wherein neither chance nor fortune, nor diſpoſition of man, hath had any place, but onlie the foreconſell and determination of the Lord ſo gouerned and diſpoſed the ſame, who not onlie did ſuffer them to fall, and foreſaw thoſe perſecutions before they fell, but alſo appointed the times and yéeres how long they ſhould laſt, and when to haue an end, as by the foreſaid foztie two mõths in the thirteenth and eleuenth chapters of S. Johns Apocalyps hath bin declared. Which months conteining two hundred ninetie and foure yeeres, if they be rightlie gathered, make the full time betweene the firſt yéere, of the perſecution of Chriſt vnder the Jewes and Herod, till the laſt yeere of perſecution vnder Licinius, which was from the natiuitie of Chriſt in the yéere of our Lord three hundred twentie and foure, from the firſt perſecution of Chriſt in the yeere of our Lord two hundred ninetie and foure, as is afore ſaid. After the which yeere according to the predoinat counſell of God, when his ſeueritie had been ſufficientlie declared vpon his owne houſe, it pleaſed him to ſhew mercy againe, & to bind vp ſathan the old ſerpent, according to the twentith chapter of the Reuelation, for the ſpace of a thouſand yeeres, that is, from this time of Licinius, to the time of John Wickliffe and John Huſſe. During all which time, albeit certeine conflicts and tumults haue been among chriſtian biſhops themſelues in the church, yet no vniuerſall murthering perſecution was ſtirring before the preaching of John Wickliffe, of Huſſe, and ſuch others, as in the further proceſſe of this hiſtorie (Chriſt willing and aiding vs) ſhall more appeere hereafter.

From the firſt perſecution of the primitiue church to the laſt perſecution two hundred ninetie & foure yeeres.

Vniuerſall perſecution ceaſeth for one thouſand yeeres in the church: Apoc. 10.

From the time of Licinius to Wickliffe one thouſand yeeres.

Sathan bound vp for a thouſand yeeres.

The time of ſathans binding opened.

Thus hauing at large diſcourſed theſe horrible perſecutions paſt, and heauie afflictions of chriſtian martyrs, now by the grace of God, comming out of this red ſea of bloudie perſecution, leauing Pharao and his hoſt behind: let vs ſing gloriouſlie to the worthie name of our God, who through the bloud of the lambe after long and tedious afflictions, at length hath viſited his people with comfort, hath tied vp ſathan ſhort, hath ſent his meeke Moſes (gentle Conſtantine I meane) by whom it hath ſo pleaſed the Lord to worke deliuerance to his captiue people, to ſet his ſeruants at libertie, to turne their mourning into ioie, to magnifie the church of his ſonne, to deſtroie the idols of all the world, to grant life and libertie (and would God alſo not ſo much riches!) vnto them which before were the abiects of all the world, and all by the meanes of godlie Conſtantinus the meeke and moſt chriſtian emperor, of whoſe diuine victories againſt ſo many tyrants and emperors, perſecutors of Chriſts people; and laſtlie againſt Licinius, in the yéere of our Lord, three hundred twentie and foure, of whoſe other noble acts & prowelles, of whoſe bleſſed vertues and his happy birth and progenie, part we haue comprehended before, part now remaineth (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

This Conſtantine was the ſonne of Conſtantius the emperor, a good and vertuous child of a good and vertuous father, borne in Britanie (as ſaith Eutropius) whoſe mother was named Helena, daughter indeed of king Coilus: although Ambroſius in his funerall oratiõ of the death of Theodoſius ſaith, ſhe was an inholders daughter. He was a moſt bountifull and gratious prince, hauing a deſire to nourith learning and good arts, and did oftentimes vſe to reade, write, and ſtudie himſelfe. He had marueilous good ſucceſſe & proſperous atchiuing of all things he toke in hand, which then was (and truelie) ſuppoſed to proceed of this, for that he was ſo great a fauorer of the chriſtian faith. Which faith when he had once embraced, he did euer after moſt deuoutlie and religiouſlie reuerence, and commanded by eſpeciall commiſſion & proclamation, that euerie man ſhould profeſſe the ſame religion throughout all the Romane monarchie. The worſhipping of idols, whereunto he was addict by the allurement of Fauſta his wife, in ſo much that he did ſacrifice to them, after the diſcomfiture of Maxentius in battell, he vtterlie abiured: but baptiſme he deferred euen vnto his old age, becauſe he had determined a iourney into Perſia, & thought in Jordan to haue been baptiſed. Euſebius lib. 4. de vita Conſtantini.

Deologia.

The good qualities of Conſtantinus.

The cauſe of all his proſperous ſucceſſe.

Conſtantine ſometime by meanes of his wife was an idolater.

Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.

As touching his naturall diſpoſition and wit, he was verie eloquent, a good philoſopher, and in diſputation ſharp and ingenious. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that an emperor ought to refuſe no labor for the vtilitie of the common weale: yea, and that to aduenture the mangling of his bodie for the remedie thereof; but if otherwiſe it may be holpen, to cherith the ſame. This doe Aurelius, Victor, Pomponius Letus, and Ignatius write of him. And Aelius Lampridius ſaith, writing vpon the life of Heliogabalus; that Conſtantinus was wont to ſay, that An empire was giuen by the determinat purpoſe of God, that he to whom it was giuen, ſhould ſo imploie his diligence, as he might be thought worthie of the ſame at the hands of the giuer; which ſame ſaying alſo Auguſtine noteth in his third booke againſt Creſconius, Epiſt. 49. and 50.

The common ſaying of Conſtantinus.

Auguſt. contra Creſcon. epiſt. 49. 50.

He firſt entered into the empire by the mercifulneſſe of God, minding after long waues of dolefull perſecution to reſtore vnto his church peace and tranquillitie in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and eleuen, as Euſebius accounteth in his chronicle. His reigne continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirtie yéeres, Letus ſaith thirtie and two yéeres lacking two months. Great peace and tranquillitie inioied the church vnder the reigne of this good emperor, which toke great paine and trauell for the preſeruation thereof. Firſt, yea and that before he had ſubdued Licinius, he ſet forth many edicts for the reſtitution of the goods of the church, for the reuoking of the chriſtians out of exile, for taking away the diſſenſion of the doctors out of the church, for the ſetting of them free from publike charges and ſuch like, euen as the copie of his conſtitutions heere vnder declareth, which Euſebius in his tenth booke and fift chapter repeateth in this wiſe.

The reigne of Conſtantinus.

The effect of ſome of his conſtitutions.

The copie of an epiſtle of Conſtantinus, ſent to *his ſubiects inhabiting in the eaſt.*

Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

VIctor Conſtantinus Maximus Auguſtus, to our louing ſubiects inhabiting throughout ỹ eaſt parts, ſendeth greeting. The thing it ſelfe which in the ſure and moſt firme law of nature is contained, doth giue vnto all men (euen as God hath ordained the ſame) ſufficient perceiuerance and vnderſtanding, both of ſuch things as man ought to foreſee, as alſo what things preſently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therin to be doubted of ſuch as haue their minds directed to the ſcope or marke of perfect vnderſtanding: ſo that the perfect comprehending of ſound reaſon, & the perceiuerance thereof be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherfore let no wiſe man be troubled, although he ſees diuers men of diuers diſpoſitiõs: for wiſdome which ſpringeth of vertue, cannot abide or acquaint her ſelfe with fond idiots, vnleſſe that (on the other ſide) the malice of peruerſe litherneſſe prolong her daies, and cauſe the ſame idiocie to ſuruiue. Wherefore aſſuredlie the crowne and price of vertue lieth open vnto all men, and the moſt mighty God ordereth the iudgement of the ſame. I vndoubtedly (as manifeſtlie as poſſible is) will indeuour my ſelfe to teſtifie and confeſſe vnto you al the hope which is in me. I thinke verily that the emperors which before this time haue lately been, euen for their tyrannie had the empire taken from them: and my father onely exerciſing and vſing all meekneſſe and lenitie in his affaires, calling vpon God the father with great deuotion and humilitie, hath been exalted to the ſame: and all the reſt as men wanting their wits, and in compariſon as ſauage beaſts, rather did giue themſelues to like cruelty, then vnto any lenity and gentleneſs towards their ſubiects: in which tyranny euery one for his time being nuzzelled, vtterly ſubuerted the true and vnfallible doctrine, and ſo great malice was there kindled in their breaſts, that whe all things were in peaceable tranquillitie, they made and raiſed moſt cruell and bloudie inteſtine or ciuill warres. It is credibly informed vs, that in thoſe daies Apollo gaue anſwers, but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certaine caue and darke place (ſaying) that he was much diſquieted by thoſe that were the iuſt men & liuers vpon the

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Litherneſſe the nurſe of ignorance, and ignorance the enemie to wiſdom.

Tyrannie depriued emperors.

Bloodie tyrants make ciuill warres.

Apollo gaue anſwers out of a caue in the ground, that he was diſquieted by the chriſtians.

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the earth, so that he could or would not for them declare a truth of such things as others demanded. And heerby it came to passe that such false diuinations were giuen from the golden tables in Apollos temple. And in this thing did his propheticall priest complaine of, when he tooke vp againe the haire of his head, that other had contemptuouslie cast downe, and that the neglecting of his diuination was the cause of so manie euils amongst men. But let vs see what was the end heereof. We now boldlie and without all feare inuocat & worship the omnipotent God. When I was a child I heard, that he which then was cheefe emperor of Rome, vnhappie, yea most vnhappie man, being seduced and brought into error by his souldiors, curiouslie inquired who were those just men vpon the earth that Apollo ment? And one of his priests which was neere about him, made answer that they were the christians. This answer heereupon vnto him being as delectable as honie vnto the mouth, drew the sword giuen vnto him, to be a reuenger vpon euill doers & malefactors against the professors of the irreprehensible sanctimonie and religion, and straightwaie he gaue forth a commission (to bloudie homicides, as I may well call them) and gaue commandement to all the iudges that they should endeuor themselues with all the cunning they had, to the deuising of more greeuous and sharper punishments against the poore christians. Then, then Isaie, a man might haue seene how greatlie the honest professors of that religion were molested with cueltie, and dailie suffered no small iniuries and contumelies, and that also they suffered & susteined the same with such temperance, as though they had had no iniuries done vnto them at all. Which temperance and patience of theirs was the cause why the furious citizens were the more mad and raging against them. What fiers, what tortures, what kind of torments were there, but they without respect either of age or sexe were inforced to feele?

The sword giuen for to be auenged vpon malefactors.

A great commendation of the christians.

Then did the earth without doubt hir selfe bewaile hir children; and the round world which conteineth all things, being sprinkled and imbrued with their bloud, made dolefull lamentatiō for them, and the daie it selfe prouoked for to mourne, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpose? Now the verie barbarous nations reioice for their sakes which receiued and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from vs, keeping them as it were in most louing and amiable captiuitie: & they saued not onlie their liues, but also were a defense for their religion. And now also the Romane nation remembreth and hath before their eies this blame and spot, which the christians that were of that time worthilie gaue vnto them, when they by them were banished (as vnfit members of their common wealth) amongst the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearsall of the mourning lamentation, which the heathen people themselues thoroughout all the world made for the pitifull murther and slaughter of them? After this it came to passe, that they which were authors of all these mischiefs died also, and were committed for their reward to the most filthie and horrible dungeon of hell. They being so intangled with intestine and ciuill warres, left aliue neither name nor kinsmen of their owne; which thing vndoubtedlie had not chanced vnlesse the wicked diuinations of Apollos oracles had deceiued and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I praie, ôh most mightie God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be mercifull, and pardon all the east parts and inhabitants of the same, being oppressed with calamitie: & that by me thy seruant thou wilt of thy goodnesse helpe & releeue the same. And these things rashlie craue I not at thy hands, ôh Lord, most mightie and holiest God of all. For I being persuaded by the onlie oracles, haue both begun and also finished wholesome and profitable things: and further, by the bearing and shewing of thine ensigne, haue ouercome a mightie and strong host, and when any necessitie of the common weale (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto (following those signes and tokens of thy vertues) I boldlie go forth and fight against mine enimies: and for this cause haue I sacrificed my soule vnto thee, purified and cleansed both with thy loue and feare. Yea trulie, thy name doe I sincerelie loue, and thy power doe I reuerence, which by many tokens & wonders hast shewed and confirmed thereby my beleefe and faith. Therefore will I doe my endeuor and bend my selfe thereunto, that I may redifie thy most holie house, which those wicked and vngodlie emperors haue with so great ruine laid wast, thy people doe I desire to bring and stablish, in firme peace and tranquillitie, & that for the publike vtilitie of all the inhabitants of the earth. Those which yet erre and are out of the waie, enioie the benefit of peace and quietnesse, with and amongst the number of the faithfull sort: for I trust the restitution of the like societie and participation may be a meanes to bring them also that erre into the perfect waie of veritie. Let no man therefore be greeuous one vnto another, but what euerie man thinketh best, that let him doe: for such as are wise ought throughlie to be persuaded, that the onlie meane to liue holilie, & as they should doe, whom the spirit of God moueth, to take their delight and recreation in reading his holie will: and if others wilfullie will go out of the waie, cleauing to the synagogues of false doctrine, they may at their owne perill. As for vs, we haue the most worthie house or congregation of Gods veritie, which he according to his owne goodnesse and nature hath giuē vs. And this also we wish vnto them, that with like participation and common consent, they may feele with vs the same delectation of mind. For this our religion is neither new, nor newlie inuented, but is as old as we beleeue the creatiō of the world to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with such worship as both seemed and pleased him: but all liuing men are liers, and are deceiued with diuers and sundrie illusions. Thou ôh God for Christ thy sonnes sake, suffer not this wickednesse againe to root: thou hast set vp a cleere burning light, that thereby as manie as thou hast chosen may come vnto thee, these thy miracles approoue the same. It is thy power that keepeth vs in innocencie and fidelitie. The sunne and the moone run their appointed course. Neither yet in ranging wise wander the starres to what place of the world they list themselues. The daies, yeeres, months and times keepe their appointed turnes. The earth abideth firme and vnremooueable at thy word, and the wind at the time (by thee directed) stormeth and bloweth. The streaming waterie flouds ebbe in time according as they flow. The raging sea abideth within his bounded limits: & for that the ocean sea stretcheth out his selfe in equall length and breadth with the whole earth, this must needes be wrought with some maruellous workmanship of thine owne hand. Which thing vnlesse it were at thy will made and disposed, without all doubt so great difference & partition betweene, would ere this time haue brought vtter ruine and destruction, both to the life of man, as to all that belongeth to man beside. Which for that they haue such great and huge conflicts amongst themselues, as also the inuisible spirits haue, we giue thee thanks ôh Lord most mightie God of all gods, that all mankind hath not beene destroied thereby. Surelie, euen as greatlie as thy benignitie and gentlenes is manifested by diuers & sundrie benefits bestowed vpon vs, so much also is the same set forth and declared in the discipline of thy eternall word, to those that be heauenlie wise, & applie themselues to the attainment of sincere and true vertue. But if any such there be that little regard, or haue but small respect vnto the consideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that doe the same: for that physicke whereby health is obteined, is manifestly offered vnto all men. Now therefore let no man go about to subuert that, which experience it selfe doth shew (of necessitie) to be pure and good. Let vs therefore altogether vse the participation of this benefit bestowed vpon vs, that is to saie, the benefit of peace & tranquillitie, setting apart all controuersie. And let no man hurt or be preiudiciall to his fellow for that thing wherin he thinketh himselfe to haue done well. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, he thinketh he may profit his neighbour, let him doe the same; if not, let him giue ouer and remit it till an other time: for there is a great diuersitie betwixt the willing and voluntarie imbracing of religion, and that when a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of these things haue I made a more large discourse, then indeed the scope of mediocritie requireth; especiallie because I would not haue my faith (touching the veritie) to be hid, for that I heare there be some which complaine the old accustomed haunting of their temples, and that the power of such darknesse is cut off and taken awaie. Which thing surelie I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagitious error were so fixed in manie mens hearts, whereby they thirst after the vtter subuersion of the common weale and empire.

One religion from the beginning of the world.

The praier of Constantine was fulfilled. Each thing in their creation preach the verie and true God.

The earth stated vp by the power of God.

Who they be that Constantine accounteth wise deuiled.

Experience a triall of the truth.

Constantinus neither for feare dissembleth his faith, neither through pollicie defaceth Gods glory.

Such was the goodnesse of this emperor Constantinus, or rather such was the prouidence of almightie God toward his church in stirring him vp, that all his care and studie of mind was set vpon nothing els, but onlie how to benefit and inlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him inough to deliuer the church and people of God from outward vexation of foreen tyrants and persecutors. No lesse beneficiall was his godlie care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance within the church, among the Christian bishops themselues, according as we read of Moses the deliuerer of the Israelits, in agreeing the brethren togither when he saw them at variance: Exod. 2. No lesse also did his vigilant studie extend in erecting, restoring, and inriching the churches of God in all cities, and in prouiding for the ministers of the same. And therfore writing to Anilinus his cheefe capteine, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did apperteine to the churches of the christians, that he should procure vigilantlie for the same: that all such goods, houses, & gardens, belonging before to the right of churches, should againe be restored in all speedie wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.

Constantinus compared to Moses in deliuering the people, and agreeing them together.

The letter of Constantinus to Anilinus his capteine.

Moreouer, he writing to the said Anilinus in an other letter, signifieth vnto him in this effect: that For so much as the contempt of God his reuerend religion, is and hath beene euer the greatest decaie to the name and people of Rome, as contrarie the maintening & reuerencing the same hath euer brought prosperitie to all commonweales: therefore he in consideration thereof hath taken that order, and giueth to him in charge, that through that prouince where he hath to doe, which was in Africa where Cecilianus was bishop, he should there see and prouide that all such ministers and clerks, whose vocation was to serue in the church, should be freed and exempted from all publike

An other letter of Constantine to Anilinus.

The contempt of Gods religion, cheefest decaie of commonweales.

The authors of all mischiefe punished.

Apollos lying oracles the cause of so many martyrs deaths.

Constantinus praier.

Constantinus faith confirmed by the miracles of the crosse.

The clemencie of a good emperor.

A good iudgement.

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publike duties and burthens, whereby they being so priuileged, and all impediments removed which should hinder their diuine ministration, thereby the common vtilitie of the people might the better flourish, &c.

An other letter of Constantine to Miltiades bishop of Rome.

Furthermore the said Constantinus in an other letter writing to Miltiades bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them how Cecilianus bishop of Carthage hath beene accused vnto him by diuers of his colleagues and fellow bishops. Wherfore his will is, that the said Cecilianus with ten bishops his accusers, with ten other his defendants should repaire vp to him at Rome, where in the present assistance of the foresaid Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellow colleagues, the cause of Cecilianus might be heard and rightlie examined, so that all schisme and diuision might be cut off from among them, wherein the feruent desire of Constantinus to peace and vnitie may well appeere.

The feruent desire of Constantinus to peace and vnitie.

Vpon the like cause and argument also, he writeth to Chrestus bishop of Syracusa, so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him with his vnder ministers and three seruants, his free cariage to come vp to him vnto the councell of other bishops, for the agreeing of certeine matters belonging to the church.

The letter of Constantine to Chrestus bishop of Syracusa.

He writeth also an other letter to the forenamed Cecilianus bishop of Carthage.

The edict of Constantinus to the rulers of the prouince of Palestina.

To the prouinces likewise of Palestina and those parts about, he directeth his edict in the behalfe of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in captiuitie, and for the restoring againe of them which had sustained any losse in the former persecution before, and for the refreshing of such as heeretofore had beene oppressed with any ignominie or molestation for their confession sake, declaring in the said edict how that this whole bodie, life and soule, and whatsoeuer is in him, he oweth to God and to the seruice of him, &c.

The letter of Constantine to Eusebius.

Moreouer an other letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the edifying of new christian churches, and restoring of them which had beene wasted before by forren enimies. And after he had collated the synod of Nice for the studie of peace and vnitie of the church, he writeth vpon the same to Alexander and Arrius.

The councell of Nice.

The effect of the letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arrius.

In which his letters he most lamentablie vttered the great greefe of his heart, to see and heare of their contention and diuision, whereby the peace and common harmonie of the church was broken, the synod prouoked and resisted, the holie people of the Lord diuided into parts and tumults, contrarie to the office of good and circumspect men, whose dutie were rather to nourish concord & to seeke tranquillitie. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others, yet as the example of philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or peece of a question, some might dissent from others, yet in the vnitie of their profession they did all ioine as fellowes together. In like case were it their dutie in such fruitlesse questions (or rather peeces of questions) to keepe them in the conceptions of their minds in silence vnto themselues, & not to bring them forth into publike synods, to breake therefore from the communion of the reuerend councell: declaring moreouer in the said epistle, the first origine and occasion of this their contentious dissention to rise vpon vaine and trifling termes, vile causes and light questions, and peeces rather of questions, about such matters as neither are to be moued, nor to be answered vnto being moued; more curious to be searched, and perillous to be expressed, then necessarie to be inquired, Magisque puerilibus ineptijs, quàm sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ conuenientia; as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all maner meanes he doth labour them, doth intreat them, and perswade them, not onlie with reasons, but also with teares and sighing sobs, that they would restore againe peace vnto the church, and quietnesse to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet vnto him) and that they would returne againe to the communid of the reuerend councell, who in so doing should open his waie and purposed iournie into the east parts; which other wise hearing of their discord and dissension, would be sorie to see with his eies that which greeueth him now to heare with his eares: with much more in the same epistle conteined, but this is the effect of the whole: Euseb. de vita Const. lib. 2. Thus much I thought summarilie to comprehend, whereby the diuine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meeke and religious Constantine might more notoriouslie appeere to all princes, for them to learne by his example what zeale and care they ought to beare toward the church of Christ, and how gentlie to gouerne, and how to be beneficiall to the same.

Constantine set foorth a spectacle to all Princes to follow.

Manie other edicts and epistles written to other places and parties, be expressed at large in the second booke of Eusebius, De vita Constantini; wherein the zealous care and princelie beneficence of this noble emperor toward the church of Christ may appeere: whereof in a breefe recapitulation such specialties we haue collected as heere followeth, and is to be seene in Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 8. 9.

A breefe recapitulation of such benefits as were wrought by

First he commanded all them to be set free, whosoeuer for the confession of Christ had beene condemned to banishment, or to the mines of mettall, or to any publike or priuat labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamie or shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominie. Souldiors which before were deprined either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their libertie either to serue againe in their place, or quietlie to liue at home. Whatsoeuer honor, place or dignitie had been taken away from any man, should be restored to them againe. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoeuer they were alienated, should returne to their heires or next of kin, or for lacke of them should be giuen to the church. He commanded moreouer that onelie Christians should beare office; the other he charged and restrained, that neither they should sacrifice nor exercise any more diuinations and ceremonies of the gentils, nor set vp any images, nor to keepe any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He corrected moreouer and abolished all such vnlawfull maners and vnhoneſt vsages in cities as might be hurtfull any waies to the church, as the custome that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people vsed to run together like brute beasts, both men and women, and with all kind of filthinesse and sodomitrie to pollute their cities in celebrating the increase of that riuer. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called Androgyne, to be killed: by reason whereof the riuer afterward (through the benefit of God) yeelded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertilitie of the ground then it did before.

Constantins vpon Christes church.

Where wickednesse is punished, there good vnesse followeth.

Among the Romans was an old law, that such as were barren, hauing no fruite of children, should be amerced of halfe their goods. Also, that such as being aboue the yeeres of twentie and fiue vnmaried, should not be numbred in the same priuileges with them that were maried, neither should be heires to them, to whom notwithstanding they were next in kin. These lawes because they seemed vnreasonable, to punish the defect of nature or gift of virgintie by mans law, he abrogated and toke away. An other order was among the Romans, that they which made their wils being sicke, had certaine prescribed and concerned words appointed to them to vse, which vnlesse they followed, their wils stood in no effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to euerie man in making his testament to vse what words or what witnesses he would. Likewise among the Romans he restreined and toke away the cruell and bloudie spectacles and sights, where men were wont with swords one to kill an other. Of the barbarous and filthie fashion of the Arethusians in Phenicia, I haue mentioned before, where they vsed to expose and set forth their virgins to open fornication before they should be maried; which custome also Constantine remoued awaie. Where no churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decaied, he commanded them to be repared; where any were too little, he caused them to be inlarged, giuing to the same great gifts and reuenues, not onlie of such tributes and tares comming to him from certaine sundrie cities, which he transferred vnto the churches, but also out of his owne treasures. When any bishops required any councell to be had, he satisfied their petitions; and what in their councels and synods they established, being godlie and honeſt, he was readie to confirme the same.

The liberalitie of Constantine in giuing to churches.

The armor of his souldiors which were newlie come from gentilitie, he garnished with the armes of the crosse, whereby they might learne the soner to forget their old superstitious idolatrie. Moreouer like a worthie emperor he prescribed a certaine forme of praier in stead of a catechisme for euerie man to haue, and to learne how to praie and to inuocat God. The which forme of praier is recited in the fourth booke of Eusebius De vita Constantini, in words as followeth.

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constantini. This forme of praier appointed of Constantine for his souldiors.

Te solum nouimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adiutorem inuocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum constituimus, tibi præsentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: imperatorem nostrum Constantinum, ac pientissimos eius filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus, per Christum Dominum nostrum: Amen. In English:

We knowledge thee onlie to be our God, we confesse thee to be our king, we inuocat and call vpon thee our onlie helper, by thee we obteine our victories, by thee we vanquish and subdue our enimies, to thee we attribute whatsoeuer present commodities we enioie, & by thee we hope for good things to come: vnto thee we direct all our suite and petitions, most humblie beseeching thee to conserue Constantine our emperor and his noble children in long life to continue, and to giue them victorie ouer all their enimies, through Christ our Lord: Amen.

The souldiors prayer.

In his owne palace he set vp an house pecvliar for praier and doctrine, vsing also to praie and sing with his people. Also in his wars he went not without his tabernacle appointed for the same. The sunday he commanded to be kept holie of all men, and free from all iudiciarie causes, from markets, marts, faires, and all other manuall labors, onlie husbandrie excepted; especiallie charging that no images or monuments of idolatrie should be set vp.

The sunday appointed to be kept holie.

Men of the clergie and of the ministerie in all places he indued with speciall priuileges and immunities, so that if any were brought before the ciuill magistrat, and listed to appeale to the sentence of his bishop, it should be lawfull for him so to doe, and that the sentence of the bishop should stand in as great force

Liberties and priuileges granted to the clergie.

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as if the magistrat or the emperor himselfe had pronounced it.

¶ But heere is to be obserued and noted by the waie, that the clerks and ministers then newlie creeping out of persecution, were in those daies neither in number so great, nor in order of life, of the like disposition to these in our daies now liuing.

The prouision and liberalitie of Constantine in maintaining scholes.

No lesse care and prouision the said Constantinus also had for the maintenance of scholes perteining to the church, and to the nourishing of good arts and liberall sciences, especiallie of diuinitie, not onlie with stipends & subsidies furnishing them, but also with large priuileges and exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his owne law is to be seene and read as followeth: Medicos, grammaticos, & alios professores literarum, & doctores legum, cum vxoribus & liberis, &c. In English: Physicians, grammarians, and all other professors of liberall arts, and doctors of the law, with their wiues and children, and all other their possessions which they haue in cities, we command to be freed from all ciuill charges and functions, neither to receiue forren strangers in prouinces, nor to be burthened with any publike administration, nor to be cited vp to ciuill iudgement, nor to be drawen out or oppressed with any iniurie. And if any man shall ver them, he shall incurre such punishment as the iudge at his discretion shall award him. Their stipends moreouer and salaries we command trulie to be paid them, wherby they may more freelie instruct others in arts and sciences, &c.

The priuilege granted by Constantine to vniuersities and scholes.

The prouident care of Constantine to haue the scripture in churches.

Ouer and besides this, so far did his godlie zeale and princelie care and prouision extend to the church of Christ, that he commanded and prouided books and volumes of the scripture, diligentlie and plainlie to be written and copied out, to remaine in publike churches to the vse of posteritie. Wherupon writing to Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia in a speciall letter (recorded in the fourth booke of Eusebius, De vita Constant.) he willeth him with all diligence to procure fiftie volumes of parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out of the scripture in a faire legible hand, such things as he thought necessarie and profitable for the instruction of the church, and alloweth him for that businesse two publike ministers: also writeth concerning the same to the Generall of his armie, to support and further him with such necessaries, as therunto should apperteine: &c.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Const.

A wish of the author admonitorie to princes.

¶ In viewing, perusing, and writing this storie, and in considering the christian zeale of this emperor, I wish that either this our printing and plentie of books had been in his daies, or that this so heroicall heart toward Christs religion, as was in this so excellent monarch, might something appeere in inferior princes reigning in these our printing daies, &c.

The liberalitie of Constantine towards the poore & needie.

The liberall hand of this emperor borne to doe all men good, was no lesse also open and readie toward the needie pouertie of such, which either by losse of parents or other occasions were not able to helpe themselues: to whom he commanded and prouided due suruention both of corne and raiment to be ministred out of his owne coffers, to the necessarie releefe of the poore men, women, children, orphans, and widowes. Eusebius de vita Constant. lib. 4.

Constantine remitteth the fourth part of his rents and reuenues.

Finallie, among all the other monuments of his singular clemencie and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the empire of Rome and prouinces belonging to the same, not onlie he diminished such tares, reuenues and imposts, as publikelie were comming to him, but also cleerelie remitted and released to the contributors the fourth part of the same.

Donation of Constantine.

This present place would require something to be said of the donation of Constantine, whereupon as vpon their cheefest anchorhold, the bishops of Rome doe ground their supreme dominion and right, ouer all the politicall gouernment of the west parts, & the spirituall gouernment of all the other sees and parts of the world. Which donation to be falslie feigned and forged, & not to proceed from Constantine, manie arguments might heere be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.

Reasons and arguments prouing the donation of Constantine to be falslie fained.

2 First, for that no ancient historie, nor yet doctor, maketh anie mention thereof.

Nauclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the historie of Isidorus. But in the old copies of Isidorus no such thing is to be found.

3 Gratianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not vpon any ancient authoritie, but onlie vnder the title of Palea.

4 Gelasius is laid to giue some testimonie thereof, in Dist. 15. Sancta Romana. But that clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient books is not extant.

5 Who Phrisingensis who was about the time of Gratian, after he hath declared the opinion of the fauorers of the papacie affirming this donation to be giuen of Constantine to Siluester the pope, inducth consequentlie the opinion of them that fauor the empire, affirming the contrarie.

6 How doth this agree, that Constantine did yeeld vp to Siluester all the politicall dominion ouer the west, when as the said Constantine at his death, dividing the empire to his three sonnes, gaue the west part of the empire to one, the east part to the second, the middle part to the third?

7 How is it like that Theodosius after them, being a iust and a religious prince, would or could haue occupied the citie of Rome if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the pope, and so did manie other emperors after him?

8 The phrase of this decree, being conferred with the phrase and stile of Constantine in his other edicts and letters aboue specified, doth nothing agree.

9 Seeing the papists themselues confesse that the decree of this donation was written in Greeke, how agreeth that with truth, when as both it was written not to the Grecians, but to the Romans, and also Constantine himselfe for lacke of the Greeke tongue, was faine to vse the Latin tongue in the councell of Nice?

10 The contents of this donation (whosoeuer was the forger thereof) doth bewraie it selfe: for if it be true which there is confessed, that he was baptised at Rome of Siluester, & the fourth daie after his baptisme this patrimonie was giuen (which was before his battell against Maximinus or Licinius, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and seuentene, as Nicephorus recordeth) how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to haue iurisdiction giuen ouer the other foure principall sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Hierusalem: when as the citie of Constantinople was not yet begun before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, and was not finished before the eight & twentith yeere of the reigne of Constantine in the yeere of our Lord three hundred thirtie and nine; or if it be true, as Hierome counteth, it was finished the three & twentith yeere of his reigne, which was the yeere of our Lord three hundred thirtie and foure, long after this donation by their owne account.

11 Furthermore, where in the said constitution is said that Constantine was baptised at Rome of Siluester, and thereby was purged of leprosie; the fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of historie, for so much as Eusebius, lib. 4. de vita Constantini, Hieronymus in chron. Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib. 2. cap. 34. doe all together consent that he was baptised not at Rome, but at Nicomedia; and that moreouer, as by their testimonie doth appeere, not of Siluester but of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, not before his battell against Maximinus or Licinius, but in the thirtie and one yeere of his reigne, a little before his death.

12 Againe, wherras Constantine in this donation appointed him to haue the principalitie ouer the other foure patriarchall sees, that maketh Constantine contrarie to himselfe, who in the councell of Nice afterward agreed with other bishops, that all the foure patriarchall sees should haue equall iurisdiction, euerie one ouer his owne territorie and precinct.

13 In summe, breefle to conclude: who so desireth more abundantlie to be satisfied touching this matter, let him read the books of Marsilius Patauinus, intituled Defensor pacis, in the yeere of our Lord 1324. of Laurentius Valla, an. 1440. of Antonius archbishop of Florence, who in his historie plainlie denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old books of the decrees. Of Cusanus Cardinalis lib. 3. cap. 2. writing to the councell of Basill, an. 1460. of Aeneas Siluius In dialogo: of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus, an. 1496. of Raphael Volaterranus, an. 1500. of Lutherus, an. 1537, &c. All which by manie and euident probations, dispute and proue this donation taken out of a booke, De gestis Siluestri, and translated (as they faine) by one Bartholomeus Picernus, out of Greeke into Latine: not to proceed from Constantinus, but to be a thing vntrulie pretensed, or rather a fable imagined, or els to be the deed of Pipinus or Charles, or some such other, if it were euer the deed of any.

Commendation of Constantine the emperor.

And thus hast thou (beloued reader) breefle collected the narration of the noble acts and beauenlie vertues of this most famous emperor Constantine the great; a singular spectacle for all christian princes to behold and imitat, and worthie of perpetuall memorie in all congregations of christian saints: whose feruent zeale and pietie in generall, to all congregations and to all the seruants of Christ was notable; but especiallie the affection and reuerence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before, them had he principallie in price and veneration, in so much that he imbraced and kissed their wounds and stripes, and their eies, being put out. And if any such bishops or any other ministers brought to him any complaints one against an other (as manie times they did) he would take their bils of complaint and burne them before their faces: so studious and zealous was his mind to haue them agree, whose discord was to him more greefe then it was to themselues. All the vertuous acts and memorable doings of this diuine and renowmed emperor, to comprehend or commit to historie, it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherefore contented with these aboue premised, because nothing of him can be said inough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

Constantine killed the wounds of them that suffered for Christ. Constantine burneth the bils of complaints, and breaketh strife among the bishops.

Note, that the oration *Ad conuentum sanctorum*, is wrongfullie ascribed to Eusebius, which indeed is the oration of Constantine.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the waie of a note) I thought good to admonish the learned reader, such as loue to be conuersant in reading of ancient authors: that in the ecclesiasticall historie of Eusebius, where in the latter end of the booke is added a certaine oration, Ad conuentum sanctorum, vnder the name of Eusebius Pamphilus, heere is to be vnderstood, that the said oration is wrongfullie intituled

intituled vpon the name of Eusebius, which in verie trueth is the oration of Constantinus himselfe. For the probation wherof, beside the stile and matter therein conteined, and tractation heroicall (liuelie declaring the religious veine of Constantine) I allege the verie testimonie of Eusb. himselfe in his fourth booke De vita Constantini, where he in expresse words not onlie declareth that Constantine wrote such an oration intituled Ad conuentum sanctorũ, but also promiseth in the end of his booke, to anner the same: declaring moreouer what difficultie the interpretors had to translat the same from the Roman speech, to their Grecian tong: Eusb. de vita Constantini, lib. 4. pag. 211.

And heere an end of these lamentable and dolefull persecutions of the primitiue church, during the space of three hundred yeeres from the passion of our sauior Christ, till the comming of this Constantinus, by whom, as by the elect instrument of God, it hath so pleased his almightie maiestie, by his determinat purpose to giue rest after long trouble to his church, according to that S. Cyprian declareth before to be reuealed of God vnto his church: that after darknesse and stormie tempest should come peaceable, calme, and stable quietnesse to his church, meaning this time of Constantine now present. At which time it so pleased the almightie, that the murthering malice of sathan should at length be restreined, and he himselfe to be tied vp for a thousand yeeres through his great mercie in Christ, to whom therefore be thanks and praise now and for euer. Amen.

Sathan bound vp for a thousand yeeres.

The end of the first booke.

The second Booke conteining the next three hundred yeeres following, with such things *speciallie touched as haue hapned in England, from the time* of king Lucius to Gregorius, and so after to the *time of king Egbert.*

BY these persecutions hitherto in the booke before precedent, thou maiest vnderstand (christian reader) how the furie of sathan and rage of men, haue done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christ: for what thing did lack that either death could do or torments could worke, or the gates of hell could deuise, all was to the vttermost attempted. And yet all the furie and malice of sathan, all the wisdome of the world and strength of men, doing, deuising, practising what they could; notwithstanding the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the vpper hand: which thing I wish thee greatlie (gentle reader) wiselie to note and diligentlie to ponder in considering these former histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them vnlesse thou doe first read and peruse them: let me craue therfore thus much at thine hands, to turne and read ouer the said histories of those persecutions aboue described, especiallie aboue all the other histories of this present volume, for thy especiall edification, which I trust thou shalt find not vnworthie the reading.

A petition to the reader diligentlie to read ouer the former booke of the ten persecutions.

Now because the tying vp of sathan giueth to the church some rest, and to me some leisure to addresse my selfe to the handling of other stories, I mind therefore (Christ willing) in this present booke, leauing a while the tractation of these generall affaires perteining to the vniuersall church, to prosecute such domesticall histories, as more neere concerne this our countrie of England and Scotland done heere at home, beginning first with king Lucius, with whom the faith first began heere in this realme, as the sentence of some writers doth hold.

The first planting of Christian faith in England.

And for so much as heere may rise, yea doth rise a great controuersie in these our popish daies, concerning the first origine & planting of the faith in this our realme, it shall not be greatlie out of our purpose somewhat to staie & laie of this question;

Question.

Whether the church of England first receiued the faith from Rome or not? The which although I grant so to be, yet being so granted, it little auaileth the purpose of them which would so haue it. For be it that England first receiued the christian faith & religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius their bishop 180. yeeres after Christ, and also in the time of Augustine whom Gregorie sent hither 600. yeeres after Christ, yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore fetch our religiõ from thence still as from the chief welhead and fountaine of all godlinesse. And yet as they are not able to proue the second, so neither haue I any cause to grant the first: that is; That our Christiã faith was first deriued frõ Rome, which I may proue by sir or seuen good cõiecturall reasons. Wherof the first I take of the testimonie of Gildas our countrieman, who in his historie affirmeth plainlie, that Britaine receiued the gospell in the time of Tiberius the emperor, vnder whom Christ suffered: Lib. de victoria Aurelij Ambrosij. And saith moreouer, that Joseph of Arimathea, after dispersion of the Jewes, was sent of Philip the Apostle from France to Britaine, about the yeere of our Lord, 63, and heere remained in this land all his time: and so with his fellowes laid the first foundation of christian faith among the Britaine people, whereupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward, confirmed the same and increased it.

Whether christian religion in this realme came first from Rome.

Answere.

1 Gildas.

The second reason is out of Tertullian, who liuing neere about, or rather somewhat before the time of this Eleutherius, in his booke Contra Iudæos, manifestlie importeth the same; where the said Tertullian testifying how the gospell was dispersed abrode by the sound of the apostles, and there reckoning vp the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Jewrie, Capadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Egypt, Pamphilia, with manie more, at length commeth to the coast of the Moorians, and all the borders of Spaine, with diuers nations of France: and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of Britaine, which the Romans could neuer attaine to, and reporteth the same now to be subiect to Christ, as also reckoneth vp the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germans, the Scythians, with manie other prouinces and iles to him vnknowen: in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ which now beginneth to be cõmon. This hath Tertullian. Note heere how among other diuers beleeuing nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of Britain to be of the same number; and these in his time were christened, who was in the same Eleutherius time, as is aboue said. Then was not pope Eleutherius the first which sent the christian faith into this realme, but the gospell was heere receiued before his time either by Joseph of Arimathea, as some chronicles record, or by some of the apostles or of their scholars, which had beene heere preaching Christ before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

2 Ex Tertul. aduersus Iudæos.

My third probation I deduct out of Origen, Hom. 4. in Ezechielẽ, whose words be these: Britanniã in christianã consentire religionẽ. Whereby it appeareth, that the faith of Christ was sparsed heere in England before the daies of Eleutherius.

3 Ex Origen. hom. 4. in Ezech.

For my fourth probation I take the testimonie of Beda, where he affirmeth, that in his time, & almost a thousand yeeres after Christ heere in Britaine, Easter was kept after the maner of the east church, in the full of the moone, what daie in the weeke so euer it fell on, and not on the sundaie, as we doe now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the first preachers in this land haue come out from the east part of the world where it was so vsed, rather then from Rome.

4 Ex Beda.

Fiftlie, I may allege the words of Nicephorus, Lib. 2. cap. 40. where he saith, that Simon Zelotes did spread the gospell of Christ to the west ocean, and brought the same vnto the iles of Britaine.

5 Ex Nicepb. lib. 2. cap. 40.

Sirtlie may be added heere also the words of Petrus Cluniacensis, who writing to Bernard, affirmeth that the Scots in his time did celebrat their Easter, not after the Roman maner, but after the Greekes, &c. And as the said Britans were not vnder

6 Ex Pet. Cluniac. epist. ad Bernardum.

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vnder the Romain order in the time of this abbat of Cluniake: so neither were they nor would be vnder the Romain legat, in the time of Gregorie, nor would admit any primacie of the bishop of Rome to be aboue them.

Ex epist. Eleutherij ad Lucium.

For the seuenth argument moreouer I may make my probation by the plaine words of Eleutherius, by whose epistle written to king Lucius we may vnderstand, that Lucius had receiued the faith of Christ in this land, before the king sent to Eleutherius for the Romain lawes: for so the expresse words of the letter do manifestlie purport, as hereafter followeth to be seene. By all which coniectures it may stand probablie to be thought, that the Britans were taught first by the Grecians of the east church, rather then by the Romans.

Peraduenture Eleutherius might helpe some thing either to conuert the king, or else to increase the faith then newlie sprung among the people; but that he precislie was the first, that cannot be proued. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English stories confesse, neither will I greatlie sticke with them therein: yet what haue they got thereby when they haue cast all their gaine? In few words to conclude this matter, if so be that the christian faith and religion was first deriued from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but grant to vs the same faith & religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence deriued hither by the said Eleutherius, and we will desire no more: for then neither was any vniuersall pope aboue all churches & councles, which came not in before Bonifacius time, which was 400. yeres after: neither any name or vse of the masse, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this booke following appeareth to be seene. Neither any sacrifice propitiatorie for the scowring of purgatorie was then offered vpon hallowed altars, but onlie the communion frequented at christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered as well of the people as of the priests to God, because they should appeare neither emptie nor vnkind before the Lord, as we may vnderstand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand yeres after. Neither were then any images of saints departed set vp in churches, yea a great number of the saints worshipped in this our time were not as yet borne, nor the churches wherein they were worshipped were yet set vp, but came in long after, especiallie in the time of Irene and Constans the emperor. Likewise neither relikes nor peregrinatiõs were then in vse. Priests mariage was then as lawfull, and no lesse receiued, as now: neither was it condemned before the daies of Hildebrand, almost a thousand yeres after that. Their seruice was then in the vulgar tong, as witnesseth Hierome; the sacrament ministred in both kinds as well to laie men as to priests, the witnesse whereof is Cyprian. Yea, and that temporall men which would not then communicat at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christenmasse, were not then counted for catholiks, the popes owne distinction can testifie. In funerals, priests then flocked not together, selling trentals & diriges for sweeping of purgatorie, but onlie a funerall concion was vsed, with psalms of praises and songs of their worthie deeds, and Alleluia sounding on high, which did shake the gilded seelings of the temple, as witnesseth Nazianzen, Ambrose, and Hierome, &c.

What difference betweene the late church of Rome from the old church of Rome, and in what matters.

De consecrat. dist. 2.

In the supper of the Lord and at baptisme no such ceremonies were vsed, as now of late haue been intruded; in so much that as in this storie is shewed hereafter, both Augustine and Paulinus baptised then in riuers not in hallowed fonts, as witnesseth Fabianus. The portues of Sarum, of Yorke, of Bangor, with mattens and euensong of the daie; againe, neither the orders and religions of monks and friers were not yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand yeres after, &c. So that, as I said, if the papists would needs deriue the faith and religion of this realme from Rome, then let them set vs and leaue vs there where they had vs: that is, let them suffer vs to stand content with that faith and religion, which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothing from the same) and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the wise reader iudge where the fault is, in vs or them, which neither themselues will persist in the antiquitie of the Romish religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit vs so to doe.

Fabianus, cap. 119. & 120.

And thus much by the waie to satisfie the foresaid obiection, whereby we may haue now a more readie passage into the order and course of the historie. Being therefore granted vnto them which they so earnestlie sticke vpon, that the christian faith and religion of this realme was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterward by Augustine: thus write the chronicles of that matter.

Eleutherius bishop of Rome.

About the time and yere of the Lord, 180. king Lucius sonne of Coilus, which builded Colchester, king of the Britains, who then were the inhabiters and possessors of this land (which now we Englishmen call England) hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the christians at that time in diuers places (as Monumetensis writeth) directed his letters to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, to receiue of him the christian faith: although about the computation of the yere and time, great difference there is in authors when this should be. Nauclerus saith it was an. 156. but that cannot be, forsomuch as Eleutherius was not yet bishop by the space of twentie yeres after that. Henricus de Erfodia saith it was an. 169. in the nineteenth yere of Uerus emperor: but that agreeth not with approued histories, which all consent that Uerus reigned not nineteene yeres; and if he had, yet that yere commeth not to the yere of our Lord, 169. but to the yere, 181. Some others saie, that Eleutherius was made bishop in the first yere of Cõmodus, which was the yere of our Lord, 180. but that seemeth to go too far: but let the authors agree as they can. Let vs returne to Eleutherius the good bishop, who hearing the request of this king, and glad to see the godlie towardnesse of his well disposed mind, sendeth him certaine teachers and preachers called Fugatius, or by some Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus, which conuerted first the king and people of Britaine, and baptised them with the baptisme & sacrament of Christs faith. The temples of idolatrie and all other monuments of gentilitie they subuerted, conuerting the people from their diuers and many gods, to serue one liuing God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decaied, with all other rites of idolatrie. There were then in Britaine 28. head priests which they called Flamines, & three archpriests among them, which were called Archflamines, hauing the ouersight of their maners, and as iudges ouer the rest. These 28. Flamines they turned to 28. bishops, & the three Archflamines to three archbishops, hauing then their seats in three principall cities of the realme: that is, in London, in Yorke, and in Glamorgantia, Videlicet in vrbe legionum, by Wales. Thus the countries of the whole realme being diuided euerie one vnder his owne bishop, and all things setled in a good order: the foresaid king Lucius sent againe to the said Eleutherius for the Romain lawes, thereby likewise to be gouerned, as in religion now they were framed accordinglie: vnto whom Eleutherius againe writeth after the tenor of these words insuing.

Faganus, Damianus.

Eight and twentie bishops within this realme. Three archbishops.

The epistle of Eleutherius bishop of Rome sent to king Lucius.

Ex vetusto codice regum antiquorum.

ANno 169. *à passione Christi scripsit dominus Eleutherius papa Lucio regi Britanniæ, ad correctionem regis & procerum regni Britanniæ*, and so forth as followeth in English.

The epistle of Eleutherius to king Lucius.

Ye require of vs the Romain lawes and the emperors to be sent ouer to you, which you may practise and put in vre within your realme. The Romain lawes and the emperors we may euer reprooue, but the law of God we may not. Ye haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britannie, the law & faith of Christ, ye haue with you within the realme both the parts of the scriptures. Out of them by Gods grace with the councell of your realme take ye a law, and by that law (through Gods sufferance) rule your kingdome of Britaine. For you be Gods vicar in your kingdome, according to the saying of the psalme; *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, &c.* that is: O God giue iudgement to the king, & thy righteousnesse to the kings sonne &c. He said not, the iudgement & righteousnesse of the emperor, but thy iudgement and iustice; that is to saie, of God. The kings sonnes be the christian people and folke of the realme, which be vnder your gouernment, & liue and continue in peace within your kingdome, as the gospell saith: Like as the hen gathereth hir chickes vnder hir wings, so doth the king his people. The people and folke of the realme of Britaine be yours, whom if they be diuided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to the holie church, to cherish and mainteine them, to rule and gouerne them, & to defend them alwaies from such as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enimies. A king hath his name of ruling, & not of hauing a realme. You shall be a king while ye rule well; but if you doe otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the realme of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar ye be in the realme.

The king Gods vicar within his owne kingdome.

After this maner (as you haue heard) was the christiã faith either first brought in, or els confirmed in this realme of Britaine by the sending of Eleutherius, not with any crosse or procession, but onlie at the simple preaching of Fagan & Damian, through whose ministerie this realme and iland of Britaine was eftsones reduced to the faith and law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Esaie, as well of that as other ilands more, where he saith, cha. 42. He shall not faint nor giue ouer till he hath set iudgement in earth, and ilands shall wait for his law, &c. The faith thus receiued of the Britains continued among them and flourished the space of 216. yeres, till the comming of the Saxons, who then were pagans; whereof more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ assisting thereunto. In the meane time something to speake of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first comming in of the Saxons: First it is to be vnderstood, that all this while as yet the emperors of Rome had not receiued the faith, what time the kings of Britaine and the subiects thereof were conuerted now, as is said, to Christ: for the which cause much trouble and perturbation was sought against them, not

Esaie 42.

Augustine 2. The faith of Christ brought into this realm. Lucius first christened of the Britains. Ex Monumetensi & alijs.

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only heere in Britaine, but through all parts of christendome by the heathen infidels. In so much that in the persecution only of Diocletian and Maximiniant, raigning both together within one moneth, 17000 thousand martyrs are numbred to haue suffered for the name of Christ, as hath been hither to in the booke before sufficiently discoursed.

Thus therefore although the foresaid Lucius the Britaine king, through the mercifull prouidence of God, was then christened, and the gospell receiued generally almost in all the land, yet the state thereof as well of the religion as of the common wealth could not be quiet, for that the emperours and nobles of Rome were yet infidels, and enemies to the same; but especially for this cause, the cause so happening that Lucius the christian king died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the Britaines (as it happened in all other realmes, namely in this our realme of England, whensoeuer succession lacketh) that not only they brought vpon them the idolatrous Romans, and at length the Saxons, but also inwrapped themselues in such miserie and desolation, as yet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is (where a prince or a king is in a kingdome) there to lacke succession, as especially in this case may appeare. For after the death of Lucius, when the barons and nobles of the land could not accord within themselues vpon succession of the crowne, crept in the Romans and got the crowne into their owne hands, whereupon followed great miserie and ruine to the realme. For sometimes the idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Britaines raigned and ruled as violence and victorie would serue, one king murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and depriued them both, as in processe hereafter followeth to be seene.

Henr. Hunting. lib. 1. What incommoditie commeth by lacke of succession.

In the meane season touching the storie of king Lucius, heere is to be reproued the fable of some writers falsely fayning of him, that he should after his baptisme receiued, put off all his kingly honor, forsake the land and be made a preacher; who after long trauell in preaching and teaching, in France, in Germanie, in Augusta, and in Suecria, at length was made doctor and rector of the church of Cureac, where (as this fable saith) he suffered martyrdome. But this phantasie of whomsoeuer it first did spring, disagreeth from all our English stories, who with a full consent do for the most part concord in this; that the said Lucius after he had founded many churches, and giuen great riches and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillitie in his owne land, and was buried at Glocester the fourteenth yeare after his baptisme, as the booke of Flores historiarum doth count, which was the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 201, and reckoneth his conuersion to be in the yeare 87. In some I find his decease to be the fourth, and in some the tenth yeare after his baptisme, and some hold that he raigned all the space of seuentie and seuen yeares. And thus much concerning king Lucius.

The deceasse of King Lucius. *Ex Florilego.*

Now to proceed in order of the storie, briefely to touch the state of the foresaid land of Britaine, betweene the time of king Lucius and the entering of the Saxons, who were the kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded or rather inuaded one after another, this catalogue heere vnder written will specifie.

Ex Beda, Polychron. Monumentenſi.

Kings of Britaine from the time of Lucius, till the comming of the Saxons:	Lucius,	a Britaine.
	Seuerus,	a Roman.
	Bassianus.	a Roman by the father.
	Cerausius,	a Britaine.
	Alectus,	a Roman.
	Asclepiodotus,	a Britaine.
	Coilus,	a Britaine.
	Constantius,	a Roman.
	Constantinus,	a Britaine by the mother named Helena, who being the daughter of Coell, and married to Constantius, father of Constantinus, is said to make the walles first of London, also of Colchester, much about the yeare of our Lord, 305, and borne in Britaine.
	Octauius,	a Getwillian.
	Maximinianus,	a Roman borne, but his mother a Britaine.
	Gratianus,	a Roman.
	Constantinus,	a Britaine by the mother.
	Constans,	a Roman by the father.
	Vortigernus,	a Getwillian or Britaine.
	Vortimerus,	a Britaine.
	Vortigernus.	againe.

An. Dom. 390. ſecund. Fab. Bed. An. 433. Fab. An. 443. Anno 448. Anno 464.

By this table may appeare a lamentable face of a commonwealth so miserablie rent and diuided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in countrey as in religion: for when the Romans raigned, so they were gouerned by the infidels; when the Britaines ruled, so they were gouerned by christians. Thus what quietnesse was or could be in the church in so vnquiet and doubtfull daies, may easily be considered.

Albeit notwithstanding all these foresaid heathen rulers of the Romans which heere gouerned, yet (God be praised) we reade of no persecution during all these ten persecutions aboue mentioned, that touched the christian Britaines, before the last persecution only of Diocletian and Maximianus Hercules, which heere then exercised much crueltie. This persecution as it was the last among the Romans christians, so it was the first of many and diuers that followed after in this church and realme of England, whereof we will hereafter entreat (Christ willing) as order of the matter shall leade vs. In the meane time, this rage of Diocletian as it was vniuersally through all the churches in the world fierce and vehement, so in this realme of Britaine also it was so sore, that as all our English chronicles do testifie and record, all christianitie almost in the whole land was destroyed, churches were subuerted, all bookes of the Scriptures buried, many of the faithfull both men and women were slaine. Among whom the first and chiefest was Albanus, then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how manie they were that suffered beside, stories make no rehearsall. And thus much thereof.

The Britaine neuer touched with any persecution before the time of Diocletian.

Now as concerning the gouernment of these aboue named kings of Britaine, although I haue little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this ecclesiasticall history, yet this is not to be past ouer. First how in the order of these kings commeth Constantinus the great and worthie emperour, not only a Britaine borne by his mother Helena being king Coilus daughter, but also by the helpe of the Britaines armie (vnder the power of God) which the said Constantine tooke with him out of Britaine to Rome, obtained with great victorie, peace and tranquillitie to the whole vniuersall church of Christ, hauing three legions with him out of this realme of chosen and able souldiers, whereby the strength of the land was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this storie followeth.

Constantine the great, borne and bred in Britaine.

The cause how this realme of Britaine was first weakned.

After him likewise Maximian, following his steps, tooke with him also (as stories record) all the power and strength which was left, and what soeuer he could make of able and fighting men to subdue France; besides the garrisons which he had out with him before, sending for more to the number of an hundred thousand souldiers at once, to be sent to him out of Britaine into France. At which time also Conanus his partner being then in France, sent ouer for virgins from Britaine to the number of eleuen thousand, who with Vrsula, the prince Dionets daughter being shipped ouer, many perished in the sea, some were taken of the infidels marching vpon the borders, with whom because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserable dispersed (some one way some another) so that none escaped.

Britaine spoyled of souldiers. Vrsula with eleuen thousand virgins.

Thus poore Britaine being left naked and destitute on euerie side, as a maimed bodie without might or strength, was left open to his enemies not able to succour it selfe without helpe of forren friends; to whom they were then constrained to flie, especially to the Romans, to whom the Britaines sent this word or message: *Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut iugulamur, aut submerginur.* But the Romãs then began to forsake them, wherby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by Gwanus and Pelga, had not Gwetelinus the archbishop of London made ouer to lesser Britaine, and obtaining there help, had brought Constantinus the kings brother to rescue his countrey against the infidels. This Constantinus was brother to Aldroenus king of little Britaine, and father to Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, who after raigned kings in Britaine.

Gwetelinus archbishop of London. *Ex chronico Mel-numetenſi:* Constantinus, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uter Pendragon.

Thus by the meanes of the good archbishop and Constantinus, the state of the religion and realme of Britaine was in some meane quiet and safetie, during the time of the said Constantine and of the good archbishop. But as the realme of Britaine almost from the beginning was neuer without ciuill warre, at length came wicked Vortigerne, who cruelly causing Constans his prince to be murdered, ambitiously inuaded the crowne, who then fearing the other two brethren of Constans, which were Aurelius and Uter, being then in little Britaine, did send ouer for the aid of the Saxons being then infidels; and not only that, but also married with an infidell, the daughter of Hengist called Rowen. Wherupon the said Vortigerne not long after by the said Hengist and the Saxons was with like treacherie dispossessed of his kingdome, and the people of Britaine driuen out of their countrie, after that the Saxons had slaine of their chiefe nobles and barons at one meeting, ioyning together subtiltie with crueltie, to the number of two hundred seuentie and one: some stories say foure hundred and fiftie. This wicked act of the Saxons was done at Almesburie, or at a place called Stoneheng. By the monument of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britaines there were buried.

The Saxons sent for to Britaine. King Constans slaine by Vortigerne. Hengist and Horsus captaines of the Saxons.

A wicked murder of the Saxons.

This fabulous storie of the Welchmen, of bringing these stones from Ireland by Merlin, I passe ouer. Some stories record that they were slaine being bid to a banket: Others say that it was done at a talke or assemblie, where the Saxons

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came with privie knives contrarie to promise made, with the which knives they giving a privie watchword in their Saxon speech, Neme your sexes, slew the Britaines unarmed. And thus far concerning the historie of the Britaines. As this great plague could not come to the Britaines without Gods permission, so Gildas sheweth in his chronicle the cause thereof, writing thus: *Quòd Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem & iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malas mores populi, patriam perdidisse, &c.*

A description of England as it was diuided in the Saxons time into seuen kingdomes.

The entering and raigning of the Saxons in the *realme of England.*

THis was the comming in first of the Angles or Saxons into this realme, being yet unchristened and infidels, which was about the yeare of our Lord, as William Malmesbury telleth, foure hundred sixtie and nine, the captains of whom were Hengistus and Horsus. Although the said Hengist and Saxons at their first comming, for all their subtill working and cruell attempt, had no quiet setling in Britaine, but were driuen out diuers times by the valiantnesse of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uter abone mentioned, who raigned after that among the Britaines: yet notwithstanding they were not so driuen out, but that they returned againe, and at length possessed all, driuing the Britaines (such as remained) into Cambria, which we call now Wales. Hengistus (as some chronicles record) raigned three and fortie yeares, and died in Kent. Galfridus in suo Britannico, saith, that he was taken in war by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningsburgh, after he had raigned nine and thirtie yeares.

Aurelius and Uter sonnes to Constantinus.

Ex Galfrido. Ex Alfrido in suo Britannico.

After the death of Hengist, his sonne Osca raigned foure and twentie yeares, leaning his sonne Octa, to whose raigne with his sonne Imenricus, histories do attribute three and fortie yeares, who also were slaine by Uter Pendragon. Polychronicon, lib. 5. cap. 4.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Saxons, after they were setled in the possession of England, distributed the realme among themselues first in seuen parts, euery part to haue his king, that is: the first to be the king of Kent; the second to be the king of Sussex and Southerie, holding his palace at Cicester; the third king was of Wessex; the fourth king of Essex; the fifth king was of the East angles, that is, of Cambridgeshire, Northfolke, and Suffolke; the sixth king of Mercelande, or Mercia, and in his kingdome were contained the counties of Lincolne, Leicester, Huntington, Northampton, Oxford, Derbie, Warwicke, &c. the seuenth king had all the countries beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Seuen kings ruling in England.

Of these seuen kingdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioyned all in one, comming all into the possession and subiection of the Westsaxons, yet for the space they continued (which was with continuall trouble and wars among themselues) this is the race and order of them, as in this table particularly followeth to be seene.

A table

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A table describing the seuen kingdomes of the *Saxons, raigning heere in England.*

IN the time of Uortiger aboue mentioned, began the raigne of the Saxons in this land, the which coming out of three sorts of the Germaine people (to wit) the Saxons, the Jutes & Angles, replenished the land, of thē called now Anglia. Of whom first Hengistus raigned in Kent, which countrie of Kent he had obtained by Rowen his daughter, of king Uortiger, which was about the yeare of our Lord (as some do coūt) 476, or (as I find) in the computation of our English tables 456, in some 463. After Hengist, came in Octha, with Eosa, or Ille his kinsmā: who afterward succeeded the said Hengist in Kent. Not long after came in another company of the Saxons, with Elle their captaine, which plāted themselues in Southsax. And after them againe another garrison of the Saxons with Cerdice their captaine, which did occupie the west part of the land, called by them Westsaxon. And so likewise the other multitude of the Saxons after them, which as yet being vnchristened and infidels, diuided the whole land among themselues into seuen kingdomes, as in this table followeth.

(456) *Kent.*

The kings of Kent, with the yeares how long they raigned.

The kings of Kent.

Hengistus slaine.	31	
Eosa, or Ille.	24	
Octha, or Octha.		
Emenricus, or Emericus.	26	
Ethelbertus, the first of the Saxon kings that receiued the faith by Augustine, An. reg. 35.	56	This Ethelbert first of all the Saxons receiued the faith, and subdued all the other six kings, except onely the king of Northumberland.
Edbaldus.	24	
Ercombertus.	24	Ercombert commanded Lent first to be fasted in his dominion.
Egebertus, or Edbrieth, slaine.	9	Egebert killed two sonnes of his vncle.
Lotharius slaine.	12	
Eadrichus.	6	Vnto the time of Edricke all the bishops of Canterburie were Italians.
Nidredus.	7	Some chronicles doe place these two, Nidredus and Wilhardus, after Edricke, and giue to them seuen yeares, some againe do omit them.
Wilhardus.	7	
Withredus.	33	
Egfert or Edbert.	23	Betweene the raigne of Alricke, and Cuthred, some stories do insert the raigne of Eadbert, which raigned two yeares.
Ethelbert.	11	
Alricus.	34	
Eadbertus, surnamed Pren.	2	
Cuthredus.	18	
Baldredus, expulsed.	18	

In the raigne of this Baldred the kingdome of Kent was translated to Egbertus, otherwise called Egbrict, king of Westsaxons, who subduing the foresaid Baldred, in the yeare 832, gaue the said kingdome to Athelstan his yonger sonne. After whose decease it came to Ethelwolfe the elder sonne of Egbrict, and so was vnited to the Westsaxons, who then began to be the monarch of the whole land. This kingdome began neere about the yeare of our Lord 456, and continued 342 yeares, and had fifteene kings.

This kingdome endured the shortest season of all others, and soonest passed into other kingdomes, in the daies (as some write) of Iue king of Westsax, and so endured not aboue an hundred and twelue yeares vnder seuen or at most eleuen kings, beginning first in the yeare of the Lord 478, and about the thirtith yeare of the first comming of the Saxons.

478 *Southsax, now called Sussex.*

The kings of Southsax, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kings of Sussex.

Elle, or Alle.	31	
Cissa.		Of this Cissa came Cicester, which he builded, and where he raigned.
Nancanleus, or Nancanleodus.		This Nathanleod seemeth by some old stories to be a Britaine, and the chiefe marshall of king Uter, whom Porth the Saxon slew.
Porth.		This Porth a Saxon came in at the hauen, which now is called of him Porthmouth.
Ethelwelfus.		Because I find but little mention of these two, I thinke it rather like to be the same Ethelwold or Ethelwaldus, which after followeth.
Redwallus.		
Condebertus.		Of Condebertus and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table only, supposing therefore that the true names of these were Ercombertus and Egebertus, which were kings of Kent the same time, and peraduenture might then rule in Sussex.
Ethelredus, or Ethereus.		
Adelwold, or Ethelwaldus, slaine.		This Adelwold was the first king of Sussex christened, and as Fabian saith, the fourth king of the Southsaxons: as others say the seuenth, so vncertaine be the histories of this kingdome.
Adelbrich, or Berethunus, slaine.	5	
Adhunus.	15	

(522) *Westsax.*

The principall kingdome of the Westsaxons, and of their raignes.

The Kings of Westsax.

Cerdicus, or Credicus.	17	This kingdome contained Summersethire, Barkeshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, Cornewall, &c.
Kenricus.	26	
Chelingus.	30, 33. lib. cycl.	
Celricus, or Ceolstricus.	5	
Celwulfus, or Ceolulfus.	14	
Kinigilsus and Quicelmus.	32	This Kinigilsus was first king christened in that prouince, conuerted by Birinus, after made monke.
Kinewalkins.	31	
Serburga.	1	
Elcwinus, Alcwinus, or Elkwinus.	2	
Centwinus died at Rome.	7	
Cedwallus.	3	Cedwalla went to Rome, and there was christened and died.
Ina, or Iue.	35	Ina also went to Rome, and was made monke.
Edelardus, or Atheslardus.	14	
Cuthredus, or Cuthbert.	16	Sigebert for his pride and cruelties was deposed of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faithfull counsell, giuing him wholesome counsell: so after was he slaine of the same counsellers swineheard, as hee hid himselfe in a wood.
Sigebertus, or Sigherus, slaine.	1	
Kinulfus, or Kinewlfus, slaine.	31	
Brithricus.	13	This Egbert was first expelled by Brithricus, who after returned againe and raigning, was much derided and scorned with mocking rimes for a reward of Bernulfus king of Mercia. At length the said Egbert subdued him first, then all the rest, to his kingdome: causing the whole land to be called no more Britaine, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in that lordship hereafter followeth.
Egbertus, or Egbrichtus, otherwise Athelbertus, or Athelbrich, &c.	37	

This Egbert subdued all the other seuen kingdomes, and first began the monarchie of all the Saxons, which after by Alured was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This kingdome of the Westsaxons began the yeare of grace 522, and as it subdued all the others, so it did the longest continue, till about the comming of William Conquerour, which is about the time of 554 yeares.

547 *Northūberland.*

The kings of Northumberland, with the yeares of their raigne.

Ida.	12	This Ida of his wife had six children, Adda, Elricus, Olmerus, Theodedus; of concubines other six.

After Ida the kingdome of Northumberland was diuided into two prouinces, Deira and Bernicia.

Alle or Elle, Dierorum.	30	This Alle was the sonne of Ille, and raigned in Deira, 30.
Adda, Bernicorum.	7	

Some chronicles set vnder Adda, to raigne in Bernicia, these kings, Glappa or Claspa, Theonulfus, or Hulla, or Theowalnus, Frithulfus, Theodoricus.

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The kings of Northumberland.

Alricus, or Alfricus Deirorum. 5
Ethelfridus Bernicorum.

This Alfricus was the sonne of Ida, and raigned fiue yeares.

This Ethelfridus was hee that slew the monkes of Bangor, to the number of 2200, which came to pray for the good successe of the Britaines, and by his wife Accan, the daughter of Elle, he had seuen sons, Eanfridus, Oswaldus, Oswius, Oslacus, Osmundus, Osa, Offa: Flor. Histor.

Edwinus Northumberland, slaine. 17

This Edwinus was the first of the Northumberland kings, which was conuerted and christened by Paulinus bishop of London.

Osricus Deirorum, slaine.
Eanfridus Bernicia slaine.

These two are put out of the race of kings, because they reuolted from the christian faith, and were both slaine miserably by Cedwalla a Britaine, which then raigned in Northumberland, and in Mercia.

Oswaldus, of Northumberland, slaine.

This Oswaldus, called S. Oswald, fought with Cedwalla, and Penda with a small armie, and by strength of prayer banquished them in the field. He sent for Aedanus into Scotland to preach in his countrie, and as he preached in Scottish, the king expounded in English. He was a great giuer of almes to the poore. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.

Oswius, Northumberland. 28

This Oswius fighting against Penda, vowed to make his daughter Elfred a nun, giuing with her twelue lordships, to build twelue monasteries, fiue in Bernicia, fiue in Deira.

Oswinus raigned together with Oswius in Deira, slaine. 7

The same Oswius, in the beginning of his raigne toke one Oswinus the sonne of Edwine to be his partner ouer the countrie of Deira. Afterward causing him to be killed, toke to him another called Edelwald, the sonne of Oswald. Of this Oswinus more followeth hereafter to be declared.

Egfridus, Northumberland, slaine. 15

This Egfrid maried Etheldrida, who being twelue yeares married to him, could after by no meanes be allured to lie with him, but obtaining of him licence, was made nun, and then abbesse of Elie. She made but one meale a day, and neuer wore linen. At last the same Egfrid fighting against the Scots, was slaine in the field by a traine of the Scots, faining themselues to flie.

Alfridus, Northumberland, slaine. 20

Of this Alfride, Beda in his historie testifieth that he was exactly and perfectly seene in the holy scriptures, and recouered much that his predecessors had lost before: Bed. lib. 4. cap. 24. Some say he raigned not eightéene yeares.

Osred, Northumberland, slaine. 11
Kenredus, North. 2
Osricus, North. 20

Osred began his raigne, being but eight yeeres old, and raigned the space of ten yeares.

Some affirme that Osricus raigned but eleuen yeares.

Celulfus, Northum. made a monke. 9
Egbertus, or Eadbertus, Northumberland, monke. 21
Osulfus, Northumberland, slaine. 1
Mollo, or Ethelwold, Northumb. 11
In some chronicles six yeares.

This Celulfe, after he had raigned eight yeares, was made a monke. To him Beda wrote his storie.

Altredus, Northum. erpulsed. 10

Mollo by the subtill traine of Altredus was made away, which Altredus also himselfe, after hee had raigned ten yeares, was erpulsed by his owne people.

In some chronicles this Altredus raigned but eight yeares.

Ethelbertus, or Adelredus, Northumberland, erpulsed. 5
Alfwoldus, Northumberland, slaine. 11
Osredus.
Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus North. slaine. 16

¶ After this Ethelbert, the kingdome of Northumberland ceased the space of xxv. yeares, till Egbertus king of the Westsaxons subdued also them, as he did the other Saxons to his dominion. After the which Egbert king of the Westsaxons succeded in Northumberland his sonne.

Ethelwolfus. Ethelbaldus. Ethelbertus. Ethelredus. } Kings of Westsaxons, raigning in Northumberland.

In the time of this Ethelredus, there were two vnder-kings in Northumberland, Ella and Osbright, whom the Danes ouercame, and raigned in their place, whose names were these:

Erbertus. Richil. Egebert. Gurthed. Guthred. } Danes.

¶ After the raigne of these forelaid Danes, the kingdome of Northumberland came into the hands of the Westsaxons, in the time of Athelstane and his brother Edmund. It began first in the yeare 547, and so endured 409 yeares. It contained Yorkeshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbishire, the bishoprike of Dirham, Copeland and others.

(561) Mercia.

The kings of Mercia or Merceland, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kings of Mercia.

Grida or Creodda. 35
Wibba. 20
Ceorlus. 10
Penda, slaine. 30

Penda slew in battell Edwine and Oswald kings of Northumberland. Also Sigebert, Edrike, and Anna, kings of the Eastangles. Also he droue out Kenwalkins, king of the Westsaxons.

Peda, or Weda, slaine by his wife.

Under Peda and Wilferus, Christs faith was receiued in those parts, they being conuerted by Finianus bishop. The same Peda raigned in a part of Mercia, with his brother Wilferus, which were both the sonnes of Penda.

Wilferus. 29

This Wilferus by his wife Ermeburg had three daughters, Milburg, Mildrith, and Mildgith, holie virgins.

Adelredus, or Ethelred, made a monke 30 or 19.
Kenredus made also monke at Rome. 5
Ceolredus, or Keiredus.

This Adelredus or Ethelredus, was monke of Bardneie, whose sisters were Kinedrid, and Kinswith, holy virgins.

In the time of this Ceolred was Guthlake, otherwise called S. Guthlake, the popish heremit of Crowland.

Ethelbaldus, slaine. 41

Under Ethelbaldus died Beda. Ethelbald gaue that all churches should be free from all exactions and publike charges.

Bernredus. 1

This Bernred for his pride and stoutnesse toward his people, was by them deposed, and the same yeare by the iust iudgement of God burned: Histor. Carien.

Offa. 39

Offa causing or consenting to the death of good Ethelbert king of the Eastangles, peaceablie comming to marrie his daughter, for repentance caused the Peterpence first to be giuen to Rome, and there did his penance.

Egfredus. 1
Kenulphus slaine, 20 or 16

This Kenelme being of seuen yeares of age, was wickedly slaine, after he had raigned six moneths.

Kenelme murthered.
Ceolwolfus expelled, 1023.
Bernulphus slaine. 3
Ludecanus slaine. 2

This Ludecane, after the second yeare of his raigne, was slaine of Egbert king of the Westsaxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were also subdued.

Some chronicles heere insert Milefred.

Wilafius, or Withlacus beheaded. 12

¶ This Withlacus in the beginning of his raigne was banquished by Egfrid king of Westsax, to whom he became tributarie with his successors heere following.

Berthulfe. 12
Buthredus. 20
Celulfus. 1
Elfredus. 1
} Some writers say that these kings were subdued by the Danes.

¶ After this Elfride, the kingdome of the Mercians was translated vnto the Westsaxons, in the latter time of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edwardus Senior, and so was adioyned to the Westsaxons, beginning in the yeare 561. It endured for the space of 250 yeares, till about the latter end of Aluredus, by whom it was ioyned to the kingdome of Westsaxons. This kingdome stretched out to Huntingtonshire, Hertfordshire, Glocestershire, Worcester, Warwicke, Litchfield, Couentrie, Chester, Darbishire, Staffordshire, Shrowsburie, Orford, Buckingham, Dorcetr, Lincolne, Leicester, &c.

The

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(561) *Eastsaxons.*

¶ The kings of the Eastsaxons, with the yeares of their raigne.

Erchwinus.	35
Sledda.	17
Sebertus, or Sigebertus.	14
Serredus, and Sewardus, brethren slaine.	
Sigebertus Parvus	23
Segebertus Bonus, or Sibertus, slaine.	
Swithelinus.	14
Sigherius, son of Sigebertus Parvus.	
Sebbi sonne of Sewardus, which was made a monke.	
Sigehardus, & Suefridus, brethren.	8
Offa.	5
Selredus, or Colredus, slaine.	38
Swithredus.	

The kings of the Eastsaxons.

This Sebertus nephue to Ethelbert K. of Kent, among these kings was first christened by Melitus, which made the church of Pauls.

Serred, and Seward, and Sigebert, expelled Melitus the bishop, because he would not minister to them the sacramentall bread, they being not baptised.

This Sigebertus Parvus with his brother Sebertus were slaine of Kinegilsus and Swithelinus his brother, by the iust iudgement of God, for they revolted againe from their faith, and expelled Melitus bishop of London.

This Segebertus Bonus or Sibertus, much reloyting to Oswie king of Northumberland, by his persuasion was brought to christian baptisme, baptised of Finianus bishop, to whom also was sent Cedde with other ministers to preach and to baptise in his countrie. At last he was slaine of his men about him, vsing too much to spare his enemies, and to forgiue their iniuries that repented. Flor.

This Sigherius and Sebbi first fell to idolatrie, then through the meanes of Wolferus king of Mercia, were reduced, and at last Sebbi became a monke.

Offa after he had raigned a while became a monke at Rome.

This Swithredus was subdued vnto Egbert king of Westsaxons, albeit London remained vnder the Mercians to the time that they also were subdued to the Westsaxons. This kingdome began in the yeare 561, and so continued till the time of Egbertus. Some stories say it continued to the time of Edward sonne of Aluredus, about the comming of the Danes, and contained vnder it the lordship of Middlesex and London. The metropolitane sea of this prouince of Essex was London, where the famous church of S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert king of Essex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to Christs faith: whereof the first bishop was Melitus, the second bishop was Ceddus, the third came in by simonie, whose name was Wine: Malmesb. de vitis pont. After him was Erkenwaldus, of whom writeth Beda, that he being diseased in his legs that he could neither go nor ride, yet would be caried about in a litter to preach in his diocesse, &c. Although William Malmesburie writing of the bishops of London, in his booke De vitis pont. saith, that Mauricius first the kings chancellour, then bishop there, did first begin this so large and famous building of the church of S. Paul in London: which worke after him Richard his successour did prosecute, bestowing all the rents of his bishoprike vpon the same, and yet was scarcely seene. Yet herein may be answered peraduenture, that the church builded before by king Ethelbert and king Sigebert, might bee ouerthrowne by the Danes, and afterward was reedified by these bishops aboue mentioned.

(561) *Eastangles.*

The kings of the Eastangles, with the yeares of their raigne.

Uffa, or Ulfa.	20
Titulus, or Titila.	13
Redwaldus.	12
Erpwaldus, or Corpwaldus, slaine.	38
Sigebertus or Silvert first a monke, slaine.	3
Egricus or Egricus, slaine.	3
Anna, slaine.	3
Adelhere, or Adelredus, slaine.	2
Adelwoldus, or Ethelbaldus.	9
Adulphus.	25
Elkwoldus.	12
Beorna.	26
Ethelredus slaine.	52
Ethelbritus slaine.	5

The kings of the Eastangles.

Of this Uffa the people of Northfolke were then called Ulfkins.

Redwaldus first was conuerted in Kent, afterward through the wicked persuasions of his wife & other, ioyned idolatrie with christiantie.

Notwithstanding his sonne Erpwaldus through the meanes of Edwin king of Northumberland, was brought to the perfect faith of Christ, and therein faithfully did continue.

This Sigebert made himselfe a monke, and afterward brought out to fight against Penda, with a white sticke in his hand, was slaine in the field.

The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberta, and saint Etheldreda.

This Ethelredus for his holinesse and godly vertues is counted for a saint: hee innocently comming to Offa king of Mercia, to marrie with Alfrid his daughter, by the sinister suspicion of Offa, and wicked counsell of Kineswina his wife, was cruelly put to death in the house of Offa. For the which cause Offa afterwards repenting went to Rome, there he made himselfe a monke.

After this sinfull murther of Ethelbert, the kingdome of Eastangles during the time of certaine yeares, was in great trouble and desolation, vnder diuers kings and tyrants, sometime the king of Westsax, sometimes of Kent, or of Mercia, hauing dominion ouer them, till the comming of S. Edmund, which was the last king there ruling vnder the Westsaxons.

S. Edmund, martyred.	16

After the death of S. Edmund, being slaine of the infidell Danes, the kingdome remained with the Danes fiftie yeares, till at length Edward king of the Westsaxons expulsed the Danes, and ioyned it to his kingdome. It began about the yeare of our Lord 561, and continued neere about 377 yeares. Fabian numbreth but twelue kings, but in others I find more.

The metropolitan sea of this prouince of Eastangles, which was first at a towne called Dunmoke, or Dunwich, which in time past hath been a famous and populous towne, with a maior and foure bailiffes, and also diuers parish churches and hospitals, whereunto great priuiledges by diuers kings haue been granted, which towne is now fallen into ruine and decay, and more then halfe consumed by the eating in of the sea, as also greatly impouerished by losse of the hauen, which heretofore hath flourished with diuers tall ships belonging to the same (the inhabitants thereof being not able of themselues to repare it without the helpe of other good people) where the first bishop was Felix, a Burgundian, who sate there foureteene yeares. After this, vnto the time of Egbert king of Westsax, this prouince was euer ruled by two bishops, whereof the one had his sea at Dunmoke, now called Dunwich; the other at Hemaham where twelue sate one after another. From thence it was translated to Thetford, where sate three bishops. At last by bishop Herbert it was remoued to Norwich, where he erected a monasterie of monkes.

This Dunwich lieth vpon the sea side in Suffolke.

¶ And thus standeth the order and race of the Saxon kings, raigning together with the Britaines in this realme. Now followeth the description of the Britaine kings, raigning with the Saxons in like manner.

Although the miserable Britaines thus were bereaued of their land, by the cruell subtiltie of the Saxons, yet were they not so driuen out or expelled, but that a certaine kingdome remained among them in some part of the land, namely about Cornewall, and the parts of Cambria, which is diuided in two parts, Southwales called Demetia, & Northwales called Venedocia. The said Britaines moreouer through the valiant acts of their kings, sometimes raigned also in other countries, displacing the Saxons, and recouering againe their owne: sometimes more, sometimes lesse, till the time of Carecius, when as the Britaines being deposed by Gormundus (whose helpe they themselues sent for out of Ireland against Carecius their wicked king) vtterly lost their land and kingdome: being thence driuen vtterly into Wales and Cornewall, the yeare of our Lord 570. What the order of these kings was, what were their acts, their names, and times when they raigned: in this briefe table vnder written is expressed. Wherein first is to premonished, that Constantinus secundus had three children, to wit, Constans which was made a monke in Winchester, and after made a king; the second was Aurelius Ambrosius, the third was Uter Pendragon. This being premised, we will now enter the description of our table, beginning with Vortiger.

¶ A table declaring the kings of Britaine, which raigned together with the Saxons, after their comming into this land.

Kings of Britaine which heere raigned in the time of the Saxons.	Vortiger.	Constantinus 3.
	Vortimer.	Aurelius.
	Vortiger againe.	Conanus.
	Aurelius Ambrosius.	Vortiperius.
	Uter Pendragon.	Malgo.
	Arthur.	Careetius.

Heere is to be vnderstood that these Britaine kings aboue mentioned, did not so raigne heere in this land, from the time of Vortiger, that they had the full gouernment ouer all the whole realme, but only ouer parcels or parts, such as by force of armes they could either hold or winne from the

Saxons: which comming in daily and growing vpon them, did so replenish the land with multitudes of them, that the Britaines at length were neither able to hold that which they had, and countries, what it is, first to let in forren nations into their dominion, but especially what it is for princes to ioyne in mariage with infidels: as this Vortiger did with Hengists daughter, which was the mother of all this mischiefe: giuing to the Saxons not only strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this vnconsidered before of the Britaine lords and nobilitie: who worthily being therewith offended, iustly deposed their king, and enthroned Vortimer his sonne in his rome. By the which Vortimer being a puissant prince, the Saxons were then repulsed and driuen again into Germanie, where they stayed a while till the death of Vortimer, whom Rowen daughter of Hengist caused trayterously to be poysoned. Then Vortiger being again restored to his kingdome, through the entreatie of Rowen his wife, sent into Germanie again for Hengist, who ere[illegible] making his returne, came in with a naue of three hundred ships well appointed. The nobles of Britaine hearing this, prepared themselues of the contrarie side in all forceable wise to put them off. But Hengist through Rowen his daughter so laboured the king, excusing himselfe, and saying that he brought not the multitude to worke any violence either against him or against his countrie, but only thinking that Vortimer had yet been aliue, whom he minded to impugne for the kings sake, and to take his part. And now for so much as he heareth of the death of Vortimer his enemie, he therefore committeth both himselfe and his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remaine within his land: the rest should returne. And if it so pleased the king to appoint day and place, where they might meet and talke together of the matter, both he and his would stand to such order as the king with his counsell should appoint. With these faire words the king and his nobles (well contented) did assigne to them both day and place, which was in the towne of Ambrie, where hee meant to talke with them, adding this condition withall, that each part should come without any manner of weapon. Hengill shewing himselfe well agreed thereto, gaue prikie intelligence to his side, that each man should carrie with him secretly in his hose a long knife, with their watchword also giuen vnto them when they should draw their knines: wherewith euery Saxon should (and so did) kill the Britaine, with whom he talked, as is aboue declared. The Britaine lords being slaine, the Saxons tooke Vortiger the king and bound him: for whose ransome they required to be deliuered to them the citie of London, Yorke, Lincolne, Winchester, with other the most strongest holds within the land: which being to them granted, they begin to make spoile and hauoke of the Britaine nation, destroying the citizens, plucking downe churches, killing vp the priests, burning the bookes of the holy Scripture, leauing nothing vndone that tyrannie could worke, which was about the yeare of our Lord 462. The king seeing this miserable slaughter of the people fled into Wales.

Example what it is to let in strãge nations.

Mariage with infidels what destruction it worketh.

The second returne of Hengist into Britaine.

The dissembling words of the Saxons to deceiue the Britaines.

Neme your feres, the watchword.

All the nobility of the Britaines destroyed in one day.

The king ransomed.

The Saxons enter possession of the land.

The christian Britaines persecuted of the infidell Saxons.

{Anno 462}

Aurelius Ambrosius returneth into Britaine.

This while Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon brethren to king Constans aboue mentioned, whom Vortiger wickedly caused to be killed, were in little Britaine. To whom the Britaines sent word, desiring their aid in helping their countrie. Aurelius vnderstanding the wofull state of the realme, speedeth him ouer to satisfie their desire, and to rescue (what in him was) their necessitie. Who at his first comming ekeames being crowned for their king, seeketh out wicked Vortiger, the cause of all this trouble and murther of king Constans his brother. And finding him in Wales in a strong tower, wherein he had immured himselfe, setteth him and his castle on fire. That done, he moued his power against the Saxons, with whom, and with Elle captaine of the Southsaxons (who then was newly come ouer) he had diuers conflicts.

Aurelius crowned king of Britaine.

Vortiger burned in his tower.

Our English old chronicles make record that Horsus the brother of Hengist was slaine before in the time of Vortimer. The same also do record, that this Hengist was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against Aurelius Ambrosius: who then consulting with his nobles and barons what was to be done with him: the bishop of Glocester called Eldadus, standing vp, gaue this counsell, saying: that if all men would deliuer him, yet he with his owne hands would cut him in pieces, alledging the example of Samuel against Agag king of the Amalechits, taken by king Saul in the field, whom the said Samuel caused to be cut in pieces. Euen so (saith he) do you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, so his mother may be made this day of him likewise. And so was Hengist taken out of the citie by Eldo consull or maior of Glocester, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be giuen to these our old Britaine stories: whereof I haue nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may suspect the truth thereof, which was about the yere of our Lord 490. Hen. Hunting. Galfr. cum alijs.

Horsus slaine. Hengist taken in the field.

The counsell of Eldadus bishop of Glocester.

Hengist beheaded.

{Anno 490}

Ex Henr. Huntingtonensi, Galfrido, & chronico quodam Cariensi.

The vncertaintie of our old Britaine stories.

A certaine ancient written historie I haue in Latine, compiled in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and by him caused to be written as the title declareth: which because it beareth no name of the author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this booke, with many other likewise without name, Historia Cariana. This historie recordeth that Hengist died in Kent the two and thirtith yeare of his raigne: which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at Cuninburgh, and slaine in the north. This Aurelius Ambrosius before mentioned, is thought of Polydorus Virgilius citing the authority of Beda, to descend of the stocke of the Romans: which as it is not impossible to be true, so this is certaine by the full accord of all our old written stories, that both the said Aurelius and his brother Uter Pendragon, being the sonnes of Constantinus, brother to Andoenus king of little Britaine, were nursed and brought vp in England, in their tender age, and instructed by Guitelinus archbishop of London, and after the murther of Constans their elder brother, were conueyed from hence to little Britaine: whereby it is manifest that they were borne in this land, and though their father were a Roman, as Polydorus pretendeth, yet like it is that they were Britaines borne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

Ex historia Cariana.

Aurelius Ambrosius king.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the storie saith) was poisoned by the craftie meanes of Valentius, sonne of Vortiger (suborning one, vnder the weed of a monke to play the physitian, and so to poison him) next succeeded his brother Uter surnamed Pendragon, about the yeare of our Lord 497, who fighting against Octa and Cosa, tooke them and brought them to London there to be kept: but they breaking out of prison returned into Germanie for more aid. In this meane time, daily recourse was of Saxons, with great companies comming out of Saxonie: with whom the Britaines had diuers and sundrie conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Not long after Octa and Cosa, renuing their power in Germanie, in all most speedie haste did returne againe, and ioyne with the other Saxons against the Britaines. Here began the state of miserable Britaine more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Saxons preuailed in number and strength against the christian Britaines: oppressing the people, throwing downe churches and monasteries, murthering the prelats, sparing neither age nor person, but wasting christiantie almost through the whole realme. To these miseries it fell moreouer that Uter their king was sicke and could not come out: notwithstanding being grieued with the lamentable destruction of his people, caused his bed to be brought into the campe, where God gaue him victorie; Octa and Cosa there being slaine. After this victorie in short space Uter died of poison (as is said) put into a fountaine of water, whereof the king was wont to drinke, about the yeare of our Lord, 516. Flor. hist.

{Anno 497}

After Uter Pendragon Britaine king.

Remember the words of *Gildas 633. hist. Carie.*

The christian Britaines persecuted by the heathen Saxons.

{Anno 516}

About which time and yeare came in Stuph and Wigarius two nephewes of Certhice king of Westsaxons, with their companies so violently vpon the Britaines, that they of the west part of the realme were not able to resist them. Then the mercifull prouidence of almightie God, raised vp for them king Arthur, the sonne of Uter: who was then crowned after him and victoriously raigned. To this Arthur the old Britaine histories do ascribe twelue great victories against the heathen Saxons: whose notorious and famous conquests, mentioned in the Britaine stories, I leaue them as I find them: referring them to the credit of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding, as I do not thinke contrarie, but God by the foresaid Arthur, gaue to the Britaines some stay and quietnesse during his life, and certaine of his successors: so touching certaine of great victories and conquests, not only ouer this land, but also ouer all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, then that any credit should be giuen vnto them, more worthie to be ioyned with the Iliads of Homer, then to haue place in any ecclesiastical all historie. After Arthur next king of the Britaines, was Constantinus the third. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Vortiporius, after whom followed Malgo, noted in stories to be a Sodomite. And after him the last king of the Britaines was Careticus, all giuen to ciuill war, execrable to God and man. Who being chased out by the Britaines themselues, the land fell to the possession of the Saxons, about the yeare of our Lord 568, by whom all the clergie and the christian ministers of the Britaines were then vtterly driuen out: in so much that Theonus archbishop of London, and Thadeolus archbishop of Yorke, seeing their churches all walked, and parishes dispersed with their cariages and monuments, left their seas in Britaine, and fled into Cambria, which we now call Wales. Touching which matter, and touching also the cause of this desolation and ruine of the Britaines kingdome, the first fountaine and origin thereof partly before is declared, where was shewed in the time of Constantinus Magnus and Maximian, how these noble princes with other mo, atchieuing their venturous affaires in other countries, tooke with them great multitudes and armies out of Britaine: through the occasion whereof the land was greatly impaired and depriued of his most chiefe and principall nobles, being caried away to serue in forren warres. Which was no small cause, why the realme of Britaine (being so walked) was the lesse able to helpe it selfe against their enemies. Although this was not the chiefe occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherefore God by his iust iudgement, suffered this plague and ouerthrow to fall vpon that people, as here out of an old author, and partly out of Gildas, as I haue found it, so I thought to annex it in his owne

King Arthur.

The tales of king Arthur.

Constantinus the third, Aurelius, Conanus, Vortipolius, Malgo, Careticus king of Britaine.

The archbishop of London and the archbishop of Yorke flie into Wales.

Ex historia quadam Cariensi.

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owne words, first in Latine, then afterward Englishing the same for the more credit of that which shall be alleaged, in tenor as followeth.

The causes of the destruction of the Britains declared.

Nobiliores totius regni prædictos duces sequuti fuerunt, & ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cœpissent, extulerunt se vltra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam diuitiarum superbi cœperunt tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, vt Gildas historicus testatur, non solùm hoc vitium, sed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere solent, & præcipuè quod totius boni euertit statum, odium veritatis, amor mendacij, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate, exceptatio sathanæ pro angelo lucis: vngebantur reges, non propter dominium, sed qui cæteris crudeliores essent. Si quis verò eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniæ subuersorem omnia odia telaque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant & displicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solùm hoc seculares viri, sed & ipse grex domini, eiúsque pastores sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amittere, quam prædicto modo maculabant.

In English thus.

In English thus: The nobles of this realme following the princes and captains aboue named, by reason thereof the vulgar and rascall sort remained behind at home. Who when they had gotten the roomes and places of the nobles, they aduanced themselues aboue that their dignitie required. And through their abundance of riches, they surprised with pride, began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was neuer heard of euen among the gentils. And as Gildas the historiographer witnesseth, not into vice only, but also into all maner of wickednesse, whereto mans nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the ouerthrow of all good estats, the hatred of the truth, loue of lies, imbracing of euill in stead of goodnesse, regarding of mischiefe in stead of vertue, receiuing of the diuell in stead of an angell of light. They annointed kings, not such as could well rule a common wealth, but those which exceeded all other in crueltie. And if any might be perceiued to be somewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to favor the truth then the residue, him did euery one hate and backbite as the ouerthrower and destroyer of Britaine. All things whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alike. And not secular men only did this, but also the congregation of the Lord and their bishops and teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be maruelled, that such people so degenerating and going out of kind should lose that countrie, which they had after this maner defiled.

And thus much hitherto concerning the historie of the Britains, till (by the grace of Christ) the order of time shall bring vs hereafter to the treatise of Cedwalla & Caluualadrus. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the Saxons, to discourse particularly, that which before in the table aboue we haue summarilie comprehended.

In this order and race of the Saxon kings aboue specified, which had thus thrust out the Britains, and now diuided their land in seuen kingdoms; as there were many naughtie and wicked kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on war and bloudshed, are greatly to be detested and eschewed of all true godly princes) so some there were againe (although but few) very sincere and god. But none almost from the first to the last, which was not either slaine in war, or murthered in peace, or else constrained to make himselfe a monke. Such was the rage then and the tyrannie of that time. Whether we should impute it to the corruption of mans nature, or to the iust iudgement of Gods hand, so disposing the matter, that as they had violently & fallie dispossessed the Britains of their right: so they most miserablie were not only vexed of the Danes, and conquered at last by the Normans: but also more cruelly deuoured themselues, one warring still against another, till they were neither able to helpe themselues, nor yet to resist others. Of them which are noted for god among these Saxon kings, the first and principall is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbrict the first king of Kent aboue specified, who by the meanes of Austin, and partly through his wife, named Berda, first receiued and preferred the christian faith in all this land of the English Saxons, whereof more followeth hereafter to be said (the Lord so permitting) as place and opportunitie shall require. The next place I giue to Oswaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did his indeuor in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his people: but also being king, disdained not himselfe to stand vp and interpret to his nobles and subiects the preaching of Aidanus, preaching Christ to them in his Scottish language. In the same commendation also, like as in the same line, commeth his vncle Edwin, king of Northumberland, a good prince, and the first receiuer of Christs faith in that land, by the meanes of his wife, and Paulinus bishop. Ad to these also Sigebert, first christened king of Essex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of religion, and setter vp of schooles: the other, which is Sebert or Serbricht, was nephue to Ethelbert of Kent, vnder whom he ruled in Esser. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the said Sebert the church of Pauls was builded at London, and christian faith much inlarged, &c. Of the same name there was also another Ethelbert king of the Eastangles, a god prince: who by the aduice of his counsell, perswaded to marriage (though against his will) went peaceablie to king Offa for despousage of Athelrid his daughter, where the good king meaning innocentlie, through the sinister and diuelish counsell of king Offa his wife, was secretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa through repentance thereof, made the first Peter pence to be giuen to S. Peters church in Rome.

Ethelbert king of the Eastangles.

Peter pence how they first came vp to be paid to Rome.

In the catalogue of these good kings is also to be numbred Kenelmus king of the Mercians, and Edmundus king of the Eastangles: of the which two, the first was falslie and abominablie circumuented and beheaded, by the meanes of his cruell sister and his tutor, as he was in his hunting at Corfe castle. The other which is called king Edmund the martyr, was slaine at Burie, or (as some write) at the castle of Halesdon by the Danes: vpon what occasion, histories do varie. The author of Flores historiarum saith, it was by reason of one Lothbrooke a Dane: who being of the kings bloud, & being with his hauke on the sea side in a little bote, was driuen by the force of weather into the coast of Northfolke, where he being presented to king Edmund was retained in the court with great favor: till at length one Bericke the kings falconer, enuying & despiting him for his great dexteritie in that facultie, priuilie did murther him in a wood. This being at last spied (as murther lightlie will come out) Bericke was set in Lothbrooks bote alone, without all tackling, to be committed vnto the sea: and as it chanced so, was driuen into Denmarke, who there being seene in Lothbrooks bote, was strictlie examined of the partie. He then to excuse himselfe, falslie said he was slaine by the commandement of the king. Vpon the occasion whereof Inguar and Hubba sonnes to the said Lothbrooke gathering an armie of Danes, inuaded first Northumberland: after that bursting into Northfolke on euery side, sent this message to king Edmund after this tenor: Signifying that king Inguar the victorious prince (dread both by sea and land) as he had subiect diuers other lands vnder him, so arriuing now to the coasts of Northfolke, where he intendeth to winter; chargeth & commandeth him to diuide with him his old treasures, and his fathers riches, and so to rule vnder him: which if he would not do, but would contemne his power so stronglie furnished with such an armie, he should be iudged as vntowrthie both of kingdome & life, &c. The king hearing this message, not a little astonished thereat, calling his counsell about him, consulted with them especially with one of his bishops, being then his secretarie, what was best to be done: who fearing the kings life, exhorteth him by words and diuers examples to agree to the message. At this a while the king holding his peace, at length thereto made answer againe in these words, saying: Go (saith he) tell your lord, and let him know that Edmundus the christened king, for the loue of this temporall life, will not subiect himselfe to a pagane duke, vnlesse before he become a christian, &c. The messenger taking his answer was not so soone out of the gates, as Inguar meeting him, and bidding him to be short in declaring his answer, caused all the kings garrison to bee set round about. Some say that the king flying to Thetford, there pitcht a field with the Danes, but the Danes preuailing, the good king from thence did flie to the castle of Halesdon aboue mentioned, where he being pursued of the Danes was there taken, and at length being bound to a stake, there, of the raging Danes was shot to death. And thus much for the good kings.

Kenelmus king of the Mercians.

S. Edmund king of the Eastangles.

The message of Inguar to king Edmund.

The martyrdome of king Edmund in Northfolke.

Now as concerning those kings, which made themselues monks (which in number be seuen or eight) although the example be rare and strange, and much commended of the chronclers of that time: yet I cannot rashly assent to their commendation, albeit the case thereof is no matter of our historie. First in altering their estate from kings to monks, if they did it to find more ease, and lesse trouble thereby: I see not how that excuse standeth with the office of a god man, to change his publike vocation for respect of priuat commoditie. If feare of ieopardie and danger did driue them thereunto: what praise and commendation they deserue in so doing, let the monkish histories iudge what they list. Wee seeme so much praise as they deserue in prouiding their owne safetie, so much they deserue againe to be discommended in forsaking the common wealth. If they did it (as most like it is) for holinesse sake, thinking in that kind of life to serue and please God better; or to merit more toward their saluation then in the estate of a king, therein they were farre deceiued: not knowing that the saluation which commeth of God, is to the measured and esteemed, not by mans merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of anie vocation more of one then another, but onely by the free grace of the gospell, which freely iustifieth all them that faithfullie beleeue in Christ Iesu. But heere will bee said againe peraduenture; In the solitarie life of monkerie be fewer occasions of euils then in kings courts, wherefore that life serueth more to holinesse, and more is to be preferred then the other. To this I answer, To auoid the occasions of euil is good where strength lacketh to resist; but otherwise, where dutie and charge bindeth to tarrie, there to auoid the occasions of euill, where rather they are to be resisted, rather declareth a weakenesse of the man then deserueth any praise. As it is truly said of Tullie: Out of Asia (saith he) to liue a good life, is no godamercie; but in Asia where

A question, Whether kings which made themselues monks did well in so doing of not?

This Berta being a christian was married vnto Ethelbert vpon the condition that she should be suffered to inioy her religion.

Ethelbertus king of Kent.

Oswaldus king of Northumberland.

Edwinus king of Northumberland.

Sigebertus of the Eastangles.

Sebert or Serbrich of Esser.

The first building of the church of Pauls in London.

Answer, Where vocation bindeth to tarrie, there not to flie but to resist the occasions of euill it is a good mans part.

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where ſo great occaſions of euils abound, there to liue a good man, that is praiſe worthie. With the like reaſon I may inker, if a man be called to be a king, there not to change the vocation for voiding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to keepe his vocation, declareth a good and perfect man. But of theſe by-matters hitherto ſufficient.

Foure perſecutions in Britanie before the comming of Auſtin into England.

Theſe things now thus premiſed, concerning the order and raigne of kings, as is aboue prefixed: conſequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of ſuch things, as in the time and raigne of the foreſaid kings happened in the church: firſt putting the reader againe in mind of the former perſecutions within the realme, partly before touched in the time of the Britains kings, which ſpecially were three or foure before the comming of Auſtin into England.

The perſecution of Diocleſiã about the yeere of our Lord 210.

1 The firſt was vnder Diocleſian, and that not onlie in England, but generally throughout all the Romane monarchie, as is aboue ſpecified. In this perſecution Albanus, Iulius, Aaron, with a great number more of other good chriſtian Britains were martyred for Chriſts name.

The perſecution of Gnauius and Pelga.

2 The ſecond perſecution or deſtruction of chriſtian faith, was by the inuading of Gnauius and Pelga, whereof the firſt was captaine of the Hyms, the other of the Picts. Theſe two tyrants, after the cruell ſlaughter of Urſula, and other 11000 noble virgins, made their rode into Britaine, hearing the ſame to be deſtitute of the ſtrength of men. At what time they made miſerable murther of Chriſts ſaints, ſpoiling and waſting churches, without mercie either of women or children, ſparing none.

The perſecution of Hengiſt in Britaine.

3 The third perſecution came by Hengiſt, and the Saxons: who likewiſe deſtroyed and waſted the chriſtian congregations within the land, like raging wolues flying vpon the ſheepe, and ſpilling the bloud of chriſtians, till Aurelius Ambroſius came, and reſtored againe the churches deſtroyed.

The fourth deſtruction of chriſtian faith in Britaine by Gurmundus in the yeere 595.

4 The fourth deſtruction of the chriſtian faith and religion was by Gurmundus a pagane king of the Africans, who ioyning in league with the Saxons, wrought much grieuance to the chriſtians of the land. In ſo much that Theonus biſhop of London, and Thadioceus biſhop of Yorke, with the reſt of the people ſo many as were left, hauing no place wherein to remaine with ſafetie, did flie ſome to Cornewall, and ſome to the mountains of Wales about the yeere of our Lord 550. and this perſecution remained to the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, in the yeere 589.

This Gurmundus, as ſome ſtories record, leauing his kingdome at home to his brother, ſaid he would poſſeſſe no kingdome, but which he ſhould win with his ſword.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Chriſt was firſt receiued of the Saxons or Engliſhmen, by the meanes of Gregorie biſhop of Rome, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old hiſtories collected and recorded.

Firſt then to ioyne the order of our hiſtorie together; the chriſtian faith firſt receiued of king Lucius, indured in Britaine till this time, neere vpon the ſeaſon of 400. yeeres and od: when by Gurmundus Africanus (as is ſaid) fighting with the Saxons againſt the Britains, it was neere extinct in al the land, during the ſpace about forty foure yeeres. So that the firſt ſpringing of Chriſts goſpell in this land, was in the yeere of our Lord 180. The comming of the Saxons was in the yeere 449. or 469. The comming of Auſtin was in the yeere 596. From the firſt entring in of the Saxons to their complet conqueſt, and the driuing out of the Britains (which was about the latter time of Cadwalader) were 240. yeeres. In ſumme, from Chriſt to Lucius were 180. yeeres. The continuance of the goſpell from Lucius to the entring of the Saxons, was 302. yeeres. The decay of the ſame to the entring of Auſtin, was 143. yeeres, which being added together make from Lucius to Auſtin 445. yeeres, from Chriſt to Auſtin they make 598. yeeres. In this yeere then 598. Auſtin being ſent from Gregorie came into England: the occaſion whereupon Gregorie ſent him hither was this.

King Lucius died 428. yeeres before the comming of Auſtin.

The computation of times concerning the continuance and decay of Chriſts goſpell betweene the Britains and the Saxons.

Anno 598

In the daies of Pelagius biſhop of Rome, Gregorie chancing to ſee certaine children in the market place of Rome (brought thither to be ſold out of England) being faire & beautifull of viſage, demanded out of what countrie they were: And vnderſtanding they were heathenith out of England, lamented the caſe of the land being ſo beautifull and angelicall, ſo to be ſubiect vnder the prince of darkeneſſe. And aſking moreouer out of what prouince they were: It was anſwered, out of Deira, a part of Northſaxons; whereof as it is to be thought, that which we now call Deirham taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of Deira; Theſe people (ſaith he) are to be deliuered De Dei ira, which is, From Gods wrath. Moreouer vnderſtanding the kings name of that prouince to be Alle (aboue mentioned) alluding likewiſe to his name: There (ſaith hee) ought Alleluia to be ſung to the liuing God. Whereupon being moued and deſirous to go & helpe the conuerſion of that countrie, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romans for that time to accompliſh his deſire. But afterward being biſhop himſelfe next after Pelagius, hee ſent thither the foreſaid Auſtin with other preachers neere about to the number of fortie. But by the way; how it hapned I cannot ſay: As Auſtin with his company were paſſing in their iournie, ſuch a ſudden fears entred into their harts that (as Antoninus ſaith) they returned all. Others write that Auſtin was ſent backe to Gregorie againe, to releaſe them of that voiage ſo dangerous and vncertaine, amongſt ſuch a barbarous people: whoſe language they neither knew, nor whoſe rudenes they were able to reſiſt. Then Gregorie with pithie perſuaſions confirming and comforting him, ſent him againe with letters both to the biſhop of Arelatenſis, willing him to helpe & aid the ſaid Auſtin, and his companie in all whatſoeuer his need required. Also other letters he directed by the foreſaid Auſtin, vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to goe forward boldly in the Lords worke: as by the tenor of the ſaid epiſtle here following may appeare.

Beda, Polychronicon. lib. 5. ca. 8. Malmesburienſis de regib. Henr. Huntingdon. lib. 3. Fabianus part. 5 cap. 119. Liber bibliothecæ Tornalenſis.

Deirham in Northumberland.

Epiſcopum Arelatenſis.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, ſeruis Domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quàm ab ys quæ cœpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, &c. In English: Gregorie the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to the ſeruants of the Lord. Forſomuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, then after they be begun to thinke to reuolt back fro the ſame againe: therfore now you may not nor cannot (deere children) but with al feruent ſtudy & labor muſt needs go forward in that good buſines which through the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the labor of your iourny, nor the ſlanderous tongues of men appall you, but that with all inſtance and feruencie ye proceed, and accompliſh the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand: knowing that your great trauell ſhall be recompenſed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we ſend here Auſtin to you againe, whom alſo we haue ordained to be your gouernour, ſo doe you humbly obay him in all things, knowing that it ſhall be profitable ſo for your ſoules, whatſoeuer at his admonition ye ſhall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant mee to ſee in the eternall countrie the fruite of your labour, that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labor in the ſame fellowſhip with you together. The Lord God keepe you ſafe, moſt deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of Auguſt, in the raigne of our ſoueraigne lord Mauricius moſt vertuous emperour, the fourteenth of his empire.

Ex Henr. Huntingtonen. lib. 2.

The epiſtle of Gregorie to them which went to preach in England.

The biſhop of Rome calleth the emperour his lord.

Thus they emboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregorie, ſped forth their iournie till they came at length to the Ile of Thenet, lying vpon the eaſt ſide of Kent. Neere to the which landing place was then the manor or palace of the king, not far from Sandwich (eaſtward from Canturburie) which the inhabitants of the Ile then called Richbourgh: whereof ſome part of the ruinous walls is yet to be ſeene. The king then raigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as aboue appeareth, the fifth king of that prouince: who at that time had maried to wife a French woman being chriſtened, named Berda, whom he had receiued of her parents vpon this condition, that he ſhould permit her with her biſhop committed vnto her, called Lebardus, to inioy the freedome of her faith and religion: by the meanes whereof he was more flexible, and ſooner induced to imbrace the preaching and doctrine of Chriſt. Thus Auſtin being arriued ſent forth certain meſſengers and interpretors to the king, ſignifying that ſuch a one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and ſaluation eternally to raigne in heauen, with the onlie true and liuing God for euer: if he would ſo willingly hearken to the ſame, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it vnto him.

Auſtin and his companie commeth to England.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

What goodnes commeth to haue a good and godly wife.

The king, who had heard of this religion before by means of his wife, within a few daies after commeth to the place where Auſtin was to ſpeake with him: but that ſhould be without the houſe, after the manner of his law. Auſtin againſt his comming, as ſtories affirme, erected vp a banner of the croſſe (ſuch was then the groſſeſſe of that time) and preached to him the word of God. The king anſwering againe ſaith in effect as followeth: The words be very faire that you preach and promiſe, neuertheleſſe, becauſe it is to me vncouth and new, I cannot ſoone ſtart away from my countrie law wherewith I haue ben ſo long inured, & aſſent to you. Albeit yet notwithſtanding for that ye are come (as ye ſay) ſo far for my ſake, yee ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhall bee right well intreated, hauing all things to you miniſtred neceſſarie for your ſupportation. Beſides this, neither doe we debar you, but ye haue free leaue to preach to our people and ſubiects, to conuert whom yee may to the faith of your religion.

The kings anſwere to Auſtin.

The king ſtaieth vpon old cuſtome.

When they had receiued this comfort of the king, they went with procеſſion to the citie of Dorobernia, or Canturburie, ſinging Alleluia with the Letanie, which then by Gregory had been vſed at Rome in the time of the great plague raigning then at Rome, mentioned in old ſtories. The words of the Letaine were theſe: Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate iſta, & de domo ſancta tua, quoniam peccauimus, Alleluia. that is: We beſeech thee O Lord in all thy mercies, that thy furie and anger may ceaſe from this citie, and from thy holy houſe, for wee haue ſinned, Alleluia. Thus they entring in the citie of Dorobernia, the head citie of al that dominion at that time, where the king had giuen them a manſion for their abode: there they continued preaching and baptiſing ſuch as they had conuerted in the eaſt ſide of the city in the old church of S. Martine (where the queens

The Letanie of Auſtin.

was

was woont to resort) vnto the time that the king was conuerted himselfe to Christ. At length, when the king had well considered the honest conuersation of their life, and moued with the miracles wrought through Gods hand by them, he heard them more gladly, and lastly by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them conuerted and christened, in the yeere aboue specified 586, and the six and thirty yeere of his raigne. After the king was thus conuerted, innumerable other daily came in & were adioyned to the church of Christ, whom the king did specially imbrace, but compelled none; for so he had learned, that the faith and seruice of Christ ought to be voluntarie and not coacted. Then he gaue to Austin a place for his bishops see at Christs church in Dorobernia, and builded the abbie of S. Peter and Paul in the east side of the said citie, where after Austin and all the kings of Kent were buried, and that place is now called S. Austins.

Miracles wrought by God for the conuersion of the land.

Austin made archbishop.

In this while Austin sailed into France vnto the bishop Arelatensis, called Ethereus, by him to be consecrated archbishop by the commandement of Gregorie, and so was. Also the said Austin sent to Rome Laurentius one of his companie, to declare to Gregorie how they had sped, and what they had done in England, sending withall to haue the counsell and aduice of Gregorie concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenor of his questions or interrogations, with the answers of Gregorie to the same, here follow in English briefly translated.

The questions of Austin an archbishop of Canturburie sent to Gregorie, with the answer againe of Gregorie to the same.

The first interrogation.

Ex decreto Gregory primi. Lib. concil. tom. 2.

MY first question (reuerend father) is concerning bishops, how they ought to behaue themselues toward their clerks, or of such oblations as the faithfull offer vpon the altar: what portions or diuidents ought to be made thereof?

The first interrogation.

The answere.

How a bishop ought to behaue himselfe in the congregation, the holy scripture testifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well, especiallie in the epistles of S. Paul to Timothie: wherein he laboureth to informe the said Timothy how to behaue his conuersation in the house of the Lord. The maner is of the see apostolike to warne and charge all such as bee ordained bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is giuen, to make foure partitions. One to the bishop for hospitalitie and receiuing commers in: another to the clergie; the third to the poore; the fourth to the repairing of churches. But because your brotherhood instructed with rules of monasticall discipline, can not line separated from your clerks about you, therefore in the English church (which now through the prouidence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you must obserue this institution concerning your conuersation, which was in the first fathers in the beginning of the primitiue church, among whom there was not one, which counted any thing to bee his owne proper of all that hee did possesse: but all was common among them.

Distribution of the church goods.

The second interrogation.

The second interrogation.

I desire to know and to be instructed, whether clerks that cannot containe, may marrie: and if they doe marrie, whether then they ought to returne to the secular state againe or no?

The answere.

The answer.

If there be any clerks out of holy orders, which cannot containe, let them haue their wiues, and take their stipends or wages without. For wee reade it so written of the foresaid fathers, that they diuided to euery person according as their worke was. Therefore as concerning the stipend of such, it must be prouided and thought vpon. And they must be also holden vnder ecclesiasticall discipline, to liue a godly conuersation, to employ themselues in singing psalmes, and to refraine their tongue, hart & bodie (by the grace of God) from all things vnseemely and vnlawfull. As for the vulgar and common sort which liue after the common condition of men, to describe what partitions to make, what hospitalitie to keepe, or what works of mercie to exhibit, to such I haue nothing to say, but to giue (as our master teacheth) in all our deeds of mercie of that which aboundeth. Of that (saith he) which aboundeth or is ouerplus, giue almes, and behold all things be cleane vnto you.

The gloste vpon the 12. q. 1. Para. Si qui. saith that this now holdeth not, and alleageth the Extra. De cler. conivgan. ca. Ioh. &c. whereby note how the popes decrees be repugnant to themselues, Luke 11.

The third interrogation.

The third interrogation.

Seeing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then the ceremonies and customes of churches to be so diuers: as in the church of Rome there is one custome and manner of masse, and the French church hath another?

The answer.

Answer.

The custome of the church of Rome, what it is you know, wherein you remember that you haue been brought vp from your youth; but rather it pleaseth me better, that whether it be in the church of Rome, or in any French church: where ye find any thing that seemeth better to the seruice & pleasing of God, that ye choose the same, and so infer and bring into the English church (which is yet new in the faith) the best & profitable things chosen out of many churches: for things are not to be beloued for the place sake, but the place is to be beloued for the things that be good: wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those chuse out of all churches, and induce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of Englishmen.

Note a worthie saying of Gregorie.

The fourth interrogation.

The fourth interrogation.

I pray you, what punishment iudge you for him, that shall steale or pilfer any thing out of the church?

The answer.

The answer.

This your brotherhood may soone discerne, by the person of a theefe, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be, which hauing sufficient to liue vpon, yet doe steale. Others there be which steale of meere necessitie. Wherefore considering the qualitie and difference of the crime, necessarie it is that some bee corrected by losse of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easie: yea, and when sharper correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with charitie, & with no furie: for in punishing offendors, this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saued & not perish in hell fire. And so ought discipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good fathers in punishing their children, whom both they chasten for their euill, and yet being chastened, they loue to haue them their heires, and think to leaue them all they haue, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Therefore this charitie must be kept in mind: and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind neuer do any thing without the rule of reason. We adde moreouer, with what recompence of measure those things ought to bee required againe, which bee stollen out of churches. But God forbid that the church should euer require againe with increase, that which is lost in outward things, and to seeke her gaine by indamaging others.

The fifth interrogation.

The fifth interrogation.

Item, whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being far off from any part of kindred?

The answer.

The answer.

This in no part of scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfullie be done.

The sixth interrogation.

The first interrogation.

Item, to what degree of kindred may the matrimonie of the faithfull extend with their kindred, or whether is it lawfull to marrie with the stepmother and her kinsfolks?

The answer.

The answer.

A certeine terren law amongst the old Romans doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the sonne and daughter of two brethren may marrie together. But by experience wee learne, that the issue of such marriage doth neuer thriue, nor come forward. Also the holy law of God forbiddeth to reueale the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore necessary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithfull may lawfullie marrie; for in the second (as being vnlawfull) they must needs refraine. To be coupled with the stepmother is vtterly abominable, for it is written in the law; Thou shalt not reueale the turpitude of thy father. Forsomuch then as it is so written in the law; And they shall be two in one flesh: the sonne then that presumeth to reueale the turpitude of his stepmother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but reueale the turpitude of his owne father? Likewise it was forbidden and vnlawfull to marry with thy kinswoman, which by hir first marriage was made one flesh with thy brother: for the which cause John the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a martyr. Who though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet forsomuch as Christ saith; I am the truth: therefore in that John Baptist was slaine for the truth, it may bee said his bloud was shed for Christ.

In what degree of kindred a man may marrie.

By this rule the marriage of king Henrie with queene Catharine Dowager was vnlawfull.

The seuenth interrogation.

The seuenth interrogation.

Item, whether such as so be coupled together in filthy and vnlawfull matrimonie ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy communion?

The answer.

The answer.

Because there bee many of the nation of Englishmen which, being yet in their infidelitie, were so ioyned and coupled in such execrable marriage: the same comming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstaine from the like, and that they know the same to be a grieuous sin; that they dread the dreadfull iudgement of God, lest for their carnall delectation, they incur the torments of eternall punishment. And yet notwithstanding they are not to be secluded therefore from the participation of Christs bodie and bloud, lest we should seeme to reuenge those things in them, which they before their baptisme through ignorance did commit. For in this time the holy church doth correct some faults more feruently, some faults she suffereth againe through mansuetude and meeknesse, some wittinglie and willinglie shee doth winke at and dissemble: that many times the euill which shee doth detest, through bearing and dissembling she may stop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they doe, they are to be depriued of the communion of the Lords bodie and bloud. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this case is tollerable: so in them againe it is strongly to be inued, which knowing they do naught, yet feare not to commit.

A discreet saying of Gregorie to be noted.

The

The eight interrogation.

The eight interrogation. Item, in this I desire to be satisfied, after what maner I should deale or doe with the bishops of France, and of Britaine?

The answer. The answere.

As touching the bishops in France, I giue you no authoritie or power ouer them. For the bishop of Aralas, or Orleance hath by the old time of our predecessors receiued the pall, whom now we ought not to depriue of his authoritie. Therefore when your brotherhod shall go vnto the prouince of France, whatsoeuer ye shall haue there to do with the bishop of Orleance, so doe, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our foreelders. But as concerning the bishops of Britaine, we commit them all to your brotherhod, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirme by perswasion may be confirmed, the wilfull by authoritie may be corrected.

Quest. 25. cap. 2. in Gallicanum.

The ninth interrogation.

The ninth interrogation. Whether a woman, being great with child, ought to be baptised, or after she hath childre, after how long time she ought to enter into the church? Or els, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be preuented with death, after how many daies it ought to receiue baptisme? Or after how long time after her childbirth is it lawfull for her husband to resort to her? Or els if she be in her monthlie course, after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the church, and receiue the sacrament of the holy communion? Or else her husband after the lying with his wife, before he be washed with water, whether is it lawful for him to enter the church, and to draw vnto the mysterie of the holy communion? All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen.

The answere. The answere.

The childing or bearing woman, why may she not be baptised, seeing that the fruitfulnesse of the flesh is no fault before the eies of almightie God: For our first parents in paradise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortalitie by the iust iudgement of God, which they had taken before. Then because almightie God would not mankind vtterly to perish because of his fall (although he lost now his immortalitie for his trespasse) yet of his benigne pitie left notwithstanding to him the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of mans nature, which is conserued by the gift of almightie God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holie baptisme?

The churching of women. As concerning the churching of women, after they haue trauelled, where ye demand after how many daies they ought to goe to the church, this you haue learned in the old law, ỹ for a man child thirtie three daies, after a woman child sixtie and six daies be appointed her to keepe in: albeit this you must take to be vnderstood in a mysterie. For if she should the houre after her trauell enter into the church to giue thanks, shee committed therein no sinne: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the trauell and paine of the flesh is sinne. In the conuncion of the flesh is pleasure, but in the trauell and bringing forth of the child is paine and groning: as vnto the mother of all it is said: In sorrow thou shalt trauell. Therefore if we forbid the woman after her labor to enter into the church, then what doe we else but count the same punishment giuen vnto her for sinne: Therefore for the woman after her labor to be baptised, either that which she hath trauelled forth (if present necessitie of death doth so require) yea in the selfe same houre, either shee that hath brought forth, either that which is borne in the same houre when it is borne, to be baptised we doe not forbid.

He speaketh here after the custome of the time.

Mothers that nurse not their owne children reprehended.

Moreouer, for the man to companie with his wife: that he must not, before the child that is borne be wained. But now there is a leaud and naughtie custome risen in the condition of maried folks, that mothers doe contemne to nurse their owne children which they haue borne, but set them to other women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontinencie: for while they will not containe themselues, therefore they put from them their children to nurse, &c.

As concerning the women in their menstruous course, whether she ought to enter the church: To this I answer: She ought not to be forbid. For the superfluitie of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it iust that she should be depriued of her accesse to the church, for that which she suffereth against her will. And if the woman did well, presuming in touching the Lords cote in the time of her bloody issue: why then may not that be granted vnto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmitie: Therefore to receiue the mysterie of the holie communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so far presume in her great infirmitie, she is to be praised, but if she doe receiue, she is not to be iudged: for it is a point of a good mind in some maner to acknowledge her sins there, where is no sinne: because many times that is done without fault which commeth of fault. As when we be hungrie, wee eate without fault, notwithstanding it commeth by the fault of our first father to vs that we are hungrie, &c.

Where ye aske, if a man after the companie with his wife may resort to the church, or to the holy communion, before hee be purged with water: The law giuen to the old people, commanded that a man (after the companie with his wife) both should bee purified with water, and also should tarrie the sunne-let before hee came to the congregation. Which seemeth to be vnderstood spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is ioyned to vnlawfull concupiscence in his heart and cogitation. At what time, before the said fire of concupiscence shall be remooued, let the person thinke himselfe vnworthie the entrance to the congregation, through the viciousnesse of his filthie will. But of this matter sundrie nations haue euerie one their sundrie customes: some one way and some another. The ancient maner of the Romans from our forefathers, hath been, that in such case, first they purge themselues with water, then for a little they abstaine reuerendly, and so resort to the church, &c.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus hee inferreth. But if any person not for voluptuousnes of the flesh, but for procreation of children, doe companie with his wife, that man concerning either the comming to the church, or the receiuing the mysteries of the Lords bodie and bloud, is to be left to his owne iudgement: for he ought not to be forbid of vs to come, which when he lieth in the fire will not burne, &c.

There is another question also to these adioyned, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our English eares sufficient.

To returne now to the storie againe: Gregorie after hee had sent these resolutions to the questions of Austin, sendeth moreouer to the church of England more coadiutors, and helpers, as Melitus, Iustus, Paulinus, & Rufinianus, with bookes & such other implements as he thought necessarie for the English church. Hee sendeth moreouer to the foresaid Austin a pall with letters, wherein he setteth an order betweene the two metropolitane sees, the one to be at London, the other to bee at Yorke. Notwithstanding he granteth to the said Austin during his life to be the onely chiefe archbishop of all the land: and after his time, then to returne to the two foresaid sées of London and Yorke, as is in the same letter contained, the tenor whereof here followeth in his owne words, as insueth.

The copie of the epistle of Gregorie, sent to *Austin into England.*

Reuerẽdissimo & sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei. Cum certum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia eterni regis premia reseruari, nobis tamen eis necesse est bonorum beneficia tribuere, vt in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeãt multiplicius insudare, &c. As followeth here in English.

TO the reuerend and vertuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop, Gregorius the seruant of the seruants of God. Although it be most certaine, that vnspeakeable rewards of the heauenlie king be laid vp for all such as labour in the words of almightie God: yet it shall be requisit for vs to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more incouraged, to go forward in the studie of their spirituall worke. And forsomuch now, as the new church of Englishmẽ is brought to the grace of almightie God, through his mightie helpe, and your trauell, therefore we haue granted to you the vse of the pall, onely to be vsed at the solemnitie of your masse: so that it shall be lawfull for you to ordaine twelue bishops, such as shall be subiect to your prouince or dition. So that hereafter alwaies the bishop of the citie of London shall be ordained and consecrated by his owne proper synod: and so to receiue the pal of honor from the holy and apostolike see, wherein I here (by the permission of God) do serue. And as touching the city of York, we will send also a bishop thither, whom you may think meet to ordaine. So that if that citie with other places bordering thereby, shall receiue the word of God, he shall haue power likewise to ordaine twelue bishops, & haue the honor of a metropolitane: to whom also if God spare me life, I intend by the fauour of God to send a pall: this prouided, that notwithstanding he shall be subiect to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same metropolitane, so to be ouer the bishops who he ordreth, that he be in no wise subiect to the metropolitane of London after you. And hereafter betwixt these two metropolitans, of London and Yorke, let there bee had such distinction of honor, that he shal haue the prioritie, which shall in time first be ordained. With common counsell, and affection of heart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeale of Christ. Let them forethinke and deliberat together prudentlie, and what they deliberat wisely, let them accomplish concordly, not iarring nor swaruing one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be indued with authoritie, not onely ouer those bishops, that you constitute, and ouer the other constituted by the bishop of Yorke; but also you to haue all other priests of whole Britaine, subiect vnto our Lord Iesus Christ: to the end that through your preaching and holinesse of life, they may learne both to beleeue rightlie and to liue purely, and so in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith & vertuous maners, they may attaine, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdome

Gregorie calleth the emperour his lord.

dome of heauen. God preſerue you in health reuerend brother. The tenth before the kalends of Iuly, in the raigne of our ſouereigne lord Mauricius moſt vertuous emperour.

A letter of Gregorie to Mellitus.

Beſides this, the ſaid Gregorie ſendeth alſo another letter to Mellitus concerning his iudgement, what is to be done with the idolatrous temples and phanes of the Engliſhmen newlie conuerted, which phanes he thinketh not beſt to plucke downe, but to conuert the vſe thereof, and ſo let them ſtand. And likewiſe of their ſacrifices and killing of oxen, how the ſame ought to be ordered, and how to be altered: diſputing by the occaſions therof, of the ſacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God vnto the Iſraelites, the end and vſe thereof being altered, &c.

A letter of Gregorie to Auſtin.

He ſendeth alſo another letter to the foreſaid Auſtin, wherin he warneth him not to be proud or puft vp for the miracles wrought of God by him, in conuerting the people of England, but rather to feare and tremble, leſt ſo much as he were puft vp by the outward worke of miracles, ſo much he ſhould fall inwardly through the vaine glorie of his heart: and therefore wiſely exhorteth him to repreſſe the ſwelling glorie of heart, with the remembrance of his ſinnes rather againſt God, wherby he rather hath cauſe to lament, then to reioyce for the other. Not all the elect of God (ſaith hee) worke miracles, and yet haue they their names written in the booke of life. And therefore he ſhould not count ſo much of thoſe miracles done, but reioyce rather with the diſciples of Chriſt, and labor to haue his name written in the booke of life, where all the elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that reioycing. And whatſoeuer miracles it hath pleaſed God by him to haue been done, he ſhould remember they were not done for him, but for their converſion, whole ſaluation God ſought thereby, &c.

A letter of Gregorie to king Ethelbert.

Item, he directed another epiſtle to king Ethelbert, as is expreſſed at large in the chronicle of Henrie Huntington, lib. 3. in the which epiſtle, firſt he praiſeth God, then commendeth the gwdneſſe of the king, by whom it pleaſed God ſo to worke ſuch gwdneſſe of the people. Secondly, exhorteth him to perſiſt and continue in the godly profeſſion of Chriſts faith, and to bee feruent and zealous in the ſame; in conuerting the multitude, in deſtroying the temples and works of idolatrie, in ruling and gouerning the people in all holineſſe & godly converſation, after the godly example of the emperor Conſtantinus the great. Laſtly, comforting him with the promiſes of life and reward to come, with the Lord that raigneth and liueth for euer: premonithing him beſides, of the terrors and diſtreſſes that ſhall happen (though not in his daies) yet before the terrible day of Gods iudgement. Wherefore he willeth him alwaies to be ſolicitous for his ſoule, and ſuſpectfull of the houre of his death, & watchfull of the iudgement, that he may be alwaies prepared for the ſame, when that iudgement ſhall come. In the end he deſireth him to accept ſuch preſents and gifts which he thought good to ſend vnto him from Rome, &c.

{Anno 600}

Polychronic. lib. 5. cap. 9. Fab. part. 5. cap. 119.

Auſtin thus receiuing his pall from Gregorie, as is aboue ſaid, and now of a monke being made an archbiſhop, after hee had baptiſed a great part of Kent: he after made two archbiſhops or metropolitans, by the commandement of Gregorie, as witneſſeth Polychron. one at London, another at Yorke.

Archbiſhops of London and of Yorke made by Auſtin.

Mellitus biſhop of London.

Mellitus, of whom mention is made before, was ſent ſpecially to the Eaſtſaxons in the prouince of Eſſex, where after he was made biſhop of London, vnder Sigebert king of Eſſex; which Sigebert together with his vncle Ethelbert firſt builded the church and minſter of S. Paul in London, and appointed it to Mellitus for the biſhops ſee. Auſtin (aſſociat with this Mellitus and Juſtus through the helpe of Ethelbert) aſſembled and gathered together the biſhops and doctors of Britaine in a place, which taking the name of the ſaid Auſtin, was called Auſtins Oke. In this aſſemblie he charged the ſaid biſhops, that they ſhould preach with him the word of God to the Engliſhmen, and alſo that they ſhould among themſelues reforme certaine rites and vſages in their church, ſpecially for keeping of their Eaſtertide, baptiſing after the maner of Rome, and ſuch other like. To theſe the Scots and Britains would not agree, refuſing to leaue the cuſtome, which they ſo long time had continued, without the aſſent of them all which vſed the ſame. Here the ſtories both of Beda, Ceſtrenſis in Polychron. Huntingtonenſis, Iornalenſis, Fabianus, & others more, write of a certaine miracle wrought vpon a blind Engliſhman, whom when the Britains could not helpe, Auſtin kneeling downe and praying, reſtored the blind man to ſight before them all, for a confirmation (as theſe authors ſay) of his opinion in keeping of Eaſter. But concerning the credit of this miracle, that I leaue to the authors of whom I had it.

The Britains and Scots vſed not the rites of Rome.

Abbie of Bangor. *Ex libro Iornalenſi, Fabiano, & alijs.*

Then Auſtin gathered another ſynod, to the which came ſeuen biſhops of Britaine, with the wiſeſt men of that famous abbie of Bangor. But firſt they toke counſell of a certaine wiſe and holie man amongſt them, what to doe; and whether they ſhould be obedient to Auſtin or not. And he ſaid: If he be the ſeruant of God agree vnto him. But how ſhall we know that, ſaid they? To whom he anſwered againe: If he be meeke and humble of heart, by that know that he is the ſeruant of God. To this they ſaid againe: And how ſhall we know him to be humble & meeke of heart? By this (quoth he) Seeing you are the greater number, if he at your comming into your ſynod riſe vp, and curteouſlie receiue you, perceiue him to be an humble and a meeke man. But if he ſhall contemne and deſpiſe you (being as ye are) the greater part, deſpiſe you him againe. Thus the Britaine biſhops entring into the councell, Auſtin after the Romiſh maner keeping his chaire would not remoue. Whereat they being not a little offended, after ſome heat of words, in diſdaine & great diſpleaſure departed thence. To whom then Auſtin ſpake, and ſaid, that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they ſhould receiue warre with their enemies: and if they diſdained to preach with them the way of life to the Engliſh nation, they ſhould ſuffer by their hands the reuenge of death. Which not long after, ſo came to paſſe by the meanes of Ethelfride king of Northumberland: who being yet a pagan, and ſtirred with a fierce furie againſt the Britains, came with a great armie againſt the citie of Cheſter, where Brocmaile the conſull of that citie, a friend and helper of the Britains ſide, was readie with his force to receiue him. There was at the ſame time at Bangor in Wales an exceeding great monaſterie, wherein was ſuch a number of monks, as Galfridus with other authors do teſtifie, that if the whole companie were diuided into ſeuen parts, in euery of the ſeuen parts were contained not ſo few as 300. monks; which all did liue with the ſweat of their browes, and labour of their owne hands, hauing one for their ruler named Dino. Out of this monaſterie came the monkes to Cheſter, to pray for the good ſucceſſe of Brocmaile, fighting for them againſt the Saxons. Three daies they continued in faſting & prayer. When Ethelfride the foreſaid king, ſeeing them ſo intentiue to their prayers, demanded the cauſe of their comming thither in ſuch a company; & when he perceiued it was to pray for their conſull; Then (ſaith he) although they beare no weapon, yet they fight againſt vs, and with their prayers and preachings they perſecute vs. Whereupon after that Brocmaile, being ouercome did flee away, the king commanded his men to turne their weapons againſt the ſillie vnarmed monks, of whom hee ſlue the ſame time, or rather martyred eleuen hundred, onely fiftie perſons of that number did flee and eſcape away with Brocmaile: the reſt were all ſlaine. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare and ſay how the foreſpeaking of Auſtin was here verified vpon the Britains; which becauſe they would not ioyne peace with their friends, hee ſaid ſhould bee deſtroyed of their enemies. Of both theſe parties, the reader may iudge what he pleaſeth: I cannot ſee but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuſe the one, ſo I cannot defend the other. Firſt Auſtin in this matter can in no wiſe bee excuſed: who being a monke before, and therefore a ſcholar and profeſſor of humilitie, ſhewed ſo little humilitie in this aſſemblie, to ſeuen biſhops and an archbiſhop, comming at his commandement to the councell, that he thought ſcorne once to ſtir at their comming in. Much leſſe would his phariſaicall ſolemnitie haue girded himſelfe, and waſhed his brethrens feete after their trauell, as Chriſt our great maiſter did to his diſciples: ſeeing his lordſhip was ſo high, or rather ſo heaule, or rather ſo proud, that hee could not find in his heart to giue them a little mouing of his bodie, to declare a brotherly and humble heart. Againe the Britains were as much, or more to blame, who ſo much neglected their ſpirituall dutie, in reuenging their temporall iniurie, that they denied to ioyne vnto their helping labor, to turne the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and ſaluation, in which reſpect all priuat cauſes ought to giue place, and to be forgotten. For the which cauſe, although lamentable to vs, yet no great maruell in them, if the ſtroke of Gods puniſhment did light vpon them, according to the words of Auſtin, as is before declared. But eſpecially the cruell king in this fact was moſt of all to blame, ſo furiouſlie to flee vpon them, which had neither weapon to reſiſt him, nor yet any will to harme him. And ſo likewiſe the ſame or like happened to himſelfe afterward. For ſo was he alſo ſlaine in the field by chriſtian Edwine, who ſucceeded him, as he had ſlaine the chriſtians before, which was about the yeere of our Lord 616. But to returne to Auſtin againe, who by report of authors was departed before this crueltie was done, after he had baptiſed and chriſtened ten thouſand Saxons or Angles in the weſt riuer, that is called Swale, beſide Yorke on a Chriſtmaſſe day, perceiuing his end to draw neere, he ordained a ſucceſſor named Laurentius to rule after him the archbiſhops ſee of Dorobernia. Where note by the way (chriſtian reader) that whereas Auſtin baptiſed then in riuers: it followeth, there was then no vſe of fonts. Againe, if it be true that Fabian ſaith, he baptiſed ten thouſand in one day; the rite thereof baptiſing at Rome was not ſo ceremoniall, neither had ſo many trinkets at that time, as it hath had ſince; or elſe it could not be that he could baptiſe ſo many in one day.

Ethelfride king of Northumberland.

Brocmaile conſull of Cheſter.

The monaſtery of Bangor. *Galfridus Monumetenſis, Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 10. Liber bibliothecæ Iornalenſis. Guil. Malmubienſis, lib. 1. de reg. Fabian. part. 5. cap. 109. 120.*

A pitifull ſlaughter of vnarmed monks of Bangor.

Whether Auſtin or the Britains in this caſe were moſt to blame.

Laurentius archbiſhop after Auſtin.

Baptiſing in riuers, not in fonts.

Baptiſing among the olde Romans was not vſed with ſo many ceremonies as ſince

{Anno 604}

S. Dauid in Wales, otherwiſe called Dewie.

In the meane ſeaſon, about this time departed Gregorie biſhop of Rome, of whom it is ſaid, that of the number of al the firſt biſhops before him in the primitiue time, he was the baſeſt; of all them that came after him he was the beſt. About which time alſo died in Wales, Dauid archbiſhop firſt of Karleon, who then tranſlated the ſee from thence to Meneuis, and therefore is called Dauid of Wales. Not long after this alſo deceaſed the foreſaid Auſtin in England, after he had ſit there fiftéene or ſixteene yeeres; by the which count wee may noſe

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Computation of time examined.

note it, not to be true that Henrie Huntington and others doe witnesse, that Austin was dead before that battell of Ethelfride against the monks of Bangor. For if it be true that Polychronicon testifieth of this murder, to be done about the yere of our Lord 609; and the comming of Austin first into the realme to be An. 596; then Austin induring sixteene yéeres could not be dead at this battell. Moreouer Galfridus Monumetensis declareth concerning the same battell, that Ethelbert the king of Kent, being (as is said) conuerted by Austin to Christs faith; after he saw the Britaines to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Austin, neither would assist him with preaching to the English nation: therfore stirred vp he the foresaid Ethelfride to war against the Britains: But that séemeth rather suspicious then true, that he being a christian king, either could so much preuaile with a pagan idolater, or els would attempt so far to commit such a cruell déede, But of vncertaine things I haue nothing certainly to say, lesse to iudge.

Galfridus Monumetensis.

Anno 610

About this present time aboue prefixed, which is An. 610, I reade in the storie of Ranulphus Cestrensis, the writer of Polychronicon, of John the patriarch of Alexandria, who for his rare example of hospitalitie and bountifulnesse to the poore, I thought no lesse worthie to haue place amongst good men, then I see the same now to be followed of few. This John (being before belike a hard and sparing man) as he was at his prayer, vpon a time (it is said) there appeared to him a comely virgin, hauing on her head a garland of oliue leaues, which named her selfe Mercie, saying to him, and promising that if hee would take her to wife, hir should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or else inuented for a moralitie, I would wish this flourishing damsell so to be married to more then to this John, that she should not liue so long a virgin now as she doth, because no man will marrie her. But to returne to this patriarch, who after that day (as the storie recordeth) was so mercifull and so beneficiall, especially to the poore and needie, that he counted them as his maisters, and himselfe as a seruant and steward vnto them. This patriarch was wont commonlie twice a weeke to sit at his doore all the day long, to take vp matters, and to set vnitie where was any variance. One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented that all that day hee had done no good: to whom his deacon standing by, answered again, that he had more cause to reioyce, séeing he had brought the citie in that order and in such peace, that there néeded no reconcilement amongst them. Another time as the said John the patriarch was at seruice, and reading the gospell in the church, the people (as their vsed manner is) went out of the church to talke and iangle: he perceiuing that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they maruelled to sée him doe so. My children (said he) where the flocke is, there ought the shepheard to be: wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you; or else if you tarrie out, I will likewise tarry out together with you, &c.

Poly. lib. 1. ca. 10

A storie of Iohn patriarch of Alexandria.

Mercie may liue a maiden, for no man will marrie her.

This John was so bountifull in giuing, that he assaid to striue in a manner with the Lord, whether the Lord should giue more, or he should distribute more of that which was giuen.

The acts of Gregorie the first.

As touching the acts and déeds of Gregorie aboue mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pride of John, patriarch of Constantinople, which would be the vniuersall priest, and onlie chiefe bishop of all others, declaring him to be no lesse then the forerunner of antichrist, that would take that name vpon him; how and with what reasons he answered againe the letters of the emperor Mauricius in that behalfe, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entrie and beginning of this booke. This Gregorie among many other things induced into the church (the specialties whereof hereafter shall follow Christ willing more at large) first began and brought in this title among the Romane bishops, to be called *Seruus seruorum Dei:* putting them in remembrance thereby both of their humblenesse, and also of their dutie in the church of Christ. Moreouer as concerning his act for the sole life of priests first begun, and then broken againe; also concerning the order of Gregories masse booke to be receiued in all churches: hereof who so listeth to read more, shall find the same in other places hereafter, namelie when wee come to the time of pope Adrian the first.

Whereupon the Roman bishops vse in their stile, *Seruus seruorum Dei.*

Sabinianus bishop of Rome.

Bonifacius the third bishop of Rome.

After the death of Gregorie aboue mentioned, first came Sabinianus, who as he was a malicious detractor of Gregorie and of his workes, so he continued not long, scarse the space of two yeeres. After whom succéeded next Bonifacius the third, which albeit he raigned but one yéere, yet in that one yéere he did more hurt then Gregorie with so great labors, and in so many yeeres could do good before. For that which Gregorie kept out, he brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked emperor for him and his successors after him, that the sée of Rome aboue all other churches should haue the préeminence, and that the bishop of Rome should be the vniuersall head through all churches of Christ in christendom; alleaging for him this friuolous reason, that S. Peter had left to his successors in Rome the keies of binding and losing, &c. And thus began first Rome to take an head aboue all other churches, by the means of Bonifacethe third, who as he lacked no boldnesse nor ambition to séeke it, so neither lacked hee an emperor fit and méet to giue such a gift. This emperors name was Phocas, a man of such wickednesse and ambition, most like to his owne bishop Boniface, that to aspire to the empire, he murdered his owne maister the emperour Mauricius & his children. Thus Phocas comming vp to be emperor, after his detestable villanie done, thinking to stablish his empire with friendship and fauour of his people, and especiallie with the bishop of Rome, quicklie condescended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be that he would, the vniuersall and head bishop ouer all christian churches. But as bloud commonlie requireth bloud againe, so it came to passe on the said Phocas. For as he had cruellie slaine the lord and emperor Mauricius before, so he in like maner (of Heraclius the emperor succéeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the sea. And thus wicked Phocas which gaue the first supremacie to Rome, lost his owne. But Rome would not so soone lose his supremacie once giuen, as the giuer lost his life: for euer since from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this présent day, by all force and policie possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom by the words of Gregorie, we may well call the runner before antichrist. For as Gregorie brought in their stile, *Seruus seruorum Dei;* so this Boniface brought into their heads first, *Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus ac præcipimus.* That is: We will and command, We inioyne and charge you, &c.

Phocas traitor and murderer of his emperor.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus, brought in by Boniface the third.

Mention was made a little before of Ethelbert king of Kent, and also of Ethelfride king of Northsaron or Northumbria. This Ethelbert hauing vnder his subiection all the other Saxon kings vnto Humber, after he had first receiued himselfe, and caused to be receiued of others, the christian faith by the preaching of Austin, confirmed afterward in the same faith, amongst other costly déeds, with the helpe of Sigebert king of Essex his nephue then raigning vnder him, began the foundation of Paules church within the citie of London, & ordained it for the bishops sée of London. For the archbishops sée which before time had been at London, was by Austin and this Ethelbert at the prayer of the citizens of Dorobernia translated to the said citie: Malmesburiensis lib. de pontific. Wherefore such authors as say that Pauls was builded by Sigebert, say not amisse: which Sigebert was the king of Esser, in which prouince standeth the citie of London. This Ethelbert also founded the church of S. Andrew in the citie of Dorubrys in Kent, now called Rochester, of one Rof, distant from Dorobernia foure and twentie miles. Of this citie Iustus was bishop, ordained before by Austin. Moreouer the forenamed Ethelbert stirred vp a dweller or citizen of London to make a chapell or church of S. Peter in the west end of London, then called Thornie, now the towne of Westminster, which church or chapell was after by Edward the Confessor inlarged or new builded: lastlie of Henrie the third it was newly againe reedified and made as it is now a large monasterie, &c. After these christian and worthie acts, this Ethelbert when he had raigned the course of fiftie and fiue yéeres, changed this mortall life about the yéere of our Lord 616. whom some stories say to bee slaine in a fight betweene him and Ethelfride king of Northsarons.

Fabian cap. 110.

Ethelbert and Sigebert builders of Pauls church.

The archbishops see translated from London to Dorobernia.

Malmesburiensis, lib. de pontif. H. Huntingt. lib. 3.

This Edward was the third of that name before the conquest.

The monastery of Westminster.

Anno 616

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

In the meane time the foresaid Ethelfride king of Northumberland, after the cruell murder of the monkes of Bangor, escaped not long vnto his ire: for after he had raigned foure and twentie yéeres he was slaine in the field of Edwine, who succeded in Northumberland after him.

This Edwine being the sonne not of Ethelfride (as Galfridus Monumetensis saith) but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Cambrensis séemeth to witnesse more truely) was first a panim or idolater; afterward by Paulinus was christened and the first christened king in Northumberland. The occasion of which his calling or conuersion, as is in sundrie stories contained, was this.

Edwine first christened king in Northumberland.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

Edwin being yet a pagan, married the daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, called Edelburge a christian woman, otherwise called Tace. But before this marriage, Edwin being yet young, Ethelfride the king conceiuing enuie against him, persecuted him so sore, that he was forced to flee to Redwaldus king of East angles, as in the table of the kings is expressed. The which Redwaldus what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length priuilie had intended to haue betraied Edwine. But as Gods will was, Edwine hauing warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moued to flée, and to saue himselfe, being promised also of his friends to be safely conueyed away, if he would thereto agrée. To whom Edwine said, Whither shall I flée which haue so long fléene the hands of mine enemies, through all prouinces of the realme? And if I must needs be slaine, I had rather he should do it, then another vnworthie person. Thus he remaining by himselfe alone and solitarie, sitting in a great studie, there appeared vnto him suddenly a certaine stranger to him vnknowne, and said; I know well the cause of thy thought and heauinesse. What wouldest thou giue him that should deliuer thee out of this feare, and should reconcile king Redwald to thee againe? I would giue him (said Edwine) all that I euer could make. And he said againe: And what if I make thee a mightier king then was any of thy progenitors? He answered againe as before. Moreouer (saith he) And what if hee shew thee a better kind and way of life, then euer was shewed to any of thine ancestors before thée; wilt thou obey him and doe

The order and manner of the conuersion of Edwin to the faith of Christ.

The trouble of Edwine.

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doe after his counsell: Yea (said Edwine) promising most firmely with all his heart so to doe. Then he laying his hand vpon his head: When (said he) this token happeth vnto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say vnto thee. And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwine was sitting alone by himselfe pensiue and sad, his foresaid friend which moued him before to flie, commeth to him bidding him be of good cheere; For the heart (said he) of king Redwaldus which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsell of the queene, and is fully bent to keepe his promise with you, whatsoeuer shall fall thereupon. To make the storie short, Redwaldus the king (although Fabian following Henrie Huntington, saith it was Edwine) with all conuenient speed assembled an host, wherewith he suddenly comming vpon Ethelfride, gaue battell vnto him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfride king of Northumberland, also with Reiner Redwaldus sonne, was slaine in the field. By reason whereof Edwine (his enemies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwine remained in his old paganisme, albeit his queene (as is aboue declared) king Ethelberts daughter a christian woman, with Paulinus the bishop, ceased not to stirre and persuade the king to christian faith. But he taking counsell with his nobles and counsellers vpon the matter, was hard to be won. Then the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose to bring all good things to passe, sent another trouble vpon him, by meanes thereof to call him: for by affliction God vseth commonly to call them whom he will saue, or by whom he will worke saluation vnto others. So his diuine wisedome thinketh good to make them first to know themselues before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with Paul, who was stricken downe before he was lifted vp, with Constantinus, Edwinus, & many more. How long was Joseph in prison before he bare rule? How hardly escaped this our queene now being (queene Elizabeth) by whom notwithstanding it hath pleased God to restore this his gospell now preached amongst vs? In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his spirit was M. Luther before he came to preach the iustification of Christ openly? And so be all they most commonly, which come to any liuely feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

The marueilous calling of Edwine.

Edwine miraculously deliuered.

W. Malmesburiensis, lib. de reg.

This queene was Ethelburga, daughter to king Ethelbert the christened king of Kent.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

Another danger of Edwine.

{Anno 627}

Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.

Fabianus pars. 5.

A part of a true seruant.

But to returne to Edwine againe. The occasion of his trouble was this. Quicelinus with Kinegilsus his brother, kings of Westsaxons (as aboue is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kings) conspiring the death of Edwine now king of Northumberland, vpon enuie and malice sent vpon an Easter day a swordman named Emmer, priuilie to slay the said Edwine. This swordman or cutthrote came to a citie beside the water of Darwent in Derbishire, there to wait his time, and lastly found the king small accompanied, and intended to haue run the king thorow with a sword inuenomed. But one Lilla the kings trustie seruant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his maister, start betweene the king and the sword, and was stricken thorow the bodie and died, and the king was wounded with the same stroke. And after he wounded also the third which was a knight, and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to worke that treason. The other knight that was secondly wounded, died, and the king lay after long sicke ere he were healed.

After this, about Whitsuntide the king being scantlie whole of his wound, assembled his host, entending to make against the king of the Westsaxons, promising to Christ to bee christened if he would giue him the victorie ouer his enemies: and in token thereof caused his daughter borne of Edelburge the same Easter day when he was wounded, named Eufled, to be baptised, with twelue others of his familie, of Paulinus. Thus Edwine proceeded to the battell against Quiceline and Kinegilsus with Kenwolcus and other enemies, who in the same battell being all vanquished and put to flight, Edwine through the power of Christ returneth home victorer. But for all this victorie and other things giuen to him of God, as hee was in wealth of the world, forgat his promise made, and had little mind thereof, saue only that he by the preaching of Paulinus forsoke his maumetrie; and for his excuse said that hee might not cleerely denie his old law, which his forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly to be christened without authoritie and good aduice of his counsell.

Edwine forgetteth his promise to Christ.

Prosperitie forgetfull.

Old custome in matters of religion not to be followed, but only truth.

Old custome letteth Edwine to be christened.

About the same season pope Boniface the fift sent also to the said Edwine letters exhortatorie, with sundrie presents from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the queene: but neither would that preuaile. Then Paulinus seeing the king so hard to bee conuerted, powred out his prayers vnto God for his conuersion, who the same time had reuealed to him by the holy Ghost, the oracle aboue mentioned, which was shewed to the king when hee was with Redwaldus king of the Eastangles. Whereupon Paulinus comming after to the king on a certaine day, and laying his hand vpon the kings head, asked him if he knew that token. The king hearing this, and remembring well the token, was readie to fall downe at his feet. But Paulinus not suffering that, did lift him vp againe, saying vnto him: Behold O king, you haue vanquished your enemies, you haue obtained your kingdome, now performe the third thing which you promised, that is, to receiue the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon the king conferring with his counsell and his nobles, was baptised of the said Paulinus at Yorke, with many of his other subiects with him. In so much that Coifie the chiefe of the prelats of his old maumetrie, armed himselfe with his idolatrous bishops, and destroyed goo horses, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but only a mare: and so destroyed all the altars of the maumettie, and their temple of idols which was at Godmundham, not far from Yorke. And this was in the eleuenth yeare of his raigne.

The part of a godly bishop exemplified in Paulinus. Edwine baptised.

He was baptised in S. Peters church at Yorke, which he first caused to be made of wood, which after by S. Oswald was builded of stone.

From that time forth during the life of Edwine, which was the terme of six yeares more, Paulinus christened continually in the riuers of Glwenie and Swala, in both prouinces of Deira, and in Bernicia, vsing the said riuers for his fonts, and preached in the shire of Lincolneie, where he builded also a church of stone at Lincolne.

{Anno 628}

Note Paulinus christened in riuers.

In this time was so great peace in the kingdome of Edwine after his conuersion, that a woman laden with gold might haue gone from the one side of the sea to the other, and no man molest her. Moreouer by the high way sides, through all his kingdome he caused by euery well or spring to be chained a dish or boll of brasse, to take vp water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bolles of brasse there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwine. Such was then the tender care and studie of christian princes for the refreshing of their subiects. But that was then the brasen world which now is growen to iron and lead, called Aetas ferrea, or rather Plumbea.

What true office of a good prince may be in a realme. Great peace and truth among the people in the daies of Edwine.

This Edwine, who first brought in the faith in the north parts continuing after his baptisme six yeares, at length was slaine in battell by Cedwalla king of the Britaines, and by wicked Penda king of the Mercians, with his son also Offricus, in the field called Hatfield.

{Anno 634}

Archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, the one ordaineth the other.

This Paulinus was the first archbishop of Yorke, and as he was of Iustus archbishop of Canturburie ordained archbishop of the sea of Yorke, so he againe after the decease of Iustus ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canturburie.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwine, seeing vnmercifull Cedwalla or Cedwallon with his Britaines, and wicked Penda with the idolatrous Mercians, to spoile the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age nor sex, nor religion, was compelled to flie with Edelburge the queene and Eufled her daughter by water into Kent, where the said archbishop Paulinus remained bishop of Rochester the space of nineteene yeares. And so the church of Northumberland lacked a bishop for the space of thirtie yeares after. Notwithstanding he left there one James his deacon, a good man, who continued there baptising and preaching in the north parts, till that peace being recouered, and the number of the faithful encreasing, the church came againe to his stay. Hunting. lib. 3.

Ex Flor. hist.

James a godly deacon.

A deacon then might baptise.

By meanes of this Edwine, Erpwaldus king of the Eastangles, sonne to Redwaldus aboue mentioned, was reduced to Christs faith.

Erpwaldus otherwise named Coppwaldus king of Eastangles conuerted to the faith of Christ.

After the decease of Edwine and his sonne Offride, both slaine in battell, raigned Osricus and Eanfridus, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. Osricus was the sonne of Elfricus which was brother to Ethelfride. Eanfridus was the eldest sonne of Ethelfride, for Ethelfride had three sonnes, to wit, Eanfridus, Oswaldus, and Osricus. These two kings of Deira and Bernicia, Osricus and Eanfride, being first christened in Scotland, after being kings, returned to their idolatrie; and so in the yeares following were slaine one after the other by the foresaid Cedwalla and wicked Penda, as is in the table aboue expressed.

After whom succeeded in Northumberland, the second sonne of Ethelfride named Oswaldus, hauing rule on both the prouinces, as well Deira, as Bernicia. Whereof when the foresaid Cedwalla (or Cadwallo) the Britaine king had vnderstanding, who before had made hauoke of the Saxons, and thought to haue roted them vtterly out of England, he sent king Penda with a mightie host of the Britaines, thinking to slay also Oswald as he had before slaine his brother Eanfride, and king Edwine before them. But Oswald, when he was warned of the great strength of this Cedwall and Penda, made his prayers to God, and besought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enemie, for the saluation of his people. Thus after Oswald had prayed for the sauing of his people, the two hosts met in a field named Denesburie, some say Heuenfield, where was fought a strong battell. But finally the armie and power of Penda with Cedwall, which were farre exceeding the number of Oswalds host, was chased and most part slaine by Oswaldus, after he raigned ouer the Britaines two and twentie yeares, leauing after him a sonne, whom Gaufridus called Cadwaladrus the last king of the Britaines.

S. Oswald king of Northumberland.

{Anno 636}

Galfridus. Malmesburiensis. Polychron. Historia Lerudalensis. Fabian.

Strength of prayer ouercommeth armies.

Penda beaten in the field.

The commendation of king Oswald.

Of this Oswald much praise and commendation is written in authors for his feruent zeale in Christs religion, and mercifull pitie towards the poore, with other great vertues more. As touching the miracles of S. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I haue not heere to affirme. This I find in stories certaine, that he being well and

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vertuously disposed to the setting forth of Christs faith and doctrine, sent into Scotland for a certaine bishop there called Aidanus, which was a famous preacher. The king at what time he was in Scotland banished, had learned the Scotish tongue perfectly: wherefore as this Aidanus preached in his Scotish tongue to the Saxons, the king himselfe interpreting that which he had said, disdained not to preach and expound the same to his nobles and subiects in the English tongue.

King Oswald disdained not to expound and preach the gospell to his people.

Moreouer, towards the poore and needie his pitie and tenderues was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that vpon a time being then Easter day, he sitting with the said Aidanus at meat, and serued after the manner of kings in siluer: there commeth to him one of the seruiters, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poore people sitting in the streete, which desired some almes of the king. He hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his owne table to be caried vnto them, but also taking a siluer platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces and sent it amongst them, and so relieued his poore subiects not only with the meat of his table, but with his dishes also. Aidanus the bishop seeing this & maruelling therat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: This hand (saith he) I pray God may continue and neuer putrifie. What the stories say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I intend not to meddle further then simple, true, and due probability will beare me out.

The goodnesse and charitie of Oswald toward the poore.

Historia Iornalensis. Polychronicon, lib. 5. cap. 12.

In those daies and partly by the meanes of the said Oswald, Kinigilsus king of the Westsarons was conuerted to Christs faith, especially through the godly labour of Berinus which was sent by pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made bishop of Dorchester. To whom Quicelinus brother of Kinigilsus after he had also received baptisme of the said Berinus gaue to him the said citie to make there his see. And as Guido witnesseth, the said Quicelinus gaue after to the bishop of Winchester seuen miles compasse of land to build there the bishops see, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalkus his sonne.

Kinigilsus king of the Westsaxons, conuerted to Christs faith.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 13. Fabian part. 5.

Lands giuen to Winchester.

Of this Berinus, Malmesburie, Polychronicon, with diuers other writers do report a thing strange and miraculous, which if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but maruell that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same: the matter is this. This Berinus being sent, as is said, by Honorius to preach in England, promiseth him to trauell to the vttermost borders thereof, and there to preach the gospell where the name of Christ was neuer heard. Thus he setting forward in his iourney, passeth through France, and so to the sea side, where he found a passage readie, and the winde serued so faire, that he was called vpon in such haste, that he had no leasure to remember himselfe to take all things with him which he had to carrie. At length as he was on the sea sayling, and almost in the middle course of his passage, remembred himselfe of a certaine relike left behind him for haste, which Honorius had giuen him at his comming out. Malmesburiensis calleth it Corporalia: Historia Iornalensis calleth it Pallulam super quam corpus Christi consecraret, which we call a corporas or such a like thing, and what else inclosed within it I cannot tell. Heere Berinus in great sorow could not tell what to do: if he should haue spoken to the heathen mariners, to turne their course backe againe, they would haue mocked him, and it had been in vaine. Wherefore as the stories write, he boldly stepped into the sea, and walking on foot backe againe, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his companie againe, hauing not one shred of his garments wet. Of his miracle, or whether I should call it a fable rather, let the reader iudge thereof as he thinketh, because it is not written in the scripture we are not bound to beleeue it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holinesse in the man or in the corporas, but a speciall gift for the conuersion of the heathen, for whose saluation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Berinus being receiued in the ship againe with a great admiration of the mariners, being therewith conuerted and baptised, was driuen at last by the weather to the coast of the Westsarons, where Kinigilsus and his brother Quicelinus aboue mentioned did raigne. Which two kings the same time by the preaching of Berinus were conuerted and made christian men, with the people of the countrie, being before rude and barbarous. It hapned the same time when the foresaid kings should be christened, that Oswaldus (mentioned a little before) king of Northumberland, was then present, and the same day married Kinigilsus his daughter, and also was godfather to the king.

Hunting. lib. 2. Berinus walking on the sea, with lie and all.

Oswaldus godfather and son in law to Kinigilsus, and all in one day.

Thus Oswald after he had raigned nine yeares in such holinesse and perfectnesse of life, as is aboue specified, was slaine at length in the field called Maxfield by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians: which Penda at length after all his tyrannie was ouercome and slaine by Alswie brother to Oswald, next king after Oswald of Northumberland, notwithstanding hee had thrice the people which Oswie had. This Penda being a paynim, had three sonnes, Wolferus, Weda, and Egfridus. To this second sonne Weda, Oswie had before time married his daughter by consent of Penda his father: the which Weda by helpe of Oswie was made king of Southmercia, the which lordship is seuered from Northmercia by the riuer of Trent.

King Oswald slaine in the field. Anno 643

Penda king of Mercians slaine.

Oswie king of Northumberland.

The same Weda moreouer, at what time he married the daughter of Oswie, promised to him that he would become a christian man: which thing he performed after the death of Penda his father, but afterwards within three yeeres of his raigne, he was by reason of his wife slaine. And after him the kingdom fell to Wolferus the other brother, who being wedded to Ermenilda daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, was shortly after christened; so that he is accounted the first christened king of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Kenwalcus king of Kent, and gat the Ile of Wight, which after he gaue to Sigbert king of the Eastangles, vpon condition he would be christened. And thus the Eastangles which before had expulsed Melitus their bishop, as is declared, recouered againe the christian faith vnder Sigbert their king, who by the meanes of the foresaid Wolferus was reduced and baptised by Finianus the bishop.

The conuerting of the Mercians to the faith of Christ.

Wolferus first christened king of Mercia.

The Eastangles reduced to the christian faith.

But to returne againe to Oswie, from whom we haue a little digressed, of whom we shewed before how he succeeded after Oswald in the prouince of Bernicia, to whom also was ioyned Oswine his cosin ouer the prouince of Deira, and there, with his fellow Oswie raigned the space of seuen yeares. This Oswine was gentle and liberall to his people, and no lesse deuout toward God: who vpon a time had giuen to Aidanus the bishop aboue mentioned, a princely horse with the trappers, and all that appertained thereto, because he should not so much trauell on foot, but sometimes ease himselfe withall. Thus Aidanus the Scotish bishop as he was riding vpon his kingly horse, by the way meeteth him a certaine poore man asking and craning his charity. Aidanus hauing nothing else to giue him, lighted downe, and giueth to him his horse trapped and garnished as he was. The king vnderstanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entring to dinner with the said Aidanus: What ment you father bishop (said he) to giue away my horse I gaue you vnto the begger? Had not I other horses in my stable that might haue serued him well enough, but you must giue away that which of purpose was picked out for you amongst the chiefest? To whom the bishop made answere againe saying or rather rebuking the king: What be these words (O king said he) that you speake? Why set you more price by an horse, which is but the fole of an horse, then you do by him which is the sonne of Marie, yea which is the sonne of God? He said but this, when the king forthwith vngirding his sword from about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting) falleth downe at the feet of the bishop, desiring him to forgiue him that, and he would neuer after speake word to him for any treasure he should afterward giue away of his. The bishop seeing the king so meekely affected, he then taking him vp, and chearing him againe with words, began shortly after to weepe and to be very heaute. His minister asking the cause thereof, Aidanus answered in his Scotish language, saying to him: I weepe (saith he) for that this king cannot liue long. This people is not worthie to haue such a prince as he is to raigne amongst them. And so as Aidanus said, it came to passe. For not long after Oswie the king of Bernicia disdaining at him, when Oswine either being not able or not willing to ioyne with him in battell, caused him trayterously to be slaine. And so Oswie with his son Egfride raigned in Northumberland alone.

Oswie and Oswine, fellow kings in Northumberland.

Note the worthie liberalitie in the king, and no lesse in the bishop.

H. Hunting. de historia Anglorum, lib. 9.

Example of true almes.

A perfect example of humilitie in a prince.

Oswine traytorously murthered.

In the time and also in the house of this Oswie king of Northumberland, was a certaine man named Benedict, who was the bringer vp of Bede from his youth, and tooke him to his institution when he was but seuen yeeres old, and so taught him during his life. This Benedict or Benet descending of a noble stocke and rich kin, and in good fauour with Oswie: forsooke seruice, house, and all his kindred to serue Christ, and went to Rome (where he had been in his life time fiue times) and brought from thence bookes into monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serue for deuotion. This Benedict surnamed Bishop, was the first that brought in the art and vse of glasing into this land: for before that, glasse windowes were not knowne either in churches or in houses.

Anno 651

Benedict or Benet, the bringer vp of Bede.

The vse of glasing first brought into this realme.

In the raigne of the foresaid Oswie and Egfride his son, was Botulphus abbat, which builded in the east part of Lincolne an abbey. Also Aidanus, Finianus, and Colmannus, with three Scotish bishops of Northumberland holy men, held with the Britaines against the Romish order for the keeping of Easter day. Moreouer Cutbertus, Jarumannus, Cedda, and Wilfridus liued the same time, who as I iudge to be bishops of holy conuersation, so I thought it sufficient heere only to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made saints in the popes kalender, seeing they are not written in the gospell, nor in my creed, but in certaine old chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my faith: notwithstanding as touching their conuersation, this I reade, and also do credit, that the clergie both of Britaine and England at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gaue them to preaching and teaching the word of our Sauiour, and followed the life that they preached by giuing of good ensample. And ouer that, as our histories accord, they were so void of couetousnesse, that they receiued no possessions or territories as was forced vpon them.

Botulphus, Aidanus, Finianus, Colmannus, Cutbertus, Jarumannus, Cedda, Wilfridus.

O quanta mutatio! Beda lib. 4. ca. 5. Hunting. Polychron. Iornalen. sis. Fabia.

About this season or not much before, vnder the raigne of Oswie and Oswine, kings of Northumberland, another synod Anno 664

Controuersie about Easter day.

nod or councell was holden against the Britaines and the Scotish bishops, for the right obseruing of Easter at Sternehalt. At what time Agilbertus bishop of Westsaxons came to Northumberland, to institute Wilfride abbat of Ripon, where this question for Easter day began to be moued: For Colman then bishop of Northumberland followed not the custome of Rome nor of the Saxons, but followed the Britaines and the Scotish bishops his predecessours in the same see before. Thus on the one side was Colman the archbishop of Yorke, and Hilda the abbesse of Sternhalt, which alledged for them the doings and examples of their predecessours, both godly and reuerend bishops, as Aidanus, Finianus, archbishops of that see of Yorke before them, and diuers more, who had vsed alwaies to celebrate the Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentith of the same. And specially for that S. John the euangelist at Ephesus kept and obserued that day, &c. On the other side was Agilbert bishop of the Westsaxons, James the deacon of Paulinus aboue mentioned, Wilfride abbat of Ripon, and king Alfride Oswies sonne, with his queene, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation heere followeth, according as in the storie of Beda at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides as ensueth, &c.

Ex Beda. lib. 3. cap. 23.

The question of Easter and of shauing, and other ecclesiasticall matters being moued, it was determined that in the abbey which is called Sternhalt, of the which Hilda a deuout woman was abbesse, a conuocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the kings the father and the sonne, bishop Colman with his clergie of Scotland, Agilbert with Agathon and Wilfride priests. James and Roman were on their sides, Hilda the abbesse with her companie was on the Scotish part, and the reuerend bishop Cedda was appointed prolocutor for both parties in that parlament. King Oswie began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessarie for such as serued one God, to liue in one vniforme order, and that such as looked for one kingdome in heauen should not differ in celebration of the heauenly Sacraments, but should rather seeke for the true tradition, and follow the same. This said, hee commanded his bishop Colman to declare what the rite and custome was in this behalfe that he vsed, and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman obeying his princes commandement, said: The Easter which I obserue, I receiued of my ancestors that sent me hither a bishop, the which all our forefathers being men of God did celebrat in like manner: and lest it should be contemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparant to be the verie same which the holy euangelist S. John (a disciple especially beloued of the Lord) did accustomablie vse in all churches and congregations where he had authoritie. When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the king commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to shew the order that he then vsed, from whence it came, and by what authoritie he obserued the same. Agilbert requested the king that his scholar Wilfride a priest, might speake for him, in as much as they both with the rest of his clergie were of one opinion herein, and that the said Wilfride could vtter his mind better and more plainly in the English tongue then hee himselfe could. Then Wilfride at the kings commandement began on this sort and said: The Easter which we keepe, we haue seene at Rome, where as the holy apostles Peter and Paul did liue and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is vsed in Italie and in France, the which countries we haue trauelled for learning, and haue noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Asia also and in Affrike, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same maner of Easter is obserued that we vse, saue only by these heere present with their accomplices, the Picts and the Britaines: with the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they condescend and striue foolishly in this order against the vniuersall world. To whom Colman replied, saying: I maruell you will call this order foolish, that so great an apostle as was worthie to lie in the Lords lap, did vse, whom all the world doth well know to haue liued most wisely. And Wilfride answered, God forbid that I should reproue S. John of folly who kept the rites of Moses law according to the letter (the church being yet Jewish in many points) and the apostles not as yet able to abdicat all the obseruations of the law before ordained. As for example, they could not reiect images inuented of the diuell, the which all men that beleeue on Christ ought of necessitie to forsake and detest, lest they should be an offence to those Jewes that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did S. Paul circumcise Timothe, for this cause did he sacrifice in the temple, and did shaue his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth: all which things were done to none other purpose then to eschew the offence of the Jewes. Hereupon also said James to Paul. Thou seest brother how many thousand Jewes do beleeue, and all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the gospell is so manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawfull for the faithfull to be circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnall things to God. Therefore John according to the custome of the law, the fourteenth day of the first month at euening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabbath, or in any other festall day. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remembring that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the sabbath, giuing thereby an hope to the world of the resurrection, thought good to institute Easter on that day, and not after the vse and precepts of the law (that was) the fourteenth day of the first month: euen so John looking for the mone at night, if it did arise, and the next day after were sunday, which then was called the sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the euening, like as we vse to do euen at this day. But if sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seuentéenth, or on any other day vnto the one and twentith, he taried alwaies for it, and did begin the holy solemnitie of Easter on the euening next before the sabbath. And so it came to passe, that Easter was alwaies kept on the sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day vnto the one and twentith: neither doth this tradition of the apostle breake the law, but fulfill the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at euening, vnto the one and twentith day of the same month at euening, the which maner all S. Johns successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the catholike church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all christians to be obserued, it was not newly decréed, but confirmed by the councell of Nice, as appeareth by the ecclesiasticall history. Whereupon it is manifest that you (Colman) doe neither follow the example of S. John, as yée thinke, nor of S. Peter, whose tradition you do willingly refuse, nor of the church, nor yet of the gospell, in the celebration of Easter. For S. John obseruing Easter according to y precepts of the law, kept it not on the first day after the sabbath; but you precisely keepe it only on the first day after the sabbath. Peter did celebrat Easter from the fifteenth day of the mone to the one and twentith day, but you keep Easter from the fourteenth vnto the twentith day; so that you begin Easter oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which maner neither the law nor the gospell maketh any mention. But the Lord in the fourteenth day either did eat the old passeouer at night, or else did celebrat the sacraments of the new testament in the remembrance of his death and passion. You do also vtterly reiect from the celebration of Easter the one and twentith day, the which the law hath chiefly willed to be obserued: and therefore as I said, in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree with S. John, nor with Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the gospel. Then Colman againe answered to these things, saying: Did then Anatholius a godly man and one much commended in the foresaid ecclesiasticall storie against the law and the gospell, who writeth that the Easter was to be kept from the fourteenth day vnto the twentith? Or shall we thinke that Columba our reuerend father and his successors being men of God, who obserued the Easter after this maner, did against the holy scripture? Whereas some of them were men of such godlinesse and vertue, as was declared by their wondefull miracles. And I hereby (nothing doubting of their holinesse) do indeuour to follow their life, order and discipline. Then said Wilfride: It is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly and a learned man, and worthie of great commendation; but what haue you to do with him seeing you obserue not his order? For he following the true rule in keeping his Easter, obserueth the circle of nineteene yeares; the which either you know not, or if you do, you contemne the common order obserued in the vniuersal church of Christ. And moreouer, the said Anatholius doth so count the fourteenth day in the obseruation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fifteenth day at night after the maner of the Egyptians, and likewise noteth the twentith day to be in the feast of Easter, the one and twentith in the euening: the which distinction that you know not, by this may appeare, for that you keepe the Easter on the thirteenth day before the full mone. Or otherwise I can answere you touching your father Columba and his successours, whose order you say you follow, moued thereto by their miracles. on this wise: that the Lord will answere to many that shall say in the day of iudgement, that in his name they haue prophesied and cast out diuels, and haue done many miracles, &c: that he neuer knew them. But God forbid that I should say so of your fathers, because it is much better to beleeue well of those we know not, then ill. Whereupon I denie not but they were the seruants of God, and holy men, which loued the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicitie: and I thinke that the order which they vsed in the Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could shew them the right obseruation of the same for them to follow. For I thinke, if the truth had been declared vnto them, they would as well haue receiued it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your fellowes if you refuse the order of the apostolicall sée, or rather of the vniuersall church, which is confirmed by the holy scripture; without all doubt you do sinne. And though your forefathers were holie men, * what is their seruice being but a corner of an Iland, to bee preferred before the vniuersall church of Jesus Christ dispersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (and ours also being of Christ Jesus) were mightie in miracles, is hee therefore to be preferred before the prince of the holy apostles?

* Yea sir, *Suffragia ecclesiæ non numerandâ sunt sed ponderanda: Aug.*

A disputation betweene the Roman bishops and the Scotish bishops for the day of Easter and other ceremonies.

The king beginneth.

Colman speaketh.

Wilfride replieth.

Vniuersalitie alledged.

Colman againe speaketh.

Wilfride replieth.

Why Paul circumcised Timothie.

Example of Peter alledged, but no proofe thereof.

Peter and John did not agree in the celebrating of Easter.

In the councell of Nice no such matter appeareth.

Colman againe answereth.

Wilfride replieth.

The authoritie of men is not to be ticked vnto for their doing of miracles.

The example of them that follow not for lack of teaching excuseth not them which being taught will not follow.

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To whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and I will giue thée the keyes of the kingdome of heauen.

Wilfride hauing thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman: Is it true that the Lord spake these things to S. Peter? And Colman answered, Yea. Then said the king: Can you declare any thing that the Lord gaue to Colman? Colman answered, No. Then quoth the king, Do both of you agrée and consent in this matter without any controuersie, and that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gaue him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? And they both answered, Yea. Then concluded the king on this wise: For so much as S. Peter is the doore keeper of heauen, I will not gainesay him: but in that I am able, I will obey his orders in euery point, lest when I come to the gates of heauen, he shut them against me.

The king concludeth.

Upon this simple and rude reason of the king, the multitude assented, and with them also Cedda was contented to giue ouer: only Colman the Scot being then archbishop of Yorke, in displeasure left the realme, and departed into Scotland, carying with him the bones of Aidanus. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

Egfride or Edfrids of Northumberland.

After the decease of Oswie, Egfride his sonne was king after him in Northumberland fiftéene yeares. By this Egfride Cutbert was promoted to the bishoprike of the Ile of Farne: and Wilfride which before had béen archbishop of Yorke, was displaced through the meanes of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, and Cedda possessed that sée. Wilfride when he was put out, went to Rome and complained of him to Agathon the bishop, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorus had there such proctors and friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Wherefore he returned into the Southsaxons, and builded an abbey in Sileseie, and preached vnto the Southsaxons fiftéene yeares. The king of the Southsaxons at ẏ time was Etheluold, to whom he declared a little before that Wolferus king of the Mercians gaue the Ile of Wight vpon condition that he would be christened, and so was baptised by Berinus: the said Wolferus being his godfather, and sonne in law, both in one day. Wherefore Wolferus now being licenced by Etheluold the king, preached vnto his nobles and people of Southsax, and conuerted them to Christ. In the time of whose baptising, the raine which before they lacked three yeares together, was giuen them plentifully, whereby their great famine slaked, and the countrie was made fruitfull, which before was dried vp with barrennes: in so much that (as in some stories is said) the people penured with famine, would go forth together vpon the rockes by the sea side, and taking hands together would throw themselues downe to the sea. Moreouer, where they lacked before the art of fishing, the foresaid Wilfride taught them how with nets to fish.

Malmesburien. Hunting. Fab. cap 135.

Wilfride archbishop of Yorke.

Southsaxons conuerted to christian faith.

H. Hunting. lib. 3.

¶ And thus by processe haue we discoursed from time to time how and by what meanes the idolatrous people were induced to the true faith of Christ: of whom the Southsaxons with the Ile of Wight was the last.

The Ile of Wight last conuerted to Christ.

After Egfride who was slaine in the straits of Scotland, next succéeded Alfride his brother, and bastard sonne to Oswie, and raigned eightéene or nineteene yeares in Northumberland. This Alfride restored againe the foresaid Wilfride to the sée of Yorke, whom his brother had before expelled, and put in Cedda. Notwithstanding, the same king within fiue yeares after, expulsed the said Wilfride againe, and so went he to Rome. But at length by Osrike his successor was placed againe, the archbishop of Yorke, and Cedda was ordained by Theodorus bishop of Mercia. The which prouince of Mercia, the said Theodorus archbishop of Canturburie by the authoritie of the synod holden at Hatfield, did after diuide into fiue bishoprikes: that is, one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cederna in Lindsey, the fift to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincolne.

Alfride king of Northumberland.

Wilfride restored againe to the sée of Yorke.

Mercia diuided into fiue bishoprikes.

Néere about this time in the yéere of our Lord 666, the detestable sect of Mahumet began to take strength and place. Although Polychronicon differing a little in yeares, accounteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before, but the most diligent searchers of them which write now, refer it to this yeare, which well agréeth with the number of that beast signified in the Apocalypse, χξϛ. that is, 666. Of this Mahumet came the kingdome of Agarens (whom he after named Saracens) to whom he gaue sundrie lawes, patched of many sects and religions together: he taught them to pray euer to the south: and as we kéepe the sunday, so they kéepe the friday, which they call the day of Uenus. Hée permitted them to haue as many wiues as they were able to maintaine, to haue as manie concubines as they list, to abstaine from the vse of wine, except on certaine solemne daies in the yeare, to haue and worship only one God omnipotent, saying that Moses and the prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the prophets, as being borne of the virgin Marie by the power of God, without mans séed, and at last was taken vp to heauen, but was not slaine, but another in his likenesse for him, with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this kingdoms of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turkes, and in processe of time wholy subdued to them.

The wicked sect of Mahumet.

Apoc. 13.

Anno 666

Ex Polychron. Ex Giraldo Cambrensi. Ex Stephano Cantuariensi.

But now to returne againe to the time of our English Saxons. In this meane season Theodorus was sent from Italie into England by Vitellianus the pope, to be archbishop of Canturburie, and with him diuers other monkes of Italie to set vp héere in England Latine seruice, masses, ceremonies, letanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodorus being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canturburie, began to play the rer, placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Wilfride archbishops of Yorke, he thrust them both out, vnder the pretence that they were not lawfullie consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorised by their kings, and were placed against their wils. Wherefore Wilfride, as is before touched, went vp to Rome, but could haue no redresse of his cause. Yet to shew what modestie this Wilfride vsed against his enemie being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed in William Malmesburie, I thought héere to expresse the same both for the commendation of the partie, and also for the good example of others, in case any such be, whom good examples will moue to well doing. This Wilfride therefore hauing such iniurie and violence offered vnto him by the hands of Theodore, although he had iust cause to do his vttermost: yet in prosecuting his complaint, how he temperd himselfe, what words of modestie hée vsed, rather to defend his innocencie, then to impugne his aduersarie, by this his suggestion offered vp to the bishop of Rome may appeare, whose words in effect were these: Quid autem acciderit, vt Theodorus sanctiss. archiepiscopus (me superstite in sede, quam licèt indignus dispensabam) absque consensu cuiuslibet episcopi ex sua autoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinauit tres episcopos: omittere magis quàm vrgere, pro eiusdem viri reuerentia, condecet. Quem quidem, pro eo quòd ab hac apostolicæ sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo, &c. In English: How it chanceth that Theodorus the most holy and reuerend archbishop (my selfe being aliue in the sée, which I though vnworthie did rule and dispose) hath of his owne authoritie without the consent of any bishop (neither hauing my simple voice agreeing to the same) ordained three bishops, I had rather passe ouer in silence, then to stir any further therein, because of the reuerence of that man, and no lesse thought I it my dutie so to do. The which man for that he hath been directed by this sée apostolicall, I will not nor dare not héere accuse, &c. Thus the cause of the said Wilfride albeit it was sufficiently knowne in the court of Rome, to be well allowed for iust and innocent, yet it was not then redressed. In such estimation was this Theodorus then among the Romans. Upon this controuersie of these two bishops I may well héere inser the words of W. Malmesburie not vnworthie in my mind to be noted, which be these in his Latine storie: Vbi videri & doleri potest humana miseria, quòd videlicet quantumlibet quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum peruicaces mores exuat, &c. That is: In the which Theodore (saith he) the weake and miserable infirmitie of man may be séene and also lamented; considering, that although a man be neuer so holy, yet in the same man is some thing, whereby it may be perceiued that he hath not vtterly put off all his stubborne conditions, &c.

Theodorus archbishop of Canturburie.

Guli. Malmes. de gestis pontif. Anglorum.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 22.

Guli. Malmesburiensis lib. 1. de gestis pontif. Anglorum.

Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 19.

Anno 680

Bed. lib. 4. cap. 22.

In the time of this Theodorus, and by the meanes of him, a prouinciall synod was holden at Thetford, mentioned in the storie of Bede: the principall contents whereof were these.

First, that Easter day should be vniformelie kept and obserued through the whole realme, vpon one certaine day, videlicet prima, 14. Luna mensis primi. 1

Secondly, that no bishop should intermeddle within the diocesse of another. 2

Thirdly, that monasteries consecrated vnto God, should be exempt and free from the iurisdiction of the bishops. 3

Fourthly, that the monkes should not stray from one place (that is) from one monasterie to another, without the licence of his abbat: also to kéepe the same obedience which they promised at their first entring. 4

Fiftly, that no clergieman should forsake his owne bishop, and to be receiued in any other place, without letters commendatarie of his owne bishop. 5

Sixtly, that forren bishops and clergiemen comming into the realme, should be content only with the benefit of such hospitalitie, as should be offered them: neither should intermeddle any further within the precinct of any bishop, without his speciall permission. 6

Seuenthly, that synods prouinciall should be kept within the realme at least once a yeare. 7

Eightly, that no bishop should preser himselfe before another, but must obserue the time and order of his consecration. 8

Ninthly, that the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of the people encreaseth. 9

Tenthly, that no marriage should be admitted, but that which was lawfull, no incest to be suffered, neither any man to put away his wife for any cause, except only for fornication, after the rule of the Gospell. And these be the principall chapters of that synod, &c. 10

In the next yeare following was the first generall councell kept

kept at Constance, whereat this Theodore was also present vnder pope Agatho, where mariage was permitted to Greeke priests, and forbidden to the Latine. In this councell the Latine masse was first openly said by John Portuensis the popes legat, before the patriarch and princes at Constantinople, in the temple of S. Sophie.

Anno 705

After the deceasse of Alfride king of Northumberland (from whom it was digressed) succeeded his sonne Osredus, raigning eleuen yeares, after whom raigned Kenredus two yeares, and next Osricus after him eleuen yeares.

Osredus, Kenredus, Osricus, kings of Northumberland.

In the time and raigne of these foure kings of Northumberland, king Iua or Inas raigned in Westsax, who succeeding after Cadwallader, the last king of Britains, began his raigne about the yeare of the Lord, 689. and raigned with great valiantnesse ouer the Westsaxons the terme of 37. yeares. Concerning whose acts and wars maintained against the Kentish Saxons and other kings: because I haue not to intermeddle withall, I referre the reader to other chroniclers.

The kingdome of Britaine ceaseth.

Iua or Iue, or Inas king of Westsaxons.

About the first yeare of the raigne of this Iua, or Iue, Polychronicon and other make mention of one Cuthlacus, whom they cal S. Cuthlake a confessor, who about the foure and twentith yeere of his age renouncing the pompe of the world, professed himselfe a monke in the abbey of Repindon, and the third yeere after went to Crowland, where he led the life of an anchor. In the which ile and place of his burying was builded a faire abbey called afterward for the great resort and gentle intertainment of strangers, Crowland the courteous. But why this Cuthlake should be sainted for his doings, I see no great cause; as neither do I thinke the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to beleue, that he inclosed the diuell in a boiling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect vp houses, with such other fables and lying miracles. Among which lying miracles also may be reckoned that which the stories mention in the eleuenth yeare of the raigne of Iua, to be done of one Withwald or Widthelme: who being dead a long season, was restored to life againe, and told many wonders of strange things that he had seene, causing thereby great almes and deeds of charitie to be done of the people: and so the disposing of his goods giuen in three parts, went to the abbey of Malmsbury, where he continued the rest of his life.

S. Cuthlake a popish saint.

Crowland the courteous.

Lying miracles.

What strange sights this Withwald, or Widthelme did see after his death, reade the ninth booke of Henrie Huntington.

Moreouer, about the sixteenth yeare of the said Iua, Ethelred king of Mercia, after he had there raigned thirtie yeares, was made a monke, and after abbat of Bardney.

King Ethelred made abbat of Bardney.

And about the eightéenth yeare of the raigne of Iue, died the worthie and learned bishop Adelmus, first abbat of Malmesburie, afterwards bishop of Schirborne, of whom William Malmesburie writeth plentiously with great commendation, and that not vnworthily as I suppose: especially for the notable praise of learning and vertue in him aboue the rest of that time (next after Bede) as the great number of bookes and epistles with poems by him set forth, will declare. Although concerning the miracles which the said author ascribeth to him; as first in causing an infant of nine daies old to speake at Rome, to cleare pope Sergius, which was then suspected the father of the said child. Also in hanging his casule vpon the sun-beames. Item, in making whole the altar stone of marble brought from Rome. Item in drawing a length one of the timber pieces which went to the building of the temple in Malmesburie. Item in sauing the mariners at Douer, &c. As concerning these and such other miracles, which William Malmesburie to him attributeth, I cannot consent to him therein: but thinke rather the same to be monkish deuices, forged vpon their patrons to maintaine the dignitie of their houses. And as the author was deceiued (no doubt) in beleeuing such fables himselfe, so may hée likewise deceiue vs through the dexteritie of his stile and fine handling of the matter, but that further experience hath taught the world now adaies more wisedome, in not beleeuing such practises. This Adelmus was bishop of Schirborne, which sée after was vnited to the sée of Winton. In which church of Winchester the like miracles also are to be read of bishop Adelwold, and S. Swithune, whom they haue canonized likewise for a saint.

Guil. Malmesb. lib. 5. de pontif.

Lying miracles.

Malmesburie commended for his stile.

Lying miracles reproued.

Adelme bishop.

Swithune bishop.

Beda lib. 5. cap. 23.

Moreouer, neere about the fiue and twentith of Iue, by the report of Bede, S. John of Beuerley which was then bishop of Yorke died, and was buried at the porch of the minster of Beuerlay or Beuerley. In the which porch it is recorded in some chronicles, that as the said John vpon a time was praying, being in the porch of S. Michael in Yorke, the holy Ghost in the similitude of a doue sate before him vpon the altar, in brightnesse shining aboue the sun. This brightnesse being séene of others, first commeth one of his deacons running vnto the porch, who beholding the bishop there standing in his prayers, and all the place replenished with the holy Ghost, was stricken with the light thereof, hauing all his face burnt as it were with hot burning fire. Notwithstanding the bishop by and by cured the face of his deacon againe, charging him (as the storie saith) not to publish what he had séene during his life time, &c. Which tale séemeth as true as that we reade about the same time done of S. Egwine, in Polychron. abbat of Euesham, and bishop of Worcester (then called Wicts) who vpon a time when he had fettered both his feet in irons, fast locked for certaine sinnes done in his youth, and had cast the key thereof into the sea, afterward

Exhibit Floria Iornalensi de regibus Northumb.

S. John of Beuerley.

Anno 715

Another lying fable of saint Egwine.

a fish brought the key againe into the ship, as he was sailing homeward from Rome.

Ranulphus in Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 23.

But to leaue these monkish phantasies, and returne to the right course againe of the storie. In the time of this foresaid Iue began first the right obseruing of Easter day to be kept of the Picts and of the Britaines. In the obseruation of which day (as is largely set forth in Bede and Polychronicon, lib. 5. cap. 17. and 22.) three things are necessarie to be obserued. First the full moone of the first month, that is, of the month of March: secondly, the dominicall letter; thirdly, the equinoctiall day, which equinoctiall was wont to be counted in the east church, and especially among the Egyptians, to be about the seuentéenth day of March. So that the full moone either on the equinoctiall day, or after the equinoctiall day being obserued, the next dominicall day following that full moone, is to be taken for Easter day. Wherein is diligently to be noted two things: First, the fulnesse of the moone must be perfectly full, so that it be the beginning of the third weeke of the moone, which is the fourtéenth or fiftéenth day of the moone: secondly is to be noted, that the said perfect fulnesse of the moone beginning the third weeke, must happen either in the verie euening of the equinoctiall day, or after the equinoctiall day: for else if it happen either on the equinoctiall day before the euening, or before the equinoctiall day, then it belongeth to the last month of the last yeare, and not to the first month of the first yeare, and so serueth not to be obserued.

Beda lib. 5. de gestis Angl. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 22.

A generall rule seruing for the obseruation of Easter day.

This rule of Easter seemeth to be taken out of the booke of Numbers: And they going out of Rameses the fifteenth day of the first month, the next day after held their Easter, &c.

This rite and vsage in keeping Easter day being receiued in the Latie church, began now to take place among the Picts and Britaines, through the busie trauell of Theodorus Cuthlacus, but namely of Elbert the holy monke, as they learne him: and of Colfrid abbat of Sirwin in Northumberland, which wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus the king of Piits, concerning the same: who also among other things writeth of the shauen crownes of priests, saying: that it was as necessarie for the vow of a monke, or degrée of a priest, to haue a shauen crowne for restraint of their lust; as for any christian man to bleese him against spirits, when they come vpon him. Beda, li. 5. The copie of which letter as it is in Beda, I haue heere annexed, not for any great reason therein contained, but only to delight the reader with some pastime, in séeing the fond ignorance of that monkish age: the copie of the letter thus proceeded.

Why priests crownes were shauen.

Beda de gest. lib. 5.

Of the shauing of priests, out of the fift booke of Beda the 21. chapter.

The copie of a monkish letter of Elfride to king Naiton for the shauing of priests crownes.

COncerning the shauing of priests (whereof you write also vnto me) I exhort you that it be decently obserued according to the christian faith. We are not ignorant that the apostles were not all shauen after one maner, neither doth the catholike church at this day agrée in one vniforme maner of shauing, as they do in faith, hope, and charitie. Let vs consider the former time of the patriarchs, and we shall find that Job (an example of patience) euen in the verie point of his afflictions, did shaue his head: and he proueth also; that in the time of his prosperitie, he vsed to let his haire grow. And Joseph an excellent doctor and executour of chastitie, humilitie, pietie and other vertues, when he was deliuered out of prison and seruitude, was shauen: whereby it appeareth that whilest he abode in prison he was vnshauen. Behold both these being men of God, did vse an order in the habit of their bodie one contrarie to the other, whose consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like grace of vertues. But to speake truely and freely, the difference of shauing hurteth not such as haue a pure faith in the Lord, and sincere charitie towards their neighbour: especiallie for that there was neuer any controuersie amongst the catholike fathers about the diuersitie thereof, as there hath been of the difference of the celebration of Easter and of faith. But of all these shauings that wee find either in the church or elsewhere, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and embraced, as that which he vsed on his head, to whom the Lord said; Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And contrariewise, there is no shauing so much to be abhorred and detested as that which he vsed, to whom the same Saint Peter said; Thy money be with thee to thy destruction, because thou thinkest to possesse the gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word. Neither ought we to be shauen on the crowne only because Saint Peter was so shauen, but because Peter was so shauen in the remembrance of the Lords passion: therefore we that desire by the same passion to be saued, must weare the signe of the same passion with him vpon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our bodie. For as euery church that is made a church by the death of the Sauiour, doth vse to beare the signe of the holy crosse in the front, that it may the better by the defence of that banner, be kept from the inuasions of euill spirits; and by the often admonition thereof is taught to crucifie the flesh with the concupiscence of the same: in like maner it behoueth such as haue the vowes of monkes and degrées of the clergie, to bind themselues with a stricter bit of continencie for the Lords sake.

Much said, nothing proued.

Diuersitie of rites hurteth not the church.

See how these shauelings would father their shauing vpon Peter, which is neither found in scripture, nor in any approued storie, but only in painted clothes.

Why priests and monkes be shauen in the crowne.

The shauing of the crowne what it representeth.

How doth the signe of the crosse defend churches from euill spirits, when it cannot keep them from euill priests?

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If shauing of the crowne doth teach men patience in suffering, how commeth it that we see none more waspish and vnfruitfull then these shorne generations of monkish vipers?

And as the Lord bare a crowne of thorne on his head in his passion, whereby he tooke and caried away from vs the thornes and prickes of our sinnes, so must euery one of vs by shauing our heads, patiently beare and willingly suffer the mockes and scornes of the world for his sake, that we may receiue the crowne of eternall life, which God hath promised to all that loue him, and shall by shauing their corporall crownes beare the aduersitie, and contemne the prosperitie of this world. But the shauing which Simon Magus vsed, what faithfull man doth not detest together with his magicall art? The which at the first appearance hath a shew of a shauen crowne, but if you marke his necke, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say it is rather meet to be vsed of the Simonists then of the christians. And such (of folish men) be thought worthie of the glorie of the eternall crowne, whereas indeed for their ill liuing they are worthie not only to be depriued of the same, but also of eternall saluation. I speake not this against them that vse this kind of shauing, and liue catholikely in faith and good workes, but surely I beléeue there be diuers of them be verie holy and godly men; amongst the which is Adamnan the abbat and worthie priest of the Columbians: who when he came embassadour from his countrie vnto king Alfride, desired greatly to see our monasterie: where he declared a wonderfull wisdome, humilitie and religion both in his maners and words. Amongst other talke I asked him, why he that did beléeue to come to the crowne of life that should neuer haue end, did vse contrarie to his beliefe a definit image of a crowne on his head? And if you seeke (quoth I) the fellowship of S. Peter, why do you vse the fashion of his crowne whom S. Peter did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to liue eternally? Adamnan answered, saying; You know right well brother, though I vse Simons maner of shauing, after the custome of my countrie, yet do I detest and with all my heart abhorre his infidelitie. I desire notwithstanding to imitate the footsteps of the holy apostle as farre forth as my power will extend. Then said I, I beléeue it is so; but then is it apparant you imitate those things which the apostle Peter did from the bottome of your heart, if you vse the same vpon your face that you know hée did: for I suppose your wisdome vnderstandeth that it is right decent to differ in the trimming your face or shauing, from his whom in your heart you abhorre. And contrariwise, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to haue a * mediator for betweene God and you, so it is meet you imitate the maner of his apparell and shauing. Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our churches: in so much that hée returning into Scotland, reformed many of his churches there after our celebration, albeit he could not doe so amongst the monkes with whom he had speciall authoritie. He endeuoured also to haue reformed their maner of shauing if he had been able. And now (O king) I exhort your maiestie to labour together with your people, ouer whom the king of kings and Lord of lords hath made you gouernour, to imitate likewise in all these points the catholike and apostolicall churches. So shall it come to passe that in the end of this your temporall kingdome, the most blessed prince of the apostles shall open you the gates of the heauenly kingdome, together with the other elect of God. The grace of the eternall king preserue you most dearely beloued sonne in Christ long time to raigne ouer vs, to the great tranquillitie of vs all.

The shauing of Simon Magus shauen, as he saith.

The difference betweene the shauing of Peter and Simon Magus.

In outward habit christians ought not to resemble wicked doers.

* There is but one mediatour betweene God and man, Christ Iesus.

The Scotish monkes and the English monks differed in their shauing.

If Peter shall set in the elect of God into heauen, Christ the sonne reigneth in little stead.

When this letter was read before king Naiton with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper language, he séemed to reioyce very much at the exhortation thereof, in so much as rising vp from among his noble men, he kneeled on the ground, and gaue God thankes that he had deserued to receiue so worthie a present out of England, and so caused it forthwith by publike proclamation to be written out, learned, and obserued throughout all the prouinces of the Picts, defacing the errors that had been vsed there by the space of 704. yeares. For all the ministers of the altar and all monkes were shauen on the crowne, and all the people reioyced for the new discipline of the most blessed prince of the apostle S. Peter which they had receiued.

¶ By this monkish letter aboue prefixed, void of all scripture, of all probation and truth of history, thou mayest note gentle reader, how this vaine tradition of shauen crownes hath come vp, and vpon how light and trifling occasion: which in very déed was none other but the dreaming phantasies of monkes of that time, falsely grounded vpon the example of Peter, when by no old monument of any ancient record they can neuer proue, either Peter or Simon Magus to haue been shauen. Moreouer in the said letter also is to be noted, how the Scotish clergie at that season, did weare no such priestly crowns as our English churchmen then did.

A note to admonish the reader.

But to cut off this matter of shauing, more worthie to be laughed at then to be storied, let vs now againe returne where as we left at king Iue, of whom Wl. Malmesburie and Fabian in his chronicle do record, that when the foresaid Iue had ruled the Westsaxons by the terme of 37. yeares, by the importunat persuasion and subtill policie of his wife Ethelburga, was allured to go to Rome, there to be made a monk. Which Ethelburga after she had a long time labored him to leaue the world, and could not bring about her purpose; vpon a season when the king and she had rested them in a faire palace richly behanged, and were vpon the morrow thence departed; she by her commandement caused the palace to be replenished with all kind of filth and dung, and hogs and vile beasts therein to be laid, as well in the chambers as other houses of office; and in their owne chamber where they did lie, there was a sow laid with her yong pigs. And when she knew that this palace was thus deformed, being a certaine space out of the towne, she besought the king to visit the said palace. And when she had brought him thereunto, she said to him: I pray you my lord behold now this house, where are now the rich tapets and clothes of gold and silke, and other rich apparell, that we left héere this other day? And where be the delicacies and pleasant seruitors, and costly dishes, that you and I lately were serued with? Be not all these passed and gone? My lord (saith she) in like maner shall we vanish away, as suddenly as you see these worldly things be passed. And our bodies, which now be delicatly kept, shall fall and turne into the filth of the earth. Wherefore haue in mind my words that beforetime to you I haue often shewed and told, and busie you to purchase that palace that euer shall indure in ioy without transmutation.

Fabia. cap. 147. Guil. Malmesb. de reg.

Anno 724

Ethelburga the queene persuadeth her husband to be a monke.

The craftie head of a woman.

By meanes of these words and other, the queene turned so the kings mind, that shortly after he resigned the gouernance of his kingdome vnto Ethelardus his nephew; and for the loue of Christ tooke on him the habit of a poore man, and setting apart all the pompe and pride of this wicked world, associated himselfe in the fellowship of poore men, and trauelled to Rome with great deuotion, when he had been king of Westsarons (as before is said) thirtie seuen yeares. After whose departing, the said Ethelburga his wife went vnto Barking, seuen miles from London, where in the nunrie of Barking, before of Erkenwald founded, she continued and ended the rest of her life, when shée had béen abbesse of the place a certaine time. The said Malmesburie in his storie also testifieth, that this Iue was the first king that granted a penie of euery fire house through his dominion to be paid vnto the court of Rome, which afterward was called Romescot, or Peterpence, and long after was paid in many places of England.

King Iue resigning his kingdome, went to Rome and became a monk.

Ethelburga the queene made nun of Barking.

Peterpence first granted and paid to Rome.

This Iue, like as for his time he was worthie and valiant in his acts; so was he the first of the Saxon kings (that I reade of) which set forth any lawes to his countrie: the rehearsall of which lawes, to the number of foure score and odde, were not vnprofitable héere to be inserted together, with other lawes of the Westsaxon kings after him, before the time of William the Conquerour; in case it were not for the length and prolixitie of this present volume. And thus much concerning the raigne of king Iue, king of the Westsarons by the way. Now to repaire againe to the course of Northumberland kings something intermitted.

The lawes made by king Iue to his people.

Next vnto the foresaid Osricus, followed Celulfus, whom he had adopted, brother to Kenred aboue specified. This Celulfus, as he was himselfe learned, so were in his time diuers learned men then flourishing in England, among whom was Beda, who vnto the same king Celulfus offered his storie intituled Anglorum historia, not only to be ratified by his authoritie, but also to be amended, as Malmesburiensis writeth, by his knowledge and learning.

Celulfus king of Northumberland.

Beda.

And for so much as I haue héere entred into the mention of Beda, a man of worthie and venerable memorie, because of the certifying of the truth of that man; and for that I sée al writers (as touching his life) do not agrée, some saying that he was no Englishman borne: I thought so much to report of him, as I find by his owne words testified of himselfe in the latter end of his ecclesiastical history of England, offered to the said Celulfus aboue mentioned; the words of whom be these:

Anno 729

The life of Beda briefely described.

Thus much (by the helpe of God) I Beda the seruant of Christ, and priest of the monasterie of Peter and Paul at Wire, haue compiled and digested concerning the Britaine historie. And so the same Beda proceeding further in his narration, declareth that he being borne in the territorie of the said monasterie, being of the age of seuen yeares, was committed of his parents and friends, to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom aboue relation is made) and of Ceolfride abbats of the foresaid monasterie. In the which place or monastery he continuing, from that time forth, all his life long, gaue himselfe and all his whole studie to the meditating of holy scripture. What soeuer time or leasure he had from his daily seruice in the church, that he spent either in learning, or teaching, or writing something. About nineteene yeares of his age, he was made deacon, the thirtith yeare of his age he was made priest. From the which time to the age of nine and fiftie yeares, he occupied himselfe in interpreting the works of the ancient fathers for his owne vse, and the necessitie of others; and in writing of treatises: which came in all to the number of seuen and thirtie volumes, which he digested into three score and eightéene bookes.

This Benedict maister to Beda, was the first that brought in the vse of glasse windowes into England. Also the said Benedict brought from Rome with him Iohn the archchanter, who first taught in England to sing in the quire after the maner of Rome.

Some say that he went to Rome, either there to defend his bookes to be consonant to catholike doctrine: either else if they should be found faultie, to amend and correct the same, as hee should therto be commanded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirme that euer he was at Rome; but that he was inuited and called thither to come, both it is manifest in

The number of the workes and bookes written by Beda.

in stories, and also this epistle of pope Sergius doth sufficiently prove, declaring moreouer in what price and estimation Beda was accepted, as well in the court of Rome, as in other places besides. The epistle of Sergius sent to Celfride thus proceedeth, in tenor and forme as followeth in Latine.

The epistle of pope Sergius sent to Celfride, abbat of Wire abbie, requiring Beda to be sent vp to him to Rome, for the fame of his worthie learning.

An epistle to pope Sergius.

SErgius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, Celfrido religioso abbati, Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, atque inenarrabilem prouidentiam possumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis eius circa nos beneficijs persoluere, qui in tenebris & in vmbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiæ perducit? Et infra benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portatorem tua deuota misit religio, libenti & hilari animo sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse, cognosce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ solicitudinis petitionibus arctissima deuotione satisfacientes, hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuæ bonitatem, vt quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artes literaturæ, sicut decet Deo deuotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris vniuersalis ecclesiæ obedientem deuotionem huic nostræ exhortationi non desistas accommodare: sed absque vlla immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem monasterij tui presbyterum, ad limina apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere. Quem, satisfaciente Domino, sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire (peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate.) Erit enim vt confidimus etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid ecclesiæ generali claruerit per eius præstantiam impartitum, &c.

The famous learning of Beda.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foresaid Beda, that the church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both stood in need of his helpe, and also required the same, about the discussing of certain causes and controuersies appertaining to learning. Moreouer, the whole Latine church at that time gaue him the maistrie in iudgement and knowledge of the holy scriptures. In all his explanations his chiefest scope and purpose did euer driue to instruct and informe his reader, simplie and without all curiousnesse of stile, in the sincere loue of God and of his neighbour. As touching the holinesse and integritie of his life, it is not to be doubted. For how could it be, that he should attend to any vicious idlenesse, or had any leasure to the same, who in reading and digesting so many volumes consumed all his whole cogitations in writing vpon the scriptures? for so hee testifieth of himselfe in the third booke vpon Samuel, saying in these words: If my treatises and expositions, saith he, bring with them no other vtilitie to the readers thereof, yet to my selfe they conduce not a little thus, that while all my studie and cogitation was set vpon them, in the meane while of the slippery inticements and vaine cogitations of this world I had little mind. Thus in this trauell of studie he continued till the age of sixtie two yeeres: at length drawing to his latter end, being sicke seuen weekes together, besides other occuppings of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit; he translated also the gospell of S. Iohn into English. At length with great comfort of spirit departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable sayings to them that stood about him, vpon Ascension day, the same yeere when Nothelinus was instituted archbishop of Canturburie. And thus much concerning the storie of Beda.

Beda commended for integritie of life.

Anno 735

Saint Johns gospell translated into English by Beda.

Celulfus of a king made a monke.

This Celulfus king of Northumberland, afore mentioned, after he had raigned eight yeeres was made a monke in the abbie of Farne, otherwise called Lindefar, or Holie iland: where by his meanes licence was giuen to the monks of that house to drinke wine or ale, which before by the institution of Aidanus aboue mentioned, drunke nothing but milke and water. After whom succeeded Egbert his cosine, brother to Egbert (the same time being bishop of Yorke) which brought againe thither the pall that his predecessors had forgone, since the time that Paulinus had left the see & fled to Rochester, as is before declared. The said Egbert also erected a noble library in Yorke, whose example I wish other bishops now would follow.

Egbert king of Northumberland.

About the beginning of the raigne of this Egbert, was Cutbert archbishop of Canturburie, who collected a great synod of bishops and prelats, in the yeere of our Lord 747. in the moneth of September, neere to the place called Clonesho. In the which synod assembled, these decrees were enacted.

Anno 747

Ex Malmesb. lib. de gestis pontif. Anglo.

Cutbert archbishop of Canturburie.

1 First, that bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.

2 That they should liue in a peaceable mind together, notwithstanding they were in place disseuered asunder.

3 That euery bishop once a yeere should goe about all the parishes of his dioceese.

4 That the said bishops euerie one in his dioceese should monish their abbats and monks to liue regularlie: and that prelats should not oppresse their inferiors, but loue them.

5 That they should teach the monasteries which the secular men had inuaded, and could not then be taken from them, to liue regularly.

6 That none should be admitted to orders, before his life should be examined.

7 That in Monasteries the reading of holy scripture should be more frequented.

8 That priests should bee no dispolers of secular busines.

9 That they should take no monie for baptising infants.

10 That they should both learne and teach the Lords prayer and creed in the English tongue.

11 That all should ioyne together in their ministerie after one vniforme rite and maner.

12 That in a modest voice they should sing in the church.

13 That all holy and festiuall daies should be celebrated at one time together.

14 That the sabbath day be reuerently obserued and kept.

15 That the vij. houres canonicall euery day be obserued.

16 That the rogation daies both the greater and lesser should not be omitted.

The rogation daies had not then that superstition in them, as they had afterward.

17 That the feast of S. Gregory and S. Austin our patron should not be omitted.

18 That the fast of the foure times should be kept and obserued.

19 That monks & nuns should go regularly apparelled.

20 That bishops should see these decrees not to be neglected.

21 That the churchmen should not giue themselues vnto drunkennesse.

22 That the communion should not be neglected of the churchmen.

23 Item, that the same also should be obserued of the laymen, as time required.

24 That lay men first should be well tried, before they entered into monkerie.

25 That almes be not neglected.

26 That bishops should see these decrees to be notified to the people.

27 They disputed of the profit of almes.

28 They disputed of the profit of singing psalmes.

29 That the congregation should be constitute, after the abilitie of their gods.

30 That monks should not dwell among laymen.

31 That publik prayer should be made for kings & princes.

These decrees and ordinances being thus among the bishops concluded, Cutbert the archbishop sendeth the copie thereof to Boniface, which Boniface, otherwise named Winfride an Englishman borne, was then archbishop of Mentz, and after made a martyr, as the popish stories terme him.

Boniface an Englishman archbishop of Mentz.

This Boniface being, as is said, archbishop of Mentz in the time of this foresaid synod, wrot a letter to Ethelbald king of Mercelande: which Ethelbald was also present in the same synod, of whom Beda maketh mention in his historie, calling him proud Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon kings in his time. First this Ethelbald after the departing of Ceolulfe into his monkerie, inuaded and spoiled the countrie of Northumberland. Moreouer, he exercised mortall and horrible warre a long space with Cudred, otherwise of some named Cutbert, king of Westsaxons: furthermore, he with other Saxon kings so impugned the Britains, that from that time they neuer durst prouoke the Saxons any more. At length the said Cudred, refusing the intollerable exactions of proud Ethelbald, doth incounter with him in battell: where notwithstanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adioyned, of the Mercians, of the Eastsaxons, of the Eastangles, and of the Cantuarits: yet the said Cudred through Gods power, and the means of a certaine valiant warrior called Edelhim, a consull, ouerthrew the pride of Ethelbald, after a sore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald notwithstanding repairing his power againe the next yeere after, renewed battell with the foresaid Cudred; in the which battell Ethelbald (after hee had raigned one and fortie yeeres in Mercia) was slaine by one Beornred, who after raigned in that dition but a small time. For Offa nephue to the said Ethelbald expelled the said Beornred, and succeeded king in that prouince of Mercia, where he raigned nine & thirtie yeeres, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Iesu speeding therein our purpose) to be declared, as place and time shall require. In the meane season not to forget the letter before mentioned of Boniface archbishop of Mentz, sent vnto this Ethelbald; I thought the same not vnworthie here to be inserted (at the least the effect thereof) not so much for the authors sake, as for that some good matter peraduenture may be picked thereout for other princes to behold and consider.

Ethelbald king of Mercelande.

Edelhim a strong and valiant warriour. Pride ouerthrowne.

The copie and tenor of the letter of Bonifface archbishop of Mentz, and martyr of God (an Englishman) sent to Ethelbald king of Mercia, freely and yet charitablie admonishing him of his adulterous life, and oppression of churches.

REgi & filio charissimo, & in Christi amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ ecclesiæ perpetuam in Chri-

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sto charitatis salutem. Consistemus coram Deo, qui nouit an verè atque ex animo dicam: quando prosperitatem vestram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, lætamur: quando autem aliquid aduersum vel in euentu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audiuimus enim quòd eleemosynis intentus, furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defensor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quòd verò legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile & damnabile. Nam & famam gloriæ vestræ coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter idololatras constituit, quia templum Dei violasti. Quapropter fili charissime pœnitere, & memorare oportet, quàm turpe sit, vt tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei, dominaris, ad iniuriam eius sis libidinis seruus. Audiuimus præterea quòd optimates penè omnis gentis Merciorum, tuo exemplo legitimas vxores deserant, & adulteras & sanctimoniales constuprent. Quod quàm sit peregrinum ab honestate, doceat vos alienæ gentis institutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia, vbi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, sub coniuge fuerit adultera, manu propria strangulatam cremant, & supra fossam sepultæ corruptorem suspendunt, aut cingulo tenus (vestibus abscissis) flagellant eam castæ matronæ, & cultellis pungunt; & de villa in villam missæ occurrunt nouæ flagellatrices, donec interimant. Insuper & Vinuli, quod est fœdissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, vt mulier viro mortuo, se in rogo cremantis pariter arsura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum castitatis habent, quid tibi conuenit fili charissime, qui christianus & rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de quorũ animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quid si gens Anglorum (sicut in Francia, & Italia, & ab ipsis paganis nobis improperatur) spretis legitimis matrimonijs per adulteria deficit, nasciturq; sit ex ea commixtione gens ignaua & Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam pessundet: sicut Burgundionibus & Prouincialibus, & Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum est nobis, quòd multa priuilegia ecclesiarum & monasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo prouoces. Sed recogita quæso quàm terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, eiusdem culpæ conscios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædecessorem tuum stupratorem sanctimonialium, & ecclesiasticorum priuilegiorum fractorem, splendidè cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus malignus arripuit: & sine confessione & viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti, & legem Dei detestanti animam extorsit. Osredum quoque regem Deirorum & Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænatum regem egit, vt regnum & iuuenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoque princeps Francorum monasteriorum multorum euersor, & ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in vsus proprios commutator, longa torsione, & verenda morte consumptus est. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili charissime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, vt non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinem tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim bono regi salubrius, quàm si talia commissa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sapientiam. Ideo, fili charissime, ostendentes consilium iustum, contestamur & obsecramus per viuentem Deum & per filium eius Iesum Christum, & per spiritum sanctum, vt recorderis quàm fugitiua sit vita præsens, & quàm breuis & momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis: & quàm ignominiosum sit vt breuis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere, & præteritos errores iuuentutis corrigere, vt hic coram hominibus laudem habeas & in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celsitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

Nihil factum quod non factum prius.

The corrupt life of nuns noted.

In this epistle here is to be séene and noted, first the corruption and great disorder of life which alway from time to time hath been found in these religious houses of nuns, whose professed vow of coacted chastitie hath yet neuer been good to the church, nor profitable to the commonwealth, and least of all to themselues. Of such young and wanton widowes S. Paul in his time complaineth, 1. Tim. 5. which would take vpon them the wilfull profession of single life, which they were not able to performe, but falling into damnable luxurie, deserued worthilie to be reprehended. How much better had it been for these lasciuious nuns not to haue refused the safe yoke of christian matrimonie, then to intangle themselues in this their superstitious vow of perpetuall maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to kéepe?

Secondly, no lesse are they also to be reprehended, which maintained these superstitious orders of vnprofitable nuns and of other religious. In the number of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwise called Winfride, who although in this epistle doth iustly reprehend the vicious enormities both of secular and of religious persons; yet he himselfe is not without the same or rather greater reprehension, for that he gaue the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious orders of such lasciuious nuns and other religious, and restraining the same from lawfull mariage. For so we find of him in stories that he was a great setter vp and vpholder of such blind superstition, and of all poperie. Who being admitted by pope Gregorie the second, archbishop of Magunce, and indued with full authoritie legantine ouer the Germans, brought diuers countries there vnder the popes obedience, held many great councels, ordained bishops, builded monasteries, canonized saints, commanded relikes to be worshipped, permitted religious fathers to carrie about nuns with them a preaching. Amongst all other he founded the great monasterie of Fulda in Germanie of English monks, into the which no women might enter but onely Lieba and Tecla, two English nuns. Item, by the authoritie of the said archbishop Boniface, which he receiued from pope Zacharie, Childericus king of France was deposed from the right of his crowne, and Pipinus betraier of his maister was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registred in the popes decrées, Dist. 40. cap. Si papa. Which in a certaine epistle of his is this; That in case the pope were of most filthie liuing, and forgetfull or negligent of himselfe, and of the whole christianitie, in such sort, that hee led innumerable soules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged againe.

The popish acts and doings of Boniface archbishop of Maguince.

The monasterie of Fulda in Germany, builded by Boniface.

Childericus the French king deposed, and Pipinus intituled.

Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

In the time of this archbishop, pope Gregorie the second, also Gregorie the third, and pope Zacharie, and before these also pope Constantine the first, wrought great masteries against the Grécke emperors Philippicus and Leo, and others, for the maintaining of images to be set vp in churches. Of whom Philippicus lost both his empire and also his eies. Leo for the same cause likewise was excommunicate of Gregorie the third. This Gregorie the third (so far as I can coniecture) was he that first wrote the foure books of dialogues in Grécke, falsely bearing the name of Gregorie the first, which bookes afterward Zacharie his successor translated out of Grécke into Latine. Item, the said Gregorie the third, first brought into the masse canon the clause for relikes, beginning Quorum solennitates hodie in conspectu, &c. Item, brought into the said canon the memoriall, the offering and sacrifice for the dead: like as Zacharie brought in the priests vesture and ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantinus also was the first that gaue his fét to be killed of the emperors. But to turne againe into the course of our English storie.

Images in churches ouerthrowen by emperors, maintained by popes.

Philippicus for holding against images lost his empire and his eies.

The author of the book called the dialogues of Gregorie.

Memoriall of relikes, offring and sacrifice for the dead, brought into the masse canon.

The popes fet first killed of the emperors.

In the time of this Egbert king of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sigbert raigned in Westsaronie, a man of so cruell tyrannie to his subiects (turning the lawes and customs of his forefathers after his own will and pleasure) that when he was somewhat sharpely aduertised by one of his nobles, an earle called Combranus, to change his manners, and to behaue him more prudently toward his people; he therefore maliciouslie caused him to be put to cruell death. Whereupon the said king Sigebert continuing in his cruell conditions, by his subiects conspiring against him, was put from his kinglie dignitie, and brought into such desolation, that wandering alone in a wood without comfort, was there slaine euen by the swineheard of the said earle, whom before he had so wrongfully murthered, as partly is aboue touched. Wherby is to be séene the cruell tyrannie of princes neuer to prosper well, without the iust reuenge both of God and man.

Sigebert slaine.

Cruell tyrannie with like cruelties reuenged.

This Sigebert being slaine, in his place succéded Kenulphus, in the yeere of our Lord 748. who with the agréement of the Westsarons, was one of the chiefe doers against Sigebert his maister. This Kenulphus kept stronglie his lordship against Offa, and against the power of all his enemies, till at length after that he had raigned, as Fabian saith, one and thirtie yéeres, he resorting to a paramour which hee kept at Merton, was there beset and likewise slaine by the traine & meanes of a certaine kinsman of the foresaid Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in reuengement of king Sigeberts death.

Kenulphus king of Westsarons.

Anno 748

Murther reuenged with murther.

Moreouer, in the raigne of the foresaid Egbert king of Northumberland, and in the eight yéere of Kenulphus king of Westsarons; Offa after he had slaine the tyrant Beorured, which before had slaine Ethelbald king of Mercia, and vncle to this foresaid Offa, raigned king of that prouince.

Offa king of Mercia.

Of this Offa are told many notable deeds, which because they concerne rather politicall affaires, and doe not greatlie appertaine to the purpose of this ecclesiasticall historie, I omit here to recite. As his wars and victories against Egbert, king of the Northumbers, as also against Ethelred king of Eastangles. Item, against Egbert king of Kent, otherwise called Wren, whom (as Fabian saith) he tooke prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Malmesburie witnesseth otherwise this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Christ willing, hereafter shall appeare. After these victories, Offa had such displeasure vnto the citizens of Canturbury, that he remooued the archbishops sée, and lands of Lambrith archbishop of Canturburie (by the agréement of pope Adrian) vnto Lichfeeld. He also chased the Britains or Welchmen into Wales, & made a famous dich betweén Wales and the vtter bounds of Mercia or middle England, which was called Offdich, and builded there a church which long time after was called Offkirke. This Offa also maried one of his daughters to Brightricus that was king of Westsarons. And for that in his time was variance betweene him

An vntruth noted in the story of Fabianus.

The primacie of Canturburie remooued to Lichfield.

Lambrith archbishop of Canturburie.

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him and the Frenchmen, in so much that the passage of merchants was forbidden. Therefore he sent Alcuinus a learned man vnto Charles the great then king of France, to commune the meanes of peace: which Charles had after that the said Alcuinus in great fauour and estimation, and afterwards made him abbat of Turonia in France.

This Alcuinus is commended for his learning next to Adelmus and Beda abone all Saxons.

About the latter time of the raigne of Offa, king of Mercia, Ethelbert being then king of Eastangles (a learned and a right godly prince) came to the court of Offa, prouoked by the counsell of his nobles to sue for the mariage of his daughter, well accompanied like a prince with his men about him. Whereupon the queene conceiuing a false suspicion, and fearing that which was neuer minded: that Ethelbert with his companie vnder the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to worke some violence against her husband, and the kingdome of Mercia, so she perswaded with king Offa and certaine of her counsell that night; that the next day following, Offa caused him to be trained into his palace alone from his companie by one called Guimbertus: who took him and bound him, and there stroke off his head, which forthwith hee then presented to the king and queene. And thus the innocent king Ethelred was wrongfully murthered, about the yeere of our Lord 793. but not without a iust reuenge at Gods hand. For (as the storie recordeth) the foresaid queene, worker of this villany, liued not three moneths after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was faine to bite and rent hir tongue in peeces with her owne teeth. Offa vnderstanding at length the innocencie of this king, and the hainous crueltie of his fact, gaue the tenth part of his goods to holy church; and to the church of Hereford, in the remembrance of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great lands. Moreouer, he builded the abbie of S. Albons, with certaine other monasteries besides. And so afterward he went vp to Rome for his penance, where hee gaue to the church of saint Peter a penie through euery house in his dominion, which was called commonly Romehot, or Peterpence, paid to the church of saint Peter: and there at length was transformed from a king to a monke, about the yeere of our Lord 794. with Kenredus king of Northumberland aboue mentioned, although some stories deny that he was a monke.

Ex historia Iornalensi & Malmesburiensi.

Cruell murther reuenged.

Offa and Kenredus of kings made monks at Rome.

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had raigned nine and thirtie yeeres, succeeded his sonne Egfretus, who raigned but foure moneths, of whom thus writeth the foresaid Alcuinus: Non arbitror quòd nobilissimus iuuenis Egfretus, propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione regni eius multum sanguinem effudit, &c: that is, This noble young man died not so much for offences of his owne, as for that his father had spilled much blood to confirme him in his kingdome.

Egfretus king of Mercia.

Alcuinus Oberto patricio.

The fathers fault punished in the child.

Next to which Egfretus, succeeded Kenulphus in the said kingdome of Mercia, which Kenulphus keeping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predecessor against the Cantuarits, made war vpon them, where he toke Egbert their king, otherwise called Wren, whom he bound and led prisoner to Mercia. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with princely clemencie in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same time a church, vpon the day when hee should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteene bishops, and of Cutbert whom he had placed in the same kingdome of Canturburie before, and ten dukes, and many other great estates, king Kenulphus brought the said Egbert king of Kent out of prison into the church, where he inlarged him out of imprisonment, and restored him to his place againe. At the sight whereof, not onelie Cutbert the foresaid king reioyced, but also all the estates and people being there present, made such an exclamation of ioy and gladnesse, that the church (and not onely the church, but also the streets) rang withall. At which time such bountifulnesse of gifts and iewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something giuen, according as to euery degree was thought meet. Although Fabian referreth this storie to king Offa, yet causes there bee why I assent rather vnto Malmesburie and to Polychronicon, which attribute the same to Kenulphus the second king of Mercia, after Offa.

Egbert king of Kent taken prisoner.

A princely example of clemencie in a noble king.

The church of Winchombe builded by K. Kenulphus.

Egbert king of Kent released out of prison.

A place of Fabian doubted.

A little before in speaking of certaine bishops of Rome, mention was made of pope Constantine the first, pope Gregorie the second, pope Gregorie the third, and of pope Zacharie, which deposed Childerike, and set vp Pipinus the French king, &c. Next after this Zacharie in order, followed pope Stephan the second, to whom the foresaid Pipinus, to gratifie againe the see of Rome for this their benefit shewed to him, gaue and contributed to the said see of Rome, the exarchat or princedome of Rauenna, the kingdome of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities thereto adioyning vnto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pipin, no doubt if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsly hath beene thought to be the donation of Constantine. For else how could it be that the exarchat of Rauenna could belong all this while to the emperors of Constantinople, if Constantine before had giuen it and all Italie from the empire to the see of Rome?

Pope Stephan the second.

The donation of Pipinus falsly taken to bee the donation of Constantine.

Ex Polycr. li. 5. cap. 9.

To this Pipinus, as witnesseth Polychronicon, was sent first into France, the inuention of the organs but of Grecia, by Constantine emperour of Constantinople, in the yeere of our Lord 757.

Next to this Stephan the second, succeeded Paul the first, who following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunications against Constatinus the emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking downe images set vp in temples. Notwithstanding this Constantine neglecting the popes vaine curses, perseuered in his blessed purpose, in destroying idolatrie til the end of his life. Then came to be pope Constantinus the second, a lay man, and brother to Desiderius the king of Lombardie, for the which cause hee was shortlie deposed, and thrust into a monasterie, hauing his eies put out.

Pope Paul the first.

Images against maintained by the pope against the emperour.

A lay man pope, who was deposed, and had his eies put out.

In whose stead succeeded Stephan the third, who ordained after, that no lay man should be pope: condemning moreouer the councell of Constantinople the seuenth for hereticall, because in that councell the worshipping of images was reproued and condemned. Contrarie to the which councell, this pope not onely maintained the filthie idolatrie of images in christian temples, but also aduanced their veneration, commanding them most ethnically to be incensed, &c. At this time Carolus Magnus called Charles the great a little before mentioned began to raigne, by whom this pope caused Desiderius the Lombard king to be deprined.

Pope Stephan the third.

The councell of Constantinople the seuenth condemned of the pope, for condemning images.

The pope also ordained *Gloria in excelsis* to be sung in the masse at saint Peters altar by the cardinals.

Then in this race of popes, after this Stephan the third, commeth Adrianus the first, who likewise following the steps of his forefathers the popes, added and attributed to the veneration of images more then all the other had done before, writing a booke for the adoration and the vtilitie proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for lay mens kalendars, holding moreouer a synod at Rome against Felix, and all others that spake against the setting vp of such stocks and images. And as Paul the first before him made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: so this Adrian clothed the bodie of S. Peter all in siluer, and couered the altar of saint Paul with a pall of gold. This pope Adrian was hee whom we declared in the former part of this treatise, to ratifie and confirme by reuelation the order of S. Gregories masse, aboue the order of S. Ambrose masse; for vnto this time, which was about the yeere of our Lord 780. the liturgie of S. Ambrose was more vsed in the Italian churches. The storie whereof because it is registred in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same to this especiall purpose, for the reader to vnderstand the time when this vsuall masse of the papists began first to be vniuersall and vniforme, and generally in churches to be receiued. Thus it followeth in the storie by the foresaid authors set forth. Iacobus de Voragine, in the life of pope Gregorie the first, telleth a tale concerning this matter.

Pope Adrian the first.

Images against maintained by the pope to bee lay mens kalendars.

The bodie of S. Peter clothed in siluer.

The order of the Romish masse booke when it came in.

Ex Durando, Nauclero, Iacob. de Voragine, in vita Greg.

In times past (saith he) when the seruice which Ambrose made, was more frequented and vsed in churches then was the seruice which Gregorie had appointed, the bishop of Rome then called Adrian gathered a councell together: in the which it was ordained, that Gregories seruice should bee obserued and kept vniuersally. Which determination of the councell, Charles the emperour did diligentlie put in execution, while he ran about by diuers prouinces, and informed all the clergie, partly with threatnings and partly with punishments to receiue that order. And as touching the bookes of Ambrose seruice, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many priests that would not consent and agree vnto the matter. Blessed Eugenius the bishop comming vnto the councell, found that it was dissolued three daies before his comming. Notwithstanding through his wisdome, he so perswaded the lord pope, that hee called againe all the prelats that had been present at the councell, and were now departed by the space of three daies. Therefore when the councell was gathered againe together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the masse bookes of Ambrose and Gregorie should be laid vpon the altar of blessed S. Peter the apostle, and the church doores diligentlie shut, and most warilie sealed vp with the signets of many and diuers bishops. Againe, that they should all the whole night giue themselues to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, open, and shew vnto them by some euident signe or token, which of these two seruices hee would haue vsed in the temples. Thus they doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the church doores, and found both the missals or masse bookes open vpon the altar: or rather (as some say) they found Gregories masse booke vtterly plucked asunder one peece from another, and scattered ouer all the church. As touching Ambrose booke, they onely found it open vpon the altar in the very same place where they before laid it. This miracle pope Adrian like a wise expounder of dreames saith, that as the leaues were torne and blowne abroad all the church ouer, so should Gregories booke bee vsed throughout the world. Whereupon they thought themselues sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the seruice which Gregorie had made ought to be set abroad and vsed throughout the world, and that Ambrose his seruice should onely bee obserued and kept in his owne church of Mediolanum, where he sometime was bishop.

Et talibus ipsa commentum plasci. Tertull.

Note well the practise of prelats in planting their popish masse.

Thus hast thou heard (brother reader) the full and whole narration of this mysticall miracle, with the popes exposition vpon

vpon the same, which seemeth to be as true as that which Daniel speaketh of, how the idoll Bell did eat vp all the meat that was set before him all the night, Daniel.14. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practises of these nightcrowes, to blind the world with forged inuentions in stead of true stories. Albeit to grant the miracle to be most true and vnfallible, yet as touching the exposition thereof, another man beside the pope percase might interpret this great miracle otherwise, as thus: that God was angrie with Gregories booke, and therfore rent it in péeces, and scattered it abroad, and the other as good, lay sound, vntouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, what soeuer is to be thought of this miracle with the exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregories seruice had onelie the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of Europe, the seruice of Aunbrose being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of pope Adrian for the setting vp of the masse. By the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the reader, at least to vnderstand how that commonly in christian nations abroad, as yet no vniforme order of any missall or masseboke was receiued, as hath béen hitherto discoursed.

Gregories masse taketh place in Europe.

Now from the popes to returne againe to the emperours, from whence wee digressed: like as Pipinus the father of Charles (as hath bin before sufficiently told) had giuen to the see papall all the princedome of Rauenna, with other donations and reuenues and lands in Italie: so this Carolus following his fathers deuotion, did confirme the same, adding moreouer thereunto, the citie and dominion of Venice, Histria, the dukedome Forojuliense, the dukedome Spoletanum, & Beneuentanum, and other possessions more, to the patrimonie of S. Peter, making him the prince of Rome & of Italie. The pope againe to recompence his so gentle kindnesse, made him to bee intituled Most christian king, and made him Patricium Romanum, moreouer ordained him only to be taken for emperour of Rome. For these and other causes more, Carolus bare no little affection to the said Adrian aboue all other popes: as may well appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnus sent to king Offa, what time the said Offa (as is aboue prefired) sent to him Alcuinus for intreatie of peace: whereto the foresaid Carolus answereth againe to the message of Offa in a letter, the contents whereof be these.

Carolus Magnus beneficiall to the see of Rome.

Rex christianissimus intituled to France.

The tenor of a letter sent by Carolus Magnus to king *Offa, answering to his request concerning the intreatie of peace betweene them.*

A letter of Charles the great sent to king Offa.

CArolus rex Francorum & Longobardorum, patricius Romanorum, viro venerando, & fratri charissimo Offæ regi Merciorum salutē. Primò gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, de catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis verò, qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum, beatorum apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non seruientes, sed lucra sectantes inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitimè. Et si in aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament se ad nos, vel nostros iudices, & plenam iustitiam iubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis nostris vel pallijs ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel Ethelredi direximus, in eleemosynam domini apostolici Adriani, deprecantes vt pro eo intercedi iubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed vt fidem & dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed & de thesauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Iesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per metropolitanas ciuitates; direximus vestræ quoque dilectioni vnum baltheum, & vnum gladium, & duo pallia serica, &c.

How the pope heareth the crie of poore widowes and orphans.

The cause why this Carolus writeth so fauorably of Adrian partly is touched before, partly also was, for that Carloman his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha with her two children came to Adrian, to haue them confirmed in their fathers kingdome, whereunto the pope to shew a pleasure to Carolus would not agrée: but gaue the mother with her two children, & Desiderius the Lombard king with his whole kingdome, his wife and children, into the hands of the said Carolus, who led them with him captiue into France, and there kept them in seruitude during their life.

The empire translated from Greece to France.

Thus Carolus Magnus being proclaimed emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian and pope Leo the third, which succeded next after him, was the empire translated from the Grecians about the yéere of our Lord 801. vnto the Frenchmen, where it continued about one hundred and two yéeres, till the comming of Conracus and his nephue Otho, which were Germans: and so hath continued after them among the Almans vnto this present time. This Charles builded so many monasteries as there be letters in the row of the A B C. he was beneficiall chiefly to churchmen, also mercifull to the poore, in his acts valiant and triumphant, skild in all languages; he held a councell at Francford, where was condemned the councell of Nice and Irene, for setting vp and worshipping images, &c.

Concerning which councell of Nice, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall thinke the detelling of images to be any new thing now begun) thus I find it recorded in an ancient written historie of Roger Houeden, called Continuationes Bedæ: his words in Latine be these. Anno 792. Carolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo lib. heu proh dolor, multa inconuenientia, & veræ fidei cōtraria reperiuntur, maximè quòd pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quàm 300. vel eo amplius episcoporum vnanimi assertione confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex autoritate diuinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illámque cum eodem libro ex persona episcoporum ac principū nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit. Hæc ille. That is, In the yéere of our Lord 792. Charles the French king sent a booke containing the acts of a certaine synod, vnto Britaine, directed vnto him from Constantinople. In the which booke (lamentable to be told) many things inconuenient, and cleane contrarie vnto the true faith are there to be found: especially for that by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the East church, not so few as 300. it was there agreed, that images should be worshipped: which thing the church of God hath alwaies abhorred. Against which booke Albinus wrote an epistle substantially grounded out of the authoritie of holie scripture, which epistle with the booke the said Albinus, in the name and person of our bishops and princes, did present to the French king.

Images written against as contrary to the true faith.

This Albinus was Alcuinus aboue mentioned.

The bishops and prince of England against images.

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to returne againe to the Northumberland kings, where we left at Egbert: which Egbert (as is before declared) succeeded after Ceolulphus, after he was made monke. And likewise the said Egbert also following the deuotion of his vncle Ceolulphus, and Kenredus before him, was likewise shorne monke after he had raigned twentie yéeres in Northumberland, leauing his son Osulphus after him to succéed. About which time, and in the same yéere, when Ceolulphus deceased in his monasterie, which was the yéere of our Lord 764. diuers cities were burnt with sudden fire, as the citie of Wenta, the citie of London, the citie of Yorke, Doncaster, with diuers other townes besides: Roger Houeden, lib. Contin. post Bedā. Who the first yéere of his raigne, which was the yéere of our Lord 757. being innocently slaine, next to him followed Mollo, otherwise called Adelwald, who likewise being slaine of Alcredus, after he had raigned eleuen yéeres, departed. After, Alcredus when he had raigned ten yéeres, was expulsed out of his kingdome by his people. Then was Ethelbert otherwise named Adelred, the sonne of the foresaid Mollo, receiued king of Northumberland: which Ethelbert or Adelred in like sort after he had raigned fiue yéeres, was expulsed. After whom succéeded Alfwold, who likewise when he had raigned eleuen yéeres, was vniustly slaine. So likewise after him his nephue and the sonne of Alcredus named Osredus, raigned one yéere, and was slaine. Then the foresaid Ethelbert the sonne of Mollo, after twelue yéeres banishment, raigned againe in Northumberland the space of foure yéeres, & was slaine; the cause wherof (as I find in an old written storie) was, that forsaking his old wife, hée maried a new. Concerning ỳ restoring of whom, Alcuinus writeth in this maner. Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus. Nuper Edelredus, filius Edelwaldi de carcere processit in soliū, & de miseria in maiestatem, cuius regni nouitate detenti sumus ne veniremus ad vos, &c. And afterwards the same Alcuinus againe speaking of his death, writeth vnto king Offa in these words. Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra, quòd dominus Carolus amabiliter & fideliter sæpe mecum locutus est de vobis, & in eo habetis fidelissimum amicum. Ideo & vestræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per episcopales sedes regni vestri, similiter & Edelredo regi, & ad suas episcoporum sedes direxit dona. Sed heu pro dolor, donis datis, & epistolis in manus missorum, superuenit tristis legatio per missos qui de Scotia per nos reuersi sunt, de infidelitate gentis, & nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, vt ait, perfidam & peruersam, & homicidam dominorum suorum, peiorem eam paganis æstimans, vt nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, & mali machinari, iam fecisset, &c.

King Egbert made a monke. Anno 757

Osulphus, Mollo, otherwise called Adelwold. Alcredus or Alured. Ethelbert, otherwise named Adelred, or Eardulph. Alfwold, Osredus, Adelred againe kings of Northumberland. Anno 764

The kingdome of Northumberland ceaseth.

Northumberland kingdom ceaseth.

Thus as you haue heard, after the raigne of king Egbert before mentioned, such trouble and perturbation was in the dominion of Northumberland, with slaying, expulsing and deposing their kings one after another, that after the murthering of this Edelred aboue specified, none durst take the gouernment vpon him, séeing the great danger thereupon insuing. Insomuch that the foresaid kingdome did lie void and wast the space of three and thirtie yéeres together, after the terme of which yéeres this kingdome of Northumberland, with the kingdomes also of the other Saxons besides, came also

altogether into the hands of Egbert king of Westsarons, and his progenie: which monarchie began in the yeere of our Lord 827. and in the eight and twentie yeere of the raigne of the said Egbert: whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Of this troublesome and ragious time of Northumberland people, speaketh also the said learned man Alcuinus, otherwise called Albinus, in the same countrie borne, writing out of France into England, and complaining of the same in diuers his letters, as first to Offa, where he thus writeth: Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reuerti. Sed melius visum est propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, vbi nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia sancta a paganis vastata, altaria periurijs fœdata, monasteria adulterijs violata, terra sanguine dominorum & principum fœdata, &c. Moreouer the said Alcuinus writing to the foresaid Edelred a little aboue mentioned, after the same tenor reporteth: Ecce ecclesia sancti Cutberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa (omnibus spoliata ornamentis) locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior, paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et vbi primùm post decessum S. Cutberti ab Eboraco, christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseriæ & calamitatis cœpit initium, &c. Item, writing to Osbert a noble peere of the Mercians, complaining on the same matter, saith: Regnum nostrum Northumbrorum penè perijt, propter intestinas dissensiones, & fallaces coniurationes, &c.

Alcuinus otherwise called Albinus.

The troubles of the kingdome of Northumberland described by Alcuinus.

Item, in another place the said Alcuinus writing to Adelard archbishop of Canturburie, complaineth moreouer: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus insulæ nostræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis à parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildæ sapientissimi Britonum, quòd ijdem Britones, propter auaritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem & iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caueamus hæc eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patriam conseruet in prosperitate bona, quam nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus est, &c.

Ex historia Malmesburiensi.

Duer and besides, the same author Alcuinus writing vnto the foresaid Edelred king of Northumberland, maketh record of a strange sight which he himselfe did see the same time in the citie of Yorke, to raine bloud: whereof his words which he wrote concerning the same vnto the said king Edelred bee these. Quid significat pluuia sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco ciuitate, quæ caput est totius regni, in ecclesia beati principis apostolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus domus (sereno aere) de summitate minanter cadere? Nonne potest putari, à borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram? That is: What signifieth the raine of bloud which in time of Lent, in the citie of Yorke the chiefe citie of that dominion, and in the church of saint Peter the chiefe of the apostles, we our selues did see to fall from the church top (the element being cleere) out of the north parts of the temple, &c. This wonderous sight testified by Malmesburiensis, is thought of Fabian to happen in the second yeere of the raigne of Brightricus (as with the time doth well agree) which was the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred and eightie, and is thought of some expositors to betoken the comming of the Danes into this land, which entred shortly after about seuen yeeres, in the ninth yeere of the raigne of Brightricus king of the Westsarons. Which Brightricus in defence thereof sent forth his steward of his houshold with a small companie, which shortlie was slaine: but by the strength of the said Brightricus and the other Saxon kings, they were compelled to void the land for that time, which was in the yeere 790. To this Brightricus, king Offa, as is aforesaid, gaue his daughter Edelburga to wife, by whom he at length was impoisoned, besides certaine other of his nobles, vpon whom the said queene before him had practised the same wickednesse. Who then after that fled ouer to Charles the great into France, where shee being offered for her beautie to marrie either to him or his sonne, because shee chosed rather his sonne, married neither the one nor yet the other; but was thrust in a monasterie, where shee then playing the harlot with a monke, was expulsed from thence, and ended her life in penury and miserie.

How it rained bloud in Yorke.

Anno 780

Brightricus king of Westsarons.

Edelburga daughter to Offa, poisoned her husband.

Wickednesse reuenged.

In the meane time, while this Edelburga was thus working her feates in England, Irene empresse of the Greekes was as busie also for her part at Constantinople, who first thorough the meanes of pope Adrian, tooke vp the bodie of Constantine emperour of Constantinople, her owne husbands father. And when she had burned the same, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he disanulled images. Afterwards raigning with her sonne Constantine the first, sonne to Leo the fourth (whom also wee declared before to be excommunicated for taking away images) being at dissension with him, caused him to be taken and laid in prison, who afterward through power of friends, being restored to his empire againe, at last she caused the same her owne sonne to bee cast in prison, and his eies to bee put out so cruelly, that within short space hee died. After this the said Irene empresse, with the counsell of Therasius bishop of Constantinople, held a councell at Nicea, where it was decreed, that images should againe bee restored vnto the church; which councell after was repealed by another councell holden at Francford by Charles the great. At length shee was deposed by Nicephorus (who reigned after) and was expulsed the empire: who after the example of Edelburga aboue mentioned (condignlie punished for her wickednesse) ended likewise her life in much penurie and miserie.

Irene.

Anno 784

Images restored againe by Irene at Constantinople.

The second councell at Nicea.

The wickednes of Irene condignly rewarded.

About the time when the foresaid Brightricus was impoisoned by Edelburga his wife, died also king Offa, which was about the yeare of our Lord 795, or (as some say) 802. After which Offa (as is aforesaid) succeeded Egfert, then Kenelphus, after whom succeeded Kenelmus his sonne, who in his younger age was wickedly murthered by his sister Quinreda, and Askebertus, about the yeare of our Lord 819, and in the church of Winchcombe was counted for an holy martyr. After him succeeded his vncle Ceoluphus, whom Bernulphus in the first yeare of his reigne expulsed, and reigned in his place. Who likewise the third yeare of his raigne was ouercome and expulsed by Egbert king of the Westsarons, and afterward slaine by the Eastangles. And the kingdome of Mercia also ceased, and came into the hands of the Westsarons.

Kenelmus king of Mercia innocently slaine.

Ceoluphus, Bernulphus, kings of Mercia.

The kingdome of Mercia ceaseth.

Hitherto I haue brought (as thou seest good reader) the confused and turbulent raignes of these seuen Saxon kings, who after the expulsion of the Britains ruled and raigned asunder in sundrie quarters of this land together, vnto this present time of Egbert king of the Westsarons. By whom it so pleased God to begin to reduce and vnite all these scattered kingdomes into one monarchicall forme of dominion. Wherefore as in the foresaid Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the commonwealth here in this land among the Saxons: so my purpose is (the Lord willing) with the same Egbert to enter a new beginning of my third booke, after a briefe recapitulation first made of such things as in this second booke before are to be collected and noted, especially touching the monasteries builded, the kings which haue entred the life and profession monastike: also queenes and queenes daughters, which the same time professed solitarie life in monasteries, which they or their ancestors had erected.

The conclusion of the storie precedent, concerning the seuen kingdomes of the Saxon kings aboue mentioned.

And thus hast thou (gentle reader) concerning the seuen kingdomes of these Saxons, ruling all together in England, the course and order of their doings briefelie described and discoursed vnto thee, in such order, as the matter being so intricate, in such confusion and diuersitie of things incident together, would permit: following especiallie in this storie hitherto the line of the Northumberland kings, as the other stories most followd the line of Westsaxon kings. The which seuen kingdames of these said Saxons, after they had vntrulie expulsed and chased out the Britains from their land, like as they neuer were in quietnesse among themselues, raigning thus together till the time of this Egbert; so also after the raigne of Egbert, the whole realme being reduced into one regiment, no lesse were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continuallie from time to time, till the last Conquest of William the Norman. Thus it pleased God (euer lightly) to reuenge with blood bloodie violence, and the vniust dealings of men with iust and like retribution. But of this let the christian reader consider, as Gods grace shall worke in him. In the meane time we, as much as in vs did lie, satisfying the part of an historician, haue thus hitherto set forth and declared concerning these seuen foresaid kingdomes: first the names and lineall descent of the kings seuerallie by themselues, as by the table precedent may appeare: then what were the doings and acts of the same, how first being pagans, they were conuerted to the christian faith: what things in their time happened in the church, how many of them of kings were made monks: how deuout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwise in life then afterwards they declared themselues to bee. Through which deuotion of the said kings, first came in the Peterpence or Romescots in this realme, as by Iue first in his dominion, then by Offa in his lordship, and afterwards by Adelwolph brought in and ratified through the whole realme: where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid kings and queenes of the said Saxons, the most part of the greatest abbies and nunneries in this realme were first begun and builded, as partly the names of some heere follow to be seene.

Vniust dealings of men iustlie rewarded.

First the church or minster of Saint Paul in London was founded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert king of Eller, about the yeere of our Lord 604.

Paules church.

The first crosse and altar within this realme was first set vp in the north parts in Yeuelfeeld, vpon the occasion of Oswald king of Northumberland, fighting against Cadwalla, where he in the same place set vp the signe of the crosse, kneeling and praying there for victorie: Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The first altar and crosse set vp in England.

The

The church of Winchester.

The church of Winchester was first begun and founded by Kinegilsus king of Mercians, hauing nine miles about it: after finished by his sonne Kenwalcus, where Wine, of Englishmen was first bishop, An.636, Guliel. Malms. lib. de gestis pont. Ang.

The church of Lincolne.

The church of Lincolne first founded by Paulinus bishop, An.629.

The church of Westminster.

The church of Westminster began first by a certaine citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an ile of thornes: Bed. An. 614.

The schooles at Cambridge.

The common schooles first erected at Cambridge by Sigebort king of Eastangles, An.636.

Abbie of Knouisburgh.

The abbie of Knouisburgh builded by Furceus the hermit, An.637.

Malmesburie.

The monasterie of Malmesburie by one Meldulphus a Scot, about the yeere of our Lord 640. afterward inlarged by Agilbert bishop of Winchester.

Abbie of Glocester.

The monasterie in Glocester first builded by Merius king of Mercia, as Cestrensis saith; but as William Malmesburie writeth, by Ulferus and Ethelred, brethren to Kineburga abbesse of the same house, An.679.

Mailrose.

The monasterie of Mailrose by the flood of Twide by Aidanus a Scotish bishop.

Heorenton.

The nunrie of Heorenton by Heui, who was the first nun in Northumberland: Beda lib.4.cap.1.

Hetelsie.

The monasterie of Hetelsie by Oswie king of Northumberland, who also with his daughter Elfred gaue possessions for twelue monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, Anno 656.

The monastery of S. Martin at Douer. Lestingie.

The monasterie of S. Martin in Douer, builded by Whitred king of Kent.

The abbie of Lestingie by Ceadda (whom wee call saint Ced) through the grant of Oswald, sonne to S. Oswald, king of Northumberland, An.651.

Whitbie. This Hilda was first conuerted to the faith by Paulina a godly and learned woman: out of her monasterie came fiue bishops, Dola, Eatha, Oftfrid, Joannes, Wilfride.

The monasterie of Whitbie called otherwise Stenhalt by Hilda daughter to the nephue of Edwin king of Northumberland, An.657.

Vacanos. Abington. Joanno at Lincolne. Elie abbie. Chertseie.

Item another monasterie called Vacanos, not farre from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same yeere.

The abbie of Abbington builded by Hilla king of Southser, An.666.

Item, an abbie in the east side of Lincolne called Joanno, by S. Botulph: Polychro. lib.5.cap.16. An.654.

The monasterie in Elie founded by Etheldred or Etheldrida daughter of Anna king of Eastangles, and the wife of Elfride king of Northumberland, An.674.

The monasterie of Chertseie in Southerie, founded by Erkenwald bishop of London, An. 674. throwne downe by the Danes, after reedified by king Edgar.

Berking.

Item, the nunrie of Berking edified by the said Erkenwaldus bishop of London about the same time.

Peterborough.

The abbie of Peterborough called otherwise Medeshamsted founded by K. Ethelwald king of the Mercians, An.675.

Bardneie.

Bardneie abbie by Ethelredus king of the Mercians, An.700.

Glastenburie.

Glastenburie by Ina king of the Westsaxons, and after repared and inriched by king Edgar, An.701.

Ramselie.

Ramselie in the time of king Edgar, by one Alwinus a noble man, An.973. King Edgar builded in his time fortie monasteries, who raigned An.901.

Winburne.

The nunrie of Winburne builded by Cuthburga sister to Ingilsus, king Ina his brother, An.717.

Sealelsie.

The monastery of Sealelsie by the ile of Wight, by Wilfridus bishop of Yorke, An.678.

Wincombe.

The monasterie of Wincombe by Kenulphus king of the Mercians, An.737.

S. Albons.

Saint Albons builded by Offa king of the Mercians, An.755.

Eusham. Ripon. Echlingheie. Shaftesburie.

The abbie of Eusham by Edwinus bishop. An.691.

Ripon in the north by Wilfridus bishop, An.709.

The abbie of Echlingheie, by king Alfredus, An.891.

The nunrie of Shaftesburie by the same Alfredus, the same yeere.

Thus ye see what monasteries and in what time began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly conuerted to the christian faith, within the space of two hundred yeeres; who, as they seemed then to haue a certaine zeale and deuotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth againe to me, two things to bee wished in these foresaid kings: first, that they which began to erect these monasteries and cels of monks and nuns, to liue solie and singlie by themselues out of the holy state of matrimonie, had foreseene what danger, and what absurd enormities might and also did thereof insue, both publikely to the church of Christ, and priuately to their owne soules: secondly, that vnto this their zeale and deuotion had been ioyned like knowledge & doctrine in Christs gospell, especially in the article of our free iustification by the faith of Iesu Christ; because of the lacke whereof, as well the builders & founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seeme both to haue run the wrong way, and to haue been deceiued. For albeit in them there was a deuotion and zeale of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deeds & buildings cannot be excused, being contrarie to the rule of Christs gospel, for so much as they did these things seeking thereby merits with God, and for remedie of their soules, and remission of their sinnes, as may appeare testified in their owne records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this chart (if it please thee gentle reader) of king Ethelbald his donation, giuen to churches & religious persons, which Ethelbald was the builder (as is said) of Peterborough. The words of his record and instrument be these.

Two things to be wished in them that first builded monkish monasteries.

The article of free iustification not knowne.

The donations and priuiledges granted and giuen by king Ethelbald to religious men of the church.

PLerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, vt ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilióque roborata fuerint; fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, & machinamenta simulationis, sine vlla consideratione rationis, periculosè dissipentur, nisi autoritate literarum (testamento chirographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse præuidi, vt eam per bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque vllo antecedente merito, sceptra regiminis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Huius rei gratiâ hanc donationem, me viuente, concedo, vt omnia monasteria & ecclesiæ regni mei, à publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absoluantur: nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli vnquam prosunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus syluarum & agrorũ, & in captura piscium, ne munuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo seruiant, &c.

Ex chronico Guliel. Malmesb. lib.1.

By the contents hereof may well be vnderstood (as where he saith, Pro amore cœlestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & absolutione delictorum, &c.) how great the ignorance and blindnesse of these men was, who lacking no zeale, onely lacked knowledge to rule it withall: seeking their saluation not by Christ onely, but by their owne deseruings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamie or reprehension of them; but rather to put vs in mind and memorie, how much we at this present are bound to God for the true sinceritie of his truth, hidden so long before to our forefathers, and opened now vnto vs by the good will of our God, in his sonne Christ Iesu. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to haue such workes and to lacke our faith, and vs to haue the right faith & to lacke their workes. And this blind ignorance of that age thus aboue prenoted, was the cause not only why these kings builded so many monasteries vpon zealous superstition: but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of princely regiment, gaue themselues ouer to monasticall profession, or rather wilfull superstition. Concerning the names and number of which kings that were professed monks, is sufficiently in the storie before declared: the names of whom wee shewed to be seuen or eight, within the space of these two hundred yeeres. Such was then the superstitious deuotion of kings and princes in that age; and no lesse also to be noted in queenes and kings daughters, with other noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long heere to recite. As Hilda daughter to the nephue of Edwin king of Northumberland, abbesse of Elie. Erchengoda with her sister Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus king of Kent, which Erchengoda was professed in saint Brigets order in France. Item Edelberga wife and queene to king Edwin of Northumberland, and daughter of king Anna, which was also in the same house of saint Brigit made a nun. Item, Etheldreda whom we terme saint Eldrid, wife to king Ecfride of Northumberland, who being married to two husbands, could not be obtained to giue her consent to either of them, during the space of twelue yeeres, but would needs liue a virgin, and was professed nun at Helings. Werburga was the daughter of Ulferus king of Mercians, and made nun at Elie. Kinreda sister of king Ulferus and Kinswida her sister, were both nuns professed. Sexburga daughter of king Anna king of Mercians, and wife of Ercombert king of Kent, was abbesse at Elie. Elfrida daughter of Oswie king of Northumberland was abbesse of Whitneie: Wildreda, Wilburga, & Wilgunda, all three daughters of Werwaldus king of Westmercians, entred the profession and vow of nunnish virginitie. Kineburga wife of Alfride king of Northumberland, and sister to Offricus king of Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was professed abbesse of the monasterie in Glocester. Elfleda daughter of Oswie king, and wife of Peda, sonne of king Penda, likewise inclosed her selfe in the same profession and vow of Romish chastity. Likewise Alfritha wife to king Edgar, and Editha daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfrith hir mother, &c. All which holy nuns with diuers mo, the Romish catholikes haue canonized for saints, and put the most part of them in their kalendar, and onely

A briefe catalogue of queenes and kings daughters, which leauing their estate were made nuns.
Hilda.
Erchengoda.
Ermenilda.
Edelberga.
Etheldreda.
Werburga.
Kinreda.
Kineswida.
Sexburga.
Elfrida.
Wildreda.
Wilburga.
Wilgunda.
Kineburga.
Elfleda.
Alfritha.
Wulfritha.
Editha.

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dinlie because of the vow of chastitie solemnely professed. Concerning which chastitie, whether they kept it or no, little I haue to say against them, and lesse to sweare for them. But whether they so kept it or not, if this gift of chastitie which they professed, were giuen them of God, small praise worthie was it in them to keepe it. If it were not giuen them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said of some other, which sufficientlie haue painted out to the world the demeanor of these holie votaries. But this will I say, that although they kept it neuer so perfectlie, yet it is not that which maketh saints before God, but onely the bloud of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

Likewise remaineth, that as we haue declared the deuotion of these noble women, which professing monasticke life, haue cast off all worldlie dignitie and delights: so wee should also intreat of such noble men, who among the Saxon kings in like zeale of deuotion, haue giuen ouer themselues from the world (as they thought) vnto the contemplatiue life of monkish profession. The names of whom as in the catalogue of the Saxon kings before is described, be these, to the number of nine.

A table of such Saxon kings as were *after made moonks.*

Kings made moonkes.

1	Kinigilsus, king of Westsaxons.
2	Iue, king of Westsaxons.
3	Ceolulfus, king of Northumberland.
4	Edbertus, king of Northumberland.
5	Ethelredus, king of Mercia.
6	Kenredus, king of Mercia.
7	Offa, king of Eastsaxons.
8	Sebbi, king of Eastsaxons.
9	Sigebertus, king of Eastangles.

Of which kings and their doings, what is to be iudged, looke gentle reader before.

By these histories it is apparant, what mutations, what perturbations, & what alteration of state hath been in this realme of Britaine, first from Britains kings, to Romans, then to Britains againe, afterward to the Saxons. First to seuen all together raigning, then to one, &c. And this alteration not onelie hapned in the ciuill gouernment, but also followed in the state ecclesiasticall. For as in the Britans time the metropolitan see was in London, so in the Saxons time after the comming of Austin, it was remoued to Canturburie: the catalogue and order of which metropolitans, from the time of Austin to Egbertus, is thus, as in the historie of Malmesburiensis is described.

The names and order of the archbishops of *Canturburie, from Augustine, to the* time of king Egbert.

1	Augustinus.	16
2	Laurentius.	5
3	Mellitus.	5
4	Iustus.	3
5	Honorius.	25
6	Deusdedit.	19
7	Theodorus.	22

Hitherto from Augustine, all the archbishops *of Canturburie were Italians* and forreners.

8	Berctualdus English.	37	In his time the monasterie of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witredus and his brother kings of Kent.
9	Tacuinus.	3	
10	Nothelinus.	5	
11	Cutbertus.	17	This Cutbert after his death forbad all funerall exequies or lamentation for him to be made: William Malm. De vitis. lib. 1.
12	Breguinus.	3	
13	Lambrightus, or Lambertus.	27	In this time K. Offa translated the metropolitane see from Canturburie to Lichfeld by the grant of pope Adrian, being ouercome with apostolicall argument, as saith Flor. hist. that is, with monie.
14	Ethelardus.	13	
15	Vlfredus.	28	
16	Feolegeldus.	3 m	This Ethelardus by his epistles to pope Leo, obtained the metropolitane see againe to Canturburie.
17	Celnothus.	41	

During the course of these seuentéene archbishops of Canturburie in Rome passed in the meane time foure and thirtie popes, of whom partly heretofore we haue declared.

And thus much touching the time of the seuen kingdomes of the Saxons, ruling together in England, from the raigne of Hengist vnto Egbert, the first king and monarch of the whole land, after the expulsion of the Britans.

NOw remaineth (by the grace of christ) in the next booke following, to prosecute the order of such kings as principally raigning alone, had this realme in their possession, from the time of Egbert king of Westsaxons, to the comming of William Conqueror the Norman, comprehending therein the rest of the next 300. yeeres, with the acts & state of religion, as in that space was in the church: wherin may appeare the declining time of the church, and of true religion, preparing the way to antichrist, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this meane time, Satan (as is said) was bound vp from his raging & furious violence, counting from the time of Constantinus, to the next losing out of Satan, which was foretold by the Reuelation of S. John aboue mentioned, to be a thousand yéeres; whereof by the order of the historie (Christ granting) more shall be said hereafter.

The end of the second booke.

The third Booke containing the next three hundred yeeres, from the raigne of king Egbertus vnto the time of William Conqueror.

NOw remaineth likewise, as before I did in describing the descent and diuersitie of the seuen kings, all together reigning and ruling in this land: so to prosecute in like order the lineall succession of them, which after Egbertus king of the Westsaxons, gouerned and ruled solie, vntill the conquest of William the Norman; first expressing their names, and afterwards importing such acts, as in their time happened in the church worthie to bee noted. Albeit, as touching the acts and doings of these kings, because they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of Latine writers into the English tongue by diuers and sundrie authors, and namelie in the historie or chronicle of Fabian; I shall not spend much trauell thereupon, but rather refer the reader vnto him or to some other, where the troublesome tumults betweene the Englishmen and the Danes at that time may bee seene, who so listeth to read them. Onelie the table of their names and raigne, and acts done vnder their raigne, I haue compendiouslie abridged, vsing such breuitie as the matter would suffer.

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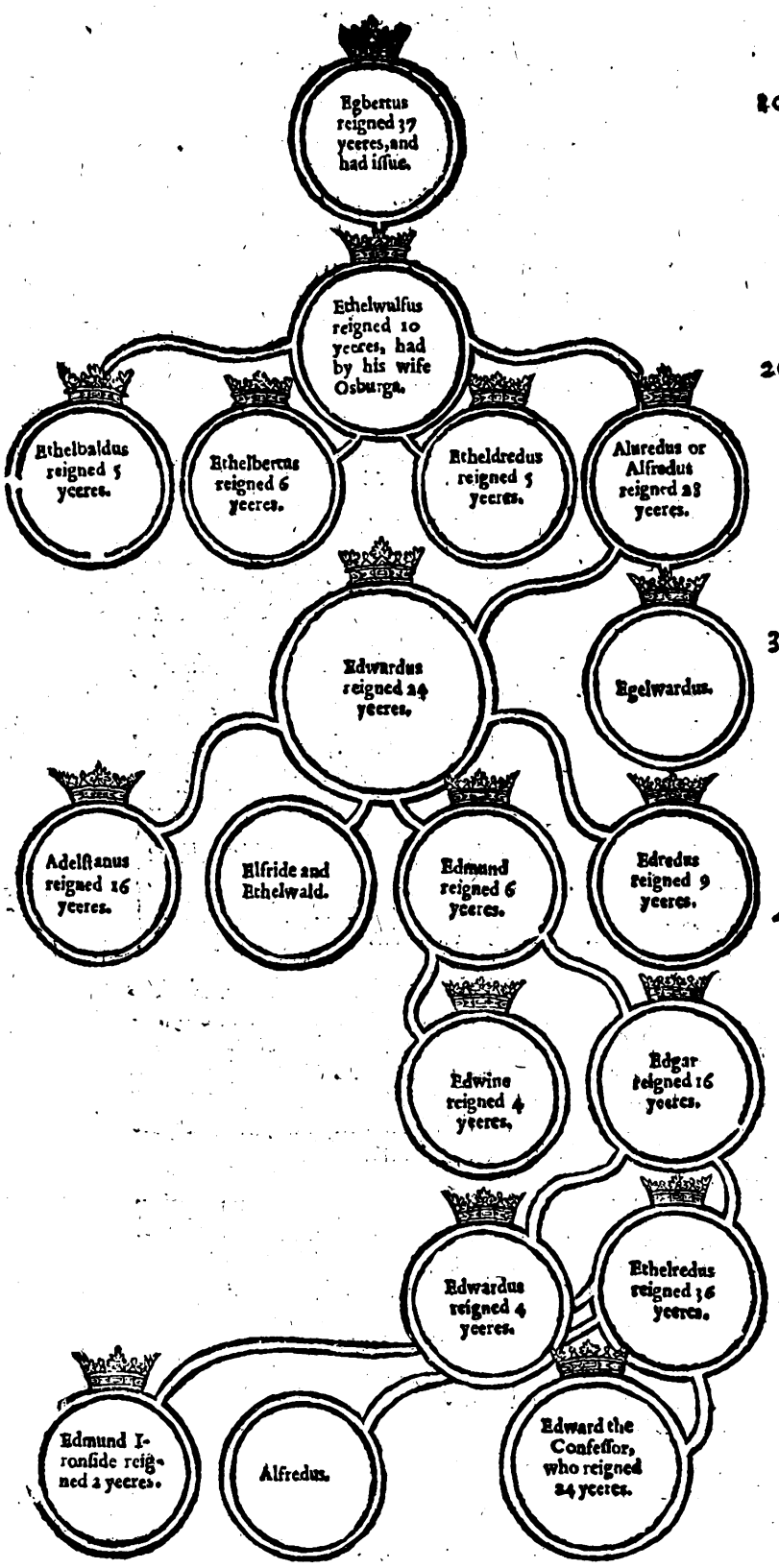
A table of the Saxon kings, which ruled alone *from king Egbert vnto VVilliam* Conqueror.



Here is to be noted, that before the reigne of Edward the Confessor, the Danes obtained the crowne vnder their captaine Canutus who reigned yeeres 19
Haraldus Harefoot sonne of Canutus 4
Hardeknutus sonne of Canutus 2
Edward the Confessor an Englishman, son of Ethelred 24
Haraldus sonne of earle Godwin an vsurper 1
William Conqueror a Norman.

King Egbertus.

Egbert king of the Westsaxons afterward monarch and king of the whole realme.

IN the reigne of Brightricus a little before mentioned about the yeere of Grace 795, there was in his dominion a noble personage, of some called Egbert, of some Ethelbright, who being feared of the same Brightricus because he was of a kingly blood, and neere vnto the crowne, was by the force and conspiracie of the forenamed Brightricus, chased and pursued out of the land of Britaine into France, where he indured till the death of the said Brightricus. After the hearing whereof, Egbert sped him eftsoones out of France, vnto his countrie of Westsax, where he in such wise behaued himselfe, that he obtained the regiment and gouernance of the aboue said kingdome.

In this time came in the Danes, first into the north parts and were driuen out againe.

{Anno 807}

Bernulphus king of Mercia aboue mentioned, with other kings, had this Egbert in such derision, that they made of him diuers scoffing iests, and scorning rimes, all which he sustained for a time. But when he was more established in his kingdome, and had proued the mindes of his subiects, and especially God working withall, he afterward assembled his knights, and gaue to the said Bernulphus a battell in a place called Elinden in the prouince of Hampton; and notwithstanding in that fight was great ods of number, as six or eight against one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord which giueth victorie as pleaseth him) had the better, and wan the field; which done, he seazed that lordship into his hand: and that also done, he made war vpon the Kentish Saxons, and at length in likewise obtained the victorie. And as it is in Polychronicon testified, he also subdued Northumberland, and caused the kings of these three kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, or ioyned them to his kingdome: Ex Flor. hist. This Egbert also wan from the Britans or Welchmen, the towne of Chester, which they had kept possession of till that day. After these and other victories, he peaceably inioying the land, called a counsell of his lords at Winchester, where by their aduices he was crowned king and chiefe lord ouer this land, which before that day was called Britain: but then he sent out into all coasts of the land his commandements and commissions, charging straightly that from that day forward the Saxons should bee called Angles, and the land Anglia.

Example what it is to deuide other. Example of patience.

{Anno 826}

Of this victorie went a prouerbe: *Rimus cruore rubuit, ruina refitit, figura tabuit.*

This land first called *Anglia.*

About the thirtith yeare of the reigne of Egbert, the heathenish people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, and especially in the ile of Lindefarne, where they spoiled the churches, and murdered the ministers, with men, women & children, after a cruell maner, entred now the second time with a great host into this land, and spoiled the ile of Sheppie in Kent, or neere to Kent: where Egbert hearing therof, assembled his people, & met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict he sped not so well as he was wont in times before, but with his knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding in the next battell, the said Egbert with a small power ouerthrew a great multitude of them, and so draue them backe. The next yeare following, the said Danes presuming vpon their victorie before, made their returne again into the land westward, where ioyning with the Britains, by the helpe and power of them they assailed the lands of Egbert, and did much harme in many places of his dominion, and elsewhere, so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of y realme of England or other, till the time of Hardeknutus last king of the Danes blod, so that many of them were married to English women, and many that now bee, or in times past were called Englishmen, are descended of them. And albeit that they were many and sundrie times driuen out of the land, and chased from one country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they euer gathered new strengths and powers, that they abode still within the land.

{Anno 833}

Danes now the second time entred in this land.

{Anno 834}

Fabian. cap. 158. Rog. Houed. lib. 5. cap. 1.

And thus (as by the stories appeareth) this troublesome land of Britain, now called England, hath been hitherto by fiue sundrie outward nations plagued. First by the Romans; then by the Scots and Picts; thirdly, by the Saxons; fourthly, by the Danes, of whose outragious cruelty and hostilitie, our English historiographers do most exclaime and complaine: fiftly by the Normans, which I pray God bee the last.

England fiue times plagued by other nations.

Ex Rog. Houed. lib. 5.

Then it followeth in the storie, that the time of this persecution of the foresaid pagans and Danes continuing, King Egbert when he had ruled the Westsaxons, and ouer the more part of England, by the terme of seuen and thirty yeares, died, and was buried at Winchester, leauing to his son Ethelwolfe his kingdome, which first was bishop of Winchester (as Houeden recordeth) & after vpon necessitie made king, leauing withall and pronouncing this saying to his sonne: *Felicem fore si regnum, quod multa rexerat industria, ille consueta genti illi non interrumperet ignauia.*

King Ethelwulfus.

{Anno 837}

EThelwulfus the son of Egbert, in his former age had entred into the order of subdeacon, as some others say was made bishop of Winchester; but afterwards being the only son of Egbert, was made king through the dispensation (as Fabian saith) of pope Paschalis: but that cannot bee; for Paschalis then was not bishop: so that by the computation of time, it should rather seeme to be Gregorie the fourth. This Ethelwolfe (as being himselfe once nuzled in that order) was alwaies good and deuout to holy church and religious orders, in so much that he gaue to them the tith of all his goods and lands in Westsaxons, with libertie and freedome from all seruage and ciuill charges. Whereof his chart instrument beareth testimonie after this tenor proceeding, much like to the donation of Ethelbaldus king of Mercians aboue mentioned.

A place in Fabian to be amended.

Guliel. Lib. de gestis pont. Anglor. saith this pope was Leo the fourth.

The priuiledges and donations giuen by king *Ethelwulfus to the clergie.*

{Anno 844}

REgnante Domino nostro in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum nostrarum, nec non & vastantium crudelissimas deprædationes hostium barbarorum, paganarúmq; gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum vsque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus iucúbere periculosa, Quamobrem, ego Ethelwulfus rex occiden-

Priuiledges & temporalities granted to the church by king Ethelwolfe.

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occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio episcoporum & principum meorum, consilium salubre, & vniforme remedium affirmaui: vt aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam, Deo & sanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus sanctis iure perpetuo possidendam concedam, scilicet partem terræ meæ, vt sit tuta & immunis ab omnibus secularibus seruicijs, necnon regalibus tributis maioribus & minoribus siue taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witterden: sitque libera omnium rerum, pro remissione animarum & peccatorum nostrorum, ad Deo soli deseruiendum, sine expeditione, & pontis constructione, & arcis munitione: vt eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces. fine cessatione fundant, quo eorum seruitutem in aliqua parte leuigamus, &c.

Ex Flor. histor.

Pro remisso.

Note the blind ignorance and erroneous teaching in those daies.

Hereby may it appeare, how when the churches of England began first to be indued with temporalties and lands; also with priuileges and exemptions inlarged: moreouer (and that which specialtie is to be considered and lamented) what pernicious doctrine was this, wherewith they were led, thus to set remission of their sinnes, and remedie of their soules, in this donation and such other deeds of their donation, contrarie to the information of Gods word, and no small derogation to the crosse of Christ?

These things thus done within the realme, then the said Ethelwolfe the king, taking his iourney to Rome with Alfred his yongest sonne, committed him to the bringing vp of pope Leo the fourth, where he also reedified the English schole at Rome: which being founded by king Offa, or rather by Iue king of Mercians (as in the Flowers of histories is affirmed) was lately in the time of king Ecbert his father consumed with fire. Further and besides, this king gaue & granted there vnto Rome, of euery fire house a penie to be paid throughout his whole land, as king Iue in his dominion had done before. Also he gaue and granted yeerely to be paid to Rome 300 marks, that is, to the mainteining of the light of S. Peter 100 marks, to the light of S. Paul 100 marks, to the vse of the pope also an other hundred. This done, he returning home through France, married there Judith the daughter of Carolus Caluus, the French king: whom he restored afterward (contrarie to the lawes of the Westsaxons) to the title and throne of a queene. For before it was decreed among the Westsaxons (by the occasion of wicked Ethelburga, who poisoned Brigthricus hir owne husband) that after that, no kings wife there should haue the name or place of a queene.

Peter pence throughout the realme granted to Rome.

Monie bestowed to burne daie light.

And forsomuch as I haue here entred into the mention of Judith daughter of Carolus Caluus; the occasion thereof putteth me in memorie, here to insert by the way a matter done, although not in this realme, yet not impertinent to this ecclesiasticall historie. And first to deduct the narration hereof from the first originall; the father of this Carolus Caluus, whose name was Ludouicus, first of that name, called Pius king of France, had two wiues: whereof by the first he had three sonnes, Lotharie, Pipin, and Lewis. Which three sonnes vnnaturallie & vnkindlie conspiring against their father and his second wife, with her sonne their yongest brother, persecuted him so, that through a certaine councell of lords spirituall and temporall, they deposed the same their naturall and right godly father, dispossessing and discharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreouer, caused him to renounce his temporall habit, inclosing him in the monasterie of S. Marke, for a monke or rather a prisoner. All which done, they diuided his empire and kingdome among themselues.

Note heere the holie and wholesome counsels and doings of the spirituall lords.

Ludouicus Pius emperor, king of France.

Thus was Ludouicus Pius, of impious sonnes left desolat. But the power of God, which worketh when as all earthlie power ceaseth, of his diuine mercie so aided and recouered him out of all his tribulation, to this imperiall dignitie againe, that it was to all his enimies confusion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his second wife, whose name was Judith, he had this Charles the Bald heere mentioned. Which Judith was thought and so accused to the pope, to be within such degree of alliance, that by the popes law, she might not continue his wife without the popes dispensation. It so fell out in the meane time, that this Ludouicus the emperour, had promoted a yong man named Frederike to be bishop of Vtricht; and to him had giuen sad and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the constancie of his predecessours would maintaine right and truth without all exception of any person, and punish misdoers with excommunication, as well the rich as the poore, with such like words of godlie counsell. Frederike hearing the king thus to say, sitting at dinner with him, as the maner was, being newlie inuested, in these words answered the emperour againe: I thanke your maiestie (saith he) which with your so wholsome exhortation put me in mind of my profession. But I beseech you of your benigne fauour and patience, that I may freelie disclose that which hath long incumbred and pierced my conscience. To whom leaue being giuen, thus he began: I pray you (lord emperor) to shew me heere in your mind (pointing to the fish before him) whether is it more according, to attaine this fish heere present, beginning first at the head or at the taile: What a tale is this (quoth the emperour) of the taile and of the head: At the head (quoth he.) Then Frederike, taking thereof his occasion, proceedeth: Euen so let it be lord emperour (saith he) as you haue said. Let christian faith and charitie first begin with your selfe, as with the head, admonishing you to cease from your fact and error, that your subiects by your example be not boldened to follow your misdoing. Wherefore first forsake you your vnlawfull wedlocke, which you haue made with Judith your neere kinswoman. These words of the new bishop, although they moued Ludouicus the emperour not a little; yet he, with a gentle modestie, and modest silence was contented, suffering the bishop to go home in peace. But the word being vttered in such an audience, could not so be concealed, but spred and burst out in much talke in the whole court, and especiallie among the bishops, consulting earnestlie with themselues about the matter. Through whose counsell and labour so at length it fell, that the emperour was constrained to leaue the companie of his wife, till he had purchased a licence of the bishop of Rome to retaine her againe, who then forgaue the said bishop all that was past. But the woman hired two knights that slue him in his vestments, when he had ended his masse. Ranulphus and Guli. lib. de Pontificib. giue forth this storie in his great commendation to die a martyr. Whereof I haue not to iudge, nor heere to pronounce, but that rather I thinke him to be commended in his dying, then the woman for her killing.

Note, there were two Iudiths, one, the mother of Carolus Caluus, the other, his daughter, who king Ethelwolfe did marrie.

Frederike bishop of Vtricht iudged of some a martyr. Example of the woman more readie in reuenge then the man.

And for so much as mention hath beene made of Ludouicus Pius, heere is to be noted, that in France then was vsed of priests and churchmen, pretious and shining vestures, and golden and rich staring girdles, with rings & other ornaments of gold. Wherefore the said Lewis purchased of the bishop of Rome, a correction for all such as vsed such disordinat apparell, causing them to weare browne and sad colours, according to their sadnesse. Fab.

Of this Lewis the papists doe faine, that because he conuerted certaine of their church goods and patrimonie to the wages of his souldiers, his bodie (say they) was caried out of his tombe by diuels, and was no more seene.

And thus a little hauing digressed out of our course, now let vs returne out of France into England againe. King Ethelwolfus, who comming now from Rome by the countrie of France, was now returned againe into his owne dominion, where he continued not long after.

This Ethelwolfus had especiallie about him two bishops, whose counsell he was most ruled by, Swithinus bishop of Winchester, and Adelstanus bishop of Shireborne. Of the which two, the one was more skilfull in temporall and ciuill affairs touching the kings wars, and filling of his coffers, and other furniture for the king. The other (which was Swithinus) was of a contrarie sort, wholie disposed and inclined to spirituall meditation, and to minister spirituall counsell to the king: who had beene schoolemaster to the king before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this kings nature, among his other vertues, not only in following the precepts and aduertisements of his old schoolemaster: but also in that he like a kind and thankefull pupill did so reuerence his bringer vp, and old schoolemaster (as he called him) that he ceased not, till he made him bishop of Winchester, by the consecration of Celnoch then archbishop of Canturburie. But as concerning the miracles which are read in the church of Winchester, of this Swithinus, them I leaue to be read together with the Iliads of Homer, or tales of Robinhod.

Swithinus bishop of Winchester.

Example of a kind scholler to his schoolemaster.

Woonkish miracles fained of Swithinus.

This Gregorie the fourth heere in this present chapter aboue mentioned, was the third pope which succeded after Paschalis the first, being but foure yeeres betwixt them; which Paschalis succeded after Stephan the fourth, who followed after Leo the third next pope vnto Adrian aboue in our historie mentioned, whereas we intreated of Charles the great. From the time of that Adrian the first, vnto pope Adrian the third, the emperours had some stroke in the election (at least in the confirmation) of the Romane pope. Notwithstanding, diuers of those foresaid popes in the meane time began to worke their practises to bring that purpose about. But yet all their deuices could take no full effect, before the said Adrian the third, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. So that the emperours all this while bare some rule in chosing the popes, and in assembling generall councels. Wherefore by the commandement of Ludouicus the emperour, in the time of this Gregorie the fourth a generall synod was commensed at Aquisgrane, where it was decreed by the said Gregorie and his assistants: First, that euery church should haue sufficient of his owne proper lands & reuenues, to find the priests therof, that none should neede to lacke or goe about a begging. Item, that none of the clergie of what order or degree soeuer he be, should vse any vesture of any pretious or scarlet colour. Neither shall weare rings on their fingers, vnlesse it be when prelats be at masse, or giue their consecrations. Item, that prelats should not keep to great port or families, nor keepe great horses, vse dice, or harlots. And the monks should not exceed measure in gluttonie or riot. Item, that none of the clergie, being either anointed or shauen, should vse either gold or siluer in their shoes, slippers, or girdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be coniectured, what pompe and pride in those daies was crept into the clergie. Moreouer, by the said pope Gregorie the fourth, at the commandement of Ludouicus emperour, the feast of All saints was first brought into the church.

Pope Leo the third. Stephan the fourth. Paschalis the first. Eugenius the second. Valentinus the first. Gregorie the fourth.

A generall synod at Aquisgrane.

Euerie church to haue sufficient to find his owne priests.

Pretious garments of scarlet or other rich colour forbidden men of the clergie.

Great families not lawfull for men of the clergie.

Rings, and gold in their shoes forbidden.

The feast of All saints first ordained.

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Pope Sergius the second. When the popes names began first to be altered.

After this pope, came Sergius the second, which first brought in the altering of the popes names, because he was named before Os porci, that is, Swines snowt: which also ordained the agnus thrice to be sung at the masse, and the host to be diuided into three parts.

Agnus thrice sung at the masse.

The host diuided into three parts.

Pope Leo the fourth.

After him was pope Leo the fourth, to whom this king Ethelwolfe (as in this present chapter is aboue specified) did commit the tuition of his sonne Alured. By this pope Leo it came in, and was first enacted in a councell of his, that no bishop should be condemned vnder three score and twelue witnesses, according as ye see in the witnesses at the condemnation of Stephan Gardiner, orderlie practised.

No bishop by the popes law to be condemned vnder seuentie and two witnesses.

Item, contrarie to the law of Gregorie the fourth his predecessor, this pope ordained the crosse (all set with gold & pretious stones) to be caried before him, like a pope.

The golden crosse first borne before the pope.

And heere next now followeth and commeth in the whore of Babylon (rightly in her true colours by the permission of God and manifestlie without all tergiuersation) to appeare to the whole world: and that not onely after the spirituall sense, but after the very letter, and the right forme of an whore in deed. For after this Leo aboue mentioned, the cardinals proceeding to their ordinarie election (after a solemne masse of the Holie ghost, to the perpetuall shame of them & of that see) in stead of a man pope, elected an whore in deed to minister sacraments, to say masses, to giue orders, to constitute deacons, priests, and bishops, to promote prelats, to make abbats, to consecrat churches and altars, to haue the reigne and rule of emperors and kings; and so she did in deed, called by name Ione the eight.

A woman pope called Ione the eight.

The church of Rome after their maner of the Holie ghost may erre.

This womans proper name was Gilberta (a Dutch woman of Magunce) who went with an English monke out of the abbey of Fulda in mans apparell vnto Athens, and after through her dexteritie of wit and learning was promoted to the popedome, where she sat two yeeres and sir moneths. At last openly in the face of a generall procession, fell in labor and trauell of child, and so died. By reason whereof, the cardinals yet to this day do auoid to come neere by that street where this shame was taken. By Benedictus the third, who succeeded next in the whorish see, was first ordained (as most writers do record) the dirge to be said for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregorie the third had done in that matter worthilie for his part alreadie.

Pope Benedictus the third. Dirge for the dead.

Pope Nicholas the first.

After him sate pope Nicholas the first, who inlarged the popes decrees with many constitutions, equalling the authoritie of them with the writings of the apostles. He ordained that no secular prince, nor the emperor himselfe, should be present at their councels, vnlesse in matters concerning the faith: to the end that such as they iudged to be heretiks, they should execute and murther. Also, that no laie men should sit in iudgement vpon the clergie men, or reason vpon the popes power. Item, that no christian magistrat should haue any power vpon any prelat, alleging that a prelat is called god. Item that all church seruice should be in Latine: yet notwithstanding, dispensing with the Sclauonians and Polonians to retaine still their vulgar language. Sequences in the masse were by him first allowed. By this pope priests began to be restrained and debarred from marrying: whereof Hulderike bishop of Ausbrough (a learned and an holie man) sending a letter vnto the pope grauely and learnedly refuteth and reclameth against his vndiscreet proceedings touching that matter. The copie of which letter, as I thought it vnworthie to be suppressed, so I iudged it heere worthie and meet for the better instruction of the reader to be inserted. The words thereof heere follow out of Latine into English translated.

The marriage of priests begun to be forbidden.

A learned epistle of Hulderike bishop of *Ausbrough, sent to pope Nicholas the first, proouing* by probations substantiall, that priests ought not to be restrained from marriage.

Anno 867

Nicholao domino & patri, peruigili sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ prouisori, Huldericus solo nomine episcopus, amorē vt filius, timorē vt seruus. Cùm tua (ô pater & domine) decreta super clericorum continentiam, &c. The same in English.

A letter written to pope Nicholas concerning priests not to refraine from marriage.

Hulderike bishop onely by name, vnto the reuerend father Nicholas the vigilant prouisor of the holie church of Rome, with due commendation sendeth loue as a sonne, and feare as a seruant. Vnderstanding (reuerend father) your decrees which you sent to me concerning the single life of the clergie, to be far discrepant from all discretion, I was troubled partly with feare, and partly with heauinesse. With feare, for that (as it is said) the sentence of the pastor, whether it be iust or vniust, is to be feared. For I was afraid for the weake hearers of the scripture (which scarslie obey the iust sentence of their pastour) much more despising this vniust decreement, through the onerous and importable transgression of their pastor, should shew themselues disobedient. With heauinesse I was troubled, and with compassion, for that I doubted how the members of the bodie should do, their head being so greatly out of frame. For what can be more grieuous or more to be lamented, touching the state of the church, then for you, being the bishop of the principall see, to whom apperteineth the regiment of the whole church, to swerue neuer so little out of the right way? Certes in this you haue not a little erred, in that you haue gone about to constraine your clergie to singlenesse of life, through your imperious tyrannie: whom rather you ought to stir vp to the continencie of marriage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyrannie to the iudgement of all wise men, when a man is compelled by your decrees to doe that which is against the institution of the gospell and the proceeding of the Holie ghost? Seeing then there be so many holie examples both of the old and new testament, teaching vs (as you know) due information: I desire your patience not to thinke it grieuous for me to bring a few heere out of many.

Priests marriage in the old law permitted, in the new law not forbidden.

First in the old law, the Lord permitteth marriage vnto the priests, which afterward in the new law we do not reade to be restrained, but in the gospell thus he saith: There be some eunuchs which haue gelded themselues for the kingdome of heauen, but all men do not take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. Wherefore the apostle saith, concerning virgins, I haue no commandement of the Lord, but onlie I giue counsell. Which counsell also all men do not take, as in the commandement of the Lord before; but many there be, false dissemblers and flatterers, going about to please men and not God, whom we see vnder a false pretence of continencie, to fall into horrible wickednes: some to lie with their fathers wiues, some to be Sodomits, & not to abhor to play the beasts with brute beasts. And therefore lest through the infection of this wicked pestilence, the state of the church should too much go to ruine: therfore he said, Because of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife. Touching which saying, our false hypocrits falslie do lie and faine: as though only it pertained to the laitie, and not to them. And yet they themselues seeming to be set in the most holie order, are not afraid to abuse other mens wiues, and as we see (with weeping eies) all they doe outrage in the foresaid wickednesse.

The inconuenience of single life.

The saying of the apostle, Let euery one haue his owne wife.

These men haue not rightlie vnderstood the scripture, whose brests while they sucke so hard in stead of milke they sucke out bloud. For the saying of the apostle: Let euery man haue his owne wife, doth except none in very deed, but him only which hath the gift of continencie, prefixing with himselfe to keepe and to continue his virgin in the Lord. Wherefore (ô reuerend father) it shall be your part to cause and ouersee, that whosoeuer, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vow of continencie, and afterward would forsake, either should be compelled to keepe his vow, or else by lawfull authoritie should be deposed from his order.

And to bring this to passe, you shall not only haue me, but also all other of my order, to be helpers vnto you. But that you may vnderstand, that such which know not what a vow doth meane, are not to be violentlie compelled thereunto, heare what the apostle saith to Timothie: A bishop (saith he) must be irreprehensible, the husband of one wife. Which sentence lest you should turne and applie onely to the church; marke what he inferreth after: He that knoweth not (saith he) to rule his owne household and familie, how should he rule the church of God? And likewise the deacons (saith he) let them be the husbands of one wife, which haue knowledge to gouerne their owne house and children. And this wife, how she is woont to be blest of the priest, you vnderstand sufficientlie I suppose, by the decrees of holie Syluester the pope.

This decree is contrarie to the bishops and prelats in queene Maries time.

To these and such other holie sentences of the scripture agreeth also he that is the writer of the rule of the clergie, writing after this maner: A clerke must be chast and continent, or els let him be coupled in the bands of matrimonie, hauing one wife. Whereby it is to be gathered, that the bishop and deacon are noted infamous and reprehensible, if they be diuided in more women then one: otherwise, if they doe forsake one vnder the pretence of religion, both they together, as well the bishop as the deacon be heere condemned by the canonicall sentence, which saith: Let no bishop or priest forsake his owne wife, vnder the colour and pretence of religion. If he do forsake her, let him be excommunicat. And if he so continue, let him be degraded. S. Augustine also (a man of discreet holinesse) saith in these words: There is no offense so great or grieuous, but it is to auoid a greater euill.

Furthermore, we reade in the second booke of the tripartite historie: that when the councell of Nice, going about to establish the same decree, would enact that bishops, priests, and deacons, after their consecration, either should abstaine vtterlie from their owne wiues, or els should be deposed; then Paphnutius (one of those holie martyrs, whom the emperor Maximus had put out the right eie, and hockt their left legs) rising vp amongst thē, withstood their purposed decreement: confessing marriage to be honorable, and calling the bed of matrimonie to be chastitie, and so persuaded the councell from making that law, declaring thereby what occasion might come to themselues and their wiues of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being vnmaried himselfe) declare vnto them. And the whole councell commending his sentence, gaue place thereto, and left the matter freelie without compulsion, to the will of euery man, to doe therein as he thought.

Notwithstanding there be some, which take S. Gregorie for their defence in this matter, whose temeritie I laugh at, and ignorance I lament: for they know not, being ignorantlie deceiued,

ceiued, how dangerouſlie the decree of this hereſie was (being made of S. Gregorie) who afterwards well reuoked the ſame, with condigne fruite of repentance.

More then ſix thouſand heads of infants found in the popes mote through the wicked decree of the ſingle life of prieſts. Let prieſts note well the ſaying of Gregorie.

For vpon a certeine daie as he ſent vnto his fiſhpond to haue fiſh, & did ſee more than ſix thouſand infants heads brought to him, which were taken out of the ſame pond or mote, did greatlie repent in himſelfe the decree made before, touching the ſingle life of prieſts, which he confeſſed to be the cauſe of that ſo lamentable a murther. And ſo purging the ſame with condigne fruite of repentance, altered againe the things which he had decreed before, commending that counſell of the Apoſtle, which ſaith: It is better to marrie than to burne; adding moreouer of himſelfe thereunto, and ſaying: It is better to marrie than to giue occaſion of death.

Peraduenture if theſe men had read with me this, which ſo hapned, I thinke they would not be ſo raſh in their doing and iudging; fearing at leaſt the Lords commandement: Doe not iudge, that you be not iudged. And S. Paul ſaith, Who art thou that iudgeſt an other mans ſeruant? Either he ſtandeth or falleth to his owne maſter: but he ſhall ſtand; for the Lord is mightie and able to make him ſtand. Therefore let your holines ceaſe to compell and inforce thoſe, whom onelie you ought to admoniſh, leſt through your owne priuat commandement (which God forbid) you be found cõtrarie, as well to the old teſtament, as to the new. For as S. Auguſtine ſaith to Donatus, This is onelie that we do feare in your iuſtice, leſt (not for the conſideration of chriſtian lenitie, but for the greeuouſneſſe and greatneſſe of tranſgreſſions committed) you be thought to vſe violence in executing puniſhment of that which onelie we doe deſire you (by Chriſt) not to do. For tranſgreſſions are ſo to be puniſhed, that the life of the tranſgreſſors may repent. Alſo an other ſaying of Auguſtine we would you to remember, which is this: *Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate, & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter*; that is, Let nothing be done through the greedines of hurting, but all things through the charitie of profiting: neither let any thing be done cruellie, nothing vngentlie. Item, of the ſame Auguſtine it is written: In the feare and name of Chriſt I exhort you, which of you ſoeuer haue not the goods of this world, be not greedie to haue them. Such as haue them, preſume not too much vpon them. For I ſay, to haue them is no damnation; but if you preſume vpon them, that is damnation, if for the hauing of them you ſhall ſeeme great in your owne ſight, or if you do forget the common condition of man through the excellencie of any thing you haue. Vſe therefore therein due diſcretion, tempered with moderation, the which cup of diſcretion is drawne out of the founteine of the apoſtolike preaching, which ſaith: Art thou looſe from thy wife? Do not ſeeke for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seeke not to be looſed from hir. Where alſo it followeth: Such as haue wiues, let them be as though they had them not, and they that vſe the world, let them be as not vſing it.

Auguſt. ad Donatum.

Note well the ſaying of Auguſtine.

What it is to marrie in the Lord.

Item, concerning the Widow, he ſaith: Let hir marrie to whom ſhe will, onlie in the Lord. To marrie in the Lord, is nothing elſe but to attempt nothing in contracting of Matrimonie, which the Lord doth forbid. Ieremie alſo ſaith: Truſt not in the words of lies, ſaying: The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The which ſaying of Ieremie, Hierome expounding, ſaith thus: This may agree alſo, and be applied to ſuch virgins, which brag and vaunt of their virginitie with an impudent face, pretending chaſtitie, when they haue an other thing in their conſcience, and know not how the apoſtle defineth the virgine, that ſhe ſhould be holie in bodie, and alſo in ſpirit. For what auaileth the chaſtitie of the bodie, if the mind inwardlie be deflowred? Or if it haue not the other vertues, which the propheticall ſermon doth deſcribe. The which vertues, forſomuch as we ſee partly to be in you, and becauſe we are not ignorant, that this diſcretion (although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life to be kept honeſtlie of you) do not deſpaire, but you will alſo ſoone amend the little lacke which is behind. And therefore with as much grauitie as we can, we ceaſe not to call vpon you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although according to our common calling, a biſhop is greater than a prieſt, yet Auſtin being leſſe then Hierome (notwithſtanding the good correction proceeding from the leſſer to the greater) was not to be refuſed or diſdained, eſpeciallie when he which is corrected, is found to ſtriue againſt the truth to pleaſe mẽ. For as S. Auguſtine ſaith, writing to Boniface: The diſputations of all men, be they neuer ſo catholike or approoued perſons, ought not to be had in ſtead of the canonicall ſcriptures. So that we may diſprooue or refuſe (ſauing the honor & reuerence which is due vnto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing there be found cõtrarie to truth. And what can be found more contrarie to the truth then this? When as the truth it ſelfe, ſpeaking of continencie, not of one onelie, but of all together (the number onlie excepted of them which haue profeſſed continencie) ſaith: He that can take, let him take: the which ſaying, theſe men (mooued, I cannot tell by what occaſion) do turne and ſay: He that cannot take, let him be accurſed. And what can be more fooliſh amõgſt men, then whẽ any Biſhop or Archdeacon run themſelues headlong into all kind of luſt, to adulterie & inceſt, & alſo ſodomitrie? yet ſhame not to ſaie, that the chaſt marriage of prieſts doth ſtinke before

What a virgin is by the deffinition of the apoſtle.

Auguſt. ad Bonifacium.

them: and as void of all compaſſion of true righteouſneſſe, doe not deſire or admoniſh their clerks, as their fellow ſeruants to abſteine, but to command them and inforce them as ſeruants, violentlie to abſteine. Vnto the which imperious commandement of theirs or counſell (whether you will call it) they ad alſo this fooliſh & filthie ſuggeſtion, ſaying: that, It is more honeſt, priuilie to haue to do with many women, then apertlie in the ſight and conſciences of many men to be bound to one wife. The which truly they would not ſay, if they were either of him, or in him, which ſaith: Wo to you Phariſies, which do all things before men: And by the Pſalmiſt: Becauſe they pleaſe men, they are confounded, for the Lord hath deſpiſed them. Theſe be the men, who rather ought to perſwade vs that we ſhould ſhame to ſin priuilie in the ſight of him, to whom all things be open, then ſeeme in the ſight of men to be cleane. Theſe men therefore, although through their ſinfull wickednes deſerue no counſell of godlines to be giuen them: yet we not forgetting our humanitie, ceaſe not to giue them counſell by the authoritie of Gods word, which ſeeketh all mens ſaluation, deſiring them by the bowels of charitie, and ſaying with the words of ſcripture: Caſt out (thou hypocrite) firſt the beame out of thine own eie, & then thou ſhalt ſee to caſt the mote out of the eie of thy brother.

The abſurd saying and contrarie doing of papiſts.

Moreouer, this alſo we deſire them to attend what the Lord ſaith of the adulterous woman: Which of you that is without ſin, let him caſt the firſt ſtone againſt her. As though he would ſay: If Moſes bid you, I alſo bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent miniſters and executors of the law, take heed what ye ad thereunto, take heed alſo (I pray you) what you are your ſelues: for if (as the ſcripture ſaith) thou ſhalt well conſider thy ſelfe, thou wilt neuer defame or detract another.

Moreouer, it is ſignified vnto vs alſo, that ſome there be of the, which (when they ought like vnto good ſhepherds to giue their liues for the Lords flock) yet are they puffed vp with ſuch pride, that without all reaſon they preſume to rend and teare the Lords flock with whippings and beatings, whoſe vnreaſonable doings S. Gregorie bewailing, thus ſaith: *Quid fiat de ouibus quando paſtores lupi fiunt?* that is: What ſhall become of the ſheepe when the paſtors themſelues be woolues? But who is ouercome but he which exerciſeth crueltie? Or who ſhall iudge the perſecutor, but he which gaue patientlie his backe to ſtripes? And this is the fruite which commeth to the church by ſuch perſecutors, alſo which commeth to the clergie by ſuch deſpightfull handling of their biſhops or rather infidels. For why may you not call them infidels, of whom S. Paul thus ſpeaketh, and writeth to Timothie? that, In the latter daies there ſhall certeine depart from the faith, giue heed to ſpirits of error and doctrine of diuels, of them that ſpeake falſe through hypocriſie, and hauing their conſciences marked with an hote iron, forbidding to marrie, and commanding to abſteine from meates, &c. And this is (if it be well marked) the whole handfull of the darnell and cockell growing amongſt the corne: this is the couent of all madneſſe, that whiles they of the clergie be compelled to relinquiſh the companie of their owne lawfull wiues; they become afterward fornicators and adulterers with other women, and wicked miniſters of other ſinfull filthineſſe. Theſe be they which bring into the church of God this hereſie (as blind guides leading the blind) that it might be fulfilled which the Pſalme ſpeaketh of, as foreſeeing the errors of ſuch men, & accurſing them after this maner: Let their eies be blinded that they ſee not, and bow downe alwaies their backe. For ſo much then (ô apoſtolical ſir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your diſcretion had vnderſtood and ſeene what poiſoned peſtilence might haue come into the church through the ſentence of this your decree, they would neuer haue conſented to the ſuggeſtions of certaine wicked perſons. Wherefore we counſell you by the fidelitie of our due ſubiection, that with all diligence you would put away ſo great ſlander from the church of God: and through your diſcreet diſcipline, you will remoue this Phariſaicall doctrine from the flocke of God: ſo that this onely Sunamite of the Lords (vſing no more adulterous husbands) doe not ſeparate the holie people, and the kinglie prieſthood from hir ſpouſe which is Chriſt, through an vnrecouerable diuorcement: ſeeing that no man without chaſtitie (not onlie in the virgins ſtate, but alſo in the ſtate of matrimonie) ſhall ſee our Lord, who with the Father and the Holie Ghoſt liueth and reigneth for euer, Amen.

Gregorius.

Inuenitur hæc epiſtola in vetuſtis membranaceis libris (teſtante Illyrico in catalogo.) Meminit eiuſdem epiſtolæ Æneas Syluius, in ſua peregrinatione, & Germaniæ deſcriptione.

¶ By this epiſtle of biſhop Hulderike (aboue prefired) the matter is plaine (gentle reader) to conceiue what was then the ſentence of learned men concerning the marriage of miniſters: but that heere by the waie, the reader is to be admoniſhed, that this epiſtle which by error of the writer is referred to pope Nicholas the firſt, in my mind is rather to be attributed to the name and time of Nicholas the ſecond, or Nicholas the third.

After this pope Nicholas ſucceeded Adrianus the ſecond, Ioannes the ninth, Martinus the ſecond. After theſe came Adrian the third, & Stephan the fift. By this Adrian it was firſt decreed that no Emperour after that time ſhould intermeddle or haue any thing to do in the election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperours firſt decaie, and the papacie to ſwell and riſe aloft.

Pope Adrian the ſecond, John the ninth, Martin the ſecond, Adrian the third, Stephan the fift.

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And thus much concerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to returne where we left, touching the storie of king Ethelwolfe. About the latter end of his reigne, the Danes which before had inuaded the realme, in the time of king Egbert, as is aboue declared, now made their reentrie againe, with three and thirtie ships arriuing about Hamshire: through the barbarous tyrannie of whom, much bloudshed and murther hapned heere among Englishmen, in Dorsetshire, about Portsmouth in Kent, in Eastangle, in Lindsie, at Rochester, about London, and in Westsex, where Ethelwolfe the king was ouercome, besides diuers other kings and dukes, whom the Danes dailie approching, in great multitudes, in diuers victories had put to flight. At length king Ethelwolfe, with his sonne Ethelbaldus warring against them in Southerie, at Okley, draue them to the sea, where they houering a space, after a while brast in againe with horrible rage and crueltie, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much as to our purpose shall serue, professing in this historie to write not of matters externe and politike, but onelie perteining to the church. The cause of this great affliction sent of God vnto this realme thus I found expressed and collected in a certeine old written storie, which hath no name: the words of which writer, for the same cause as he thought to recite them, writing (as he saith) Ad cautelam futurorum, I thought also for the same heere not to be omitted, albeit in all parts of his commendation I do not fullie with him accord. The words of the writer be these.

Ex vetusto exemplo historiæ Cariane. W. C. I.

In Anglorum quidem ecclesia primitiua, religio clarissimè resplenduit: ita vt reges & reginæ, & principes ac duces, consules, & barones, &c. In English thus.

The cause of Gods wrath, whereby the realme of England was scourged by the Danes.

In the primitiue church (saith he) of the Englishmen, religion did most cleerelie shine, in so much that kings, queenes, princes and dukes, consuls, barons, and rulers of churches, incensed with the desire of the kingdome of heauen, labouring and striuing among themselues to enter into monkerie, into voluntarie exile and solitarie life, forsooke all and followed the Lord. Where, in processe of time, all vertue so much decaied among them, that in fraud and trecherie none seemed like vnto them: neither was to them any thing odious or hatefull but pietie and iustice. Neither any thing in price or honor, but ciuill war and shedding of innocent bloud. Wherefore almightie God sent vpon them pagan and cruell nations, like swarmes of bees, which neither spared women, nor children, as Danes, Norwegians, Gothes, Sueuians, Vandals, and Frisians. Who, from the beginning of the reigne of king Ethelwolfe, till the comming of the Normans, by the space neere of two hundred and thirtie yeers, destroied their sinfull land frō the one side of the sea to the other, from man also to beast. For why? They inuading England oft times, of euery side, went not about to subdue and possesse it, but onely to spoile and destroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be ouercome of Englishmen, it auailed nothing, when as other nauies still with greater power in other places were readie, vpon a sudden and vnawares, to approch vpon them, &c. *Historia Cariana.*

Thus far haue you the words of mine author, declaring the cause which prouoked Gods anger: whereunto may be adioined the wickednesse, not onely of them but of their forefathers also before them, who falselie breaking the faith and promise made with the Britains, did cruellie murther their nobles, wickedlie oppressed their commons, impiouslie persecuted the innocent christians, iniuriouslie possessed their land and habitation: chasing the inhabitants out of house and countrie, besides the violent murther of the monks of Bangor, and diuers foule slaughters among the poore Britains, who sent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore Gods iust recompense falling vpon them from that time, neuer suffered them to be quiet from forren enimies, till the comming of William the Norman, &c.

Another cause rendred, why England was scourged of the Danes.

Moreouer, concerning the outward occasions giuen of the Englishmens parts, moouing the Danes first to inuade the realme, I find in certeine stories two most especiallie alligned. The one vniustlie giuen, and iustlie taken. The other not giuen iustlie, and vniustlie taken. Of the which two, the first was giuen in Northumberland by meanes of Osbright, reigning vnder-king of Westsaxons, in the north parts. This Osbright vpon a time iourneying by the way, turned into the house of one of his nobles called Buer. Who hauing at home a wife of great beautie (he being absent abrode) the king after his dinner (allured with the excellencie of her beautie) tooke her to a secret chamber, where he forceablie (contrarie to her will) did rauish her: whereupon she being greatlie dismaied, and vered in her mind, made her mone to her husband returning, of this violence & iniurie receiued. Buer consulting with his friends, first went to the king, resigning into his hands all such seruice and possessions which he did hold of him: that done, tooke shipping and sailed into Denmarke, where he had great friends, and had his bringing vp before. There making his mone to Godrinus the king, desired his aid in reuenging of the great villanie of Osbright against him and his wife. Godrinus hearing this, and glad to haue some iust quarrell to enter that land, leuied an armie with all speed; and preparing all things necessarie for the same, sendeth forth Inguar and Hubba two brethren, his cheefe captains, with an innumerable multitude of Danes into England; who first arriuing at Holdernesse, there burnt vp the countrie, and killed without mercie, both men, women and children, whom they could lay hands vpon. Then marching toward Yorke, entred their battell with the foresaid Osbright, where he with the most part of his armie was slaine. And so the Danes entred the possession of the citie of Yorke. Some others say, and is by the most part of storie writers recorded, that the chiefe cause of the comming of Inguar and Hubba with the Danes, was to reuenge king Edmund reigning vnder the Westsaxons ouer the Eastangles in Northfolke and Suffolke: for the murthering of a certeine Dane being father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falslie imputed to king Edmund. The storie is thus told.

Inguar and Hubba captains of the Danes.

An other cause of the comming of the Danes.

A certeine noble man of the Danes of the kings stocke called Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba, entring vpon a time with his hawke into a certeine schaffe or cockebote alone; by chance through tempest was driuen with his hawke to the coast of Northfolke named Rodham, where he being found and deteined, was presented to the king. The king vnderstanding his parentage, and seeing his case, entertained him in his court accordinglie, and euerie day more and more perceiuing his actiuities and great dexteritie in hunting and hawking, bare spectall fauour vnto him. In so much that the kings falconer, or maister of his game, bearing priuie enuie against him, secretlie as they were hunting togither in a wood, did murther him, and threw him in a bush. This Lothbroke, being murthered, within two or three daies began to be missed in the kings house: of whom no tidings could be heard, but onelie by a dog or spaniell of his, which continuing in the wood with the corps of his master, at sundrie times came & fawned vpon the king: so long that at the length they following the trace of ỹ hound, were brought to the place where Lothbroke lay. Whereupon inquisition being made, at length by certeine circumstances of words and other euidences, it was knowne how and by whom he was murthered, that was by the kings huntsman named Berike. Who thereupon being conuicted, was set into the same bote of Lothbroke, alone and without any tackling to driue by seas, either to be saued by the weither, or to be drowned in the deepe. And as it chanced Lothbroke from Denmarke to be driuen to Northfolke, so it hapned that from Northfolke he was carried into Denmarke, where the bote of Lothbroke being well knowne, hands were laid vpon him, and inquisition made of the partie. In fine in his torments, to saue himselfe, he vttered an vntruth of king Edmund, saying, that the king had put him to death in the countrie of Northfolke. Whereupon grudge first was conceiued, then an armie appointed, and great multitudes sent into England to reuenge that fact, where first they arriuing in Northumberland, destroied (as is said) those parts first. From thence sailing into Northfolke they exercised the like tyrannie there, vpon the inhabitants thereof, especiallie vpon the innocent prince, and blessed martyr of God, king Edmund. Concerning the farther declaration whereof heereafter shall follow (Christ our Lord so permitting) more to be spoken, as place and obseruation of time and yeeres shall require.

Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba.

What mischiefe enuie worketh.

Murther will out.

In the meane season, king Ethelwolfe in this chapter heere presentlie touched, when he had chased the foresaid Danes (as is aboue rehearsed) from place to place, causing them to take the sea, he in the meane while departeth himselfe both from land and life: leauing behind him foure sonnes, which reigned euerie one in his order, after the decease of their father. The names of whom were Ethelbaldus, Ethelbrightus, Etheredus, and Alueredus.

King Ethelwolfe deceaseth.

King Ethelbald.

KIng Ethelbald the eldest sonne of Ethelwolfe, succeeding his father in the prouince of Westsax, and Ethelbright in the prouince of Kent, reigned both together the terme of fiue yeeres, one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald the first left this infamie behind him in stories, for marrying and lying with his stepmother, wife to his owne father, named Iudith. After these two succeeded Ethelred, the third sonne, who in his time was so incumbred with the Danes, bursting in on euerie side, especiallie about Yorke (which citie they then spoiled and burnt vp) that he in one yeere stood in nine battels against them, with the helpe of Alured his brother. In the beginning of this kings reigne, the Danes landed in east England, or Northfolke and Suffolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forsake that countrie, and so tooke againe shipping, and sailed northward, and landed in Northumberland: where they were met of the kings then there reigning, called Osbright and Ella, which gaue to them a strong fight. But notwithstanding the Danes, with the helpe of such as inhabited the countrie, wan the citie of Yorke, and held it a certeine season, as is aboue foretouched.

Anno 857

King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbright.

Anno 867

King Ethelred. Yorke burned by the Danes.

In the reigne of this Ethelred, the Northumberlanders rebelling against the king, thought to recouer againe the former state of their kingdome out of the Westsaxons hand, by reason of which discord (as happeth in all lands where diuersion

What discord doth in a common wealth.

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tion is) the strength of the English nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the Danes the more thereby preuailed.

About the latter time of the reigne of this Ethelred, which was about the yeare of our Lord 870, certeine of the foresaid Danes being thus possessed of the north countrie: after their cruell persecution and murther done there (as partlie is touched before) toke shipping from thence, intending to saile toward the Eastangles, who by the way vpon the sea met with a fleet of Danes: whereof the captains or leaders were named Inguar and Hubba. Who ioining all together in one counsell, made all one course,, and lastlie landed in east England, or Northfolke, and in processe of time came to Thetford. Therof hearing Edmund, then vnder-king of that prouince, assembled an host that gaue to them battell. But Edmund and his companie was forced to forsake the field, and the king with a few persons fled vnto the castell of Framingham, whom the Danes pursued. But he in short while after yeelded himselfe to the persecution of the Danes: answering in this maner to the messenger, that told him in the name of Inguar prince of the Danes; which most victorious (saith he) was come with innumerable legions, subduing both by sea and land manie nations vnto him: and so now arriued in those parts, requireth him likewise to submit himselfe, yeelding to him his hid treasures, and such other goods of his ancestors, and so to reigne vnder him: which thing if he would not doe, he should (said he) be iudged vnworthie both of life and reigne. Edmund hearing this proud message of the pagan, consulted with certeine of his friends: and amongst others, with one of his bishops, being then his secretarie, who seeing the present danger of the king, gaue him counsell to yeeld to the conditions. Vpon this the king pausing a little with himselfe, at length rendred this answer: bidding the messenger go to tell his lord in these words, that Edmund a christian king, for the loue of temporall life, will not submit himselfe to a pagan duke, vnles he before would be a christian. Incontinent vpon the same, the wicked and craftie Dane approching in most hastie speed vpon the king, incountred with him in battell (as some say) at Thetford: where the king being put to the worse, and pitying the terrible slaughter of his men, thinking with himselfe rather to submit his owne person to danger, then his people should be slaine, did flie (as Fabian saith) to the castell of Framingham, or (as mine author writeth) to Halesdon, now called S. Edmundsburie, where this blessed man, being on euerie side compassed of his cruell enimies, yeelded himselfe to their persecution. And for that he would not renie or denie Christ and his lawes, they therefore most cruellie bound him vnto a tree, and caused him to be shot to death: and lastlie caused his head to be smitten from his bodie, and cast into the thicke bushes. Which head and bodie at the same time was by his friends taken vp, and solemnlie buried at the said Halesdon, otherwise now named S. Edmundsburie. Whose brother named Edwoldus (notwithstanding of right the kingdome fell next vnto him) setting apart the liking and pleasure of the world, became an heremit at the abbeie of Cerum, in the countrie of Dorset.

After the martyrdome of this blessed Edmund, when the cruell Danes had sufficientlie robbed and spoiled that countrie, they toke againe their ships, & landed in Southerie, and continued their iourney till they came to the towne of Reading, and there wan the towne with the castell, where (as Cambrensis saith) within three daies of their thither comming, the foresaid Inguar and Hubba captains of the Danes, as they went in purchasing of their preies or booties, were slaine at a place called Englefield. Which princes of the Danes thus slaine, the rest of them kept whole together, in such wise that the Westsaxons might take of them none aduantage. But yet within few daies after, the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the castell, and to defend them in plaine battell. In the which (by the industrie of king Ethelred and of Alured his brother) the Danes were discomfited, and manie of them slaine: which discomfort made them flie againe into the castell, and there kept them for a certeine time. The king then committing the charge of them to Ethelwold duke of Baroke or Barkshire, so departed. But when the Danes knew of the kings departure, they brake suddenlie out of their hold, and toke the duke vnprouided, and slue him, and much of his people. And so adioining themselues with others that were scattered in the countrie, imbattelled them in such wise, that of them was gathered a strong host.

As the tidings hereof was brought vnto king Ethelred (which put him in great heauinesse) word also was brought the same time of the landing of Olrike, king of Denmarke: who with assistance of the other Danes had gathered a great host, and were imbattelled vpon Athdon. To this battell king Ethelred with his brother Alured (forced by great need) sped themselues to withstand the Danes. At which time the king a little staying behind, being yet at his seruice, Alured which was comen before, had entred alreadie into the whole fight with the Danes: who stroke together with huge violence. The king being required to make speed (he being then at seruice and meditations) such was his deuotion, that he would not stirre out one foot, before the seruice was fullie complet. In this meane while, the Danes so fiercely inuaded Alured and his men, that they wan the hill: and the christian men were in the vallete, and in great danger to lose the whole field. Neuertheless, through the grace of God, and their godlie manhood, the king comming from his seruice, with his fresh souldiors recouered the hill of the infidels: and so discomfited the Danes that daie, that in flying alway not onely they lost the victorie, but most part also of them their liues. In so much that their duke or king Olrike or Olege, and fiue of their dukes, with much of their people were slaine, and the rest chased vnto Reading towne.

After this, the Danes yet reassembled their people, and gathered a new host, so that within fifteene daies they met at Basingstoke, and there gaue battell vnto the king, and had the better. Then the king againe gathered his men, which at that field were disparkled, and with fresh souldiours to them accompanied, met the Danes within two moneths after at the towne of Merton, where he gaue them a sharp battell: so that much people were slaine as well of the christians, as of the Danes, but in the end the Danes had the honour of the field, and king Ethelred there was wounded, and therefore faine to saue himselfe.

After these two fields thus wonne by the Danes, they obteined great circuit of ground, and destroied man and child that would not yeeld to them. And churches and temples they turned to the vse of stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the king beset with enemies on euerie side, seeing the land so miserablie oppressed of the Danes, his knights and souldiors consumed, his owne land of Westsaxons in such desolation, he being also wounded himselfe, but speciallie for that he sending his commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and Eastanglia, could haue of them but small or little comfort (because they through wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the Danes then of their king) was sore perplexed therewithall, as the other kings were both before him and after him, at that time. So that, as Malmesburie witnesseth, Magis optarent honestum exitium, quam tam acerbum imperium: that is, They rather wished honestlie to die, then with such trouble and sorrow to reigne. And thus this king not long after deceassed, when he had reigned (as Fabian saith) eight yeares, or as Malmesburie writeth, but fiue yeares. During which time of his reigne, notwithstanding his so great troubles and vexations in martiall affaires (as is in some stories mentioned) he founded the house or college of canons at Excester, and was buried at the abbeie of Winborne or Wiborne. After whose decease, for lacke of issue of his bodie, the rule of the land fell vnto his brother Alured.

Innocation and praier profitable in time of battell.

The Danes ouerthrowne at Athdon.

An other battell fought with the Danes at Merton.

What discord and rebellion doth in a realme.

The death of Ethelred.

The abbeie of Excester founded.

¶ King Alured, otherwise called Alfred.

AMong the Saxon kings hitherto in this storie afore mentioned, I find few or none to be preferred (or almost to be compared) to this Alured or Alfred, for the great and singular qualities in this king, worthie of high renowme and commendation: whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold trauels, which he continuallie from time to time sustained against his enimies in wars, during almost all the time of his reigne, for the publike preseruation of his people: or whether we consider in him his godlie and excellent vertues, ioined with a publike and tender care, and a zealous studie for the common peace and tranquillitie of the weale publike: appearing as well in his prudent lawes by him both carefullie set forth, & with the like care executed; as also by his own priuat exercises touching the vertuous institution of his life: or whether we respect that in him, which with equall praise matcheth with both the other before: that is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a feruent loue and princelie desire to set forth the same through all his realme, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his heroicall properties, ioined together in one prince, as it is a thing most rare, and seldome seene in princes now adaies: so I thought the same the more to be noted and exemplified in this good king. Thereby either to moue other rulers and princes in these our daies, to his imitation, or els to shew them what hath beene in times past in their ancestors, which ought to be, & yet is not found in them. Wherfore of these three parts to discourse either part in order, first we will enter to intreat of his acts and painefull trauels sustained in defence of the realme publike, against the raging tyrannie of the Danes, as they be described in the Latine histories of Roger Houeden, and Huntington: whom Fabian also seemeth in this part somewhat to follow. King Alfred therefore, the first of all the English kings, taking his crowne & vnction at Rome of pope Leo (as Malmesburie and Polychronicon do record) in the beginning of his reigne, perceiuing his lords and people much wasted and decaied, by the reason of the great wars of Ethelred had against the Danes: yet as well as he could, gathered a strength of men vnto him, and in the second moneth that he was made king, he met with the Danes beside Wilton, where he gaue to them battell. But being far ouermatched, through the multitude of the contrarie part, was put there to the worse: although not without a great slaughter of the pagan armie. Which armie then of the Danes, after that victorie, by compaction made with king Alfred, to depart out of his dominion of Westsax, remoued from Reading to London,

Anno 870

Anno 872 Alured king of England.

Ex Rog. Houed. H. Hunting. Polychronicon. & Fabiano.

Burhered being expulsed his kingdome, went to Rome, and there died in the English house.

Reading taken of the Danes.

Inguar and Hubba slaine.

Duke Ethelwold slaine.

Olrike king of Denmarke landeth in England.

Ex Guliel. Malmesb. Ex historia Iornalensi. Ex Fabiano & alijs.

S. Edmund king of Eastangles.

The message of the Danes to king Edmund.

The answer of K. Edmund.

The persecution and death of S. Edmund king of the Eastangles.

K. Edmund martyr.

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don, where they abode all that winter. Where Halden their king, taking truce with Burthred king of Mercians, the next yeare following voided those parts, and drew to Lindsey, in robbing and spoiling the townes and villages as they went, and holding the common people vnder their seruage. From thence after to Repingdon, where they ioining with the three other kings of the Danes (called Surdzim, Osketell, and Hamond) grew thereby in mightie force and strength. Who then diuiding their armie in two parts, the one halfe remained with Halden in the countrie of Northumberland: the residue were with the other three kings, wintering & soiourning all the next yeare at Grantbridge, which was the fourth yeare of king Alfred. In the which yeare king Alfred his men had a conflict on the sea with six of the Danes ships, of which one they tooke, the other fled awaie. In this yeare went Rollo the Dane into Normandie, where he was duke thirtie yeares, and afterward was baptised in the faith of Christ, and named Robert. The foresaid armie of the three Dane kings aboue mentioned from Grantbridge returned againe to Westsaronie, and entred the castell of Warrham: where Alfred with a sufficient power of men was readie to assault them. But the Danes seeing his strength, durst not attempt with him, but sought delaies, whilest more aid might come. In the meane season they were constrained to intreat for truce: leauing also sufficient pledges in the kings hand, promising moreouer vpon their oth, to void the countrie of the Westsarons. The king vpon the suretie let them go. But they falselie breaking their league, priuilie in the night brake out, taking their iourney toward Exceter. In which iourney, they lost six score of their small ships, by a tempest at Sandwich (as Henrie Huntington in his storie recordeth.) Then king Alfred followed after the horsemen of the Danes, but could not ouertake them before they came to Exceter, where he tooke of them pledges and faire promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding the number of the pagans did dailie more and more increase, in so much (as one of my authors saith) that if in one day thirtie thousand of them were slaine, shortlie after they increased double as manie againe. After this truce taken with king Alfred, the Danes then voided to the land of Mercia, whereof part of that kingdome they kept themselues, part they committed to one Ceolulphus: vpon condition that he should be vassall to them, and at their commandement, with his people at all times.

Rollo a Dane first duke of Normandie.

Anno 879

The next yeare insuing, which was the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes, who now hauing all the rule of the north part of England, from the riuer of Thames, with Mercia, London, and Exter; disdained that Alfred should beare anie dominion on the other side of Thames southward. Whereupon the foresaid three kings with all the forces and strength they could make, marched toward Chippenham in Wessex, with such a multitude, that the king with his people was not able to resist them. In so much that the people which inhabited there, some fled ouer the sea, some remained with the king, diuers submitted themselues to the Danes. Thus Alfred being ouerset with multitude of enemies, and forsaken of his people, hauing neither land to hold, nor hope to recouer that which he had lost, withdrew himselfe with a few of his nobles about him, into a certeine woodcountrie in Sommersetshire, called Etheling: where he had right scant to liue with, but such as he and his people might purchase by hunting and fishing.

King Alfred flieth into a desert wood.

Etheling, which is to say, the Ile of nobles.

This Edeling or Etheling, or Ethelingsey, standeth in a great maresse or more, so that there is no accesse vnto it without ship or bote: and hath in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plaine, about two acres of ground, in which Ile is venison, and other wild beasts, with foule and fishes, great plentie. In this wood, king Alfred at his first comming, espied a certeine desert cotage of a poore swineherd, keeping swine in the wood, named Dunwolphus: of whom the king then vnknowne was interteined and cherished, with such poore fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which, king Alfred afterward set the poore swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.

A swineherd made bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, while king Alfred accompanied with a few, was thus in the desert wood, waiting the euent of these miseries, certeine stories record of a poore begger, which there came and asked his almes of the king. And the night following he appeared to the king in his sleepe: saying, his name was Cutbert, promising (as sent from God vnto him for his good charitie) great victories against the Danes. But to let these dreaming fables passe, although they be testified by diuers authors, as both Wilhelmus li. de reg. Polychronicon, Rog. Houeden, Iornalensis, and others more. Notwithstanding the king in processe of time was strengthened & comforted more, through the prouidence of God: respecting the miserable ruine of the Englishmen. First the brother of king Halden the Dane before mentioned, comming in with three and thirtie ships, landed about Deuonshire: where by chance being resisted by a bulwment of king Alfreds men (who for their safegard there laie in garrison) were slaine to the number of 1300 men, and their ensigne called the rauen was taken. Houedenus in his booke of Continuationes writeth, that in the same conflict both Inguar and Hubba were slaine among the other Danes. After this, king Alfred being better cheared, shewed himselfe more at large; so that dailie resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, and Hamshire, till that he was strongle accompanied.

Henr. Huntingd. lib. 5. de Histor. Angl.

Inguar and Hubbie slaine.

A bold aduenture or attempt of king Alfred, entring himselfe into the tents of the Danes.

Then the king put himselfe in a bold and dangerous venture, as writeth Wilhelmus lib. de reg. Polychron, and Fabian, which followed them both. For he apparelling him in the habit of a minstrell (as he was verie skilfull in all Saxon poems) with his instrument of musike entered into the tents of the Danes, lying then at Eddendun: and in shewing there his interlude and songs, espied all their sloth and idleneſſe, and heard much of their counsell; and after returning to his companie, declared vnto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortlie vpon the same, the king suddenlie in the night fell vpon the foresaid Danes, and distressed and slue of them a great multitude, chased them frō that coast. In so much that through his strong and valiant assaults vpon his enemies, out of his tower of Edeling newlie fortified, he so incombered them, that he clearlie voided the countrie of them, betweene that and Selwood. His subiects estsoones, hearing of these his valiant victories & manfull deeds, drew to him dailie out of all coasts. Who through the helpe of God, and their assistance, held the Danes so short, that he wonne from them Wincheſter and diuers other good townes. Briefelie, at length he forced them to seeke for peace: the which was concluded vpon certeine couenants. Whereof one and the principall was, that the forenamed Gutrum their king should be christened. The other was, that such as would not be christened, should depart and void the countrie.

Ex Fabiano.

Upon these couenants, first the said Gutrum the Danish prince comming to Wincheſter, was there christened with twentie of his greatest dukes or nobles. To the which Gutrum king Alfred being his godfather at his baptisme, named him Athelstan. Who after a certeine season that he had feasted the said Danes, he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto their king the countrie of Eastanglia, conteining Northfolke and Suffolke, and part of Cambridgeshire. Moreouer (as saith Polychronicon) he granted to the Danes that were christened, the countrie of Northumberland. So the residue that would not be christened, departed the land, and sailed into France: where, what deration and harme they wrought, the chronicles of France doe partlie comprehend.

Gutrum the prince of the Danes was christened.

King Gutrum named Athelstan.

Northfolke and Suffolke giuen to king Gutrum.

King Athelstan thus hauing the possession of these countries, had all Eastangles vnder his obedience. And albeit that he held the said prouince as in fee of the king, and promised to dwell there as his liege man: yet that notwithstanding, he continued more like a tyrant, by the terme of eleuen yeares, and died in the twelfth yeare. During the which space, king Alfred hauing some more rest and peace, repaired certaine townes and strong holds afore by the Danes impaired. Also he builded diuers houses of religion, as the house of nuns at Shaftesburie. An other religious house at Etheling he founded. Item an other in Wincheſter, named the new monasterie. Item he indued richlie the church of S. Cutbert in Dirham. He sent also to India to paie and performe his vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the time of his distresse against the Danes.

The nunrie of Shaftesburie builded.

The monasterie of Etheling.

The new minster at Wincheſter beſieged of the Danes.

About the fifteenth yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and so came to Rochester, and besieged that citie: and there lais so long, that they builded a tower of timber against the gates of the citie. But by strength of the citizens, that tower was destroied, and the citie defended, til king Alfred came and rescued them. Wherby the Danes were so distressed, and so neere trapped, that for feare they left their horses behind them, and fled to their ships by night. But the king when he was thereof ware, sent after them and tooke sixteene of their ships, and slue manie of the said Danes. This done, the king returned to London, and repared the same honorable (as saith Houedenus) and made it habitable, which before was sore decaied & feebled by the Danes.

The third yeare after this, which was the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of king Alfred, the foresaid Athelstan the Danish king of Northfolke (which by Alfred was christened before) deceased. Not long after this, about the one and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the Danes againe landed in foure places of this land: which was, in Eastengland, in the North, and in the West, in two places. Before the landing of these Danes, it chanced king Alfred, hearing of the death of king Athelstan and of other complaints of the Danes, was then in Eastengland, when these tidings came to him.

Anno 892

When king Alfred was heereof ascertained, forsomuch as some of the Danes were landed in that coast, thinking with themselues the further they went in those parties, the lesse resistance to haue, and the more speed, as they were wont to haue before: Alfred therefore sending messengers in all hast to Ethelred duke of Mercia, to assemble to him an host, to withstand the Danes which landed in the West, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in Eastanglia, whom he pursued so sharplie, that he droue them out from those parties. They then landed in Kent, whither the king with his people sped him, & in like maner draue the Danes frō thence, without anie great fight, so farre as in our authors we can see. After this

The Danes driuen from Northfolke.

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The Danes return again to Northwales.

this, againe the Danes toke shipping, and sailed into Northwales, and there robbed and spoiled the Britains, and from thence returned by the sea into Eastanglia, with an hundred ships, and there rested them, for so much as the king then was gone Westward.

The Danes driuen out of Chester.

The fourth host of the Danes the same yeare came to Chester, which at length they wonne, but then the countrie adioining, prested so sore vpon them, and besieged them so long, keeping themselues within the citie, that at ỹ last the Danes wearied with the long siege, were compelled to eat their owne horses for hunger. But by appointment, at last they gaue ouer the towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, which was about the three and twentith yeare of king Alfred: Which Alfred in the meane while with his host sped him thitherward. Then the Danes, leauing their strong holds and castels, garnished with men and vittell, toke againe shipping, and set their course in such wise that they landed in Suller, and so came to the port of Lewes: and from thence toward London, and builded a towet or castell neere vnto the riuer of Luie, twentie miles from London. But the Londoners hearing

The Danes driuen from Lewes.

thereof, manned out a certaine number of men of armes, who with the assistance of them of that countrie, put the Danes from that tower, and after beat it downe to the ground. Some after the king came downe thither, and to preuent the dangers that might insue, commanded the riuer of Luie to be diuided in three streames: so that where a ship might saile in times before, there a little bote might scantlie row. From thence the Danes, leauing their ships and wiues, were forced to flie that countrie, & toke their way againe toward Wales, & came to Quadrage neere to the riuer of Seuerne. Where,

The riuer of Luie diuided into three streames.

vpon the borders therof, they builded them a castell, there resting themselues for a time, whom the king ensuing with his armie pursued. In the meane time, the Londoners at Luie taking the Danes ships, some of them they brought to London, the rest they fired. During all these three yeares, from the first comming of the Danes to Luie, England was afflicted with three manner of sorrowes: with the Danes, with pestilence of men, and morreine of beasts. The which troubles notwithstanding, yet the king manfully resisted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God alwaies, what trouble soeuer fell to him, or vnto his realme, and sustained it with great patience and humilitie. These three yeares ouerpast, the next yeare following,

Three plagues in England.

{Anno 897}

which was the eight and twentith of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes diuided their host, of whom part went to Northumberland, some to Northfolke, part sailed ouer to France, some others came to Westsex, where they had diuers conflicts with the Englishmen, both by land, and especially vpon the sea: of whom some were slaine, many by shipwracke perished, diuers other were taken and hanged, and thirtie of their ships were taken.

The Danes ships taken.

Not long after this, king Alfred, when he had reigned nine and twentie yeares and six moneths, changed this mortall life.

{Anno 899}

And thus much (and more peraduenture than will seeme to this our ecclesiasticall storie apperteining) touching the painfull labours and trauels of this good king: which he no lesse valiantlie atchiued, then patientlie sustained, for the necessarie defence of his realme and subiects.

The vertues and godlie life of king Alfred described.

Now, if there be any prince, who listeth to see and follow the vertuous and godlie disposition of this king, both touching the institution of his owne life, and also concerning his carefull gouernement of the commonweale, thus the histories of him do record. That at what time he being yong, perceiued himselfe somewhat disposed to the vice of the flesh, and thereby letted from many vertuous purposes, did not as many yong princes and kings sonnes in the world be now wont to do, that is, to resolue themselues into all kind of carnall licence, and dissolute sensualitie, running and following without bridle whither soeuer their licence giuen doth leade them (as therefore not without cause the common prouerbe repeateth of them, that kings sonnes learne nothing well els, but onlie to ride.) Meaning thereby, that princes & kings sonnes hauing about them flatterers, which bolster them in their faults, onely their horses giue to them no more then to any other: but if they sit not fast, they will cast them. But this yong king, seeing in himselfe the inclination of his fleshlie nature, minding not to giue himselfe so much as he might take, but rather by resistance to auoid the tentation thereof, besought God that he would send to him some continuall sickenesse, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publike businesse of the commonwealth, and more apt to serue God in his calling. Cestren. lib. 5. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.

The inclination of nature corrected in king Alfred.

The godlie petition of king Alfred.

Then at Gods ordinance, he had the euill called Ficus, till he came to the age of twentie yeares, whereof at length he was cured (as is said in some stories) by the virgin called Modwen, an Irish woman. After this sickenesse being taken away, to him fell an other, which continued with him from the twentith yeare of his age, to fortie and fiue (according to his owne petition and request made vnto God) whereby he was the more reclamed and attempered from other more great inconueniences, and lesse disposed to that which he did most abhorre.

Modwen.

Moreouer, to behold the bountifull goodnesse ioined with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and disposing his riches and rents, it is not vnworthie to be recited, how he diuided his goods in two equall parts: the one apperteining to vses secular, the other to vses spirituall or ecclesiasticall. Of the which two principall parts, the first he diuided into three portions; the first to the behoofe of his house and familie, the second vpon the workemen and builders of his new works, whereof he had great delight and cunning: the third vpon strangers. Likewise the other second halfe vpon spirituall vses, he did thus diuide in foure portions: one to the releeuing of the poore, an other to monasteries, the third portion to the schooles of Orford, for the mainteining of good letters; the fourth he sent to forreine churches without the realme. This also is left in stories written to his commendation for his great tolerance and sufferance, that when he had builded the new monasterie at Winchester, and afterward his sonne Edward had purchased of the bishop & the chapter a sufficient piece of ground for certaine offices to be adioined vnto the same, and had giuen for euery foot of ground, Marcam auri pleni ponderis (which was as I thinke a marke of gold or more) yet Alfred therewithall was not greatlie discontented to see his coffers so wasted.

King Alfred how he diuided his goods in two parts. *Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 1. Guliel. lib. de regibus.*

The liberall heart of king Alfred.

Ouer and besides, how sparing and frugall he was of time (as of a thing in this earth most pretious) and how far from all vaine pastimes and idlenesse he was, this doth well declare, which in the storie of William de Reg. and other writers is told of him. That he so diuided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by wars or other great businesse, that eight houres he spent in studie and learning, and other eight houres he spent in praier and almesdeeds, and other eight houres he spent in his naturall rest, sustenance of his bodie, and the needs of the realme. The which order he kept dulie by the burning of waxen tapers kept in his closet by certaine persons for the same purpose. Guliel.

How well and godlie this king spent his time.

How studious he was and carefull of the commonwealth, and maintenance of publike tranquillitie, his lawes most godlie set forth and deuised by him may declare. Wherein especiallie by him was prouided for the extirping and abolishing of all theft and theeues out of the realme. Whereby the realme through his vigilant care was brought into such tranquillitie, or rather perfection, that in euerie crosse or turning waie, he made be set vp a golden brouch, at least of siluer gilded, through his dominions, and none so hardie neither by day nor night to take it downe; for the more credit whereof, the words of the Latine storie be these: Armillas aureas iuberet suspendi, quæ viantium auiditatem irritarent, dum non essent qui eas abriperent, &c. Guliel. lib. de regibus Angl. And no great maruell therein, if the realme in those daies was brought in such an order, and that iustice then was so well ministred, when the king himselfe was so vigilant in ouerseeing the doings of his iudges and officers. Wherof thus also we reade in the said author testified: Iudiciorum à suis hominibus factorum inquisitor, perperàm actorum asperrimus corrector. i. He was (saith mine author speaking of the king) a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his iudges, and a strict punisher of their misdoings. Iornalensis also writing vpon the same, thus saith: Facta ministrorum suorum & potissimè iudicum diligenter inuestigauit, adeo vt quos ex auaritia aut imperitia errare cognosceret, ab officio remouebat, that is: He did diligentlie search out the doings of his officers, and especiallie of his iudges, so that if he knew any of them to erre either through couetousnesse or vnskilfulnesse, them he remoued from their office.

The godlie lawes of king Alfred.

A notable example of theeuerie and felonie banished this realme.

Ex historia Iornalensi.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble vertues of this worthie prince: whereunto although there were no other ornaments adioining besides, yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a prince worthie excellent commendation. Now besides these other qualities and gifts of Gods grace in him aboue mentioned, remaineth an other part of his no little praise and commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters, whereof he not onely was excellentlie expert himselfe, but also a worthie mainteiner of the same through all his dominions, where before no vse of grammar or other sciences was practised in this realme, especiallie about the west parts of the land, there through the industrie of this king, schooles began to be erected, & studies to flourish. Although among the Britains in the towne of Chester in Southwales long before that in king Arthurs time, as Galfridus writeth, both grammar, and philosophie, with other toongs was then taught. After that, some writers record, that in the time of Egbert king of Kent, this Iland began to florish with philosophie. About which time some also think, that the Vniuersitie of Grantchester, neere to that which now is called Cambridge, began to be founded by Beda, following this coniecture therein, for that Alcuinus (before mentioned) which after went to Rome, and frō thence to France in the time of Charles the great, where he first began the Vniuersitie of Paris, was first traded vp in the exercise of studies, at the same schole of Grantchester. Beda lib. iii. cap. 18. writing also of Sigebert king of Eastangles, declareth how the said Sigebert returning out of France into England (according to the examples which he did there see) ordered and disposed schooles of learning, through the meanes of Felix then bishop, and placed in them maisters and teachers after the vse and manner of the Cantuarits. And yet before these times, moreouer it is thought to be

King Alfred commended for learning.

When learning first began to be set vp in England.

Chester a place of learning.

The Vniuersitie of Grantchester by Cambridge.

The Vniuersitie of Paris first began by foure; Rabanus, Alcuinus, Claudius, Ioannes Scotus.

Sigebert king of Eastangles a setter of schooles.

two

Two ancient schooles in England, one for Greeke, the other for Latin.

two schooles or vniuersities within the realme: the one Greeke, at the towne of Greglade, which afterward was called Kirkelade, the other for Latine, which place was then called Latinlade, afterward Lethelade neere to Oxford.

But howsoeuer it chanced that the knowledge and studie of good letters being once planted in this realme, afterward went to decay: yet king Alfred deserueth no little praise, for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they haue euer since continued, albeit not continuallie through euerie age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to haue a prince learned himselfe, who seeling and tasting the price and value of science and knowledge, is thereby not onely the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subiects, from a rude barbaritie, to a more ciuill congruencie of life, and to a better vnderstanding of things: as we see in this famous prince to happen. Concerning whose first education and bringing vp, although it was somewhat late before he entred any letter: yet such was the apt towardnesse and docilitie of his nature, that being a child, he had the Saxon poems (such as were vsed then in his owne tongue) by heart & memorie. Who afterwards with yeares and time grew vp in such perfection of learning and knowledge, in so much that (as mine author saith) Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior. The which thing in him the more was to be marueiled, for that he was twelue yeares of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, carefull and tender ouer him, hauing by chance a booke in her hand, which he would faine haue, promised to giue him the same, so that he would learne it. Whereupon he for greedinesse of the booke, first learned the letters, hauing to his schoolemaster Pleimundus, after bishop of Canturburie. And so daily grew he more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine author saith: Plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium ciuium vsibus conuertens, that is: A great part of the Latine librarie he translated into English, conuerting to the vses of his citizens a notable preie of forrein ware and merchandize, &c. Of which bookes by him and through him translated, was Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, the historie of Beda, Boëtius de consolatione philosophiæ. Also a booke of his owne making & in his owne tongue, which in the English speech he called A handbooke, in Greeke called it Enchiridion, in Latin A manuell. Besides the historie of Beda translated into the Saxons tongue, he also himselfe compiled a storie in the same speech, called The storie of Alfred, &c. which both bookes in the Saxons tongue I haue seene, though the language I doe not vnderstand. And as he was learned himselfe excellentlie well, so likewise did he inflame all his countriemen to the loue of liberall letters, as the words of the storie reporteth: Illos præmijs, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aspirare permittens: that is: He exhorted and stirred his people to the studie of learning, some with gifts, some by threats, suffering no man to aspire to any dignitie in the court, except he were learned. Moreouer an other storie thus saith, speaking of his nobles: Optimates quoque suos ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum prouocauit, vt sibi filios suos, vel saltem si filios non haberent, seruos suos, literis commendarent, that is: Also his nobles so much he did allure to the imbracing of good letters, that they set all their sonnes to schole: or if they had no sonnes, yet their seruants they caused to be learned. Whereby the common prouerb may be found not so common as true; Such as is the prince, such be the subiects. He began moreouer to translate the psalter in English, and had almost finished the same, had not death preuented him. Guliel. de regib. Angl. In the prologue of the booke intituled Pastorale Grego. thus he writeth: declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good bookes from Latine into English, shewing the cause therof why he so did, as followeth: Quòd ecclesiæ in quibus innumeræ priscæ bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris à Danis incensæ sint: quódque in tota insula studium literarum ita abolitum esset, vt quisque minùs timeret capitis periculum, quàm studiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter se in hoc Anglis suis consulere, &c. that is; The cause was, for that innumerable ancient libraries, which were kept in churches, were consumed with fire by the Danes: and that men had rather suffer perill of their life, than to follow the exercises of studies: and therefore he thought thereby to prouide before for the people of the English nation, &c.

Ex historia Guliel. de regibus Ang.

Pleimondus teacher to king Alfred, and after bishop of Canturburie.

Bookes translated out of Latine by king Alfred.

None permitted to haue any dignitie in the court except he were learned. *Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 1.*

The psalter translated into English by king Alfred.

The cause why the king turned Latine bookes into English.

It is told of him both in Polychronicon, Malmesburie, Iornalensis, and other stories more, whereof I haue no names, that he seeing his countrie (namely Westward) to be so desolat of schooles and learning, partlie to profit himselfe, partlie to furnish his countrie and subiects with better knowledge, first sent for Grimbaldus a learned moonke out of France, to come into England. Also he sent for an other learned man out from the parts of Wales, whose name was Asserius, whom he made bishop of Shireborne. Item out of Mercia, he sent for Werefrithus, bishop of Worcester, to whom he put the dialogues of Gregorie to be translated. But chiefelie he vsed the counsell of Neotus, who then was counted for an holie man, and abbot of a certaine monasterie in Cornewall. By the aduisement of which Neotus, he sent for these learned men aboue recited: and also ordeined certaine schooles of diuers arts, first at Oxford, and also franchised the same with manie great liberties: Guliel. Iornalens. Fabi. cap. 171. Whereof perhaps the schole, now called the new college (first then begun of this Neotus) might take his name: which afterward peraduenture the bishops of Winchester after a larger maner did reedifie and inlarge with greater possessions.

Learned men sent for and placed about the king.

The dialogues of Gregorie translated.

Neotus an abbot.

The schooles and vniuersitie of Oxford first begun by king Alfred.

The new college in Oxford.

Moreouer, among other learned men, which were about king Alfred, histories make mention of Johannes Scotus (a godlie diuine, and a learned philosopher) but not that Scotus whom now we call Duns. For that Johannes Scotus came after this manie yeares. This Johannes is described to be of a sharp wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the Greeke tongue, pleasant & merrie of nature and conditions, as appeareth by diuers his doings and answers. First he comming to France out of his owne countrie of Scotland, by reason of the great tumults of warre, was there worthilie entertained, and for his learning had in great estimation of Carolus Calvus the French king, whom he commonlie and familiarlie vsed euer to haue about him, both at table, and in chamber. Upon a time the king sitting at meat, and seeing something (belike in this John Scot) which seemed not verie courtlie, cast forth a merrie word, asking of him what difference there was betwixt a Scot and a Sot. Whereunto the Scot sitting ouer against the king, somewhat lower, replied againe suddenlie, rather then aduisedlie (yet merilie) saying: Mensa tantùm, that is, The table onelie: importing thereby himselfe to be the Scot, and so called the king a Sot by craft. Which word how other princes would haue taken to stomach, I know not: but this Charles, for the great reuerence he bare to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his nobles, and so let it passe.

Johannes Scotus.

The answer of Johannes Scotus to the French king.

An other time the same king being at dinner, was serued with a certaine dish of fish, wherein were two great fishes and a little one. After the king had taken thereof his repast, setteth downe to Johannes Scotus the foresaid fish, to distribute vnto the other two clerks, sitting there with him: which were two tall and mightie persons, he himselfe being but a little man. Johannes taketh the fish, of the which the two great he taketh and carueth to himselfe: the little fish he reacheth to the other two. The king perceiuing this his diuision thus made, reprehended the same. Then Johannes, whose manner was euer to find out some honest matter to delight the king, answered to him againe, proouing his diuision to stand iust and equall: For heere (saith he) be two great, and a little, pointing to the two great fishes and himselfe: and likewise heere againe is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fish, and two great persons. I pray you (saith he) what ods is there, or what distribution can be more equall? Whereat the king with his nobles, being much delighted, laughed merilie.

At the request of this Charles surnamed Bald the French king, this Scotus translated the booke of Dionysius, intituled De hierarchia, from Greeke into Latin, word for word, Quo fit (as my author saith) vt vix intelligatur Latina litera, quum nobilitate magis Græca, quàm positione construitur Latina. He wrote also a booke De corpore & sanguine Domini, which was afterward condemned by the pope In concilio Vercellensi.

Johannes Scotus translated Hierarchiam Dionysij from Greeke to Latine.

The same Johannes Scotus moreouer compiled a booke of his owne, giuing it a Greeke title, Περὶ φυσικῶν διαιρέσιων, that is, De naturæ diuisione. In which booke (as saith my foresaid author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions; but so that he is thought to follow the Greeke church rather then the Latin, and for the same was counted of some to be an heretike: because in that booke some things there be, which in all points accord not with the Romish religion. Wherefore the pope writing to the said king Charles of this Scotus, complaineth, as in his owne words heere followeth:

The booke of Johannes Scotus called περὶ φυσικῶν.

Johannes Scotus addicted more to the Greeke church then the Latine.

Johannes Scotus accused of the pope for an heretike.

Relatum est apostolatui nostro, quòd opus Dionysij Areopagitæ, quod de diuinis nominibus, & de cœlestibus ordinibus, Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper transtulit in Latinum. Quod, iuxta morem ecclesiæ, nobis mitti, & nostro iudicio debuit approbari: præsertim quum idem Ioannes (licèt multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur) olim non sanè sapere, in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur, &c. That is: Relation hath beene made vnto our apostleship that a certaine man called Johannes a Scotish man, hath translated the booke of Dionysius the Areopagit, of the names of God, and of the heauenlie orders, from Greeke into Latin. Which booke, according to the custome of the church, ought first to haue been approued by our iudgement: namely, seeing the said John (albeit he be said to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath beene noted by common rumor to haue beene a man not of vpright or sound doctrine, in certaine points, &c. For this cause, the said Scotus being constrained to remoue from France, came into England, allured (as some testifie) by the letters of Alured or Alfred, of whom he was with great fauour entertained, and conuersant a great space about the king, till at length (whether before or after the death of the king it is vncertaine) he went to Malmesburie, where he taught certaine schollers a few yeeres, by the which schollers at last most impiously he was murthered and slaine with their pennknifes, and so died, as stories say, a martyr, buried at the said monasterie of Malmesburie with this epitaph.

Johannes Scotus slaine by his owne schollers.

John Scotus a martyr.

Clauditur

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Clauditur in tumulo ſanctus ſophiſta Ioannes,
Qui ditatus erat iam viuens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Chriſti condeſcendere regnum
Qui meruit, regnans ſecli per ſecula cuncta.

This Ethelwitha builded firſt the houſe of Nuns at Winchester.

King Alfred hauing theſe helps of learned men about him & no leſſe learned alſo himſelfe, paſt ouer his time not onely to great vtilitie and profit of his ſubiects, but alſo to a rare & profitable example of other chriſtian kings and princes for them to follow. This foreſaid Alfred had by his wife called Ethelwitha two ſonnes: Edward and Ethelward: and three daughters, Elfleda, Ethelgoza, and Ethelguida: Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus eruditi; that is, Whom he ſet all to their bookes and ſtudie of liberall arts, as my ſtorie teſtifieth. Firſt, Edward his eldeſt ſonne ſucceeded him in the kingdome: the ſecond ſonne Ethelward died before his father: Ethelgoza his middle daughter was made a nun, the other two were maried, the one in Mercland, the other to the erle of Flanders. Thus king Alfred the valiant, vertuous and learned prince, after he had thus chriſtianlie gouerned the realme the terme of nine and twentie yéeres and ſix moneths, departed this life, 5. kal. Nou. and lieth buried at Wincheſter, Anno Dom. 901. Of whom this I find moreouer greatlie noted and commended in hiſtorie, and not héere to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof touching this Alfred, that whereſoeuer he was, or whither ſoeuer he went, he bare alwaies about him in his boſome or pocket a little booke containing the pſalmes of Dauid, and certaine other oriſons of his owne collecting. Whereupon he was continuallie reading or praying whenſoeuer he was otherwiſe vacant, hauing leiſure thereunto. Finallie, what were the vertues of this famous king, this little table héere vnder written, which is left in ancient writing in the remembrance of his worthie and memorable life, doth ſufficientlie in few lines containe.

The children of king Alfred.

All his daughters learned.

The decease of king Alfred. Anno 901.

In regem Alfredum, & virtutum illius
claram memoriam.

FAmoſus, bellicoſus, victorioſus: viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum, pauperumque proniſor ſtudioſus, poetarum Saxonicorum peritiſſimus: ſuæ genti chariſſimus, affabilis omnibus, liberaliſſimus, prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, iuſtitia præditus, in infirmitate, qua continuè laborabat patientiſſimus: in exequendis iudicijs indagator diſcretiſſimus, in ſeruicio Dei vigilantiſſimus & deuotiſſimus, Angloſaxonum rex Alfredus, pijſſimi Ethelulfi filius 29. annis ſexque menſibus regni ſui peractis mortem obijt. Indict. 4. quinto kal. Nouemb. feria quarta, & Wintonia in nouo monaſterio ſepultus, immortalitatis ſtolam, & reſurrectionis gloriam cum iuſtis exſpectat, &c.

Moreouer in the hiſtorie of Henricus Huntingtonenſis theſe verſes I find written in the commendation of the ſame Alfred, made (as I ſuppoſe and by his words appéereth) by the ſaid author, whereof I thought not to defraud the reader: the words whereof héere follow.

Epitaphium regis Alfredi.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitáſque laborem,
Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia ſemper erant, ſpes ſemper mixta timori.
Si modò victor eras, ad craſtina bella pauebas,
Si modò victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore iugi, cui ſica cruore
Tincta tugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt.
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in aduerſis nil reſpirare liceret,
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finiſſe dolores.
Iam poſt tranſactos vitæ regnique labores,
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrúmque perenne.

In the ſtorie of this Alfred, a little aboue, mention was made of Pleimundus ſcholemaſter to the ſaid Alfred, and alſo biſhop of Canturburie, ſucceeding Etheredus there biſhop before him. Which Pleimundus gouerned that ſée, the number of thirtie and foure yéeres. After Pleimundus ſucceeded Athelmus, and ſate twelue yéeres. After him came Ulfelmus thirteene yéeres. Then followed Odo a Dane borne in the ſaid ſée of Canturburie, and gouerned the ſame twentie yéeres, being in great fauour with king Athelſtan, king Edmund, and Edwine, as in proceſſe héereafter (Chriſt willing) as place and order doth require, ſhall more at large be expreſſed.

Etheredus, Pleimundus, Athelmus, Ulfelmus, Odo Archbiſhop of Canturburie.

As touching the courſe & proceedings of the romiſh biſhops there, where I laſt entred mention of them, I ended with pope Stephan the fift. After his time was much broile in the election of the biſhops of Rome, one contending againſt another: in ſo much that within the ſpace of nine yéeres, were nine biſhops. Of the which firſt was Formoſus, who ſucceeded next vnto the forenamed Stephan the fift, being made pope againſt the mind of certaine in Rome, that would rather Sergius then deacon of the church of Rome to haue béene pope. Notwithſtanding, Mars and monie preuailed on Formoſus part. This Formoſus, of whom partlie alſo is mentioned in other places of this eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, being before biſhop of Portintake, had in times paſt (I know not on what cauſes) offended pope John the eight of that name; by reaſon whereof for feare of the pope, he bolted away and left his biſhoprike. And becauſe he being ſent for again by the pope, would not returne, therefore was he excommunicated. At length comming into France to make there his ſatisfaction vnto the pope, was degraded from a biſhop into a ſecular mans habit, ſwearing to the pope that he would no more reenter into the citie of Rome, nor claime his biſhoprike againe, ſubſcribing moreouer with his owne hand to continue from that time in the ſtate of a ſecular perſon. But then pope Martin (the next pope after John) releaſed the ſaid Formoſus of his oth, and reſtored him againe vnto his biſhoprike, whereby Formoſus entred not only into Rome againe, but alſo obtained ſhortlie after the papacie. Thus he being plaſed in the popedome, aroſe a great doubt or controuerſie among the diuines of his conſecration, whether it was lawfull or not: ſome holding againſt him, that for ſo much as he was ſolemnlie depoſed, degraded, vnpriеſted, and alſo ſworne not to reiterat the ſtate eccleſiaſticall, therefore he ought to be taken no otherwiſe then for a ſecular man. Others alleged againe, that whatſoeuer Formoſus was, yet for the dignitie of that order, & for the credit of them whom he ordered, all his conſecrations ought to ſtand in force, eſpeciallie ſéeing the ſaid Formoſus was afterward receiued and abſolued by pope Martin from that his periurie and degradation, &c. In the meane time (as witneſſeth Sigebertus) this Formoſus ſendeth for king Arnulphus for aid againſt his aduerſaries, who then marching toward Rome, was there reſiſted by the Romans from entering. But in the ſéege (ſaith the author) the Romans within ſo plaid the lions, that a poore hare (or ſuch a like thing) comming toward the citie, the hoſt of Arnulphus followed after with ſuch a maine crie, that the valiant Romans vpon the wals for very feare (where there was no hurt) caſt themſelues deſperatlie ouer the wals, ſo that Arnulphus with little labor ſcaled the wals & gat the citie. Thus Arnulphus obtaining the citie of Rome, reſcueth pope Formoſus, & beheadeth his aduerſaries; whom the pope to gratifie with like recompence againe, bleſſeth and crowneth him for emperor. Thus Formoſus ſitting faſt about the ſpace of foure or fiue yéeres, followed his predeceſſors: after whoſe time (as I ſaid) within the ſpace of nine yéeres were nine biſhops, as followeth. But in the meane time concerning the ſtorie of this Formoſus declared by Sigebert, and many other chronicles: this thing would I gladly aſke, & more gladly learne of ſome indifferent good catholike perſon, which not of obſtinacie, but of ſimple error being a papiſt, would anſwer his conſcience: Whether doth he thinke the holie order of prieſthood, which he taketh for one of the ſeuen ſacraments, to be Character indelebilis or not? If it be not Indelebilis, that is, If it be ſuch a thing, as may be put off, why then doth the popes doctrine ſo call and ſo hold the contrary, pretending it to be Indelebilis, vnremoueable? If it be in déed ſo as they teach & affirme, Indelebilis character; why then did pope John, or could pope John annihilat and euacuat one of his ſeuen pope-holie ſacraments, making of a prieſt a non prieſt or layman, vncharacering his owne order, which is (as he ſaith) a character, which in no wiſe may be blotted out, or remoued? Againe, howſoeuer pope John is to be iudged in this matter to do either well or not well: this would I know, if he did well in ſo diſprieſting and diſcharacering Formoſus for ſuch priuat offences? If yea, how then ſtandeth his doing with his owne doctrine which teacheth the contrarie? If he did not well, how then ſtandeth his doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the pope with his ſynod of cardinals cannot erre? Moreouer, if this pope John did not erre in his diſordering Formoſus, how then did Martinus his ſucceſſor not erre in repealing the ſaid doing of his predeceſſor? Or how did not pope Formoſus erre himſelfe, who being vnpriеſted by pope John, afterward without reiterating the character or order of prieſthood, toke vpon him to be pope, and made acts and lawes in the church? Againe, if Formoſus now pope did not erre, how then did pope Stephan his ſucceſſor afterward not erre, who did annihilat the conſecration, and all other acts of the ſaid Formoſus as erroneous? Or againe, if we ſay that this Stephan with his ſynod of cardinals did right, then how could it be that pope Theodore and pope John the tenth, which came after the foreſaid Stephan, did not plainlie erre, who approuing the conſecration of Formoſus, did condemne and burne the acts ſynodall of Stephan and his cardinals, which before had condemned Formoſus, according as in ſtorie héere conſequentlie may appéere?

Scribiſmes among the popes.

Character indelebilis.

Whether the pope with his cardinals may erre.

Nine popes in nine yeeres at Rome.

Formoſus firſt pope.

In chronicis Sigeberti.

After Formoſus had gouerned the ſée of Rome fiue yéers, ſucceeded firſt Bonifacius the firſt, who continued but fiue and twentie daies. Then came Stephan the firſt, which ſo enuied the name of his predeceſſor Formoſus, that he abrogated and diſſolued his decrées, and taking vp his bodie after it was buried, cut two fingers off his right hand, and commanded them to be caſt into Tiber, and then buried the body in a priuat or laimans ſepulchre.

Bonifacius the firſt pope.

Stephan the ſixth pope.

Ex chron. Martini panitentiarij.

Sigeberti.

Ex Polych. & alijs.

Thus Stephan after he had ſat in the chaire of peſtilence one yéere, ſucceeded in the ſame chaire pope Romanus, and ſat three moneths, repealing the acts decréed by Stephan his predeceſſor againſt Formoſus. Next to whom came Theodorus the ſecond, who likewiſe taking part with Formoſus againſt the foreſaid Stephan

Pope Theodorus the ſecond.

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Pope Iohn the tenth.

Stephan, reigned but twentie daies. Then ſat pope Iohn the tenth, who did fight & repugne againſt the Romans: and to confirme the cauſe of Formoſus more ſurelie, did hold a ſynod at Rauenna of 74 biſhops, with the French king Endo and his archbiſhops being preſent at the ſame. At the which councell were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formoſus, and the contrarie acts of the ſynod of Stephan the firſt were burned.

One councell burneth an others decrees.

This pope liued not pope fullie two yéeres, after whom ſucceded Benedictus the fourth, which kept the chaire three yéeres. After whom Leo the firſt was next pope, who within fortie daies of his papacie was with ſtrong hand taken & caſt in priſon by one Chriſtopher his owne houſhold chaplen, whom he had long norriſhed before in his houſe. Which thing (ſaith Platina) could not be done without great conſpiracie and much ſlaughter of men. Which Chriſtopher being pope about the ſpace of ſeuen moneths, was likewiſe himſelfe hoiſted from his papall throne by Sergius, like as he had done to his maſter before. And thus within the ſpace of nine yéeres had béene nine popes one after an other. Then Sergius after he had thruſt downe pope Chriſtopher, and ſhorne him monke into a monaſterie, occupied the roome ſeuen yéeres. This Sergius a rude man and vnlearned, very proud and cruell, had before béen put backe from the popedome by Formoſus aboue mentioned. By reaſon whereof to reuenge Formoſus againe being now in his papacie, cauſed the bodie of Formoſus where it was buried, to be taken vp, & afterward ſet in the papall ſée (as in his pontificalibus) firſt degraded him, then commanded his head to be ſmitten off, with the other three fingers that were left (as Sigebertus writeth) which done, he made his bodie to be throwne into Tiber, depoſing likewiſe all ſuch as by the ſaid Formoſus before had béene conſecrated & inueſted. This bodie of Formoſus thus throwen into Tiber, was afterward (as our writers ſay) found and taken vp by certaine fiſhers, and ſo brought into S. Peters temple. At the preſence whereof (as they ſay) certaine images there ſtanding by, bowed downe themſelues and reuerenced the ſame, with lie and all. But ſuch deceiuable miracles of ſtocks and images, in monkiſh and frierlie temples, be to vs no newes, eſpeciallie héere in England, where we haue béen ſo inured with the like & ſo many, that ſuch wilie practiſes cannot be to vs inuiſible, though this crowneſhorne generation thinke themſelues to dance in a net. But the truth is, while they thinke to deceiue the ſimple, theſe wilie beguilie moſt of all deceiue themſelues, as they will find except they repent. By this pope Sergius firſt came vp the vſe to beare about candles on Candlemas day, for the purifying of the bleſſed virgine; as though the ſacred conception of Jeſus the ſonne of God were to be purified as a thing vnpure, and that with candle light.

Pope Benedictus the fourth.

Pope Leo the firſt impriſoned and vnpoped by his owne chaplen.

Pope Chriſtopherus the firſt.

Pope Sergius.

Pope Formoſus after his death beheaded of pope Sergius.

A falſe fained miracle vpon the bodie of Formoſus.

Popiſh miracles not to be credited.

Bearing of candles on Candlemas day how it came vp.

After Sergius entered pope Anaſtaſius, in whoſe time the bodie of Formoſus forenamed is thought to be found of fiſhermen in the riuer of Tiber, and ſo brought (as is ſaid) into the temple to be ſaluted of the images; which thing may quicklie be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought that the bodie of Formoſus ſo long dead before, & now lying ſeuen yéeres in the riuer, could remaine whole all that while, that fiſhers might take it vp, & diſcerne it to be the ſame? After Anaſtaſius had ſat two yéeres, followed pope Lando, the father (as ſome ſtories thinke) of pope John, which John is ſaid to be the paramour of Theodora a famous harlot of Rome, & ſet vp of the ſame harlot either againſt Lando, or after Lando his father to ſucceed in his roome. There is a ſtorie writer called Luithprandus, who writing De imperatoribus lib. 2. cap. 13. maketh there mention of this Theodora & pope John the eleuenth, and ſaith moreouer that this Theodora had a daughter named Marozia, which Marozia had by pope Sergius aboue mentioned a ſonne which afterward was pope John the twelfth. The ſame Marozia afterwards chanced to marrie with Guido marques of Tuſcia, through the means of which Guido & his friends at Rome, ſhe brought to paſſe that this pope John the eleuenth was ſmothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had reigned thirteene yéers, & ſo the foreſaid John the twelfth her ſonne to ſucceed next after him. But becauſe the clergie & people of Rome did not agrée to his election, therefore was pope Leo the firſt in his place ſet vp. Thus pope John the ſonne of Sergius & Marozia being dejected, reigned pope Leo ſeuen months. After him pope Stephan two yéeres, who being poiſoned, then was pope John the twelfth aboue reherſed, the ſonne of Sergius & Marozia ſet vp againe in the papacie, where he reigned néere the ſpace of fiue yéers. Of the wickednes of this ſtrumpet Marozia, how ſhe maried two brethren, one after the death of the other, & how ſhe gouerned all Rome, & the whole church at that time, I let it paſſe. Although the Latin verſes wherwith the ſaid Luithprandus doth inuey againſt ſuch women as marrie two brethren, were neither worthie héere to be recited, and perhaps might be further applied then to that Marozia of Rome: but for shortnes I let them alſo paſſe. After John the twelfth followed pope Stephan three yéers, pope Leo three yéers and foure moneths, pope Stephan the eight three yéers & foure months, pope Martin three yéers and ſix months; after him pope Agapetus eight yéers and ſix months. About whoſe time or a litle before began firſt the order of monks called Ordo Cluniacenſis, &c. But now to leaue off theſe monſtrous matters of Rome, and to returne againe to our countrie of England, where we laſt left before.

Pope Lando the firſt.

Pope John the eleuenth.

Harlots at this time ruled all at Rome.

Pope John the twelfth.

Pope Leo the firſt.

Pope Stephan the ninth.

Pope John the twelfth reſtored.

Luithprandus, Ticinenſis.

Pope Stephan the ſeuenth.

Pope Leo the ſeuenth.

Pope Stephan the eight.

Pope Martin the third.

Pope Agapetus the ſecond.

Ordo Cluniacenſis beginneth.

King Edward the elder.

King Edward the elder.

AFter the reigne of the famous king Alfred, his ſonne Edward ſucceeded, ſurnamed the elder: where firſt is to be noted, that before the conqueſt of the Normans, there were in England three Edwards; firſt, this Edward the elder; ſecond, Edward the martyr; third, Edward the confeſſor, whereof héereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall follow in order as place ſhall giue to be declared. This Edward began his reigne the yéere of our Lord 901, and gouerned the land right valiantlie and noblie foure & twentie yéers. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his father, otherwiſe in princelie renowme, in ciuill gouernment, and ſuch like martiall proweſſe, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him; through whoſe valiant acts firſt the principedome of Wales and kingdome of Scotland, with Conſtantine king thereof were to him ſubdued. He adioined moreouer to his dominion the countrie of Eaſtanglia, that is, of Northfolke, Suffolke, and Eſſex. All Merceland alſo he recouered and Northumberland out of the hands of the Danes. In all his wars he neuer lightlie went without victorie. The ſubiects of his prouinces & dominions were ſo inured and hardned in continuall practiſe and feats of war, that when they heard of any enimies coming (neuer tarying for any bidding from the king or from his dukes) ſtraightwaies they incountred with them, both in number & in knowledge of the order of war excelling alwaies their aduerſaries. Guliel. de regi. Ita hoſtes militibus contemptui, regi riſui erant; to meane, So was the comming & aſſaulting of their enimies to the people and common ſouldiers but a trifle, to the king but a ridicle. Among other aduerſaries which were buſie rather then wiſe, in aſſailing this king, was one called Clito Ethelwoldus a yong man, king Edwards vncles ſonne, who firſt occupying the towne of Wimborne (taking thence a nun with him, whom then he had maried) fled by night to Northumberland, to adioine himſelf vnto the Danes, who was made chiefe king & captain ouer them. Then chaſed fro thence, he fled ouer into France, but ſhortly returning againe into England, he landed in Eaſtengland, where the ſaid Clito with a companie of Danes of that countrie gathered to him, deſtroied & pilled much of the countrie about Crekinford and Crikeland. And ſo paſſing ouer Thames after he had ſpoiled the land there to Bradenelocke, returned againe to Northfolke and Suffolke, where he méeting with an ambuſhment of Kentiſhmen, which dragged and taried after the maine hoſt of Edward, contrarie to his commandement, incloſed them in, and ſlue the moſt part of them. Soone after the two hoſts méeting together, betweene the two ditches of S. Edmunds land, after a long fight Clito with many of the Danes were ſlaine, & the remnant were conſtrained to ſéeke for peace, which vpon certaine conditions, and vnder a tribute was to them granted.

Three Edwards before the conqueſt.

A compariſon betweene Alfred and his ſonne Edward.

Vſe and long exerciſe of things maketh perfectnes.

Clito Ethelwold rebelleth againſt king Edward.

Anno 904

In proceſſe, about the twelfth yéere of his reigne, the Danes repenting them of their couenants, and minding to breake the ſame, aſſembled an hoſt and met with the king in Staffordſhire at a place called Totenhall, and ſoone after at Wodneſfeld, at which two places the king ſlue two kings, two erles, and many thouſands of Danes that occupied the countrie of Northumberland.

Anno 913

Thus the importunat rage of the Danes being aſſwaged, king Edward, hauing now ſome leiſure giuen from wars to other ſtudies, gaue his mind to the building or reparing of cities, townes, and caſtles, that by the Danes were raced, ſhattred and broken. As firſt of Cheſter, which citie he double inlarged to that it was before, compaſſing the caſtle within the walls of the ſame which before ſtood without. That done, the king builded a ſtrong caſtle at Hereford in the edge of Wales. Alſo for the ſtrengthening of the countrie, he made a caſtle at the mouth of the water of Auen, & an other caſtle at Buckingham, and the third faſt thereby vpon the riuer of Muſe. Moreouer he builded or reedified the townes of Toceſter & Wigmore, and deſtroied the caſtle that the Danes had made at Demeſford. Likewiſe vpon the riuer of Trent againſt the old towne of Notingham, he builded a new towne on the ſouthſide, & made a bridge ouer the riuer betweene the ſaid two townes. Alſo by the riuer of Merce he builded a citie or towne in the north end of Mercia, & named it Thilwall, and after repared the citie of Manchelter, that ſore was defaced with wars of the Danes.

Cheſter repared and inlarged.

The caſtell of Hereford builded vpon the riuer of Auen and Muſe.

The townes of Toceſter and Wigmor builded.

The new towne of Notingham builded.

Thilwall.

Manchelter repared.

In this renewing & building of townes & caſtles for the more fortifying of his realme, his ſiſter Elfleda daughter of king Alfred, & maried to the duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no ſmall helper. Of this Elfleda it is firmlie of writers affirmed, that ſhe being (as is ſaid) maried to Ethelred duke of Mercia, after ſhe had once aſſaied the paines of women in trauelling with her child, ſo much ſhe abhorred euer after the imbracing of her huſband, that it ſéemed to her (the ſaid) not ſéemly for a noble woman to vſe ſuch fleſhly liking, wherof ſo great ſorow & trauell ſhould inſue. And yet notwithſtanding, the ſame Elfleda for all her delicat tendernes in eſchewing the naturall paſſion which neceſſitie giueth to women; ſo hardie ſhe was in warlike dangers which nature giueth not to women, that fighting againſt the Danes, ſo venturous ſhe was of ſtomach, that foure of her next knights which were gardians of her bodie, were ſlaine faſt by her. This Elfleda amog her other noble

Valiant ladie Elfleda.

acts,

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acts whereby she deserued praise, was a great helper and stirrer vp of her brother Edward, who builded and newlie repared many castles and townes, as Tamworth besides Lichfeeld, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewesburie, Watrisburie, Eidsburie, besides Chester in the forrest now destroyed. Also in the north end of Mercia, vpon the riuer of Merce, a castell called Rimcorne, also a bridge ouer Seuerne named Brimmisburie bridge.

The lawes of king Alfred and king Edward.

As touching the lawes and statutes of this Edward, as also of his father Alfred made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and wast of time: yet notwithstanding, this admonition by the way I thinke good to note, that in those dayes of these ancient kings reigning in England, the authoritie then both of conferring bishoprikes and spirituall promotions, and also of prescribing lawes as well to the churchmen as to the laitie, and of ordering and intermedling in matters meere spirituall, was then in the hands of kings ruling in the land, and not only in the hand of the pope, as appeareth by these lawes of Alfred.

Si quis fornicetur cum vxore aliena, &c.
Si quis in quadragesima sanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.
Vt christiani Deum diligant & paganismo renuncient, &c.
Si quis christianitatem mutet, &c.
Si quis ordinatus sacris furetur, &c.
Si presbyter ad rectum terminum sanctum chrisma, &c.
Si duo fratres vel cognati cum vna aliqua fornicentur, &c.

Note how kings of England in times past had authoritie in spirituall causes.

By these and other such like constitutions of king Alfred, it may appeare, how the gouernance and direction of the church in those dayes depended not vpon monsieur le pope of Rome, but vpon the kings which here in their time (vnder the Lord) did gouerne the land. To this also the example of king Edwards time giueth testimonie: which Edward with Plemmundus (a boue mentioned) archbishop of Canturburie, and with other bishops in a synod assembled, assigned and elected seuen bishops in seuen metropolitan churches of the realme. Which were, the first Fridestan, the second Adelstan, the third Werstan, the fourth Adelelme, the fift Edulfus, the sixt Dernegus, the seuenth Kenulphus; in which election the kings authoritie seemed then alone to be sufficient, &c.

§ Anno 925 §

This Edward (as in the beginning was said) reigned 24. yeeres, who had three wiues, Egwin, Elfled and Ethelwid. Of Egwin he had his eldest sonne Adelstan, who next succeeded in the kingdome, and a daughter married after to the duke of Northumberland. Of Elfled he receiued two sonnes and six daughters, to wit Ethelwald and Edwin. Ethelwald was excellentlie well seene in all knowledge of learning, much resembling both in countenance and conditions his grandfather Alfred, and died some after his father. Of his six daughters, two of them, Elfled and Ethelhilda, were made nuns, the other foure were maried, Edgina to Charles the French king in his fathers time, Ethilda by king Ethelstan was maried to Hugo the sonne of duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina were both sent to Henricus prince of Almains. Of which two sisters the second the said Henricus maried to his sonne Otho, who was the first emperour of the Almains. The other sister, which was Edgitha, the foresaid Henricus maried vnto a certaine duke about the border of the Alps in Italy. Of his third wife Ethelwid he receiued two sonnes, Edmund and Edred, which both reigned after Adelstan, and two daughters, Egburga whom he made a nun, and Eadguina who was maried vnto Ludouicus, prince of Aquitania in France. These sonnes and daughters king Edward thus brought vp: his daughters he set to spinning and to the needle: Guliel. de reg: his sonnes he set to the studie of learning, Vt quasi philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non iam rudes procederent: that is, To the end that they being as first made philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to gouerne the commonwealth.

The children of king Edward the elder.

Prince Ethelwald excellent in learning.

Guliel. de regib. The bringing vp of king Edwards children.

King Ethelstan, or Adelstan.

King Ethelstan or Adelstan.

ETHelstan or Adelstan, after the death of Edward his father, began his reigne in England, and was crowned at Kingston. He was a prince of worthie memorie, valiant and wise in all his acts, nothing inferiour vnto his father Edward. In like worldlie renowme of ciuill gouernment, ioind with much prosperous successe, in reducing this realme vnder the subiection of one monarchie. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welshmen, as well in Northwales, as also in Cornwall. The first enemie against this Ethelstan, was one Elfredus, who with a faction of seditious persons, conspiring against the said Ethelstan at Winchester, incontinently after the death of his father, went about to put out his eies. Notwithstanding, the king escaping that danger, thorough the help of God was at that time deliuered. Elfred vpon the same being accused, fled to Rome, there before the pope to purge himselfe by his oth. Who being brought to the church of S. Peter, & there swearing (or rather forswearing) himselfe to be cleare, which indeed was guiltie therof, suddenlie vpon his oth fell downe, & so brought to the English hostle in Rome, within three daies after departed. The pope sending word vnto king Ethelstan, whether he would haue the said Elfred buried among christians or not: at length through the perswasions of his friends and kinsfolks, it was concluded that he should be buried in christian buriall. This storie although I find in no other writers mentioned, but onely in the chronicles of Guliel. lib. de regib. yet for so much as it beareth the witnesse and words of the king himselfe, as testified in an old deed of gift, giuen to the monasterie of Malmesburie, I thought the same the more to be of credit. The words of the king proceed in this tenor as followeth.

Duke Elfred suddenlie stricken by the hand of God for periurie.

Guliel. lib. de regib. in vita Ethelstani.

The copie of an old writing of king Ethelstan, testifiing of the miraculous death of duke Elfred, suddenlie stricken by the hand of God for periurie.

The copie of an old charter of king Ethelstan.

SCiant sapientes regionis nostræ, non has præfatas terras me iniustè rapuisse, rapinámque Deo dedisse. Sed sic eas accepi, quemadmodum iudicauerunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum. Insuper & apostolicus papa Romanæ ecclesiæ Ioannes (Elfredo defuncto) qui nostræ fœlicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit nequitiæ inimicorum nostrorum consentiens: quando me voluerunt (patre defuncto) cæcare in vrbe Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripuisset. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remissus est ad Romanam ecclesiam, vt ibi se coram apostolico Ioanne iureiurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare sancti Petri. Sed facto iuramento, cecidit coram altare, & manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad scholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finiuit. Et tunc apostolicus ad nos remisit, & quid de eo ageretur à nobis consuluit, an cum cæteris christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis nostræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, vt corpus illius per nostram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur christianorum. Nósque flagitationi illorum consentientes Romam remisimus: & papa consentiente, positus est ad cæteros christianos, quamuis indignus. Et sic iudicata est mihi tota possessio eius in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum præiotauimus, ne quando aboleatur, vnde mihi præfata possessio, quam Deo & sancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec iustius noui, quam Deo & sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi prosperitatem regni largiti sunt, &c.

§ Anno 927 §

In the second yeare of the reigne of king Ethelstan, for an vnitie and a peace to be had betweene the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he maried to Sithericus their king, his sister, whereof mention is made before; but shortly after within one yeare this Sithericus died. After whose death king Ethelstan seized that prouince into his owne hands, putting out the sonne of the foresaid Sithericus called Alanus, who with his brother Godfridus fled the one into Ireland, the other vnto Constantine king of the Scots. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, he shortly made subiect vnto him Constantine king of Scots. But the said Constantine meeked himselfe so lowlie to the king, that he restored him to his former dignitie, saying, that it was more honour to make a king then to be a king.

Northumberland subdued to king Ethelstan.

The Scots subdued to the K. of England. It is more honour to make a king, then to be a king.

Not long after, the said Constantine king of Scots did breake couenant with king Ethelstan, wherefore he assembled his knights, and made towards Scotland, where he subduing his enemies, and bringing them againe vnto due subiection, returned into England with victorie. Here by the way, in some storie-writers (who forgetting the office of historicians, seeme to play the poets) is written & recorded for a maruell, that the said Ethelstan returning out of Scotland into England, came to Yorke, and so into the church of saint John of Beuerleie, to redeeme his knife, which before he had left there for a pledge at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God and to saint John of Beuerleie, that he might leaue there some remembrance, whereby they that came after might know that the Scots by right should be subdued to the Englishmen, smot with a sword (they say) vpon a great hard stone standing neere about the castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large ell deepe (with a lie no lesse deepe also then was the stroke in the stone.) But of this poeticall or fabulous storie, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Iornalensis, and others more constantlie accord in the same, yet in Guliel. and Henricus no mention is made at all. But peraduenture he that was the inuentor first of this tale of the stone, was disposed to lie for the whetstone: wherefore in my mind he is worthie to haue it.

A fabulous miracle falselie reported of king Ethelstan.

Of like truth and credit seemeth also to be this that followeth, about the same yeare and time vnder the reigne of K. Ethelstan, being the eight yeare of his reigne, of one Brithanus bishop of Winchester, who succeeded Frithstanus in the same see, and gouerned that bishoprike foure yeeres. This Brithanus being a deuout bishop in prayer & contemplation, vsed much among his solitarie walks, to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the soules there, & all christian soules departed. Vpon a time the said Brithanus after his wonted maner proceeding in his deuotions, when he had done, came to Requiescant in pace.

Brithanus Bishop.

§ Anno 933 §

A ridiculous miracle forged vpon Brithanus bishop of Winchester.

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Whereunto suddenlie a great multitude of soules answering together with one voice said, Amen. Of this miracle albeit I haue not much to say (hasting to other matters) yet this question would I aske of some indifferent papist, which were not wilfull, but of ignorance deceiued; If this multitude which here answered Amen, were the soules of them buried in the churchyard or not? If yea, then how were they in purgatorie, what time they were heard in that place answering Amen? Except we should thinke purgatorie to be in the churchyard at Winchester, where the soules were heard then so many answering and praying Amen. And yet this storie is testified by the accord of writers of that time, Guliel. Polychron. Houedenus, Iornalensis, and others more. Much like miracles and prophesies also we read of Elphegus which succéeded him; but because we hast to other things, let these fables passe.

A miracle of soules answering, Amen.

We heard a little before, how king Ethelstan after the death of Sithericus king of Northumberland, seized that land or province into his owne hand, and put out his sonne Alanus: who after flying into Scotland, married the daughter of Constantine king of Scots. By whose stirring and exhortation he gathered a companie of Danes, Scots, and others, and entred the mouth of Humber with a strong nauie of six hundred and fiftéene ships.

Whereof king Ethelstan with his brother Edmund hauing knowledge, prepared his armie, and at length ioining in fight with him and his people, at a place called Brunanburh or Brimford: where he fighting with them from morning till euening, after a terrible slaughter on both sides (as the like hath not béene séene lightlie in England) had the victorie. In the which battell were slaine fiue small and vnder-kings, with Constantine king of Scots, and twelue dukes, with the more part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here also our writers put in another miracle in this battell, how king Ethelstans sword miraculouslie fell into his sheath through the prayer of Odo, then Archbishop of Canturburie.

A sore battell fought at Brimford.

Another vnlike miracle of king Ethelstans sword.

Odo archbishop of Canturburie.

Concerning this battell, I find in a certaine written chronicle these verses, which because they should not be lost, I thought not vnworthie here of rehersall.

Analanus.

Transierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,
Iure regens ciues, subigens virtute tyrannos:
Cùm redit illa lues Europæ noxia labes.
Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,
Et iacet in campis pelago pirata relicto,
Illicitas toruásque minas Analanus anhelans,
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat assensum borealis terra serenum,
Et iam grande tument, iam terrent aere verbis.
Cedunt indignæ, cedit plaga tota superbis.
Nam quia rex noster fidens alacrísque iuuenta,
Emeritus pridem detriuerat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis,
Vrgentes miseros iniectis ignibus agros,
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Aegra seges votum deluserat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium concursus quadrupedantum.
Exciuit tandem famæ querimonia regem,
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri,
Quod sua barbaricæ cessissent arma securi,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia signa cohortes.
Explicat inuentum vexilla ferocia centum,
Iuncta virûm virtus, decies bis millia quina,
Ad stadium belli comitantur præuia signa.
Hicque ciet strepitus armatorum legiones,
Terruit insignis venientum fama latrones,
Vt posita proprias præda repetant regiones:
At vulgus reliquum miseranda strage peremptum,
Infecit bibulas terris nidoribus auras,
Fugit Analasus de tot modo millibus vnus, &c.

After this victorie thus obtained of the Danes and Scots, king Ethelstan also subdued (or at least quieted) the north Britains, whom he conuenting together at Herford (or thereabouts) forced them to grant vnto him as a yearelie tribute, twentie pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of siluer, and of heads of neat fiue and twentie hundred, with hawks and dogs, to a certaine number. This done, he went to Excester, and there likewise subduing the south Britains about Excester and Cornewall, repared the walles of Excester with sufficient strength, and so returned.

The north Britains brought to tribute.

The south Britains subdued.

Among these victorious and noble acts of this king, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthie to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended; (that is) the innocent death & murther of his brother Edwin. The occasion thereof was this. King Edward aforenamed their father, in the time of his youth comming by a certaine village or grange where he had béene nursed and brought vp of a child, thought of courtesie to go sée how his nurse did, where he entring into the house, espied a certaine yong damsell beautifull and right séemelie attired, Egwina by name. This Egwina before being a poore mans daughter, had a vision by night, that of her bodie sprang such a bright light of the moone, that the brightnesse thereof gaue light to the realme of England, by reason whereof, she was taken into the foresaid house, and daintilie brought vp in stead of their owne daughter, for hope of some commoditie to ensue therby, as afterward it came to passe. For king Edward (as is declared) comming into the house, and rauished with the beautie of the maiden, begat of her the same night this Ethelstan. Wherefore the said Ethelstan being thus baselie borne of Egwina, the first wife to Edward (as is said) before he was married to her, & fearing his next brother Edwin, which was rightlie borne (especiallie being stirred thereunto through the sinister suggestion of his butler) did cast such displeasure to the foresaid Edwin his brother, being yet but yong, that (notwithstanding his innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rotten bote in the brode sea (onely with one esquier with him) without any tackling or other prouision to the same. Where the yong and tender prince being dismaid with the rage of winds & of the floods, and now wearie of his life, cast himselfe ouer bord into the sea, and so was drowned. Notwithstanding the esquier shifting for himselfe as he could, and recouering the bodie of his maister, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the king afterwards comming to the remembrance of himselfe, was stricken with great repentance the space of seuen yéeres together, and at length was reuenged of him that was the accuser of his brother. This accuser (as is said) was the kings cupbearer, who (as God the righteous iudge of all things would haue it) vpon a certaine solemne feast, bearing the cup vnto the king, chanced in the middle of the floore to stumble with one foot, helping and recouering himselfe with the other, saying in these words, Thus one brother (as you sée) helpeth another. These words being thus spoken in the hearing of the king, so moued his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false accuser of his brother to be had out to execution. Whose iust recompense I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord betweene brother and brother.

R. Ethelstan seeketh the death of his owne brother.

A note to learne not to sow discord betwixt brother and brother.

King Ethelstan (besides his seuen yéeres lamentation for this act) builded the two monasteries of Middleton and of Michelnes for his brothers sake, or (as the stories say) for his soule. Whereby it may appeare what was the cause most speciall in those daies of building monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sinnes both of them departed, and them aliue: which cause how it standeth with the grace and veritie of Christs gospell, and of his passion, let the christian reader trie and examin with himselfe. This cruell fact of the king towards Edwin, caused him afterward to be more tender and carefull towards his other brethren and sisters left in his hands vnmaried. Which sisters, as is partlie in the chapter before declared, he richlie bestowed in great mariages, as one to the king of Northumberland Sithericus, another he gaue vnto Lewis king of Aquitanta, the third to Henricus duke of Almaine for his sonne Otho, who was the first emperour of the Germans. Whereby it is to be vnderstood, that the empire at this time began first to be translated from France (where it remained about one hundred yéeres and a halfe) vnto Germanie, where it hath euer since continued.

The cause of building abbies examined.

Otho first emperour of the Germans.

The fourth of his sisters being a virgin of singular beautie, Hugo the French king required to be giuen vnto him, sending to king Ethelstan pretious and sumptuous presents, such as were not before séene in England. Among the which presents and gifts, besides the rare odours of sundrie sauours and fine spices: and besides the pretious and costlie gems, namelie of smaradgs of most redolent grésne, besides also manie and great coursers and palfreies richlie trapped, especiallie of one iewell (as writers make mention) which was a certaine vessell finelie and subtillie made of the pretious stone onychinus, so radiantlie wrought, that in it appeared the liuelie corne growing, and mens images walking, &c. Ouer & besides was sent also the sword of Constantine the great, with the name of the possessor written in golden letters; where in the hast of the same all beaten in gold, was one of the iron nails wherewith our Sauiour on the crosse was nailed. Of the veritie whereof I am not disposed at this present much to say what I suspect; but that this in the ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius is euident, that two of the foresaid nails of Christ were spent on the bridle of Constantine, the third he cast into the sea in a raging tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed with foure nailes, perhaps this naile might be one. If he were nailed but with three, I sée not how this storie can stand with other stories, neither how this fourth naile can stand with the truth. Among the rest moreouer was the speare (as is reported) wherewith the side of our Sauiour was opened: which also the said Constantine was wont to carrie in the field against his enemies, with a portion likewise of the holie crosse inclosed in crystall: also a part of the crowne of thorne in like maner inclosed, &c. Of the which relikes, part was giuen to Winchester, part to the church of Malmesburie, where king Ethelstan was buried. As this king was indued and inlarged by the gift of God (the setter vp and disposer of all kings) with great victories of worldlie renowme, hauing

Pretious iewels sent to king Ethelstan frō the French king.

Concerning one of the nails wherewith our sauiour Christ was crucified.

hauing vnder his subiection both the Scots and Brittains, and the whole monarchie of the land: so he deuised diuers good and wholesome lawes for the gouernment of the same, as well concerning the state of the orders ecclesiasticall, as also of the secular or laie people. Whereby it is to be vnderstood, that the vsurped power of the bishop of Rome did not then extend it selfe so largelie, nor so proudlie to derogat from the authoritie of kings & princes, but that euery one in his owne dominion, had (vnder God, & not vnder the pope) the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained, whether they were causes temporall or spirituall, as by the decrees and constitutions of this king (and also of other as well before him, as after him) may euidentlie be testified; as where he amongst other lawes thus ordaineth touching the bishop, in words as follow.

Kings of England gouernors as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall.

Extractum ex legib. regis Ethelstani.

Episcopo iure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promouere, Dei videlicet, ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum instruere, quid ei sit agendum iure, & quid hominibus secularibus iudicare debeant.

Debet etiam sedulò pacem & concordiam operari cum seculi iudicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alij perperàm agat in iureiurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumuentionem iniustæ mensuræ, vel iniusti ponderis. Sed conuenit vt per consilium & testimonium eius, omne legis rectum, & burgi mensura, & omne pondus sit secundum [a] ditionem eius, institutum valde rectum: ne quis proximum suum seducat, pro quo deridat in peccatum.

[a] *aliàs dictionē.*

Et semper debet christianis prouidere contra omnia, quæ prædicta sunt, & ideo debet se de pluribus intromittere: vt sciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum custodire suscepit, ne diabolus eum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod superseminet. Nunquam enim erit populo benè consultum, nec dignè Deo conuersabitur, vbi lucrum impium & magis falsum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum est eneruare, & quod iustum est eleuare, nec pati vt propter falsum, & pecuniæ quæstum homines se forisfaciant erga verè sapientem Deum, cui displicet omnis iniustitia.

Christianis autem omnibus necessarium est, vt rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent, & saltem sacris ordinibus euecti iustum semper erigant, & praua deponant.

Hinc debent episcopi cum iudicibus, iudicia dictitare & interesse, ne permittant (si possint) vt illinc aliqua prauitatum gramina pullulent. Et sacerdotibus pertinet in suo diœcesi, vt ad rectum sedulò quemcumque iuuent, nec patiantur (si possint) vt christianus aliquis alij noceat, non potens impotenti, non summus infirmo, non prælatus [b] subditis, non dominus hominibus suis, seruis, aut liberis. Et secundum [c] ditionem, & per mensuram suam, conuenit per rectum, vt necessaria [d] serui operentur super omnem scyram cui [e] præest.

[b] *aliàs minoribus.*
[c] *aliàs scribes dictorum.*
[d] *aliàs serui testamentales.*
[e] *vel cui insunt.*

Et rectum est vt non sit aliqua mensurabilis virga longior quàm alia, sed per [f] episcopi mensuram omnes institutæ sint, & exequatæ per suam [g] diœcesin. Et omne pondus constet secundum ditionem eius, & si aliquid controuersiarum intersit, discernat episcopus.

[f] *aliàs scribes mensuram.*
[g] *in sua scribiscyræ.*

Vniuscuiusq; domini proprium est & necesse, vt seruis condescendat, & compatiatur, sicut indulgentiùs poterit: quia Domino Deo viuenti sunt æque chari seruus, & liber. Et omnes vno & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes sumus Deo necessariò serui: & sic iudicabit nos, sicut antè iudicauimus eos, in quos potestatem iudicij in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus est vt eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent, & tunc manutenebimur in Dei omnipotentis proprio iudicio: Amen.

A law how that masters ought to condescend and beare sometime with their seruants.

The law of king Ethelstan concerning tithes.

The said Ethelstan besides, prescribed other constitutions also, as touching tithes giuing, where he saith and proclaimeth: Ego Ethelstanus rex, consilio Vlfelmi archiepiscopi mei & aliorum episcoporum, mando præpositis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini & sanctorum omnium, vt inprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in viuente capitali, quàm in mortuis frugibus terræ: & episcopi mei similiter faciant de suo proprio, & aldermanni mei & præpositi mei, &c. That is, I Ethelstan king, charge and command all my officers thorough my whole realme, to giue tithes vnto God of my proper goods, as well in liuing cattell, as in the corne & fruits of the ground, and that my bishops likewise of their proper goods, and mine aldermen, and my officers and headmen shall doe the same. Item this I will, that my bishops and other headmen doe declare the same to such as be vnder their subiection, and that to be accomplished at the terme of saint John the Baptist. Let vs remember what Jacob said vnto the Lord, Of all things that thou giuest to me I will offer tithes vnto the Lord, &c. Also what the Lord saith in the gospell of saint Matthew, To him that hath it shall be giuen, and he shall abound. We must also consider how terrible it is written in bookes, that if we will not offer our tenths, from vs nine parts shall be taken away, and onely the tenth part shall be left vs, &c. And in the same place, after that he hath assigned the church rights to be paid in the place whereto they belong, it followeth thus: Facite etiam vt mihi mea propria capiatis, quæ mihi poteritis rectè acquirere. Nolo vt aliquid mihi iniustè conquiratis. Sed omnia vestra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea similiter exoptetis. Cauete simul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & transgressione mea.

Tithes.

The king would vsurpe no mans goods wrongfully.

Among his other lawes and ordinances, to the number of 35. diuers things be comprehended, pertaining as well to the spirituall, as also to the temporall iurisdiction.

The law of K. Ethelstan concerning felons stealing about twelue pence.

Out of the lawes of this king first sprang vp the attachment of theeues, that such as stole aboue twelue pence, and were aboue twelue yeares old, should not be spared.

Epitaph. in Ethelst.

Sol illustrauit bissenos scorpion ortu,
Cum regem cæda percutit ille sua.

And thus much briefly concerning the historie of king Ethelstan, and things in his time done: who reigned about the space of sixteene years. And because he died without issue, therefore after him succeeded his brother Edmund, the yeare of our Lord 940, who reigned six yeares.

King Edmund.

EDmund the sonne of Edward the elder, by his third wife (as is declared) and brother of Ethelstan, being of the age of 20 yeares, entred his reigne, who had by his queene Elgina two sonnes, Edwin and Edgarus, surnamed Pacificus, which both reigned after him as followeth. This Edmund continued his reigne 6 yeares and a halfe. By him were expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all forren enemies out of the land. Such cities & townes which before were in the possession of strangers, as Lincolne, Nottingham, Derbie, Stafford, and Leicester, he recouered out of their hands. Thus the realme being cleared of forren power for a time; then the king set his studie and mind in the redressing and maintaining the state of the church: which all stood then in building of monasteries, and furnishing of churches, either with new possessions, or with restoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of this Edmund, this I find in an old written storie borrowed of William Carie, a citizen of London, a worthie treasurer of most worthie monuments of antiquitie. The name of the author I cannot alledge, because the booke beareth no title, lacking both the beginning and the latter end; but the words thereof faithfully recited, be these: Huius regis tempore, facta est dispersio monachorum Eushmensis cœnobij, cum substitutione canonicorum per Athelmum, & Vlricum laicos, & Oswlphum episcopum, &c: that is: In the time of this king, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the monks out of the monastery of Eusham, & canons substituted in their place, through ỹ doing of Athelmus & Ulricus lay men, & of Oswlfus bishop, &c.

Anno 940. Edmundus K. of England.

Ex historiâ Cariana.

Monks put out of Eusham the yeare of our Lord 941.

Where, as concerning this matter betweene monks and others of the clergie, first it is to bee vnderstood, that in the realme of England heretofore, before the time of Dunstan, the bishops sees and cathedrall churches were replenished with no monks, but with priests and canons, called then clerks, or men of the clergie. After this beginneth to rise a difference or a sect betweene these two parties in strictnesse of life and in habit: so that they which liued after a stricter rule of holinesse, were called monks, and professed chastitie, that was, to liue from wiues (for so was chastitie then defined in those blind daies) as though holy matrimonie were no chastitie, according as Pathnutius did well define it in the councell of Nice. The other sort which were no monks but priests or men of the clergie so called, liued more free from these monkish rules and obseruances, and were then commonly (or at least lawfullie) married, and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular sort of other christians. By reason whereof great disdaine and emulation was among them, in so much that in many cathedrall churches, whereas priests were before, there monks were put in: and contrarie, sometime whereas monks were intruded, there priests and canons againe were placed, and monks thrust out; whereof more shall appeare hereafter (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the life of Dunstan. In the meane time, something to satisfie the cogitation of the reader, which peraduenture either is ignorant, or else would know of the first comming in of monks into this realme and church of England in the Saxons time: this is to be noted, according as I find in old chronicles, namely in the Latine historie of Gulielm. de gestis pontificum Anglorum, recorded touching the same. About this time of king Edmund, or shortly after, when hardnesse and strictnesse of life ioyned with superstition was had in veneration, and counted for great holinesse; men therefore, either to win publike fame with men, or merits with God, gaue themselues to leade a strict life, thinking thereby the stranger their conuersation was, and further from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect to bee towards God and man. There was at that time (and before that) a monasterie in France named Floriake, after the order and rule of Benedict: from the which monasterie did spring a great part of our English monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into England, did congregate men daily to their profession. And so, partly for strangenesse of their rule, partly for outward holinesse of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holinesse that many had of them, were in great admiration, not onely with the rude sort, but with kings and princes, who founded their houses, maintained their rules, and inlarged them with possessions. Among the which order of monks comming from Floriake, especially was one

Gulielm. de pontif. lib. 3.

The difference betweene monks and priests.

Chastitie wrongly defined.

Holy matrage by the definition of Pathnutius is chastitie.

Monks how they differed from priests, and how they first began in England.

The monasterie of Floriake.

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Oswaldus bishop of Yorke, a great patron of monkerie.

Oswaldus, first a monke of Floriake, then bishop of Worcester and of Yorke, a great patron and setter vp of monkerie. Touching the which Oswaldus, William in his booke De pontific. writing of his history, hath these words: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis consuetudo fuit, vt si qui boni afflati essent desiderio, in beatissimi Benedicti monasterio cœnobialem susciperent habitum: à quo religionis huiusce manauit exordium, &c. That is, it was a common custome at that time among Englishmen, that if any god men were well affected or minded toward religion, they went to the monasterie of blessed S. Benedict in France, and there receiued the habit of a monke, whereupon the first origin of this religion began, &c. But of this Oswald bishop of Yorke, and Dunstan bishop of Canturburie, and Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, how they replenished diuers monasteries and cathedrall churches with monks: and how they discharged married priests and canons out of their houses, to plant in monks in their cels, more shall bee spoken (by the grace of Christ) hereafter. Now let vs returne againe to the matter where we left, of king Edmund, who besides his noble victories against his enemies, and recouering the cities aboue expressed into his owne hands, did also subdue the prouince of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two sonnes of Dunmaill king of Cumberland, hee committed the gouernance thereof to Malcolmus king of the Scots, vpon promise of his trustie seruice and obedience, when the king should stand in any need of him. In the time of this king, Dunstan was not yet archbishop of Canturburie, but onely abbat of Glastenburie: of whom many fabulous narrations passe among the writers, importing more vanitie then veritie, whereof this is one of the first. What time Edgarus called Pacificus was borne, Dunstan being the same time abbat of Glastenburie (as the monkish fables dreame) heard a voice in the aire of certaine angels singing after this tenor, and saying: Now peace commeth to the church of England in the time of this child and of our Dunstan, &c. This I thought to recite, that the christian reader might the better ponder with himselfe the impudent and abominable fictions of this Romish generation. Out of the same mint also haue they forged, how the said Dunstan should heare the angels sing the Kyrieleson, vsed to be sung at euen-song in the church: Guliel. de pontif. lib. 1. Which is as true as that the harpe hanging in a womans house, played by it selfe the tune of the antheme, called Gaudent in cœlis, &c. What would not these deceiuers faine in matters something likely, which in things so absurd and so inconuenient, shame not to lie and to forge so impudently and also so manifestly: Through the motion of this Dunstan, king Edmund builded and furnished the monasterie of Glastenburie, and made the said Dunstan abbat thereof.

Dunstan abbat of Glastenburie.

The sonnes of king Edmund.

Th impudent vanitie of the popes church in forging false miracles.

Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif.

The monastery of Glastenbury.

Dunstan abbat of Glastenbury.

The abbey of Glastenburie was builded by king Iue, by the counsell of Adelmus, after being destroyed by the Danes.

Guliel. lib. 2. de regib.

Concerning the end and death of this king, sundrie opinions there be. Alfridus and Marianus say, that while this king Edmund indeuoured himselfe to saue his seruer from the danger of his enemies, which would haue slaine him at Pulcherchurch, the king in parting of the fray was wounded, and died shortly after. But Gulielmus de regibus lib. 2. saith, that the king being at a feast at Pulcherchurch vpon the day of saint Augustine, spied a fellon sitting in the hall named Leof, whom he before for his fellonie had exiled, and leaping ouer the table did flie vpon him, and plucked the thiefe by the haire of the head to the ground. In which doing, the fellon with a knife wounded the king to the death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the kings seruants, and at length was all to hewed, and died forthwith.

The lawes of king Edmund touching as well the state spirituall as temporall.

By the lawes of king Edmund (ordeined and set forth, as well for the redresse of church matters, as also of ciuill regiment) it may appeare, that the state both of causes temporall and likewise spirituall, apperteined then to the kings right (the false pretended vsurpation of the bishop of Rome notwithstanding) as by these lawes is to be seene: where he by the aduice of his lords and bishops, did enact and determine concerning the chastitie and pure life of ecclesiasticall ministers, and such as were in the orders of the church, with the penalties also for them which transgressed the same.

Item, for tithes to be paid for euery christian man, and for the church fees, and almes fees, &c.

Item, for defloured of women professed, which wee call nuns, &c.

Item, for euery bishop to see his churches repared of his owne proper charge; and boldly to admonish the king, whether the houses of God were well maintained, &c.

Item, for flying into the church for sanctuarie, &c.

Item, concerning cases and determinations spousall, or matrimoniall, &c.

All which constitutions declare what interest kings had in those daies in matters as well ecclesiasticall as others, within their dominion, and that not onely in disposing the ordinances and rites, such as appertained to the institution of the church; but also in placing and setting bishops in their sees, &c.

Alstanus archbishop of Yorke Odo archbishop of Canturburie.

In the time of this Edmund, was Alstanus archbishop of Yorke, and Odo archbishop of Canturburie: which Odo being a Dane borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that see by king Ethelstan, for that (as they say) he being first bishop of Wilton, and present with king Ethelstan in the field against Analafus before mentioned, what time the said Ethelstan had lost his sword, he through his intercession vp to heauen did see a sword from heauen come downe into the sheath of the king. Whereof relation being made vnto the king by the foresaid bishop, Ethelstan vpon the same was so affected towards Odo, that not onely hee counted him for a patron of his life, but also made him primate of Canturburie after the decease of Ulfelmus. This Odo was the first from the comming of the Saxons, till his time, which was archbishop of Canturburie being no monke. For all the other before him were of the profession of monks, of whom a great part had been Italians vnto Bercualdus. Notwithstanding, this Odo being also a stranger borne, after hee was elected into the bishoprike, to answere to the old custome of others before him, sailed ouer into France, and there at Floriake (after the vsuall maner aboue mentioned of Englishmen) receiued the profession and habit of monkish religion, as saith my foresaid author. And like as the said Odo first being no monke, was made archbishop of Canturburie: so also Oistanus the same time being bishop of Yorke and of Worcester, differed from diuers his predecessors before him in profession and habit: of whom the forenamed author thus writeth in his third booke, speaking of Wistanus: Qui sanctitate discrepabat & habitu: that is, Hee differed in sanctimonie and in habit. Whereby is to bee collected, that in those daies was a difference in habit and garment, not onely betweene monks and bishops, but also betweene one bishop and another; albeit what difference it was, yet I do not find. But I returne againe to Odo, who by the description of his maners, might seeme not to be the worst that occupied that place, were it not that our lying histories fayning false miracles vpon him (as they do of others) make him indeed to seeme worse then he was. As where they imagine that hee should see from heauen a sword fall into the scabbard of king Ethelstan. Item, where he should couer and defend the church of Canturburie with his praiers from raine. And also where hee should turne the bread of the altar (as the writer learneth it) into liuely flesh, and from flesh into bread againe, to confirme the people which before doubted in the same. Where note againe (good reader) that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is vntrue, yet is it to be noted that in those daies was a great doubt amongst Englishmen of the popish sacrament, and that transubstantiation was not receiued into the christian creed. The like iudgement is to be giuen also of that, where our English writers testifying of the same Odo, say that hee should prophesie long before of Dunstan to be his successor in the church of Canturbury. But to let these fantasies and idle stories passe, this which we find of Odo his owne writing is certaine, that the said Odo in the reigne of king Edmund, had a synod commensed of the chiefe prelats and men of the clergie in his time, to whom he directed this letter here following; the copie whereof I thought to expresse, for the reader to see what zealous care reigned in archbishops then toward the church of the Lord. The words of his epistle proceed in this tenor.

Guliel de pont. lib. 1. Polychro. lib. 6. cap. 6.

Odo made monke at Floriake, after he was archbishop of Canturburie.

Guliel de pont. lib. 1.

Guliel. lib. 3. de pont. Eber.

The difference of habit and garments among men of the church.

False and lying miracles noted vpon Odo.

A note to the reader.

Transubstantiation not yet receiued.

The letter or epistle of Odo archbishop of Canturburie, sent to the other bishops and men of the clergie.

The letter of Odo archbishop, to the prelats.

MIrabili cuncti potentis polorum præsulis clementia opitulante, ego Odo ecclesiæ saluatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi archiepiscopus, Douernienſis ciuitatis metropolitanus, coepiscopis fidei catholicæ compagatoribus, spirituali charitatis vigore meis confratribus, præsentium prosperitatem æthereiq; decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The same in English.

By the diuine grace of God, I Odo of the church of our Lord and sauiour Iesus Christ, archbishop and metropolitan of the citie of Douer, to my fellow bishops and fellow planters of the catholike faith, & my fellow brethren in the spirituall bond of charity, with greeting, wish prosperity in this world present, and in the world to come felicitie. If it were so, or by any meanes could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, so that I being emperor had all things vniuersally vnder my subiection, all those things would I gladly giue, yea & my selfe also would offer willingly for the health of your soules, as which also doe desire and trust likewise my selfe to be strengthened with the feruencie of your holinesse, as apperteining to those things wherein the Lord our God hath set vs to be workemen, &c.

And after a few other words of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heauie burthen of his office, it followeth after this maner.

Wherfore most humbly & one vnworthie, but yet a deuout fellow brother of yours, I beseech and exhort your holines, that you will not shew your selues cold & negligent in the cure and regiment of soules, so that in the time of the fearfull iudgement, the Lord do not complaine of you, saying; My shepheards did not feed my flocke, but they fed themselues. And againe; They were princes of my flocke, and I knew not of it. But rather let vs take heed and be diligent ouer the household of the Lord, ouer which he hath set vs to be the leaders, to giue them meate and true measure of corne in time conuenient: that is to say, whole-

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wholesome doctrine. And although vpon mine owne demerits or worthinesse I doe not presume to comfort or exhort any man: but as one being vnworthie and faultie in transgressions innumerable, am glad, and stand in need rather to bee strengthened by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the ancient authoritie of my predecessors, as of Augustine of happie memorie, and also of all other saints, by whose industrie the rule of christianitie did first flourish and spring from this metropolitan see vnto all quarters of England: therefore I haue thought good to direct vnto you these my letters to the profit of you all: especially, for that our renouned and princely king Edmund, with all his people, doth ioy to follow that which he heareth in you and of you: and also, for so much as all his subiects which be vnder his imperiall dominion, doe loue and delight to follow most ioyfully the fame and report of your sincere conuersation, &c.

Elfinus archbishop of Canturburie elect.

This Odo continued bishop the space of twentie yeares. After whom Elfinus was elected and ordained by the king to succeed through fauour and money: but in going to Rome for the popes pall, in his iourney through the Alps, he decaied and died for cold. Whereupon succeeded Dunstan, as in time and place (by the leaue of Christ) followeth to be declared.

S. Edmundsburie.

This Edmund gaue to S. Edmund the martyr before mentioned, the towne of Bedrichesworth, which is now called S Edmundsbury, with great reuenues and lands appertaining to the same. But concerning the friuolous miracles which our monkish storie-writers heare faine of this good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them passe.

The children of K. Edmund.

And thus much concerning the reigne of king Edmund, who after he had reigned six yeares and a halfe, was slaine, as is said, at Pulcherchurch, and buried at Glastenburie of Dunstan: leauing behind him two children, Edwin and Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But because the foresaid children were yet yong and vnder age, therfore Edred brother to king Edmund,

Anno 946

and vncle to the children, gouerned as protector about the space of nine yeares and a halfe, till Edwin the eldest sonne came to age. This Edred with great moderation and fidelity to the yong children behaued himselfe, during the time of his gouernment. In his time Dunstan was promoted through the means of Odo the archbishop, from abbat of Glastenburie, to bee bishop of Worcester, and after of London. By the counsell of this Dunstan, Edred was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted: in so much that the foresaid Edred is reported in stories to submit himselfe vnto much fond penance and castigations, inflicted to him of the said Dunstan. Such zealous deuotion was then in princes, and more blind superstition in bishops. And here againe is another miracle as fantasticall as the other before, forged of Dunstan, that when that Edred being sicke, sent for Dunstan to be his confessor, by the way Dunstan should heare a voice declaring to him before, that Edred was already departed, at the declaring whereof Dunstans horse fell immediatly dead vnder him, with lie and all.

Edred gouernour of the realme.

Dunstan made bishop of Worcester and after of London.

With lie and all.

King Edwin.

K. Edwin.

EDwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund afore mentioned, after his vncle Edred, began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord 955, being crowned at Kingston by Odo the archbishop of Canterburie. Anno 955. Of this Edwin it is reported of diuers writers, that the first day of his coronation, sitting with his lords, he brake suddenly from them, & entred a secret chamber, to the companie of a certaine woman whom hee inordinately retained (being, as some say, another mans wife) whose husband he had before slaine, as others say being of his alliance, to the great misliking of his lords, and especially of the clergie. Dunstan was yet but abbat of Glastenburie, who following the king into the chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Odo the archbishop, causing him to be separat from the company of the foresaid partie; by the which Odo, the king was for his fact suspended out of the church. By reason whereof, the king being with Dunstan displeased, banished him his land, and forced him for a season to flie into Flanders, where he was in the monasterie of saint Amandus. About the same season the monasticall order of Benedict monks, or blacke monks (as they were called) began to multiplie and increase heere in England. In so much that where before time other priests and canons had been placed, there monks were in their roomes set in, and the secular priests (as they then were called, or canons) put out. But king Edwin, for the displeasure hee bare to Dunstan, did so ber all the order of the said monks, that in Malmsburie, Glastenburie, and other places more, he thrust out the monks, and set in secular priests in their stead.

The king suspended by the archbishop. Edwin an enemie vnto monks.

Monks put out, and secular priests placed in their roomes.

Notwithstanding, it was not long but these priests and canons were againe remoued, and the said monks in their stead restored, both in the foresaid houses, and in diuers other churches cathedrall besides, as in the nert storie of king Edgar (Christ willing) shall more at large appeare.

In fine, king Edwin being hated by reason of certaine his demeanors of all his subiects (especially the Northumbrians and Mercians) was by them remoued from his kingly honor, and his brother Edgar in his stead receiued, so that the riuer of Thames diuided both their kingdoms. Which Edwin after he had reigned about the tearme of foure yeares departed, leauing no heire of his body. Wherefore the rule of the land fell vnto Edgar his yonger brother.

The death of king Edwin.

King Edgar.

EDgar the second sonne of Edmund and brother to Edwin, being of the age of sixteene yeares, began his reigne ouer the realme of England, in the yeare of our Lord 959. but was not crowned till foureteene yeares after: the causes whereof here vnder follow (Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his reigne hee called home Dunstan, whom king Edwin before had exiled. Then was Dunstan, which before was abbat of Glastenburie, made bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long after, this Odo the archbishop of Canterburie deceaseth, after hee had gouerned that church 24 yeares. After whom Brithelinus bishop of Winchester first was elected; but because he was thought not sufficient to furnish that rome, Dunstan was ordeined archbishop, the other sent home againe to his old church. Where note by the way, how in those daies the donation and assigning of ecclesiasticall dignities remained in the kings hand, only they set their pall from Rome as a token of the popes confirmation. So Dunstan being by the king made archbishop, toke his iourney to Rome for his pall of pope John the 13. which was about the beginning of the kings reigne. Thus Dunstan obtaining his pall, shortly after his returne againe from Rome, intreateth king Edgar, that Oswaldus (who, as is said, was made monke at Floriake, and was nephue to Odo late bishop of Canterburie) might bee promoted to the bishoprik of Worcester; which thing to him was granted. And not long after, through the meanes of the said Dunstan, Ethelwoldus (whom stories doe feigne to be the great patron of monkerie) first monke at Glastenburie, then abbat of Abendon, was also made bishop of Winchester. Of this Ethelwaldus, Gulielmus libro de gestis pontificum recordeth, that what time he was a monke in the house of Glastenburie, the abbat had a vision of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his sleepe a certaine great tree, the branches whereof extended throughout all the foure quarters of the realme, which branches were all couered with many little monks coules, wher in the top of the tree was one great master coule, which in spreading it selfe ouer the other coules, inclosed all the rest: which master coule in the tree top, mine author in the interpretation applieth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of such prodigious fantasies our monkish histories be full; and not only our histories of England, but also the heathen stories of the gentiles bee stuffed with such kind of dreames of much like effect.

Anno 959

King Edgar called Pacificus.

Dunstan made bishop of Worcester and of London. *Ex hist. Rog. Houeden.*

Spirituall liuings giuen by the king, and not by the pope.

Oswaldus bishop of Worcester, and after of Yorke.

Ethelwoldus bishop of Winct. a great maintainer of monkerie.

Anno 963

Ex Guliel. Malmesburiens. de gest. pontif. Ang.

Monkish dreames.

Of such a like dreame we read of the mother of Achelstan, how the moone did spring out of hir wombe, and gaue light to all England. Also of king Charles the emperor, how hee was led by a third to see the torments of hell. Likewise of Furceus the heremite mentioned in the third booke of Beda, who saw the ioyes of heauen & the foure fires that should destroy the world: the one of lying, for breaking our promise made at baptisme; the second fire was of the couetous; the third of dissention; the fourth was of the fire of impietie and wrongfull dealing. Item, in like sort of the dreame of Dunstan, and of the same Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three bishops, Brithanus, Birinus, and Swithinus, &c. Of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who being great with him, did see a golden eagle flie out of hir mouth, &c. Of the dreame likewise, or the vision of king Edgar concerning the falling of the two apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other emptie, &c. Also of king Edward the confessor, touching the ruine of the land by the conqueror of the Normans. We reade also in the historie of Asiages, how hee dreamed of Cyrus, and likewise of many other dreames in the bookes of the monks, and of the ethnike writers. For what cannot either the idle vanitie of mans head, or the deception of the lying spirit worke by man, in foreshewing such earthly euents as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to bee vnderstood betweene these earthly dreames, speaking of earthly things, and matters of humaine superstition; and betweene other spirituall reuelations sent by God touching spirituall matters of the church pertaining to mans saluation. But to our purpose, by this dreame, and by the euent which followed after, it may appeare how and by what meanes the multitude of monks, began first to swarme in the churches of England: that is, in the daies of this Edgar, by the meanes of these three bishops, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswold. Albeit Dunstan was the chiefest ringleader of this race; yet Ethelwold being now bishop of Winchester, and Oswold bishop of Worcester, were not much behind for their parts. By the instigation and counsell of these three aforesaid, king Edgar is recorded in histories to build either new out of the ground, or to redifie monasteries decayed by the Danes more then forty. As the house of Elie, Glastenburie, Abbington, Burga by Stamford, Thorney, Ramsey, Milton, Wenton, Winchcombe, Thanckoke in Deuonshire, with diuers more. In the setting vp and building of the which

Dreames not necessarie to be regarded.

Differences of dreames.

How and when monks first began to swarme in England. Dunstan, Ethelwold, Oswold, three setters vp of monkish religion. Fortie monasteries builded and repaired by king Edgar.

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the foresaid Ethelwold was a great doer and a founder vnder the king. Moreouer, through the motion of this Dunstan and his fellowes, king Edgar in diuers great houses and cathedrall churches, where prebendaries and priest were before, displaced the priests and set in monks. Whereof we read in the chronicles of Roger Houeden, in words and forme as followeth: Hic namque Ethelwoldus regem, cuius eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maximè prouocauit, vt clericos à monasterijs expelleret, & monachos sanctimonialésq; in eis collocaret, &c: that is, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the kings counsell, did vrge the king chiefly to expell clerkes out of monasteries, and in their romes to bestow monks and nuns, &c. Whereunto accordeth likewise Historia Iornalensis, conteining the like effect in these words: Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oswaldus Wigornienſis, episcopi, iussu regis Edgari (clericis de quibusdam maioribus ecclesijs expulsis) monachos instituerunt, aut de eisdem clericis & alijs monachos in eisdem fecerunt. Gulielmus also writing of the time of Dunstan, maketh the matter somewhat more plaine, where he saith: Itaq; clerici multarum ecclesiarum data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes: surgebant itaque in tota insula religiosorum monasteria, cumulabantur mole pretiosi metalli sanctorum altaria, &c. Thus the secular priests being put to their choice, whether to change their habit, or to leaue their romes, departed out of their houses, giuing place for other better men to come in. Then the houses and monasteries of religious men through all the realme went vp apace, &c.

Roger. Houeden. lib. Continuationum post Bedam. Chronicon Iornalense. Guliel. de gestis pontif. lib. 1.

After the kings mind was thus persuaded and incited by these bishops to aduance monkery, then Oswoldus bishop of Worcester, and also made archbishop of Yorke after the decease of Dskitellus, Sui voti compos effectus (as Houeden writeth) hauing his see in the cathedrall church there of S. Peter, began first with faire persuasions to assay the minds of the canons and priests, whether they could be content to change their profession and to be made monks, or no. Which when hee saw it would not take effect, he practised this policie with them: Here to the said church of S. Peter, within the churchyard he erected another church of our Ladie, which when hee had replenished with monks, there he continually frequented, there hee kept, there he sat, and was euer there conuersant. By reason whereof the other church was left naked and desolate, and all the people gathered there where the bishop was. The priests seeing themselues so to bee left and neglected both of the bishop and of the people, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driuen of shame either to relinquith the house (such as would not enter the monkish profession) or else to become monks, such as had nothing else to stay vpon. After the like superstition (although not after the same subtiltie) did Ethelwold also driue out the canons and priests from the new monasterie in Winchester, afterward called Hyda, and placed his monks. So in Oxford and in Mildune, with diuers other places more, the secular priests with their wiues were expelled, to giue place to monks. The cause wherof is thus pretended in certaine storie writers, whom I see also Fabian to follow: for that the priest and clerkes were thought slacke and negligent in their church seruice, and set in vicars in their stead, while they liued in pleasure, & misspent the patrimony of the church after their owne lust. Then king Edgar gaue to the vicars the same land which before belonged to the prebendaries, who also not long after shewed themselues as negligent as the others. Wherfore king Edgar (as mine authors write) by the consent of pope Iohn the thirteenth voided cleerely the priests, and ordained there monks. Although certaine of the nobles, and some of the prelats were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following may partly appeare.

Oswold bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Yorke.

The policie of Oswold in driuing out priests to place in monks.

Anno 969 Guliel. lib. 2. de gest. pont. Chr. Iornalens. in vita Edgari.

Prebendaries and priests slacke in their dutie.

Priests voided of cathedrall churches, and monks set in.

But for so much as wee haue entred into the mention of monks and nuns, and of their profession, which I see so greatly in our monkish stories commended: lest perhaps the simple reader may be deceiued therby, in hearing the name of monks in all histories of times to be such an ancient thing in christian life (euen from the primitiue church after the apostles time) both commonly recited & well receiued; therefore to helpe the iudgement of the ignorant, and to preuent al error herein, it shal not be vnprofitable, in following the present occasion here giuen (by way of a little digression) to intermeddle somewhat concerning the originall institution of monks, what they were in the old time which were called Monachi, wherein the monks of the primitiue time did differ from the monks of the middle time, and from these our monks now of this latter age: moreouer, wherin all these three do differ from priests (as we call them) and from men of the clergie. Wherfore to answere to the superstitious scruple of such, which allege the old antiquity of the name & title of monks: first I grant the name and order of monks to be of old continuance, during neere from the time of 300 yeres after Christ. Of whom diuers old authors do record, as Augustinus, Hieronymus, Basilius Magnus, who was also himselfe one of the first institutors and commenders of that superstition, Chrysostomus, Nazianzenus, Euagrius, Sozemenus, Dionysius, and diuers others. In the number of these monks (which then were diuided into heremits or anachorits, and into Coenobits) were Antonius, Paulus, Johannes, with diuers other recluses. Among the which was Hierome, Basil, Macharius, Isidorus, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite others both in Palestina, Syria, Thebaide, Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Africa and in Scythia. In so much that Cassianus lib. 2. cap. 4. De Canon. Noctur. orat. maketh mention of a certaine monasterie in Thebaide, wherein were aboue 5000 monks, vnder the gouernment of one abbat. And here also in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thousand and two hundred monks vnder one mans ruling, in the yeare of our Lord 596. Whereby it appeareth that monks were then, and two hundred yeares before, in the primitiue time of the church. But what monks these were, is to be considered: such as either by tyrannie of persecution were driuen into solitarie and desert places; or else such as not constreined of any, but of their owne voluntarie deuotion (ioyned with some superstition among, for the loue they had vnto spirituall contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrew themseues from all companie, either hauing nothing to themselues proper, or else all things common with others. And all these were then nothing else but lay men: of which laymen, there were two sundrie sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which onely were partakers of the sacraments; the other in following a monasticall kind of life, were called monks (being nothing but lay men) leading a more seuere and stricter trade of life then the others, as may sufficiently appeare by August. lib. de moribus ecclesiæ, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus monachorum. Item, epistola ad Aurelium. Also by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writing these words: Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum; clerici pascunt oues, ego pascor, &c: that is, One thing pertaineth to monks, an other thing vnto them of the clergie; they of the clergie feed their flock, I am fed, &c. Et ex Dionysio. Also the same appeareth likewise by the fourth canon of the councell of Chalcedon, where it is prouided, Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotijs immisceant: that is, That monks should not intermeddle with matters of the church, &c. Et Leo epistola 62. vetat monachos & laicos, etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 4. de canon. Noctur. orat.

Two sorts of lay men.

Monks in the old time were no other but lay men, leading a strict life.

August. de mor. eccle. Hier. ad Heliodor. Dionys. concil. Chalc. can. 4.

Monks forbidden to intermeddle with matters ecclesiastical.

By these foresaid authors allcaged, it is euident, that monks in the former age of the church, albeit they liued a solitarie life, yet they were then no other but onely lay men, differing from priests, and differing from the other monks which succeeded them afterwards in the middle age of the church, and that in three points: First, they were tied and bound to no prescript forme either of diet or apparell, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of saint Augustine, which be these: Neque inter hæc nemo vrgetur in aspera, quæ ferre non potest: nulli quod recusat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur à cæteris, in quod eis imitandis se fatetur inualidum. Meminerunt enim quantoperè commendata sit in scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod exit. Itaque non reijciendis generibus ciborum, quasi pollutis, sed concupiscentiæ perdomandæ, & dilectioni fratrum retinendæ inuigilat omnis industria. And Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16. speaking of the monks of the same time, which in cities had seuerall mansions from others, saith: Alij in turba ciuitatum conuersabantur, sic seipsos gerentes, vt nullius momenti viderentur, & à multis nihil differrent, &c. Some liue in cities so behauing themselues, as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude, &c. The second point wherein they were discrepant from the latter monks was, in that they remained no other but in the order of lay men (onely being of a stricter life then the rest) and had nothing to doe in matters and charges ecclesiastical; which was afterward broken by pope Boniface the fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be seene and said. Thirdly, the foresaid monks of that age (albeit the most part of them liued sole and single from wiues) yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage. Of such as were married speaketh Athanasius in epistola ad Dracontium, qui ait se nouisse & monachos & episcopos coniuges & liberorum patres, &c: that is, Which saith, that he knew both monks and bishops married men, and fathers of children, &c.

Monks differing from priests.

Monks in the primitiue time differing from monks in the second age of the church.

August. de institutis monachorum.

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 16.

Monks of the primitiue time were no clerks, but meere lay men.

Monks of the old time some married, none restrained from marriage.

And yet the said monks of the old time, though they were better then the other which followed them; yet all that notwithstanding, superstition with them and among them began then to creepe into the church through the craftie subtiltie of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free iustification by faith in Iesus Christ. Examples do declare the vaine and prodigious superstition of these monastical sort of men; which examples doe not lacke, if leisure rather did not lacke to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to insert, to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better consider and vnderstand, how shortly after the time of Christ and his apostles, the doctrine of christian iustification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to superstition, and the price of Christs passion to bee obscured through the vaine opinion of mens merits, &c. A certaine abbat named Moses thus testifieth of himselfe in the collations of Cassianus, that he so afflicted himselfe with much fasting & watching, that sometimes for two or three daies together, not onely hee felt

Superstition crept in with monkerie.

The ignorance of our free iustification by Christ is the cause of all superstition.

Ex Cassia. cap. 17. collat. 2.

Two sorts of monks in the primitiue church.

The difference, order, and institution of monks examined.

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no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driuen also from sléep. In so much that hee was caused to pray to God but for a little refreshing of sléepe to be giuen him some péece of the night. In the same author mention is made of a certaine old man an heremit, who because he had conceiued in himselfe such a purpose neuer to eat meat, without he had some ghest or stranger with him, sometime was constrained to abstaine fiue daies together vntill sunday, while he came to the church, and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

Cassianus lib. de spiritu gastrimarg. cap. 40.

Two other examples yet more will I adde out of the said Cassianus, to declare how the subtilty of Satan through superstition and false colour of holinesse, blindeth the miserable eies of such, which rather attend mens traditions then the word of God. In the fortith chapter of the said author, in his book De gastrimargia, is told of a certaine abbat named Joannes, in the desert wildernes of Scythia, who sent two of his nouices with figs vnto one that was sicke in the wildernesse eighteen miles off from the church. It chanced these two young nouices missing the way, wandered so long in the wilde forrest or wildernesse and could not find the cell, that for emptinesse and wearinesse they waxed faint and tired: and yet rather would they die then take the figs cõmitted to them to cary, and so did: for shortly after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.

Superstition.

Cassian. lib. 6. cap. 2.

Another story he also reciteth of two monasticall brethren, who making their progresse in the desert of Thebaide, purposed with themselues to take no sustenance but such as the Lord should minister himselfe vnto them. It happened as they were wandering desolat in the desert, and fainting almost for penury, certaine Nazites, a kind of people by nature fierce & cruell, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of humanity, came forth, and of their owne accord offered bread vnto them: which bread the one thankfully receiued as sent of God, the other as counting it sent of man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lacke perished.

Hereunto might I also anner the story of Mucius, who to declare his obedience, did not sticke at the commandement of his abbat, to cast his sonne into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning; so far were the monks in those daies drowned in superstition. What is this, but for mans traditions and commandements to transgresse the commandement of God, which saith: Thou shalt do no murther; Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God? What man is so blind that séeth not by these and infinit examples more, what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this monkery, almost from the beginning, to creep into the church? Whereat I cannot maruell enough, séeing that age of the church had in it so many learned doctors, who not only did approue and allow these monasticall sects of life, but also certaine themselues were the authors and institutors of the same, yea and of mens traditions made the seruice of God. In number of whom may be reckoned Basilius Magnus, and Nazianzenus, who with immoderate austerity did so plucke downe themselues, that when they were called to the office of bishops, they were not able to sustaine the labor thereof.

Monkery mother of superstition and hypocrisie.

Basilius Magnus. Nazianzenus.

After these foresaid monks of that time aboue rehearsed, followed other monks of the middle age of the church; who as in multitude, so also in superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolat dens in the vast wildernesse, to approch more neere to great townes; where they had solemn monasteries founded by kings & quéenes, and kings daughters, and other rich consuls, as is partly before touched; and the causes also touched withall, for the which they were first founded, as these: Pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remissione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, & pro salute regnorum, quique meo subiacent regimini populorum, in honorem gloriosæ virginis, &c. For all these impious and erroneous titles and causes we find alleged in stories, as in Malmesburiensis, Jornalensis, Henricus, & others more. In which histories I also note, that the most part of these aforesaid monasteries were erected first vpon some great murther, either by war in the field, or priuatly committed at home, as shall well appeare to them which read their books whom I haue alleged. But to returne to our monks againe, who (as is said) first began to crép from the cold field into warme townes and cloisters, from townes then into cities, and at length from their close cels and cities into cathedral churches (as here appeareth by this story of king Edgar) where, not only they did abound in wealth and riches (especially these monks of our latter time) but much more did swim in superstition and Pharisaicall hypocrisie, being yoked and tied in all their doings, to certaine prescript rules and formall obseruances: in watching, in sléeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in loking, in talking, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures, euery man apparelled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the yéere did serue, but as the coacted rules and order of euery sect did inforce them. The number of which sects was infinitly diuers: some after Basilius rule went in white: some after Benets rule in blacke: some Cluniacenses, first set vp by Otho in the time of this king Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benets order: some after Hieromes rule, leather girdled, and coped aboue their white cote: some Gregorians, copper coloured: some De valle vmbrosa, gray monks: some Grandimontenses, wearing a cote of mailes vpon their bare bodies, with a black cloke thereupon: some Cistercians, who had white cochets on a black cote: some Celestines all in blew, both cloke, coule and cap: some Charter monks, wearing haircloth next their bodies: some Flagellants going bare foot in long white linnen shirts, with an open place in the backe, where they beat themselues with scourges on the bare skin euery day before the peoples eies, til the blood ran downe, saying that it was reuealed to them by an angell, that in so scourging themselues, within thirty daies and twelue houres, they should be made so pure from sinne, as they were when they first receiued baptisme: some starred monks: some Jesuits with a white girdle and a russet coule. Briefly, who can reckon the innumerable sects & disguised orders of their fraternities? some holding of S. Benet, some of S. Hierome, some of S. Basil, some of S. Bernard, some of S. Bridget, some of S. Bruno, some of S. Lewis, as though it were not enough for christians to hold of Christ only. So subiect were they to seruile rules, that no part of christian liberty remained among them; so drowned and sunke in superstition, that not only they had lost Christs religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discreet gouernment of reason in all outward doings, wherein no one rule can serue for all men: the circumstance of time, place, person, and businesse being so sundry and diuers; contrary among these, no reason but only the knocke of a bell ruled all their doings; their rising, their sléeping, their praying, their eating, their comming in, their going out, their talking, their silence, and altogether like insensible people, either not hauing reason to rule themselues, or else as persons vngratefull to God, neither inioying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet vsing the grace of Christs liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Monkes are subiect and rulde by the knock of a bell.

Thus thou séest (gentle reader) sufficiently declared, what the monks were in the primitiue time of the church, and what were the monks of the middle age, and of these our latter daies of the church. Whereunto ioyne this withall, that where the monks of elder time (as is said) were meere lay men and no spirituall ministers; afterward Bonifacius the fourth made a decrée, An. 606, that monks might vse the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and also of absoluing them of their sinnes, &c. So then monks, who in the beginning were but lay men, and no spirituall ministers, forbidden by the generall councell of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters ecclesiasticall; afterward in processe of time, did so much incroch vpon the office of spiritual ministers, that at length the priests were discharged out of their cathedral churches, and monks set in their places: because that monks in those daies leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holinesse among the people then the priests, who then in the daies of king Edgar had wiues (at least so many as would) no law forbidding them to the contrary, till the time of Hildebrand, now called Gregory the seuenth, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the booke next following.

Monkes made spirituall ministers, contrary to the old decrees and custome of the church.

Priests in king Edgars time had wiues.

And thus much by the way, as touching the order and profession of monks. Now to turne in againe from whence we digressed (that is) to the matter of king Edgar, who following the counsell and leading of Dunstan, and the foresaid Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, was somewhat thereby inclined to superstition: but otherwise of his owne nature well giuen to all vertues and princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was hee in iustice, and sharp in correction of vices (as well in his magistrates as other subiects) that neuer before his daies was lesse sellony by robbers, nor lesse extortion or bribery by false officers. Such prouinces and lordships as were not yet come vnder the kings subiection, hee united and adioyned to his dominion: and so made one perfect monarchy of the whole realme of England, with all the Ilands and borders about the same. Such as were wicked, he kept vnder, he repressed them that were rebels, the godly he maintained, he loued the modest, hee was deuout to God, and beloued of his subiects, whom he gouerned in much peace and quietnesse. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did blesse him with much abundance of peace and rest from all wars: so that as the story recordeth of him, Nullas insidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum senserit, for the which he was called Pacificus. He neither talked of any priuy treason among his subiects; nor of any inuasion of forren enemies. So studious he was of the publike profit of his realme, and fruitfull in his gouernment, that as the said story testifieth of him, Nullus ferè annus in chronicis præterijt, quo non magnum & necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No yeere passed in all the time of his raigne, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the commonwealth, &c. A great maintainer he was of religion and learning, not forgetting heerein the foresteps of king Alfred his predecessor. Among his other princely vertues this chiefly is to bee regarded, that whereas other princes commonly in much peace and quietnes are wont to growe into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed vnto them: this king in

The worthy acts of king Edgar.

The king a good iusticiary.

England reduced into one full and perfect monarchy.

Edgarus rex pacificus.

King Edgar and king Alfred compared togither.

continu-

Basilius Magnus. Nazianzenus.

Monks of the middle and latter age of the church described.

Causes of the founding of monasteries and nunries, tending to the derogation of Christs passion and christian faith.

Most part of monasteries were builded vpon some murther.

The order of monks Cluniac, by Otho set vp in king Edgars time.

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continuance of peace (that notwithstanding) kept euer with him such a watch, and a vigilant seuerity ioined with a seemely clemencie, that I cannot here but recite the witnesse of our story-writers, testifying of his diligent care ouer the commonwealth, which was so great, Vt nullum cuiuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impunè permitteret: that is, That hee would suffer no man, of what degrée of nobilitie so euer hee were, to dally out his lawes without condigne punishment, &c. And followeth more in the same author: Nemo eius tempore priuatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alienas grassari propriæ vitæ dispendio, &c. In all his time there was neither any pryuy picker, nor open theefe, but he that in stealing other mens goods, would venture and suffer (as he was sure) the losse of his owne life, &c. Guliel. de reg.

A note for men of nobility to marke.

A notable example of a prince, to admonish all princes what to doe.

More ouer, as the studious industry of this prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent prouision did not lacke in this also, in driuing out the deuouring and rauening wolues throughout all his land. Wherein he vsed this policie, in causing Ludwallus prince or king of Wales, to yeeld to him yerly by way of tribute three hundred wolues. By means whereof, within the space of foure yeers after in England & Wales, might scantly be found one wolfe aliue.

Wolues first driuen out of England.

This Edgar among other of his politike deeds, had in readinesse 3600 ships of warre, to scowre the seas in the summer time, whereof 1200 kept the east seas, as many to defend the west side, againe as many on the south seas, to repulse the inuasion of forren enemies. Moreouer, in winter season, the vse and manner of this vertuous king was this: During all the time of his life, to ride ouer the land in progresse, searching and inquiring diligently (to vse here the words of mine author) Quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum obseruarentur: & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi opprimerentur: that is, How his lawes and statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poore should suffer no preiudice, or be oppressed any manner of waies by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him like a phenix to flie alone, that of all his posterity so few there be that seeke to keepe him company. And although I haue shewed more already of this king, then I thinke will well be followed, yet this more is to bee added to the worthinesse of his other acts, that whereas by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in diuers places of England, much excessiue drinking was vsed, whereupon insued drunkennesse and many other vices, to the euill example and hurt of his subiects; hee therefore to preuent that euill, ordained certaine cups with pins or nailes set in them, adding thereunto a law, that what persons drank past that marke at one draught, should forfet a certaine peny, whereof one halfe should fal to the accuser, and the other halfe to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

The prouision of king Edgar in keeping the seas.

A notable example in a prince for all good princes to marke and to follow.

The deuice of king Edgar to auoid drunkennesse.

It is reported of this Edgar by diuers authors, that about the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, hee being at Chester, eight kings (called in histories Subreguli) to wit, petie kings, or vnder kings, came and did homage to him. Of whom the first was the king of Scots, called Kinadius, Macolinus of Cumberland, Mackus or Malcolinus king of Mona, and of diuers other Ilands, and all the kings of Wales, the names of whom were Dufnall, or Dunewaldus, Sifreth, Hywall, Jacob, Aikel, Juchel. All which kings after they had giuen their fidelity to Edgar, the next day following (for a pompe or roialty) he entred with these aforesaid kings into the riuer of Dée, where he sitting in a boat, toke the role of the helme, and caused these eight kings, euery person taking an ore in his hand, to row him vp and downe the riuer to and from the church of S. John, vnto his palace againe, in token that he was master and lord of so many prouinces: whereupon hee is reported to haue said in this manner. Tunc demum posse successores suos gloriari, se reges Angliæ esse, cùm tanta prærogatiua honorum fruerentur. But in my mind this king had said much better, if he had rather said with S. Paul, Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Eight kings do homage to king Edgar.

The glory of king Edgar reprehended.

Wherein kings ought to glory.

And thus yee haue heard hitherto touching the commendation of king Edgar, such reports as the old monkish writers thought to bestow vpō him, as vpon the great patron of their monkish religion, who had builded so many monasteries for them, as were sundaies in the yeere (as some say) or as Edmer reporteth, but forty and eight.

King Edgar a superstitious vpholder of monkery. Ex Edmero.

Now on the other side, what vices in him were reigning, let vs likewise consider, according as we finde in the said authors described, which most write to his aduancement. Whereof, the first vice is noted to be cruelty, as well vpon others, as namely vpon a certaine earle being of his secret counsell, called Ethelwold. The storie is this: Ordgarus duke of Deuonshire, had a certaine daughter named Elfrida, whose beautie being highly commended to the king, he being inflamed therewith, sent this foresaid Ethelwold (whom he especially trusted) to the partie, to see and to bring him word againe and if her beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the match betweene them. Ethelwold well viewing the party, and seeing her beauty nothing inferior to her fame, and thinking first to serue his owne turne, told all things contrarie vnto the king. Whereupon the king withdrawing his mind otherwise, in the end it came to passe that Ethelwold himselfe did marry her.

Vices noted in king Edgar.

King Edgar circumuented by one of his counsell.

Not long after, the king vnderstanding further by the complaints and rumors of certaine how he was preuented and beguiled, set a faire face vpon the matter before Ethelwold, and merily telling with him, told him how he would come and see his wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold the husband perceiuing this matter to goe hardly with him, made hast to his wife, declaring to her the comming of the king, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done, desired her of all loue, as she would saue his life, to disgrace and deforme her selfe with garments and such attire, as the king might take no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this, what did she, but contrary to the request of her husband, and promise of a wife, against the kings comming, trimmed her selfe at the glasse, and decked her in her best aray. Whom when the king beheld, he was not so much enamored with her, as in hatred with her husband, who had so deceiued him. Whereupon the king shortly after, making as though he would go to hunt in the forrest of Hartwood, sent for Ethelwold to come to him vnder the pretence of hunting, and there ran him thorow and slew him. After this, the bastard son of Ethelwold comming to him, the king asked him how hee liked that hunting? Who answered againe, that which pleaseth the king, ought not to displease him: for the death of which Ethelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a monastery of nuns in remission of sinnes.

Cruelty in king Edgar noted.

Another fault which Malmsbury noteth in him, was the comming in of strangers into this land, as Saxons, Flemmings and Danes, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of this land, as the foresaid story of Malmsbury recordeth, whose words be these: Vnde factū est, vt fama eius per ora omniū volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandricæ, ipsi etiam Dani huc frequenter annauigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti. Quorū aduentus magnum prouincialibus detrimentū peperit. Inde meritò iureq; reprehendunt eum literæ, &c. That is: Whereby it happened that diuers strangers out of forren countries allured by his fame came into the land, as Saxons, Flemmings, and Danes also, all which he retained with great familiarity. The comming of which strangers bred great damage to the realme, and therefore is Edgar iustly blamed in stories, &c. With the which reprehension, all the Saxon stories also do agree.

Great detriment happning in this realme by king Edgar.

W. Malm.

The third vice to him obiected, was his incontinent and lasciuious lust in deflowring maids, as first of a dukes daughter being a nun, and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilfrude; of which Wilfride was borne Editha a bastard daughter of Edgar. Also of another certaine virgin in the towne of Andeuar, who was priuily conueied into his bed by this meanes: The lasciuious king comming to Andeuar not far from Winchester, and thinking to haue his pleasure of a certaine dukes daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the maid to be brought vnto him. The mother of the virgin greening to haue her daughter made a concubine, secretly by night conueied to the kings bed in stead of her daughter, another maiden of beauty and fauour not vncomely: who in the morning rising to her worke, and so being knowne of the king what shee was, had granted vnto her of the king such liberty and freedome, that of a seruant shes was made mistresse both to her master, and also to her mistresse. Ex Matthæo Paris. lib. de regib.

The incontinent life of king Edgar.

Editha base daughter of Wilfred the kings leeman.

Another concubine he had also besides these aforesaid, which was Egelfleda or Elfleda, called Candida, the white daughter of duke Ordmere (as Guliel. Malmsbur. recordeth) she being also a professed nun, of whom he begat Edward in bastardy; for the which hee was inioined by Dunstan seuen yeeres penance. After which penance being compleat, then he toke to him a lawfull wife (as Malmsb. saith) Elfritha, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, or otherwise called Egelred, whereof more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Edward borne in bastardy of Elfled king Edwards concubine.

Ouer and beside all these vices noted and obiected to king Edgar in our monkish story-writers, I also obserue another no lesse, or rather greater vice then the other afore recited, which was, blind superstition and idolatrous monkery brought into the church of Christ, with the wrongfull expulsing of lawfull married priests out of their houses. Whereupon what inconueniences insued after in this realme, especially in the house of the Lord, I leaue it to the consideration of them which haue heard of the detestable enormities of those religious votaries: the occasion whereof, first and chiefly began in this Edgar, through the inligation of Dunstan and his fellowes, who after they had inueigled the king, and had brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a councell of the clergy: where it was enacted, that the canons of diuers cathedrall churches, colleginars, persons, vicars, priests and deacons, with their wiues and children, either should giue ouer that kind of life, or else giue roome to monks, &c. For execution of which decree, two principall visitors were appointed; Athelwold or Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Oswold bishop of Worcester, as is partly before touched. Osbernus in vita Dunstani. Malmsb. de vit. pont. Rog. Houed.

King Edgar a great maintainer of monkery.

King Edgar seduced by Dunstan and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester. Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani, fol. 27. Malmesb. Houeden. & alijs.

And

And thus much concerning the hiſtory of king Edgar, and of ſuch things as in his time hapned in the church; which Edgar after he had entred into the parts of Britannie to ſubdue the rebellion of the Wellſhmen, and there had ſpoiled the country of Glamorgan, and waſted the country of Mon; within ten daies after, when he had raigned the ſpace of ſixteen yeeres, died, and was buried at Glaſtenbury, leauing after him two baſtards, to wit, Editha and Edward, and one ſonne lawfully begotten named Ethelred, or otherwiſe by corruption called Egelred, for Edmund the Elder ſonne died before his father.

The death of king Edgar.

You heard before how king Edgar is noted in all ſtories to be an incontinent liuer in deflouring maids and virgins. Of which virgins, three notoriouſly are expreſſed in authors, to wit, Wilfrude or Wilfride, the ſecond was the dukes maid at Andeuar, neere to Wincheſter, the third was Elfled mother of Edward, for the which Elfled he was ſtaied & kept backe from his Coronation by Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canturbury, the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres; and ſo the ſaid king beginning his raigne in the ſixteenth yéer of his age, being the yeere of the Lord, 959, was crowned at his age one and thirty, An. Dom. 974. as is in the Saxon chronicle of Worceſter church to be proued. For the more euident declaration of which matter, concerning the coronation of the king reſtrained, and the preſumptuous behauior of Dunſtan againſt the king, and his penance by the ſaid Dunſtan iniоined, ye ſhall heare both Oſberne, Malmeſb. and other authors ſpeake in their owne words, as followeth.

Ex chronico Saxonico eccleſia Wigornenſis.

Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani.

Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato, &c. After that Dunſtan had vnderſtanding of the kings offence perpetrated with the profeſſed nun, and that the ſame was blazed amongſt the people, with great ire and paſſion of mind hee came to the king, who ſéeing the archbiſhop comming, eſtſoones of gentlenes aroſe from his regall ſeat towards him, to take him by the hand and to giue him place. But Dunſtan refuſing to take him by the hand, and with ſterne countenance bending his browes, ſpake after this effect of words (as ſtories import) vnto the king: You that haue not feared to corrupt a virgin maid hand-faſt to Chriſt, preſume you to touch the conſecrated hands of a biſhop? You haue defiled the ſpouſe of your maker, and thinke you by flattering ſeruice to pacifie the friend of the bride-groome? No ſir, his friend will not I be, which hath Chriſt to his enemy. &c. The king terrified with theſe thundering words of Dunſtan, and compuncted with inward repentance of his ſinne perpetrated, fell downe with weeping at the feet of Dunſtan: who after he had raiſed him vp from the ground againe, began to vtter to him the horribleneſſe of his fact: and finding the king ready to receiue whatſoeuer ſatiſfaction he would lay vpon him, iniоined him this penance for ſeuen yeeres ſpace, as followeth: That he ſhould weare no crowne all that ſpace, that he ſhould faſt twice in the weeke, he ſhould diſtribute his treaſure left to him of his anceſtors liberally vnto the poore, he ſhould build a monaſtery of nuns at Shaftsbury, that as he had robbed God of one virgin through his tranſgreſſion, ſo ſhould he reſtore to him many againe in times to come. Moreouer he ſhould expell clerks of euill life (meaning ſuch prieſts as had wiues and children) out of churches, and place couents of monks in their roome, &c.

Dunſtan refuſeth to take the king by the hand.

The words of Dunſtan to king Edgar.

Penance iniоined to king Edgar by Dunſtan.

It followeth then in the ſtory of Oſberne, that when the ſeuen yeeres of the kings penance were expired, Dunſtan calling togither all the peéres of the realme, with biſhops, abbats, and other eccleſiaſticall degrées of the clergy, in the publike ſight of all the multitude, ſet the crowne vpon the kings head at Bathe, which was the one and thirtith yéere of his age, and the thirteenth yéere of his raigne; ſo that hee raigned onely but three yéeres crowned king. All the other yéeres beſides, Dunſtan belike ruled the land as he liſted. Furthermore, as touching the ſonne of the ſaid Elfled, thus the ſtory writeth: Puerum quoq; ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, ſacro fonte regeneratum lauauit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium ſibi adoptauit. i. The child alſo which was gotten of the harlot, he baptiſed in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and ſo giuing his name to be called Edward, did adopt him to be his ſonne, &c. Ex Osberno.

King Edward reigned but three yeeres crowned king.

Elfled proued a nun, and Edward her ſonne proued a baſtard.

By the which narration of Oſberne, agréeing alſo with the ſtory of the Saxon booke aboue mentioned, is conuinced a double vntruth or error, either negligently ouerſéene, or of purpoſe diſſembled in our latter monkiſh ſtory writers, as in Malmeſbury, Matth. Paris, Matth. Weſtm. and other more. Who to conceale the fault of king Edgar, or to beare with Dunſtans fact, in ſetting vp Edward for the maintenance of their monkiſh order: firſt do falſly affirme, that Editha the daughter of Ulfride was borne after Edward, and that for her this penance was iniоined to king Edgar. Which neither is, nor can be ſo, in proceſſe hereafter (the Lord willing) ſhall appeare.

Errors in Malmeſbury, and certaine other monks ſtories.

The firſt error.

The kings penance not iniоined for Edith, but for Edward.

The ſecond error.

Secondly, they are deceiued in this, that they affirme king Edgar to haue two wiues, and that Elfleda the mother of Edward was not a profeſſed nun indéed, but diſſembled ſo to be to auoid the violence of the king: whereas indéed the truth of the ſtory both giueth her to be a nun, and her ſonne to be baſe, and ſhe her ſelfe neuer to be maried vnto the king.

Elfled the mother of Edward proued to be a profeſſed nun.

The lying miracles of Elfled, Dunſtan, and Editha reproued.

Now forſomuch as we haue hitherto entred mention of Elfleda and Editha, alſo of Alfred and Dunſtan, here would not be let paſſe to ſpeake ſome thing of their lying miracles, falſly forged, to the great ſeduction of chriſtian people by ſuperſtitious monks, who cared not what fables and lies they brought into the church, ſo they might haue the vantage of poore mens purſes and oblations. And firſt here commeth in the fabulous miracles wrought at the tombe of Elfleda the kings concubine, which William Malmeſbury in theſe verſes expreſſeth:

Idolatrous worſhipping the tombe of Elfled.

Nam nonnullis paſſa annis morborum moleſtiam,
Defacatam & excoctam Deo dedit animam.
Functas ergo vitæ fato beatas exuuias,
Infinitis clemens ſignis illuſtrauit Deitas.
Inops, viſus & auditus ſi adorant tumulum,
Sanitati reſtituti probant ſanctæ meritum.
Rectum greſſum refert domum, qui acceſſit loripes,
Mente captus redit ſanus, boni ſenſus locuples.

The Engliſh of which verſes is needleſſe here to be recited. Briefly, the effect is this: That both the blind, deafe, halt, and ſuch as be mad, receiue their health againe, if they worſhip the tombe of this Elfleda, &c.

The like fainings and monſtrous miracles we read alſo in chronicles of doting Dunſtan, drowned in all ſuperſtition, if he were not alſo a wicked ſorcerer. Firſt, how he being yet a boy, chaſed away the diuell, ſet about with a great company of dogs, and how the angels did open the church doore for him to enter. Then how the lute or harpe hanging vpon the wall, did ſing or play without any finger theſe words: Gaudent in cœlis animæ ſanctorum, qui Chriſti veſtigia ſunt ſequuti, & qui pro eius amore ſanguinem ſuum fuderunt: ideo cum Chriſto regnabunt in æternum. Item where a certaine great beame or maſterpoſt was loſed out of the place, he with making the ſigne of a croſſe, ſet it in right frame againe. Moreouer, how the ſaid Dunſtan being tempted vpon a time of the diuell with the cogitation of women, caught the diuell by the noſe with a hot paire of tongs, and held him faſt. Item, how oft heauenly ſpirits appeared to him, and vſed to talke with him familiarly. Item how he prophecied of the birth of king Edgar, of the death of king Egelred, of the death of Editha, and of Ethelwald biſhop of Wincheſter. Alſo how our lady with her fellowes appeared viſibly to him ſinging this ſong: Cantemus domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio. Againe, how the angels appeared to him, ſinging the hymne called Kyrie rex ſplendens, &c. And yet theſe prodigious fantaſies with other more are written of him in chronicles, and haue been beléeued in churches.

The idle fantaſies and forged miracles of Dunſtan.

A doubt whether Dunſtan was a ſorcerer.

Dunſtan a poſt-ſetter.

Dunſtan caught the diuell by the noſe with an hot paire of tongs.

Our lady appeareth to Dunſtan.

What marueil if certain books and epiſtles be falſly intituled to the doctors, when the papiſts ſhame not to aſcribe other mens verſes alſo to the Virgin Mary her ſelfe?

Among manie other falſe and lying miracles, forged in this corrupt time of monkerie, the fabulous or rather fruitleſſe legend of Editha were not to be ouerpaſſed, if for ſhame and honeſtie it might well be recited. But to caſt the dirt of theſe pope holy monkes in their owne face, which ſo impudently haue abuſed the church of Chriſt, and ſimplicitie of the people, with their vngratious vanities; let vs ſée what this miracle is, and how honeſtlie it is told. Certaine yeares after the death of Editha, ſaith William of Malmeſburie, which yeares Capgraue in his new legend reckoneth to be thirtéene, the ſaid Editha and alſo S. Denis holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunſtan in a viſion, willing and requiring him that the bodie of Editha in the church of Wilton, ſhould be taken vp and ſhrined, to the intent it might be honored héere in earth of her ſeruants, according as it is worſhipped of her ſpouſe in heauen. Dunſtan vpon this comming frō Saliſbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commanded her body to be taken vp with much honor and ſolemnitie. Who there in opening her tombe (as both Malmeſburie and Capgraue with ſhame enough record) found all the whole body of this Editha conſumed to earth, ſaue onely her thumbe, her belly, and the part vnder the belly. Whereof the ſaid Editha expounding the meaning, declared that her thumbe remained ſound, for the much croſſing ſhe vſed with the ſame. The other parts were incorrupted for a teſtimonie of her abſtinence, and integritie, &c. Ex Malmeſ. & Capgrauo. What ſatan hath ſo enuied the true ſinceritie of chriſtian faith and doctrine, ſo to contaminat the ſame with ſuch impudent tales, ſuch filthy vanities, and idolatrous fantaſies as this? Such monkes with their deteſtable houſes, where Chriſts people were ſo abominably abuſed and ſeduced to worſhip dead carcaſes of men and women, whether they deſerued not to be raced and plucked downe to the ground, let all chaſt readers iudge. But of theſe matters enough and too much.

Ex W. Malmeſburienſi & Capgrauo in legenda noua.

¶ Héere followeth the epitaph, written by Henricus archdeacon of Huntington, vpon the praiſe and commendation of king Edgar.

The death of king Edgar.

An epitaph commendatorie of king Edgar, written by H. Huntington.

Autor opum, vindex ſcelerum, largitor honorum,
Sceptriger Edgarus regna ſuperna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
Quòd caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros;
Nequitiæ lapſum, iuſtitiæque locum.
Nouit enim regno verum perquirere falſo,
Immenſum modico, perpetuúmque breui.

Among his other lawes, this king ordained that the ſunday ſhould be ſolemnized from ſaturday at nine of the clocke, till monday morning.

Sunday firſt hallowed from ſaturday at nine of the clocke to monday morning.

King

King Edward called the Martyr.

§ Anno 975 §

The ſtory of king Edward. *Ex Simone Dunham.*

AFter the death of Edgar no ſmall trouble aroſe amongſt the lords and biſhops for ſucceſſion of the crowne: the principall cauſe whereof roſe vpon this occaſion, as by the ſtory of Simon of Durham, and Roger Houeden, is declared. Immediatly after the deceaſe of the king, Alferus duke of Mercia, and many other nobles which held with Egelred or Ethelred the only right heire and lawfull ſonne of Edgar, miſliking the placing and intruding of monks into churches, and the thruſting out of the ſecular prieſts, with their wiues & children out of their ancient poſſeſſions, expelled the abbats and monks, and brought in again the foreſaid prieſts with their wiues. Againſt whom, certaine other there were on the contrary part, that made reſiſtance, as Ethelwine duke of Eaſtangles, Elfwoldus his brother, and the earle Brithnothus, ſaying in a councell togither aſſembled, that they would neuer ſuffer the religious monks to be expelled and driuen out of the realme, which held vp all religion in the land; and thereupon eftſoones leuied an armie, whereby to defend by force the monaſteries, ſuch as were within the precinct of Eaſtanglia.

Contention amongſt the lords about the putting in of monks.

Contention amongſt the lords for chooſing the king.

In this hurly burly amongſt the lords about the placing of monks and putting out of prieſts, roſe alſo the contention about the crowne, who ſhould be their king; the biſhops and ſuch lords as fauoured the monks, ſeeking to aduance ſuch a king as they knew would incline to their ſide: ſo that the lords thus diuided, ſome of them would haue Edward, and ſome conſented vpon Egelred the lawful ſonne. Then Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canturbury, and Oſwold archbiſhop of Yorke, with other their fellow biſhops, abbats, and diuers other lords and dukes aſſembled in a councell togither. In the which councell Dunſtan comming in with his croſſe in his hand, and bringing Edward before the lords, ſo perſwaded them, that in the end Edward by Dunſtans meanes was elected, conſecrated, and annointed for their king.

Edward the baſtard made king, and the right heire put backe.

Ex Oſberno, Nic. Triuet, Ioan. Pariſ. Vincentio, Antonino.

And thus haſt thou (good reader) the very truth of this ſtorie, according to the writing of authors of moſt antiquity which liued neereſt to that age, as Oſberne & others; which Oſberne liuing in the daies of William Conqueror, wrote this ſtory of Dunſtan through the motion of Lanfrancus, and allegeth or rather tranſlateth the ſame out of ſuch Saxon ſtories as were written before his time. Beſides which Oſberne we haue alſo for witneſſe hereof, Nicolas Triuet in his Engliſh ſtory written in French, and alſo Ioannes Paris in his French ſtory written in the Latin tongue, where he plainly cal'eth Edward, Non legitimum filium, that is, No lawfull ſonne. Whereunto adde moreouer the teſtimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in plaine termes likewiſe report the ſame.

Editha proued not to be the child for whom king Edgar was inioined penance.

Now hauing laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let vs come to examine how truly our latter writers do ſay, which write that Editha, and not Edward, was the child for who Dunſtan inioined to the king ſeuen yeers penance, and alſo how truly they report Edward to be a lawfull heire, and Elfled to be a lawfull wife to king Edgar.

For firſt touching Editha, this is confeſſed by the ſaid writers themſelues, that ſhe was of good yeres at what time Edgar her father was inioined his penance. After the which ſeuen yeres of his penance expired, hee liued at the moſt but three yeres and a halfe, which ſeuen yers and three yers and a halfe, do make in all but ten yeres and a halfe. But now the ſaid authors themſelues do grant, that ſhe was made abbeſſe by her father, he being then aliue. And how can this then ſtand with her legend, which ſaith that ſhe was not leſſe then fifteen yers of age? By which account it muſt needs fall out, that ſhe could not be ſo little as fiue yeres old, before the birth of that child for whom the king did penance.

The yeeres of Editha and Edward, caſt by the ſupputation of legends and ſtories.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in like manner to conſider of the time of Edward. Firſt, this by all writers is granted, that hee was ſlaine in the fifteenth yere of his age. Which yeres do well agree to that child which king Edgar begat in baſtardy, and for the which he did his penance: for the more euidence whereof, let vs come to the ſupputation of yers in this ſort.

First, the penance of the king after the birth of this child, laſted ſeuen yeres. Then the king after the ſame liued three yeres and a halfe. After whoſe death Edward raigned other three yeres and a halfe, which in all make the full ſumme of fourteen yeres. About the count of which age, the ſaid Edward going on his fifteenth yere, by their owne reckoning was ſlaine.

King Edward called martyr, proued to be a baſtard.

And thus haue ye by manifeſt demonſtration proued by the right caſting of the yeres, after their owne grant and reckoning, that Editha daughter of Elfride in no caſe can be the child which was borne after Edward, and for whom the king was inioined penance; but that Edward rather was borne after Editha, and was the child for whom the penance was inioined: contrary to the opinion commonly receiued in the church, which for ignorance of the ſtory hath hitherto holden Edward to be an holy martyr, and right heire vnto the crown. Which error and opinion how it firſt ſprang and by whom, albeit it pertaine not to my ſtory to diſcuſſe, yet were it no hard matter to coniecture.

The cauſe yet depended, why this ſtory of king Edward is ſo falſly corrupted in monkiſh ſtories.

Firſt, after that Dunſtan and Oſwold with other biſhops, abbats, and certaine lords and dukes of that faction, for the maintenance of monkery, had aduanced Edward to be king, againſt queene Alfrith mother of Ethelred, and Alferus duke of Mercia, and certaine other nobles which held the contrary ſide of the prieſts againſt the monks; in proceſſe of time the monks that came after to write ſtories, perceiuing Dunſtan to be reputed in the church of Rome for an holy ſaint, and the ſaid king Edward for an holy martyr, and partly alſo to bolſter vp their owne religion of monkery ſo much as they could, to the intent therefore they might ſaue both the credit of Dunſtan and of the king, and eſpecially bearing fauour to their owne religion, and partly that the reputation of the church of Rome ſhould not be diſſeined by opening the truth of this matter, either did not ſee, or would not confeſſe herein what they knew; but rather thought beſt to blanch the ſtory, and colourably to hide the ſimple truth thereof, making the people falſelie beleeue that Elfleda the mother of Edward, was wife to king Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully borne, and alſo that Editha was borne after Edward, and to be the child for which the king was inioined penance. All which is falſe and contrarie both to the order of time aboue declared, and alſo to the plaine words of Malmeſbury, which ſpeaking of king Edgars laſt concubine, ſaith in plaine words: Dilexit vnicè integram lecto vni deferens fidem, quoad legitimam vxorem accepit Elfthridem, filiam Ordgari: that is, He had a concubine whom he loued intirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time hee maried for his lawfull wife Elfride the daughter of duke Ordgar, &c. Whereby we haue to vnderſtand, that whatſoeuer concubine this was which Malmeſbury ſpeaketh of, certaine it is that Edgar liued in whoredome till time hee maried his lawfull wife. Further more, and finally to conclude, beſide theſe arguments and allegations aboue recited, let this alſo be perpended, how the ſaid Dunſtan with his complices, after the killing of king Edward, leauing the right heire of the crowne (which was Ethelred) went about (as Capgraue and their owne legend confeſſeth) to ſet vp Editha the other baſtard to poſſeſſe the crowne, but that ſhe more wiſe then her brother Edward, refuſed the ſame. Wherby what is to be thought of the doings of Dunſtan, and what ſhould be the cauſe why he preferred both Edward and Editha to the crowne, rather then the lawfull heire, I leaue to all indifferent readers thereof to iudge.

Malmsb. in lib. de regibus.

Dunſtan ſuborneth Editha the baſtard, to take the crown from the right heire. *Ex Capgraue in vita ſanctæ Edithæ.*

After that Dunſtan and his fellowes had thus ſet vp Edward for their king, they were now where they would be, ſuppoſing all to be ſure on their ſide, & that they had eſtabliſhed the kingdome of monkery for euer, through the helpe of the young king, and the duke of Eaſtangles, and certaine other nobles whom they had drawen to their part. Howbeit this matter paſſed not ſo well with them as they hoped. For ſhortly after the coronation of this yong king, Alferus duke of Mercia, who followed much the deeds of the queene with other great men, ſtoutly ſtanding on the contrary ſide, droue out the monkes from the cathedrall churches, which king Edgar before had ſet in, and reſtored againe the prieſts (as Ranulphus ſaith) with their concubines: but in the hiſtory of the library of Iornall, I find it plainly expreſſed, with their wiues. The words of the verie author be theſe: Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæteríque plures, eiectis monachis de magnis monaſterijs, quos rex Edgarus nuper inſtituerat, clericos cum vxoribus reduxerunt: that is, Alferus duke of Mercia with other great men more, droue out the monks from the great monaſteries, whom king Edgar had there ſet in before, and reſtored againe the prieſts with their wiues.

Duke Alferus.

Prieſts with their wiues reſtored.

Hiſtoria Iornalenſis in vita Edgari.

Whereby it doth euidently appeare, that prieſts in thoſe daies were maried & had their lawfull wiues. The like before that in king Inas time is plaine, that biſhops then had wiues & children, as appeareth by the words of the law then ſet forth, extant in the hiſtory of the ſaid Iornalenſis, which bee theſe: Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, ſit ſimile cognationi, & creſcat emendatio ſecundum Weram eius regi, ſicut cognationi. Si de parentela ſit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, ſicut mandata Domini. Si epiſcopi filiolus ſit, ſit dimidium hoc, &c. And thus much by the way for prieſts wiues and their children.

Biſhops and prieſts in thoſe daies maried in England.

Iornalenſe.

Now to the purpoſe againe of our matter, which is to declare how the duke & nobles of England expelled the monks out of the monaſteries after the death of king Edgar: whereof let vs heare what the monkiſh ſtory of the abby of Croiland recordeth: Monachis de quibuſdam monaſterijs eiectis, clerici ſunt introducti, qui ſtatim monaſteriorum maneria ducibus terræ diſtribuebant, vt ſic in ſuas partes obligati, eos contra monachos defenſarent. Tunc de monaſterio Eueſhamenſi, monachis expulſis, clerici fuerunt introducti. Terræque tyranni de tetris eccleſiæ præmiati ſunt, quibus regina nouercali nequitia, ſtans cum clericis in regis opprobrium, fauebat. Cum monachis autem rex, & ſancti epiſcopi perſiſtebant. Sed tyranni fulti reginæ fauore & potentia, ſuper monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus eſt. Ex chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Crouland, &c. that is; The monks being expelled out of certaine monaſteries, the clerks againe were brought in, who diſtributed the manors or farmes of the ſaid mona-

Ex chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Croulandi.

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monasteries, to the dukes and lords of the land, that they being obliged to them should defend them against the monks. And so were the monks of Euelham thrust out, and the secular clerks placed, and the lands of the church giuen to the lords, with whom the queene, the kings stepmother holding the same time, toke part also with the said clerks against the king. On the contrarie part stood the king and the holie bishops taking part with the monks. Howbeit, the lords and peeres of the realme staying vpon the fauour and power of the queene, triumphed ouer the monks, &c.

Great businesse in the land about placing of monks, and displacing priests.

A controuersie betweene priests and monks.

Thus as much adoe there was through all quarters of the realme about the matter among the lords, so arose no lesse contention betweene the priests and monks of England. The priests complaining to the king and Dunstan, laid for themselues that it was vncomelie, vncharitable, yea and vnnaturall, to put out an old knowen dweller for a new vnknowen; and that God was not pleased, that to be taken from the ancient possessor which by God was giuen him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such iniurie to be done, lest peraduenture the same thing wherein he was prejudiciall to an other, might after reuert and redound vpon himselfe at length. The monks on the other side laid for their part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new commer, nor yet looked vpon the person, but who so would take the crosse of penance vpon him, and follow Christ in vertuous liuing, should be his disciple.

Priests marriage noted for an old custome in England.

The obiection of priests against the monks.

Gubel. de regib. lib. 2.

The answer of monks against the priests.

These and such other were the allegations of the monks. But whether a monks coule or a wiuelesse life make a sufficient title to enter into other mens possessions or no, I refer it to the iudgement of the godlie. The troublous cares in mariage, the necessarie prouision for housekeeping, the vertuous bringing vp of children, the dailie helping of pouertie and bearing of publike charges, with other manifest perturbations & combrances dailie incident vnto matrimonie, might rather appeere to godlie wise men to come neerer to the right crosse of penance, then the easie and loittering idlenesse of monkerie. In the end, vpon this controuersie was holden a councell of bishops and other of the clergie. First, at Reading or at Winchester (as Guliel. saith) where the greater part both of the nobles and commons iudged the priests to haue great wrong, & sought by all meanes possible, to bring them againe to their old possessions and dignities. Iornalensis heere maketh rehersall of an image of the crucifix, or a rod standing vpon the Frater wall, where the councell was holden. To this rod Dunstan requireth them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of some spirituall prouision before hand. In the midst of their prayer the rod (or els some blind monke behind it in a trunke) through the wall, is reported to speake these words: Absit hoc vt fiat, absit hoc vt fiat: iudicastis bene, mutaretis non bene. In remembrance whereof these verses were written vnder the rods feet.

Maried mens liues compared with the life of monks.

Anno 977

A vaine miracle of Dunstans rood that spake.

Humano more crux præsens ædidit ore,
Cœlitus affata, quæ perspicis hic subarata,
Absit vt hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.

Heere lacked a Thomas Cromwell to trie out false iugling.

Of this Dunstanicall or rather Satanicall oracle, Henricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus, nor yet Houedenus, nor Fabian in their histories. Gulielmus in his booke De regibus reporteth it but by hearelay, in these words, saying: Aliæ literæ docent, &c. Wherefore the lesse it seemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proueth in this matter nothing els but Dunstan to be a sorcerer, as Polydor Virgil also himselfe seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding for all this, yet the strife ceased not: in so much that a new assemblie of the clergie and other was appointed after at a place called the street of Calue, where the councell was kept in an vpper loft. In this councell many grieuous complaints were obiected (as Malmesb. saith) against Dunstan: but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remoue from that which he began to maintaine. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed (if it be true that in the stories is written) suddenlie the ioises of the loft failed, and the people with the nobles fell downe, so that certaine were slaine, and many hurt. But Dunstan (they say, only, standing vpon a post of the sollar which remained vnbroken) escaped without danger. Which thing whether it so hapned to portend before the ruine of the realme and of the nobles (as Henry Huntington doth expound it) which after insued by the Danes, or whether it was so wrought by Dunstans sorcerie (as was not vnpossible) or whether it were a thing but feigned of the monkish writers, and not true; all this I leaue to the readers, to thinke therein what them liketh. The stories say further, that vpon this the matter ceased, and Dunstan had all his will.

Another assemblie called at Calne.

Dunstan an enimie to priests wiues.

A sudden fall of the people at the councell of Calue.

Henricus lib. 5. Guliel. Ranulph. Iornalensis, Fabian.

These things thus done at Calue, it hapned not long after the same, that king Edward, whom the writers describe to be a vertuous and a meeke prince, much pitifull and beneficiall to the poore, about the fourth yeere of his reigne came vpon a season from hunting in the forrest alone, without the companie of his seruants to the place in the west countrie, where Alfrith his mother with her sonne Egelred did lie. When the queene the mother was warned of his comming by her men, anon she calleth a seruant of hers which was of her speciall trust, opening to him all her conceiued counsell, and shewing him all points how and what to do for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing so done, she made towards the king, and receiued him with all courtesie, desiring him to tarie that night; but he in like courtesie excused himselfe, and for speed desired to see his brother, and to drinke vpon his horse sitting, the which was shortlie brought.

The horrible wickednes of a queene-mother.

King Edward traiterouslie murthered by his stepmother and her seruant.

Now while the cup was at his mouth, the seruant of the queene (being informed) strake him in the bodie with a long two edged dagger. After the which stroke the king toke the horse with the spurs, and ran toward the way where he supposed to meet with his companie, but he bled so sore, that with faintnesse he fell from his horse, his one foot being in the stirrup. By reason whereof he was drawen of his horse ouer fields and lands till he came to a place named Corfigate, where he was found dead: and for that neither the maner of his death, (nor yet he himselfe for the king) was knowen, was buried vnhonorablie at the towne of Warham, where the body remained the space of three yeeres, and then after was taken vp by duke Alfer aboue mentioned, and with pompe and honor accordinglie was remoued to the minster of Shaftsburie, and there bestowed in the place called Edwardstow. Many tales run (more perchance then be true) concerning the finding and taking vp of his bodie, which our most common histories ascribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the king was buried. As first, how a poore woman borne blind, receiued her sight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where he did lie. Also how a pillar of fire from heauen descended ouer the place of his buriall. Then how the foresaid queene Alfrith taking her horse to go to the place, was stopped by the way, that neither her horse could be driuen by any meanes, nor she her selfe on foot was able to approch neere to the place where the corps of S. Edward was. Furthermore, how the said queene in repentance of her fact, afterward builded two nunries, one at Amesburie by Salisburie; the other at Merewell, where she kept her selfe in continuall repentance all the daies of her life. And thus, as ye haue heard, was this vertuous yong king Edward murthered, when he had reigned almost foure yeeres, leauing no issue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to Egelredus his brother.

King Edward found dead and buried, not knowen to be king.

Corfe castle.

The bodie of king Edward after three yeeres, honorablie taken vp and translated to Shaftsburie.

Two nunries founded vpon murther.

Anno 979

But here by the way is to be noted (vpon the name of this Edward) that there were three Edwards before the conquest. The first, was king Edward the senior: the second, king Edward the martyr, which was this king: the third, was king Edward called the Confessor, whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) to be declared.

Three Edwards kings before the conquest.

In the order and course of the Romane bishops, mention was made last of Agapetus the second, after whom next succeeded pope Iohn the thirteenth, of whom Dunstan archbishop of Canturburie receiued his pall, as in the storie of king Edgar is before minded. This pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleat from his first bringing vp with abominable vices: a whoremaster, an adulterer, incestuous, libidinous, a gamester, an extortioner, periured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruell and tyrannous. Of his cardinals, some he put out their eies, from some he cut off their tongs, some their fingers, some their noses, &c. In a generall councell before the emperor Otho the first of that name (who was the first emperor of the Germans) after the empire was translated out of France to Germanie by pope Agapetus (as is aboue histories) these obiections were articulat against him. First, that he neuer said his seruice, that in saying his masse he did not communicat, that he ordained deacons in a stable, that he committed incest with two of his sisters, that playing at dice he called for the diuell to helpe, that for monie he made boyes bishops, that he deflowred virgins and strangers, that of the palace of Lateran he made a stewes, that he lay with Stephana his fathers concubine, likewise with Ramera and with Anna and her neese, that he put out the eies of the bishop Benedict, that he caused houses to be set on fire, that he brake open houses, that he dranke to the diuell, that he neuer crossed himselfe, &c. For the which causes (and worthilie) he was deposed by the consent of the emperor with the prelats, and pope Leo was substitute in his place. But after his departing (through the harlots of Rome and their great promises) the said pope Iohn was restored againe to his place, and Leo (set vp by the emperor) was deposed. At length about the tenth yeere of the popedome of this Iohn; he being found without the citie with another mans wife, was so wounded of her husband, that within eight daies after he died.

Luitprandus lib. 6.

As merie as pope Iohns prouerb.

Pope Iohn the thirteenth deposed.

Pope Iohn restored.

Pope Iohn wounded in adulterie.

After him the Romans elected pope Benedictus the fift, without the consent of the emperor: whereupon the said Otho the emperor being not a little displeased for displacing of Leo, whom he had before promoted, and for the chosing also of Benedict, came with his armie and laid siege to Rome, and so set vp pope Leo againe, the eight of that name; which Leo to gratifie his benefactor againe, crowned Otho for emperor, and intituled him to be called Augustus. Also the power which Carolus Magnus had giuen before to the clergie & people of Rome, this Leo by a synodall decree granted to the emperor and his successors: that is, touching the election of the bishop of Rome. The emperor againe restored to the see of Rome all such donations

Pope Benedictus the fift.

Pope Leo the eight.

The election of the bishop of Rome giuen to the emperor.

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The donations of Carolus Magnus and Otho to Rome.

tions and possession, which either Constantinus (as they falslie pretend) or which Carolus Magnus toke from the Lombards, and gaue to them.

Pope Iohn, the fourteenth.

After pope Leo had reigned a yéere and three moneths, succéeded pope Iohn the fourtéenth, against whom (for holding with the emperor) Petrus the head captaine of the citie, with two consuls, twelue aldermen, and diuers other nobles, gathering their power together, laid hands vpon him in the church of Lateran, and clapt the pope in prison eleuen months. The emperor hearing this, with all speed returned with his armie againe to Rome, who after execution done vpon the authors and chiefe doers of that fact, among other committed the foresaid Petrus to the popes arbitrement, whom he caused first to be stript naked, then his beard being shauen, to be hanged by the haire a whole day together, after that to be set vpon an asse (his face turned backward, and his hands bound vnder the asses taile) and so to be led through the citie, that all men might see him: that done, to be scourged with rods, and so banished the citie. Thus ye see how the holie father followeth the iniunction of the gospell: Diligite inimicos vestros, Loue your enemies, Luke the first, &c. From this pope proceeded first the christening of bels, An. 971.

Pope Iohn taken and cast into prison.

The cruell reuenge of the pope.

Christening of bells first begun.

Pope Benedictus the first.

After him followed pope Benedictus the first, who in like maner was apprehended by Cinthius a captaine of Rome, and cast in prison, where he was strangled, or as some say, famished to death.

Pope Benedict slaine in prison.

Pope Donus the second.

Then came pope Donus the second, after whom Bonifacius the seuenth was pope, who likewise séeing the citizens of Rome to conspire against him, was constrained to hide himselfe, and séeing no place there for him to tarie, toke the treasure of S. Peters church, and so priuilie stole to Constantinople. In whose stead the Romans set vp pope Iohn the fiftéenth. Not long after, Boniface returning againe from Constantinople, by his monie and treasure procured a garrison or companie to take his part: by whose meanes the foresaid poe Iohn was taken, his eies put out, and so throwen in prison, where he was, as some say, famished; some say he was slaine by Ferrucius. Neither did Boniface reigne many dayes after, but suddenlie died, whose carcase after his death was drawen by the feet through the streets of Rome after a most despitefull maner, the people shrieking and exclaming against him, Anno 976.

Pope Bonifacius the seuenth. Two Popes together.

Pope Iohn the fiftéenth.

Pope Iohn slaine.

Pope Boniface drawne through the streets of Rome.

Next pope after him was Benedictus the seuenth, by the consent of the emperor Otho the second, and reigned nineteene yéeres. In the time of this pope, Hugh Cappet the French king toke Charles (the right heire to the crowne) by the treason of the bishop of Laon, and when he had imprisoned him, he also committed to prison Arnoldus archbishop of Raines, and placed in his rome Gilbertus a monke of Floriake (a necromancer) who was schoolemaster to doctor Robert the kings sonne. But this pope Benedictus called a councell at Remis, restored the said Arnoldus againe, and displaced Gilbertus, which after by the help of Otho was made archbishop of Rauenna, and at length was pope, as in processe hereafter (Christ granting) shall be declared.

Pope Benedictus the seuenth. Otho the second emperor.

Gilbertus a necromancer made archbishop.

After Benedictus succéeded in the sée of Rome pope Iohn the sixteenth, and died the eight month of his papacie; next to whom came Iohn the seuentéenth, and after him Gregorie the fift in the yéere of our Lord, 995. This Gregorie (called before Bruno) was a German borne, and therefore the more maliced of the clergie and people of Rome. Whereupon, Crescentius with the people and clergie consenting against the said Gregorie, set vp Iohn the eightéenth. Gregorie vpon the same sped himselfe in all conuenient hast to the emperor Otho the third in Germanie; who hearing the complaint of Gregorie, and vnderstanding his wrongs, set forward with his armie well appointed to Italie, gat the citie, and there toke both Crescentius the consull, and Iohn the pope. Which Iohn the first hauing his eies put out, was depriued after of his life. Crescentius the consull was set vpon a vile horse, hauing his nose and eares cut off, and so was led through the citie, his face being turned to the horse taile, and afterward hauing his members cut off, was hanged vpon a gibbet.

Pope Iohn the sixteenth.

Pope Iohn the eightéenth.

Pope Gregorie the fift.

Pope Iohn the eightéenth.

Two popes together in Rome.

Pope Iohn had his eies put out, and so put to death.

Pope Gregorie restored.

Pope Gregorie thus being restored to his former state, reigned foure yéeres in his papacie (although Marianus Scotus and Martinus say that he sat but two yéeres) &c. During the which time he assembled a councell in Rome: where he, to stablish the empire in his owne countrie (by the consent and counsell of Otho) ordeined seuen princes of Germanie to be electors of the emperor, which order yet to this day remaineth. What be the names of these seuen electors, and what is their office, thus I find in these verses expressed.

Seuen electors of the emperors ordeined in Germanie, and who they be. *Ex chronico Martini.*

Maguntinensis, Treuerensis, Coloniensis,
Quilibet imperij fit cancellarius horum,
Et Palatinus dapifex, dux portitor ensis,
Marchio præpositus cameræ, pincerna Bohemus.

These seuen he ordeined to be electors, three bishops, three princes (to wit) the Palatine, the duke of Saronie, the marques Brandenburgh: to whom was added also the king of Boheme to giue the od voice, if the euen voice could not agrée. This constitution being first begun, An. 997. was after established in Germanie by Otho the emperor, the yéere of our Lord, 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digression, concerning the rages and tumults of the Romish church. Now to our matter againe.

King Egelred, or Elred.

King Egelred. Anno 979

KIng Edward thus being murthered, as is aforesaid, the crowne fell next to Egelred his yonger brother, and sonne to king Edgar by the foresaid quéene Alfrith, as we haue declared. This Egelred had a long reigne giuen him of God, which dured the terme of eight and thirtie yéeres, but very vnfortunat and full of great miseries; and he himselfe (by the histories) séemeth to be a prince, not of the greatest courage to gouerne a common wealth. Our English stories writting of him thus report of his reigne: that in the beginning it was vngratious, wretched in the middle, & hatefull in the latter end. Of this Egelred it is read, that when Dunstan the archbishop should christen him, as he did hold him ouer the font, something there happned that pleased not Dunstan, whereupon he sware, Per sanctam Mariam, iste ignauus homo erit, By the mother of Christ he will be a prince vntoward and cowardlie: Chron. de Crowland. I find in William of Malmesburie, Lib. 2. de regib. that this Egelred being of the age of ten yéeres, when he heard his brother Edward to be slaine, made such sorow and wéeping for him, that his mother falling therewith in a rage, toke wax candles (hauing nothing els at hand) wherewith she scourged him so sore (well neere till he swounded) that after the same he could neuer abide any wax candels to burne before him. After this, about the yéere of our Lord, 981 (the day of his coronation being appointed by the quéene, the mother, and the nobles) Dunstan the archbishop of Canturburie (who first refused so to do) with Oswald archbishop of Yorke, were inforced to crowne the king, and so they did at Kingston. In doing whereof, the report of stories go, that the said Dunstan should say, thus prophesying vnto the king: that for so much as he came to the kingdome by the death of his brother, and through the conspiracie of the wicked conspirators and other Englishmen, they should not be without bloudshéding and sword, till there came a people of an vnknowen tongue, and should bring them into thraldome, neither should that trespasse be clensed without long vengeance, &c.

The life of Egelred.

Anno 981

The coronation of Egelred.

The prophecie of Dunstan as monkish stories giue it.

In the chronicles of Crowland I find these words: Quoniam ascendisti ad thronum tuum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbū Domini: Hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet gladius de domo tua, sæuiens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, & interficiens de semine tuo, & de gente tua, vsque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: cuius ritum & linguam gens tua non nouit, nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta, & multa sanguinis effusione peccatum matris tuæ, & peccatum virorum pessimorum, qui consenserunt consilio eius nequam, vt mitterent manum in Christum Domini ad effundendum sanguinem innocentem: *Chron. de Crowland.*

Not long after the coronation of this king, a cloud was séene throughout the land, which appéered the one halfe like bloud, and the other halfe like fire, and changed after into sundrie colours, and vanished at the last in the morning. Shortlie after the appéerance of this cloud, in the third yéere of his reigne the Danes arriuing in sundrie places of the land, first spoiled Southhampton, either slaying the inhabitants, or leading them captiue away. From thence they went to the ile of Thanet, then they inuaded Chester, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Deuonshire, and so to Sussex, where in those coasts they did much harme, & so retired to their ships againe. Roger Houeden writing hereof, saith; that London the same time, or (as Fabian saith) a great part of London was consumed with fire. About this time fell a variance betweene the foresaid Egelred and the bishop of Rochester: in so much that he made war against him, and besiéged the citie. And notwithstanding that Dunstan required the king sending him admonishment to giue ouer for the sake of S. Andrew: yet continued he his siége, till the bishop offered him an hundred pounds of gold; which he receiued, and so departed. The Danes séeing the discord that then was in the realme, and especiallie the hatred of the subiects against the king, rose againe, and did great harme in diuers places of England: in so much that the king was glad to grant them great summes of monie for peace to be had. For the assurance of which peace, Analaffe captaine of the Danes became a christian man, and so returned home to his countrie and did no more harme. Besides these miseries before recited, a sore sickenesse of the bloudie flix, and hot feuers fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like murren also among the beasts. Moreouer, for lacke of iustice, many théeues, rioters, and bribers were in the land, with much miserie and mischiefe.

The Danes recourse to England.

Houeden, lib. continuationum.

London consumed with fire.

The king warred against the bishop of Rochester.

Anno 990

The bloudie flix and hot feuers reigned in this land.

The death of Dunstan. Ethelgarus, Elfricus, Siricius, Elphegus, archbishops of Canturburie.

About the eleuenth yéere (some say the ninth yéere) of this kings reigne, died Dunstan. After whom succeeded Ethelgarus, or as Iornalensis writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif. But as Polydorus saith, Siricius. After him Elfricus came, but Siricius after the mind of Guliel. lib. 1. but Polydor saith Aluricius, then Elphegus &c.

Anno 995

About the same time in the yeare of our Lord 995. Aldunus bishop translated the bodie of saint Cuthert from Chester (which

The bishops see of Durham.

(which first was in a northerne land, then at Rochester) to Durelme or Dunelme. Whereupon the bishops see of Durelme first began.

Not long after the death of Dunstan, the Danes againe entred England, in many and sundrie places of the land: in such sort, that the king was to seeke to which coast he should go first to withstand his enemies. And in conclusion, for the auoiding of more harme, he was compelled to appease them with great sums of money. But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and assailing the land in diuers places, not onely about the countrie of Northumberland, but also besieged the citie of London at the last. But being from thence repelled by the manhod of the Londoners, they strayed to other countries adioyning, as to Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hamshire, burning and killing wheresoeuer they went: so that for lacke of a good head or gouernor, many things in the land perished. For the king gaue himselfe to the vice of leccherie, and polling of his subiects, and disinherited men of their possessions, and caused them to redeeme the same againe with great summes of money, for he payed great tributs to the Danes yearely, which was called Danegilt. Which tributes so increased, that from the first tribute of 10000 pounds, it was brought at last in processe of fiue or six yeres to 40000 pounds. The which yearely (during to the comming of S. Edward, and after) was leuied of the subiects of this land.

London besieged of the Danes.

The Danes spoiled the land.

Great tributs leuied of the Englishmen. Danegilt.

To this sorrow moreouer was ioyned hunger and penury among the commons, in so much that euery one of them was constrained to plucke and steale from others. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward theeues and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit, the greatest cause of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not so much to be imputed to the king, as to the dissension among the lords themselues, who then did not agree one with another. But when they assembled in consultation together, either they did draw diuers waies; or if any thing were agreed vpon any matter of peace betweene the parties, sone it was broken againe; or else if any good thing were deuised for the preiudice of the enemie, anon the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same counsell. Of whom, the chiefe doers were Edrike duke of Mercia, and Alfrike the admirall or captaine of the ships, who betrayed the kings naule to the Danes. Wherfore the king apprehending Alfagarus sonne of the said Alfrike, put out his eyes, and so did he after to the two sonnes of duke Edrike in like manner.

The sorrowfull affliction of the English nation.

What dissension and discord doth among the nobles in a realme.

The pride and wretchednesse of the Danes toward the Englishmen.

The Danes thus preuailing more and more ouer the Englishmen, grew in such pride and presumption, that when they by strength caused the husbandmen to eare and sow the land, and to doe all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home, holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and seruant. And when the husbandman came home, he should scantly haue of his own, as his seruants had: so that the Dane had all at his will, and fill, saring of the best; when the owner scantly had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people being of them oppressed, were in such feare and dread, that not onely they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called euery one of them in the house where they had rule, lord Dane. Which word after (in processe of time, when the Danes were voided) was for despite of the Danes turned of the Englishmen to a name of opprobrie, that when one Englishman would rebuke another, hee would for the more part call him Lurdane.

Lord Dane.

Lurdane.

And thus hitherto (through the assistance of Christ) we haue brought this historie to the yeare of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing these great miseries vpon this English nation, the land being brought into great ruine by the grieuous tributes of the Danes, and also by sustaining the manifold villanies and iniuries, as well by them as by other oppressions within the realme: this yeare which was the yeare of our sauiour 1000, this Egelred through the counsell of certaine his familiars about him, in the one and twentith yeare of his reigne, began a matter, which was occasion either giuen by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to insue vpon the Saxons, who had driuen out the Brittains before; that was in ioyning with the Normans in mariage. For the king this yeare aboue said, for the more strength (as hee thought) both of him and the realme, married Emma the daughter of Richard duke of Normandie. Which Richard was the third duke of the Normans, and the first of that name. By reason of which mariage, king Egelred was not a little inhanced in his owne minde: and by presumption thereof, sent secret and strict commissions to the rulers of euery towne in England, that vpon S. Brices day at an houre appointed, the Danes should bee suddenly slaine. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

Anno 1000

Hen. Archidiac. lib. 6.

The first ioyning betweene the Normans and Englishmen.

King Egelred marrieth Emma the dukes daughter of Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

The Danes by secret commission, slaine in euery towne of England.

After that tidings came into Denmarke of the murther of those Danes, anon after, Suanus king of Denmarke with a great host and naule landed in Cornwall: where, by treason of a Normane named Hugh, which by fauour of queene Emma was made earle of Deuonshire, the said Swanus tooke Excester, and after beat downe the wals. From thence proceeding further into the land, they came to Wilton and Shireborne, where they cruelly spoiled the countrie, & slue the people. But anon Swanus, hearing that the king was comming to him with the power of his land, tooke his ships and set about to Norfolke: where, after much walking of that countrie, and spoiling the citie of Norwich, and burning the towne of Thetford, and destroying the countrie therabout, at length duke Vlketell met him and beat him, and slue many of the Danes. Wherefore Swanus for that yere returned to Denmarke, and there made great prouision to reenter the land againe the next yeare following; and so did, landing at Sandwich about the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Egelred, and there spoiled that countrie. And as sone as he heard of any host of Englishmen comming toward him, then he tooke shipping againe. So that when the kings armie sought to meet him in one coast, then would he suddenly land in another. And when the king prouided to meet with him vpon the sea, either they would faine to flee, or else they would with gifts blind the admiral of the kings naule. And thus wearied they the Englishmen, and in conclusion, brought them into extreame and vnspeakeable misery. In so much that the king was faine to take peace with them, and gaue to king Swanus 30000 pounds. After which peace thus made, Swanus returned againe to Denmarke.

Norwich spoiled and wasted by the Danes.

Anno 1004

A tribute paid to the Danes of thirty thousand pounds to haue peace.

But this peace continued not long. For the yeare next following, king Egelred made Edricus aboue mentioned duke of Mercia, who was subtill of wit, gloseing & eloquent of speech, vntrustie, and falle to the king and the realme. And soone after one Turkillus (a prince of the Danes) landed in Kent with much people, and there did such harme, that the Kentishmen were faine to make peace with great gifts, and so thence departed. But this persecution of the Danes (in one countrie or other in England) neuer ceased, nor the king did euer giue to them any notable battell. For when he was disposed to giue them battell, this Edricus would euer counsell him to the contrarie, so that the Danes euer spoiled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the Englishmen euer pore and bare.

The perseuution of Turkillus a Dane.

Euill counsell about a king what hurt it doth.

After this Swanus being in Denmarke, and hearing of the increase of his people in England, brake his couenants before made, and with a great armie and naule in most defensible wise appointed, landed in Northumberland, proclaiming himselfe to be king of this land. Where after much veration when he had subdued the people, and caused the earle with the rulers of the countrie to sweare to him fealtie; he passed the riuer of Trent to Gainsburgh, and to Northwatling street, and subduing the people there, forced them to giue him pledges: which pledges he committed with his naule vnto Canutus his sonne to keepe, while he went further into the land; and so with a great host came to Mercia, killing and slaying. Then he tooke by strength Winchester and Oxford, and did there what him liked. That done, hee came toward London, and hearing the king was there, passed by the riuer Thames, & came into Kent, and there besieged Canterburie, where hee was resisted the space of twenty daies. At length by treason of a deacon called Almaricus (whom the bishop had preserued from death before) wan it, and tooke the goods of the people, and fired the citie, and tithed the monkes of S. Augustines abbeie (that is to meane, they slue nine by cruell torment, and the tenth they kept aliue as for their slaues.) So they slue there of religious men, to the number of 900 persons; of other men, women, and children, they slue aboue 8000. And finally, when they had kept the bishop Elphegus in strait prison the space of seuen moneths, and because he would not condescend to giue vnto them 3000 pounds; after many villanies vnto him done, they brought him to Greenwich, and there stoned him to death.

The second returne of Swanus into England.

The persecution of Swanus king of Danes.

Canterburie besieged.

Treason of a falle deacon.

Canterburie taken & burnt.

The tithing of the monks of Canterburie.

A cruell murther of the Danes.

Elphegus the archbishop of Canterburie stoned to death.

King Egelred in the meane time, fearing the end of this persecution, sent his wife Emma with his two sonnes Alfred and Edward, to the duke of Normandie, with whom also hee sent the bishop of London. The Danes proceeded still in their furie and rage, and when they had wone a great part of Westsaxonie, they returned againe to London. Whereof hearing, the Londoners sent vnto them certaine great gifts & pledges. At last the king about the fiue and thirtith yeare of his reigne, was chased vnto the ile of Wight, and with a secret companie he spent there a great part of the winter, and finally, without cattell or comfort sailed into Normandie to his wife. Swanus being ascertained thereof (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding impositions vpon the people. And among other he required a great summe of money of S. Edmunds lands, which the people there claming to be free from kings tributes, denied to pay. For this Swanus entred the territorie of S. Edmund, and walked and spoiled the countrie, despiling the holy martyr, and menacing also the place of his sepulture. Wherefore the men of that countrie fearing his tyrannie fell to prayer and fasting, so that shortly after Swanus died suddenly, crying and yelling among his knights. Some say that hee was stricken with the sword of saint Edmund, whereof hee died the third day after.

Anno 1013

King Egelred driuen to the ile of Wight, from thence to Normandie.

The vertue of christian mens prayer.

The death and end of Swanus.

In feare whereof, Canutus his sonne, which ruled as king after his father, granted them the freedome of all their liberties; and moreouer ditched the land of the said martyr with a deepe ditch, and granted to the inhabitants thereof great freedomes, quitting them from all taske or tribute: and after builded a church ouer the place of his sepulture, and ordeined there an house of monkes, and indued them with rich possessions. And after that time it was vsed, that kings of

The abbey of S. Edmundsburie builded.

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England when they were crowned, sent their crownes for an offering to S. Edmunds shrine, and redeemed the same againe afterwards with a condigne price.

King Egelred returneth into England. Canutus cutteth off the noses and hands of his pledges.

When king Egelred heard of the death of Swanus, hee he made prouision, and returned into England. Of whose sudden comming Canutus being vnprouided fled to Sandwich, and there cutting off the noses and hands of the pledges, which his father left with him, sailed into Denmarke; who the next yeare returned againe with a great nauie, and landed in the south countrie. Wherefore the eldest son of king Egelred called Edmund Ironside, made prouision with the aid of Edrike duke of Mercia to meet him. But Edrike fayning himselfe sicke came not, but deceiued him. For as it was after proued, Edrike had promised his allegiance to Canutus. By reason whereof, Canutus entred the countrie of Westsaxon, and forced the people to be sworne vnto him, and to giue him pledges. In this season, king Egelred being at London, was taken with great sickenesse, and there died, and was buried in the northside of Paules church behind the quire, after he had reigned vnprosperously thirtie and sir yeares; leauing after him his said eldest son Edmund Ironside, and Alfred, and Edward which were in Normandie, sent thither before as is aboue rehearsed. This Egelred although hee was miserablie impugned and vexed of his enemies, yet hee with his counsell gaue forth wholesome lawes, whereof this is one parcell, containing good rules and lessons for all iudges and iustices to learne and follow.

Canutus taketh Westsaxon.

A lesson for all iudges and iustices.

OMnis iudex iustus misericordiam & iudicium liberet in omnibus, & inprimis per rectam scientiam dicat emendationem secundum culpam, & eam tamen admensuret propter indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur à bonis iudicibus secundum rectum emendandæ. Quædam per Dei misericordiam condonandæ. Iudicia debent esse sine omni haderunga, quod non parcatur diuiti alicui; vel egeno amico, vel inimico ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniustius est, quàm susceptio munerum pro iudicio subuertendo: Quia munera excæcant corda sapientum, & subuertunt verba iustorum. Dominus Iesus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaueritis, iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem suum, ne in die iudicij mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus dominus, nulla potestas, stultos aut improbos iudices constituant, quia stultus per ignauiam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat, quam didicit veritatem. Grauiùs enim lacerantur pauperes à prauis iudicibus, quàm à cruentis hostibus. Nullus hostis acerbior, nulla pestis efficacior quàm familiaris inimicus. Potest aliquoties homo fuga, vel defensione vitare prauos inimicos. Non ita possunt iudices, quoties aduersus subditos malis desiderijs inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & ministros nephandos, quorum reatibus ipsi domini constringuntur, si nó eos coerceant, & à rapacitate cohibeant. Quia Dominus & minister sæculorum ait: Non solùm malè agentes, sed omnes consentientes digni sunt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam praui iudices iudicium peruertunt, vel respectant, & non finiunt causam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et quando iudicant, non opera, sed munera considerant. Impij iudices, iuxta verbum sapientum, sicut rapaces lupi vespere nil residuant vsque mane, id est, de præsenti solum vita cogitant, de futura nihil considerant. Malorum præpositorum mos est, vt quicquid possunt, auferant, & vix necessarium parum quid relinquant sustentationi. Iracundus iudex non potest attendere rectam iudicij satisfactionem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perspicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iustum iudicium, vbi non persona consideratur. Scriptum est: Non attendas personam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, vt à vero declines, & iniustè iudices. Susceptio muneris est dimissio veritatis. *Ex historia bibliotheca Iornal.*

Bribes.

Euill iudges worse in a commonwealth then bloodie enemies.

Wicked officers.

Against wicked iudges.

Of this king Egelred I find noted in the booke of Roger Houeden, that he deposed and depriued from all possessions, a certaine iudge or iusticer named Walgeatus, the sonne of one Leonet, for false iudgement and other proud doings, whom notwithstanding he loued aboue all others.

A wicked iudge deposed and depriued by the king.

Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, kings together in England.

Anno 1016

Edmund Ironside sonne of Egelred, king.

Canutus sonne of Swanus, king.

The battels betweene Edmundus and Canutus.

AFter the death of Egelred, variance fell betweene the Englishmen for the election of their king. For the citizens of London, with certaine other lords, named Edwin the eldest sonne of Egelred (a yong man of lustie and valiant courage) in martiall aduentures both hardie and wise, and could very well indure all paines; wherefore he was surnamed Ironside. But the more of the lords fauoured Canutus the sonne of Swanus, especially the abbats, bishops, and men of the spiritualtie which before had sworne to his father. By meanes whereof, betweene these two martiall princes were fought many great battels first in Dorsetshire, where Canutus was compelled to flie the field. And after that they fought an other battell in Worcestershire, so sore, that none could tell who had the better; but either for wearinesse or for lacke of day they departed one from the other, and on the next morow fought againe: but then Canutus was compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought againe, where Edmund (as stories say) by the treason of that false Edrike duke of Mercia (whom hee before had receiued to fauour) had the worse. Thus many great conflicts there were betweene these two princes. But vpon a season, when the hosts were readie to ioyne, and a certaine time of truce taken before battell, a knight of the partie of Edmund stood vp vpon a high place, and said these words.

A witte oration to stay blood betweene two armies.

Daily we die, and none hath the victorie: and when the knights be dead on either part, then the dukes compelled by need shall accord; or else they must fight alone. And this kingdome is not sufficient for two men, which sometime sufficed seuen. But if the couetousnesse of lordship in these twaine be so great, that neither can bee content to take part and liue by the other, nor the one vnder the other; then let them fight alone that will be lords alone. If all men fight still, at the last all men shall be slaine, and none left to be vnder their lordship, nor able to defend the king that shall be, against strange enemies and nations.

Two kings fight hand to hand.

These words were so well allowed of both the hosts and princes, that both were content to trie the quarrell betweene them two onely. Then the place and time was appointed where they both met in sight of both hosts. And when either had assaied other with sharpe swords and strokes, first by the motion of Canutus (as some write) hastily they were both agréed, and kissed each other to the comfort of both hosts. And shortly after they agréed vpon partition of the land, and after that, during their liues they loued as brethren. Soone after, a sonne of wicked Edricus, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his father, espied, when king Edmund was at the draught, and with a speare (some say with a long knife) thrust him into the fundament, whereof the said Edmund shortly after died, after that he had reigned two yeares. He left behind him two sonnes, Edmund and Edward, whom Edrike the wicked duke, after the death of their father, tooke from their mother (not knowing yet of the death of Edmund hir husband) and presented them to king Canutus, saluting him in these words, Aue rex solus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmund Ironside, was king alone of the whole realme of England; and afterward by the aduice of his counsell, hee sent the foresaid sonnes of Edmund Ironside to his brother Swanus king of Sweueland to be slaine, who abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon king of Hungarie, where Edmund being married to the kings daughter died, Edward was married to Agatha daughter of his brother Henrie the fourth emperor.

The wicked murther of king Edmund.

Two sonnes of Edmund Ironside.

When Canutus was stablished in the kingdome, he called a parlament at London, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the bishops, barons, and lords of the parliament there present, whether that in the composition made betweene Edmund and Canutus, any speciall remembrance was made for the children or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the English lords fallie flattering the foren king, and speaking against their owne minds, as also against their native countrie, answered and said; Nay: affirming moreouer with an oth (for the kings pleasure) that they to the vttermost of their powers, would put off the blod of Edmund in all that they might. By reason of which answere and promise, they thought (many of them) to haue purchased with the king great fauour. But by the iust retribution of God it chanced farre otherwise. For many of them, or the most part (such especially as Canutus did perceiue to be sworne before time to Edmund, and his heires, and also considering that they were native Englishmen) hee mistrusted and disdained euer after. In so much that some hee exiled, a great sort he beheaded, and some by Gods punishment died suddenly. Among whom wicked Edrike also the traitor (although with his sugred words hee continued a while in the kings fauour) at length escaped not condigne reward for his deceiuable dealing. For (as the history of Iornalensis recorded) as the king was in his palace beyond Thames, this Edrike (being belike accused, or else suspected of the king before) comming vnto him, began to reckon vp his benefits and labours bestowed for his sake. First, in forsaking and betraying Egelred, then in slaying king Edmund his sonne, with many such other deeds more, which al for his sake he hath done. Well, saith the king, thou hast here rightly iudged thy selfe, and worthily thou shalt die for slaying thy naturall prince, and my sworne brother. And so commanded him to bee bound immediately hand and foot, and to be throwne into the Thames. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the king with Aue rex solus, and shewed him the slaying of Edmund, Canutus (promising that he would make him therefore higher then all the lords of the realme) commanded his head to be stricken off, and to be set vpon London bridge, and his body to be cast into the towne ditch, and thus with shame ended he his wretched life, as al they commonly doe, which with like dissimulation seeke the destruction of their prince and of their countrie.

Flatterie, lukedelitie, and vntruth in English lords.

False vnfaithfulnesse and vnconstant mutabilitie in English lords well rewarded.

Duke Edrike the false traitor and murtherer of his king, worthilie rewarded for his wicked falshood.

The end of pernicious traitors.

This Canutus (shortly after the death of king Edmund, by the counsell of Edrike) exiled Edmund, being brother vnto king Edmund, called Rex rusticorum, the king of churles. But afterward he was reconciled againe to the kings fauour, and lastly

The brother of Edmund Ironside, banished, reconciled, and lastly slaine.

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Edmund and Edward two sonnes of Edmund Ironside sent out to be slaine.

Canutus king of Denmarke.

Canutus marieth Emma, wife before of Egelred.

Lawes of king Edgar.

slaine by certaine of the kings secretaries or seruants. Also, through the counsell of the said Edrike, and of Emma his wife, he sent the twos sonnes of Edmund Ironside, Edmund and Edward) to his brother Swanus king of Denmarke, to be slaine, as is abouesaid.

In this meane time, Swanus king of Denmarke, brother to Canutus, died. Wherefore that land fell to Canutus, which anon after sailed thither, and toke thereof possession. And after he had set it in an order, he returned into England, and married Emma, late wife before of Egelred, and by hir had a sonne called Hardeknight or Hardeknoutus. Moreouer this Canutus assembled a parliament at Oxford, where it was agreed, that Englishmen and Danes should hold the lawes made by king Edgar, because they were thought so good and reasonable aboue any other lawes.

Thus the Danes being in England, began by little and little to be christian men. And Canutus went to Rome, and so returning againe to England, gouerned that land the space of twentie yeares, leauing after him two sonnes, Harold and Hardeknoutus, which Hardeknoutus was made king of Denmarke in his fathers time.

Harold Harefoot king of England a Dane.

Anno 1039

Harold (called Harefoot for his deliuernes and swiftnesse) sonne to Canutus by Elgina his first wife, began his reigne ouer England, in the yeare 1039. Of him is little left in memorie, for he reigned but foure yeares, saue that hee banished his stepmother Emma, and toke hir goods & iewels from hir.

Hardeknout last king of the Danes that reigned in England.

Earle Godwin.

Hardeknoutus, being king of Denmarke, and second sonne to Canutus by his last wife Emma, was next king of England. In the time of these Danish kings, there was one Godwin an earle in England, which had been before in great fauour with Canutus, for his acts done in Denmarke against the Norwegians: and afterward married the sister (some say the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwin was of a cruell and subtill wit, as hee declared no lesse by the two sons of king Egelred. For when these two aforesaid (whose names were Alfred and Edward) came from Normandy into England, to visit their mother Emma, and brought with them a great companie of Normans: this Godwin (hauing a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marrie to Edward, and set him vp to bee king, to bring his purpose about) vsed this practise, that is, to persuade king Hardeknout and the lords, not to suffer those Normans to bee within the realme for ieopardie, but rather to punish them for example: by which meanes hee gat authoritie to order the matter himselfe. Wherfore he met them on Guild downe, and there most wretchedly murthered, or rather martyred the most number of the Normans, and that innocently. For as Swanus before had tithed the monks of Canterburie: so he with the cruell companie of English souldiers, slue nine of the said Normans, and saued the tenth. And yet passing the furie of Swanus (as not contented with that tyrannie) he tithed againe the said tith, & slue euery tenth knight, and that by cruell torment, as winding their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. And among others, put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfredus, and sent him to an abbey of Elie: where he being fed with bread and water, indured not long after. Of some writers it was recorded, that he was there slaine with the forenamed torment, and Edward was conueied by some other vnto his mother, who fearing the treason of Godwin, sent him soone ouer the sea into Normandie againe. This cruell fact of Godwin and his men against the innocent Normans, whether it came of himselfe, or of the kings setting on, séemeth to me to be the cause, why the iustice of God did shortly after reuenge the quarrell of these Normans, in conquering and subduing the English nation by William Conqueror, and the Normans which came with him. For so iust and right it was, that as the Normans comming with a naturall English prince, were murthered of Englishmen: so afterward the Englishmen should bee slaine and conquered by the Normans, comming with a forren king, being none of their naturall countrie.

The miserable wretchednesse of Godwin against the Normans.

The Normans tithed, and yet the tenths retithed againe.

Alfredus son of Egelred, right heire of the crowne, tormented with cruell death.

The cause expended, why God suffered this land to be conquered by the Normans.

Example of Gods righteous iudgement.

Then it followeth in the storie, that this king Canute or Hardeknout, when he had reigned two yeres (being merrie at Lambeth) suddenly was stricken dumbe, and fell downe to the ground, and within eight dates after died without issue of his body, who was the last that reigned in England of the blood of the Danes.

The death of king Hardeknout.

This foresaid Godwin, had by the daughter of Canutus his wife, but one sonne, which was drowned. Of his second wife he receiued six sonnes, to wit, Swanus, Harold, Tostius, Wilmotus, Sirth or Surth, and Leofricus, with one daughter called Goditha, which after was married to king Edward the Confessor.

The sons of earle Godwin.

Concerning the storie of this Alfred, I find it something otherwise reported in our English chronicles, that it should bee after the death of Hardeknout; for so much as the earles and barons after his death, assembled and made a councell, that neuer after, any of the Danes blod should bee king of England for the despite that they had done to Englishmen. For euermore before, if the Englishmen and the Danes had happened to meet vpon a bridge, the Englishmen should not be so hardie to moue a foot, but stand still, till the Dane were passed forth. And moreouer, if the Englishmen had not bowed downe their heads to do reuerence vnto the Danes, they should haue been beaten and defiled. For the which despites and villanies they were driuen out of the land after the death of Hardeknout, for they had no lord that might maintaine them. And after this manner auoided the Danes out of England, that they neuer came againe.

The storie of Alfred repeated.

Taken out of the English storie or chronicle compiled of certaine English clerkes.

The earles and barons, by their common assent and counsell, sent vnto Normandie for these two brethren, Alfred and Edward; intending to crowne Alfred the elder brother, and to make him king of England. And to this the earles and barons made their oath: but the earle Godwin of Westsax (fallsie and traiterouslie) thought to slay these two brethren, assone as they came into England, to that intent to make Harold his sonne king: which sonne hee had by his wife Hardeknouts daughter that was a Dane. And so this Godwin went priuilie to Southhampton, to meet there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the messengers that went (saith mine author) into Normandie, found but onely Alfred the elder brother. For Edward his yonger brother was gone to Hungarie, to speake with his cosin the outlaw, which was Edward Ironsides sonne.

When Alfred had heard these messengers, and perceiued their tidings, he thanked God, and in all hast sped him to England, ariuing at Southhampton. There Godwin the false traitor (hauing knowledge of his comming) welcommed and receiued him with much ioy, pretending to leade him vnto London, where the barons waited for to make him king, and so they together passed forth toward London. But when they came to Guild downe, the traitor commanded all his men to slay all that were in Alfreds companie, which came with him from Normandie; and after that to take Alfred, and to leade him into the ile of Elie, where they should put out both his eyes; and so they did. For they slue all the companie that were there, to the number of twelue gentlemen, which came with Alfred from Normandie; and after that they toke Alfred, and in the ile of Elie they executed their commission. That done, they opened his body, toke out his bowels, set a stake into the ground, and fastened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with needels of iron they pricked his tender bodie, thereby causing him to goe about the stake, till that all his bowels were drawne out. And so died this innocent Alfred or Alured, being the right heire of the crowne, through treason of wicked Godwin. When the lords of England heard thereof, and how Alfred, that should haue been their king, was put to death through the false traitor Godwin, they were wondrous wroth; and sware betweene God and them, that he should die a worse death then did Edrith which betraied his lord Edmund Ironside, and would immediatly haue put him to death, but that the traitor fled thence into Denmarke, and there held him foure yeares and more, and lost all his lands in England.

Alfred or Alured sonne of king Egelred.

An other Latin storie I haue (bearing no name) which saith that this comming in of Alfred and the Normans, was in the time of Harold Canutus sonne. And how Godwin (after hee pretended great amitie to them) suddenly in the night came vpon them at Gilford, and after he had tithed the Normans, sent Alfred to Harold at London, who sent him to the ile of Elie, and caused his eies to be put out.

Ex historia ignoti autoris.

And thus much of Canutus and of his sons, Harold and Hardecanutus. Besides these two sonnes, Canutus had also a daughter named Gunilda, married to Henricus the emperour. Of whom some write, that she being accused to the emperor of spouse-breach, and hauing no champion or knight that would fight for hir (after the maner of that countrie) for triall of her cause, a certaine little dwarfe or boy, whom shee brought with hir out of England (stirred vp of God) fought in her cause against a mightie big Germane of a monstrous greatnesse, which sillie dwarfe, cutting by chance the sinews of his leg, after stroke him to the ground, and so cut off his head, and saued the life of the quéene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Gunilda wife to Henricus the emperor.

Of this Canutus it is storied, that he following much the superstition of Achelnotus archbishop of Canterburie, went on pilgrimage to Rome, and there founded an hospitall for English pilgrims. He gaue the pope precious gifts, & burdened the land with a yearely tribute called the Rome-shot. He shrined the body of Berinus, and gaue great lands & ornaments to the cathedrall church of Winchester; he builded S. Benets in Northfolke, which was before an heremitage. Also S. Edmundsbury, which king Athelstan before ordeined for a colledge of priests, he turned to an abbey of monks of S. Benets order.

Canutus went to Rome.

The hospitall built at Rome for English pilgrims.

Rome-shot confirmed by Canutus.

The cathedrall church of Winchester inriched by Canutus.

S. Beyets in Norfolke builded.

Burie abbey turned to monks.

Henricus archdeacon of Huntington, lib. 6. maketh mention of this Canutus, as doth also Polydor. lib. 7. That he after his comming from Rome, walking vpon a time by the port of Southhampton, but as Polydor saith, and Fabian affirmeth the same, that it was by the Thames side of London, when his flatterers comming about him, began to exalt him vp with high words, calling him a king of all kings (most mightie) who had vnder his subiection both the people, the land, and also the sea: Canutus reuoluing this matter in his mind (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to trie and refell their flattering words) commanded his chaire of estate to bee brought to the sea side, at what time it should begin to flow.

Flatterers and clawbacks about princes.

N.i. Polydor

Canutus chargeth the sea to stand backe, but it would not be.

Polydor saith that no seat was brought: but sitting vpon his garments being folded togither vnder him, there charged and commanded the flouds arising and comming towards his feet, that they should not touch neither him, nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinarie course, came nearer and nearer: first to his feet, and so growing higher began to wash him well fauoredly. Wherewith the king abashed, and partly also afeard start backe, and loking to his lords; Lo (saith hee) ye call me such a mighty king, and yet can I not command backe this little water to stay at my word, but it is readie to drowne me. Wherefore all earthly kings may know, that all their powers be but vaine, and that none is worthy to haue the name of a king, but he alone which hath all things subiect to the power and authority of his word, which is the Lord of heauen and earth, the creator aboue of all things, the father of our Christ and Lord, who with him for euer is to bee glorified: him let vs worship and extoll for our king for euer. After this (as histories witnesse) he neuer suffered the crowne to come vpon his head, but went to Winchester, or (as some say) to Canterburie: but both those may be true; for his going to Canterburie, was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power then he himselfe was, and therewithall to render vp his crowne for euer. With that, Egelnothus archbishop of Canturburie informed him of the image of the crucifix before mentioned, which dissolued the matter betweene married priests and life of monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at Winchester. Wherewith the king prouoked to goe to Winchester to the rood, there resigned vp his regall crowne, and made the rood king ouer all the land.

A lesson notable for kings and princes.

God onely the king of all kings and Lord of lords.

The kings crowne put on a rood.

Here is also to be noted in this Canutus, that although (as is said) hee condescended in the beginning of his reigne, vpon king Edgars lawes: yet after in processe of time, he set forth peculiar lawes of his owne. Among which, diuers there bee that concerne as well causes ecclesiasticall, as also temporall. Whereby it may appeare, that the gouernment of spirituall matters not to depend then of the bishop of Rome: but to appertaine to the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse then of matters and causes temporall. As for example, by these ordinances of the foresaid Canutus may be well considered as here follow: Pecunia sepulturæ iustum est vt aperta terra reddantur. Si aliquod corpus a sua parœchia deferatur in aliam, pecunia sepulturæ, &c. In English.

Kings of England haue as much right in causes spirituall as temporall.

Certaine lawes of king Canutus for the ordering of matters ecclesiasticall.

It is meet and right that in funerals, money be giuen for opening the earth.

If any body, or corse, bee carried from his owne parish into an other, the money of the buriall shall pertaine by the law to his owne parish church.

All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them be obserued as need in all things requireth.

Vpon the sunday we forbid all publike fairs or markets, all synods or conuenticles, huntings, or any such secular actions, to be exercised, vnlesse vrgent necessitie compell thereunto.

Let euery christian man prepare himselfe thrice a yeare to approch to the receiuing of the Lords body: so to eate the same as not to his iudgement, but to his wholesome remedie.

If a minister of the altar doe kill any man, or haue intangled himselfe in any notorious crime, let him be deprined both from his order and dignitie.

Adulteresse women to lose their eares and noses.

If any married woman (hir husband being aliue) haue committed adultery, and be proued with the same: to hir open shame in the world, let her haue her nose and eares cut off.

Let euery widow, after the death of her husband, so remaine sole twelue moneths; or if she marrie, let her lose her ioynture.

And here an end of the Danish kings. Now to the English kings againe, whose right line commeth in againe in Edward here following.

¶ King Edward called the Confessor.

Anno 1043 King Edward the Confessor.

For so much as God of his mercie and prouidence, who is onely the maker of heires, thought it so good, after the wofull captiuitie of this English nation, to grant now some respit of deliuerance, in taking away the Danish kings without any issue left behind them: who reigning here in England, kept the English people in miserable subiection, about the space of eight and twentie yeares, and that from their first landing in the time of king Brightricus, walking and vexing this land the terme of 255 yeares. Now their tyrannie here comming to an end, the next election and right of the crowne fell (as appertained) to Edward the yonger sonne of king Egelred and Emma, a meere Englishman: who had been now long banished in Normandie, as is aboue declared; a man of gentle and soft spirit, more appliable to other mens counsels, then able to trust to his owne; of nature and condition so giuen from all war and bloodshed, that being in his banishment, hee wished rather so to continue all his life long in that priuat estate, then by war or bloodshed to aspire to any kingdome. This Edward after the death of Canutus the second, or Hardicanute, being sent for of the lords into Normandie to take possession of the realme, although he something mistrusted the vnconstant and tickle heads of Englishmen (yet hauing sufficient pledges laid for him in Normandie) came ouer, with a few Normans accompanied, and not long after was crowned at Winchester, in the yeare 1043, by Edsius then archbishop of Canterburie.

England afflicted by the Danes the space of 255 yeares.

King Edward crowned.

And not long after that, he maried Goditha, or Edithy, daughter of earle Godwin, whom he intreated after such sort, that he neither put hir from his bed, nor yet dealt with her fleshly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as most like it was) or for loue of chastitie, it remaineth vncertaine. But most writers agree that he continued his life without offence with women, for the which he is highly exalted among our storie writers, and called holy king Edward. After he had thus taken vpon him the gouernment of the realme, he guided the same with much wisedome and iustice, the space of foure and twentie yeares, lacking two moneths, from whom issued (as out of a fountaine) much godlinesse, mercie, pitie, and liberalitie toward the poore: gentlenesse and iustice toward all men, and in all honest life he gaue a vertuous example to his people. Hee discharged the Englishmen of the great tribute called Dane-gilt, which beforetime was yearely leuied to the great impouerishing of the people. He subdued the Scots and the Welshmen, which in their borders began to rebell against him. In much peace hee continued his reigne, hauing no forren enemie to assault him: albeit, as some chronicles doe shew, certaine Danes and Norgwaines there were, which intended to set vpon England. But as they were taking shipping, there was brought to them first one boll, then an other, of meed or methe, to drinke vpon a boun voyage. Thus one cup comming after an other, after drinke came drunkennesse, after drunkennesse followed iangling, of iangling came strife, and strife turned vnto stripes; whereby many were slaine, and the other returned to their home againe. And thus the mercifull prouidence of the Lord dispatched that iourney.

Holy king Edward a virgin in mariage.

Methe in Greeke signifieth drunkennesse.

In the time of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused to be familiar with Alwin the bishop of Winchester: vpon which accusation (by counsell of earle Godwin) hee toke from her many of her iewels, and caused her to bee kept somedeale more strictly in the abbey of Warwell, and the bishop committed to the examination of the clergie. Polydor saith, they were both in prison at Winchester, where she sorrowing the defame both of her selfe and of the bishop, and trusting vpon her conscience, desireth them of iustice, offering her selfe ready to abide any lawfull triall, yea although it were with the sharpest.

Then diuers of the bishops made labour to the king for them both, and had obtained, had not Robert then archbishop of Canterbury stopped the sute. Who not well contented with their labour, said vnto them; My brethren, how dare ye defend her which is no woman but a beast? She hath defamed her owne son the king, and taken her lecherous leman the bishop. And if it be so, that the woman will purge the priest, who shall then purge the woman, that is accused to be consenting to the death of her sonne Alphred, and procured venom to the poysoning of her sonne Edward? But whether she be guiltie or guiltlesse; if she will goe barefoted for her selfe foure steps, and for the bishop fiue, continually vpon nine plough shares fire hot; then if she escape harmelesse, he shall bee assoiled of this challenge and she also.

Accusation of the archbishop against Emma the kings mother.

To this she granted: the day was appointed; at which day the king and a great part of his nobles were present, except onely Robert the archbishop. This Robert had been a monke of a house in Normandie, and an helper of the king in his exile, and so by the lending for of the king, came ouer and was made first bishop of London, after archbishop of Canterburie. Then was she led blindfold vnto the place betweene two men, where the irons lay burning hot, and passed the nine shares vnhurt. At last, saith she; God Lord when shall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and she saw that she was past the paine, she kneeled downe giuing God thanks.

False accusation purged by hot iron.

A strange thing if it were true, and without false conueiance.

Then the king repented (saith the storie) and restored vnto her that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiuenesse. But the archbishop fled into Normandie.

Neere about this time, about the tenth yeare of his reigne, fell passing great snow from the beginning of Januarie to the seuenteenth day of March. After which insued a great mortalitie of men, murren of cattell, and by lightning the corne was wonderfully blasted and wasted.

Great snow and mortalitie in England.

Not long after this a certaine earle of Bologne, who had maried king Edwards sister, came into England; through the occasion of whom, when execution should bee done vpon the citizens of Douer, for a fray betweene them and the earles men, variance happened betweene king Edward and earle Godwin, who perceiuing that he could not withstand the kings malice (although he gathered a great company to worke therein what he could) fled into Flanders, & was outlawed with his fiue sons. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the said Godwin: but the second yeare after by mediators she was reconciled to the king againe and called from banishment, and for his good abearing hee gaue for pledges his two sonnes, Biornon and Tostius, which were sent to the duke of Normandie there to be kept.

Variance betweene the king and Godwin.

Godwin with his fiue sonnes outlawed.

Godwin reconciled to the king vpon pledges giuen.

During the time of the outlawrie of Godwin, William ballard duke of Normandie came with a goodly company into England

William D. of Normandie came to England to king Edward.

England to see king Edward, and was honorablie receiued. To whom the king made great cheere, and at his returne inriched him with great gifts and pleasures; and there (as some write) made promise to him, that if he died without issue, the said William should succeed him in the kingdom of England.

Marianus Scotus; when he liued.

In this kings reigne liued Marianus Scotus the storie writer. As concerning the end of earle Godwin, the cruell murtherer of Alfred and of the Normans, although diuers histories diuerslie do varie, yet in this the most part do agree, that as he sat at the table with king Edward at Windsor, it happened one of the cup-bearers, one of earle Godwins sonnes, to stumble and recouer againe, so that he shed none of the drinke, whereat Godwin laughed; and said, how the one brother had sustained the other. With which words the king calling to mind his brothers death that was slaine by Godwin, beheld the earle, saying, So should my brother Alfred haue holpen me, had not Godwin been. Godwin then fearing the kings displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himselfe, said; So might I safely swallow this morsell of bread, as I am guiltlesse of the deed. But as soone as hee had receiued the bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawen from the table, and so was conueied by Harold his son to Winchester, and there buried.

The end and death of vngodly Godwin. Ex Iorna. Malmesbur. Polydor. Fabia. & alijs.

Gods iust iudgement vpon Godwin, for the murthering of Alfred.

Periurie plagued.

About the thirteenth yere of this kings reigne, the said king Edward sent Aldred bishop of Worcester to the emperor Henricus the fourth, praying him that he would send to the king of Hungarie, that his cosin Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside might come into England, for so much as he intended to make him king after him, which was called Edward outlaw. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to wit, Edgar Adelling, Margaret, and Christina. But the yeare after his returne into this realme, this Edward deceased at London, and was buried at Winchester, or as Iornalensis saith, at Pauls church in London. After whose decease the king then receiued Edgar Adelling his sonne, as his owne child, thinking to make him his heire. But fearing partly the inconstant mutabilitie of the Englishmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the son of Godwin, and of others (perceiuing thereby that he could not bring that his purpose so well to passe) directed solemne ambassadors vnto William duke of Normandie his kinsman, admitting and assigning him to bee his lawfull heire, next to succeede after him to the crowne.

Edward the outlaw sonne of Edmund Ironside, sent for to England. Anno 1056

The death of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside.

William D. of Normandie admitted heire to the crowne.

After the death of Godwin, Harold his sonne waxed so in the kings fauour, that he ruled the most and greatest causes of the realme, and was lieutenant of the kings armie, who with his brother Tostan or Tostius (sent by the king against the Welshmen) subdued their rebellion. But afterward, such enuie grew betweene these two brethren, for that Tostius saw his brother Harold so greatly aduanced in the kings fauour, that at Herford the said Tostius slue all his brothers men. Whom when he had cut in pieces, he powdred their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of salt, vineger, wine, and other liquors. That done, he made a power against his brother Harold (being king) with the aid of certaine Danes and Norwegians, and fought a battell with him in the north, as after shall follow (God willing) to be seene. So vngracious were these wicked children of earle Godwin, that if they had seene any faire mansion or maner place, they would slay the owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the possession thereof themselues.

The enuie and discord of brethren.

Vngracious children of a wicked father.

At length it came in the mind of this Harold to saile ouer the sea (as Polydor saith) into Normandie, to see his brother Wilnotus, as also his cosin Hacus, whom the king had sent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. Polydor saith these pledges were Tosto and Biornon; but that cannot be, for Tostius was then in England. But as Henricus archdeacon of Huntington saith, his iourney was into Flanders, as seemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that Harold, who was a doer in the cruell murther of Alfred, and of the Normans, would venture into Normandie: and therefore more like it is, that his sailing was into Flanders. But as the storie procedeth, he being in the course of his sailing, was weather driuen by tempest into the prouince of Pountith, where he was taken as prisoner, and sent to duke William of Normandie, to whom he was made to sweare, that hee in time following should marrie his daughter: and that after the death of king Edward, he should keepe the land of England to his behoofe according to the will and mind of Edward (after some writers) and so to liue in great honor and dignitie next vnto him in the realme. This promise faithfully made to the duke, Harold returneth into England (with his cosin Hacus the sonne of his brother Swanus being deliuered vnto him.) But Wilnotus brother of Harold, the duke keepeth still for performance of the couenants. Thus Harold, I say, returning home, sheweth the king all that he had done in the foresaid matters, wherewith the king was well contented. Whereby it may bee gathered, that king Edward was right well willing, that duke William should reigne after him, and also seemeth not vnlike, but that he had giuen him his promise thereunto before.

A place of Polydor Virgil examined.

Harold taken at the Normans.

Harold promiseth duke William to marrie his daughter, and to keepe the realme for his behoofe.

Among al that were true and trustie to king Edward of the English nobility, none had like commendation as had Leofricus earle of Mercia & of Chester. This Leofricus purchased ma-

Earle Leofricus euer true and faithfull to his prince.

ny great liberties for the towne of Couentrie, and made it free of all maner things, except onely of horse. Which freedome there was obtained by meanes of his wife Godina, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a strange maner through the towne. This Leofricus with his wife Godina builded also the abbey of Couentrie and indued the same with great lands and riches.

How Couentrie was made free. Godina wife to Leofricus.

You heard a little before of the comming ouer of Edward called the outlaw, son of king Edmund Ironside, whom king Edward had purposed to haue made king after him; but soone after his comming ouer, hee deceased at London. This Edward had by his wife Agatha, a sonne and a daughter called Edgar Adeling, and Margaret. Which Margaret being married afterward to the king of Scots, was the mother of Matild or Mawd the queene of England, and of Dauid king of Scots, &c.

The abbey of Couentrie builded by Leofricus.

Edward the outlaw.

Edgar Adelling.

Margaret queene of Scots.

Matild queene of England.

Dauid king of Scots.

This vertuous and blessed king Edward, after he had reigned three and twentie yeares and seuen moneths, died, and was buried in the monasterie of Westminster, which he had greatly augmented and repaired: but afterward was more inlarged after this forme which it hath now, by Henrie the third sonne of king John.

The death of king Edward. Westminster repaired. Guliel. Malmes. Ex Iornalen.

They that write the history of this king, here make mention of a dreame or reuelation that should bee shewed to him in time of his sickenesse: how that because the peeres and bishops of the realme were seruants not of God, but of the diuell; God would giue this realme to the hand of others. And the king desired vtterance to be giuen him, that he might declare the same to the people, whereby they might repent. It was answered againe, that neither would they so doe, or yet if they did, it should bee giuen to another people. But because it is a dreame, I let it passe.

Ex Historia Richardi 2. iussu composita.

Diuers lawes were before in diuers countries of this realme vsed, as the law first of Dunuallo Melmucius, with the lawes of Mercia called Mercenelaga: then the lawes of Westsaron kings, as of Iue, Offa, Alfred, &c: which was called Westsarenelaga: the third were the lawes of Canutus, and of Danes, called Danelaga. Of all these lawes, which before were diuerslie in certaine particular countries vsed and receiued, this Edward compiled one vniuersall and common law for all people through the whole realme, which were called king Edwards lawes: which lawes being gathered out of the best and chiefest of the other lawes, were so iust, so equall, and so seruing the publike profit and wealth of all estates, that mine authors say the people long after did rebell against their heads and rulers, to haue the same lawes againe (being taken from them) and yet could not obtaine them.

The lawes of king Edward.

Furthermore, I read and find in Mathew Paris, that when William Conqueror at his comming in, did sweare to vse and practise the same good lawes of Edward, for the common lawes of this realme: afterward (being established in his kingdome) he forswore himselfe, and placed his owne lawes in their roome, much worse and obscurer then the other were, &c.

Ex Mat. Paris. William Conqueror sworne to K. Edwards lawes, yet went from it.

Notwithstanding, among the said lawes of Edward, and in the first chapter and beginning thereof, this I find among the ancient records of the Guildhall in London; The office of a king, with such other appurtenances as belong to the realme of Britain, set forth and described in the Latine stile, which I thought here not vnmeet to be expressed in the English tongue, for them that vnderstand no Latine. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.

De iure & appendijs regni Britanniæ, & quod sit officium regis.

REx autem, quia vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, vt regnum terrenum & populum domini, & super omnia sanctam eius veneretur ecclesiam & regat, & ab iniuriosis defendat, & maleficos ab eo auellat & destruat, & penitus disperdat. Quod nisi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo constabit, verùm papa Iohanne testante, nomen regis perdit: cui Pipinus & Carolus filius eius nec dum reges, sed principes sub rege Francorũ stulto scripserunt querentes: si ita permanere deberent Francorum reges, solo regio nomine contenti. A quo responsum est, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt & regunt ecclesiam Dei & populum eius, &c. In English thus.

The king, because he is the vicar of the highest king, is appointed for this purpose, to rule the earthly kingdome, and the Lords people, and aboue al things to reuerence his holy church, to gouerne it, and to defend it from iniuries: to plucke away wicked doers, & vtterly to destroy them. Which vnlesse he do, the name of a king agreeth not vnto him but he loseth the name of a king, as witnesseth pope John: to the which pope, Pipinus and Carolus his sonne (being not yet kings but princes vnder the French king being not very wise) did write, demanding this question, whether the kings of France ought so to continue, hauing but onely the name of a king. Vnto whom pope John answereth againe, that it was conuenient to call them kings, which vigilantly do defend and gouerne the church of God and his people, following the saying of king Dauid the psalmographer: He shall not dwell in my house which worketh pride, &c.

Ex libro reg. antiquorum in pretorio London. The office of a king described in the lawes of king Edward. A king the vicar of God in earth.

Moreouer, a king by right & by his office, ought to defend and

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conserue fully and wholly in all amplenesse without diminution, all the lands, honors, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crowne of his kingdome. And further to reduce into their pristine state, all such things as haue been dispersed, walked, and lost, which appertaine to his kingdome. Also the whole and vniuersall land with all ilands about the same vnto Norweie and Denmarke, be appertaining to the crowne of his kingdome, and be of the appurtenances and dignitie of the king: making one monarchie and one kingdome, which sometime was called the kingdome of Britains, and now the kingdome of England: such bounds and limits as is abouesaid be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdome.

The limits of the kingdome of England how farre they do extend.

The office of a king further described.

Moreouer, in the foresaid lawes of this king Edward, it followeth in the same booke where the foresaid Edward, describing the office of a king, addeth in these words: A king, saith he, ought aboue all things to feare God, to loue and to obserue his commandements, and cause them to bee obserued through his whole kingdome. Hee ought also to keepe, cherish, maintaine, and gouerne the holy church within his kingdome, with all integritie and libertie, according to the constitutions of his ancestors and predecessors: and to defend the same against all enemies, so that God aboue all things bee honoured, and euer be before his eyes. He ought also to set vp good lawes and customs, such as be wholesome and approued: such as bee otherwise, to repeale them, and thrust them out of his kingdome. Item, he ought to doe iudgement and iustice in his kingdome, by the counsell of the nobles of his realme. All these things ought a king in his owne person to doe, taking his oath vpon the euangelist, and the blessed reliks of saints, swearing in the presence of the whole state of his realme (as well of the temporaltie as of the spiritualtie) before hee bee crowned of the archbishops and bishops. Three seruants the king ought to haue vnder him as vassals: fleshly lust, auarice, and greedie desire, whom if he keepe vnder as his seruants and slaues, hee shall reigne well and honorablie in his kingdome. All things are to be done with good aduisement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a king. For hastie rashnesse bringeth all things to ruine, according to the saying of the gospell: Euery kingdome diuided in it selfe shall be desolate, &c.

Three slaues and seruants a king ought to haue vnder his subiection.

After the dutie and office of princes thus described, consequently followeth the institution of subiects, declared in many good and necessarie ordinances, very requisite and conuenient for publike gouernment. Of the which lawes William Conqueror was compelled, through the clamor of the people, to take some, but the most part he omitted, contrarie to his owne oath at his coronation, inserting and placing the most of his owne lawes in his language, to serue his purpose: and which as yet to this present day in the same Normane language doe remaine. Now (the Lord willing) let vs proceed in the storie as in order followeth.

¶ King Harold.

Anno 1066

Harold last king of Saxons.

HArold the second sonne of earle Godwin, and last king of the Saxons, notwithstanding that diuers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the next heire after Edmund Ironside: yet he through force and might contemning the yong age of Edgar, and forgetting also his promise made to duke William, tooke vpon him to be king of England, Anno 1066. When Harold Harefager, sonne of Canutus king of Norway and Denmarke, heard of the death of king Edward, hee came into England with three hundred ships or more: who then ioyning with Tostius, brother to the said Harold king of England, entred into the north parts, and claimed the land after the death of Edward. But the lords of the countrie arose and gaue them battell, notwithstanding the Danes had the victorie. And therfore Harold king of England prepared toward them in all hast, and gaue them another strong battell, and there had the victorie, where also Harold the Dane was slaine by the hand of Harold king of England; and Tostius was also slaine in the battell. After this victorie, Harold waxed proud and couetous, and would not diuide the preyes to his knights that had deserued it, but kept it to himselfe; whereby he lost the fauour of many of his knights and people.

Harold king of Denmarke and Tostius slaine.

In this meane time William duke of Normandie sent ambassage to Harold king of England, admonishing him of the couenants that were agreed betweene them: which was, to haue kept the land to his vse after the death of Edward. But because that the daughter of duke William (that was promised to Harold) was dead, Harold thought him thereby discharged, and said, that such a nice foolish promise ought not to be holden (concerning an others land) without the consent of the lords of the same: and especially for that he was thereunto for need or for dread compelled.

The pope sendeth a banner to duke William vpon boun voyage into England.

Vpon these answers receiued, duke William in the meane while that the messengers went & came, gathered his knights, and prepared his nauie, and had the assent of the lords of his land to aid and assist him in his iourney. And ouer that sending vnto Rome to pope Alexander, concerning his title and voyage into England, the pope confirmeth him in the same, and sent vnto him a banner, willing him to beare it in the ship, wherein himselfe should saile. Thus duke William, being prouided of all things concerning his iourney, sped him to the sea side, and tooke shipping at the hauen of S. Valerie, where he tarried a long time ere he might haue a conuenient wind, for the which his souldiers murmured, saying it was a wodnesse, and a thing displeasing God, to desire to haue an other mans kingdome by strength, and namely when God was against it in sending contrarie wind, &c. At the last the wind shortly after came about, and they tooke shipping with a great company, and landed at Hastings in Sussex.

Duke William landeth at Hastings.

For three causes duke William entred this land, to subdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him giuen by king Edward his nephue. The second was to take wreke for the cruell murther of his nephue Alfred, king Edwards brother, and of the Normans, which deed he ascribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to reuenge the wrong done to Robert archbishop of Canterburie, which was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harold, in the time of king Edward.

Three causes why duke William entred England.

Thus, while Harold was in the north, duke William made so great speed, that he came to London before the king; out of which he was holden, till he had made good suretie, that he and his people should passe through the citie without tarying: which promise he well obseruing, passed the bridge, and went ouer to Sussex, from whence he sent a monke vnto Harold, and profered him three maner of waies. First, either to render to him the possession of the land, and so to take it againe of him, vnder tribute reigning vnder him; secondly, or else to abide and stand to the popes arbitrement betwixt them both; or thirdly, to defend his quarrell in his owne person against the duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dint of sword, without any other bloodshedding.

Three conditions offered to Harold by D. William.

But Harold refused all these offers, saying it should be tried by dint of swords, and not by one sword: and so gathered his people and ioyned battel with the Normans, in the place where afterward was builded the abbey of Battell in Sussex. In the beginning of which fight the Englishmen kept them in good aray like to vanquish the Normans: wherefore duke William caused his men to giue backe as though they fled, whereby the Englishmen followed fast and brake their aray. Then the Normans fiercely giuing a charge vpon them, in conclusion obtained the victorie through the iust prouidence of God. Where king Harold who before had murthered Alfred the true heire of the crowne, with his companie of Normans so cruelly, was now wounded of the Normans in the left eye with an arrow, and thereof incontinent died: although Gerardus saith hee fled away to Chester, and liued after that a monke in the monasterie of S. James. Which is not like, but rather that hee was there slaine after that he had reigned nine moneths, and was buried at Waltham (which proueth that hee died not at Chester) and so was he the last that reigned in England of the blood of Saxons, the which continued (to reckon from Hengistus his first reigne in Kent) by the space of 591 yeares: and if it be reckoned from the yeares of the Westsaxons, then it indured the space of 565 yeares.

The fight betwixt Harold and duke William.

King Harold slaine.

This duke William and king Edward were by the fathers side cosin germans remoued. For Richard the first of that name which was the third duke of Normandie after Rollo, was father to duke Richard the second of that name, and brother to Emma mother to king Edward. Which duke Richard the second was father to duke Robert, this duke Williams father.

The consanguinitie betweene king Edward and William the Conqueror.

Albeit in this matter other some may gather otherwise and better, perchance; yet if I may say what I thinke, verily I suppose, that there is no consanguinitie so much here the cause why God of his vnknowen iudgements suffered the Normans here to preuaile, as was rather the cruell murther of Alfred and of the innocent Normans, wrought by the cruell despite of Harold and the Englishmen, as is before declared. The which mercilesse murther, God here iustly in this conquest recompensed.

Murther iustly recompensed.

Now remaineth also to these forren affaires of kings and princes, to adde some thing likewise concerning the continuation of the archbishops of Canterburie, beginning there where we last left: that is, with Elphegus, whom we declared a little before to be stoned by the Danes at Greenewich. After which Elphegus next succeeded Liningus, after him Egelnothus also aboue mentioned. Then Robertus a Norman a great doer (as is declared) about king Edward, and a faithfull counsellor vnto him, but who abode not long. After whom Stigandus inuaded the see (as they report) by simonie, being both archbishop of Canterburie, bishop of Winchester, and also abbat in an other place, wherein he continued a great space, gathering and heaping goods togither, till at length duke William clapt him in prison, and there kept him, placing in his rome Lanfrancus a Lombard borne, of whom more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter to be declared.

Archbishops of Canterburie.

Liningus, Egelnothus, Robertus, Stigandus.

¶ Although the church of Christ and state of religion first founded and grounded by Christ and his apostles, did not continually altogether remaine in his primitiue perfection, wherein it was first instituted; but in processe of time began from better to worse to decrease and decline into much superstition and incon-

The decay of the church.

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inconuenience: partly through the comming in of Mahumet, partly through the increaſe of wealth & riches, partly through the decreaſe of knowledge and diligence in ſuch as ſhould be the guides of Chriſts flocke: yet the infection and corruption of that time (though it were great) did not ſo abound in ſuch exceſſiue meaſure, as afterward in the other latter times now following, about the thouſand yeers expired after Chriſt, whereof we haue to intreat, Chriſt ſo permitting. About which time and yeere came Sylueſter, the ſecond of that name, who next ſucceeded after Gregory the fifth, before mentioned: and occupied the ſea of Rome about the yeere of our Lord 1000. lacking one or two.

Pope Sylueſter the ſecond.

This Sylueſter was a ſorcerer, which after the ſort of them that work by familiars (as they call them) and by coniuration, compacted with the diuell to be made pope. And ſo hee was (through the operation of Satan) according to his requeſt. Which things ſome hiſtories ſay, hee did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of Johannes Stella, a Venetian, tranſlated from Latine into Engliſh, concerning the ſaid Sylueſter: to the intent that our inchanters & ſorcerers now adaies (whereof there be too many in England) may the better through his example be admoniſhed. The words of Stella be theſe, agreeing alſo with the narration of Benno, Platina, and many others. Sylueſter, the ſecond of that name, being pope, and a Frenchman, called Gibertus, ſate in his papacy foure yeeres, one month, & eight daies. He entred into his papacie through wicked and vnlawfull meanes: who from his youth being a monke, and leauing his monaſtery, gaue himſelfe wholly to the diuell, to obtaine that which he required. And firſt comming to Hiſpalis a citie in Spaine, there applied his booke and profited alſo, in ſo much that he was made doctor, hauing amongſt his auditors, Otho the emperors ſonne, and Robert the French king, Lotharius archbiſhop of Senon, with diuers other more. By whoſe aduancement hee was promoted, firſt biſhop of Rheme, afterward biſhop of Rauenna, and at laſt, through the operation of Satan, was exalted to the papacie of Rome, vpon this condition, that after his death he ſhould giue himſelfe to the diuell, by whoſe procurement he came to that promotion. Vpon a certaine time hee demanded an anſwer of the diuell, how long he ſhould inioy his popedom. To whom he anſwered againe, Vntill thou ſay maſſe in Jeruſalem thou ſhalt liue. At length the fourth yeere of his popedome, ſaying maſſe at Lent time, in the temple of the holy croſſe, being called then Jeruſalem, there hee knew the time was come when hee ſhould die. Whereupon being ſtruck with repentance, confeſſed his fault openly before the people: deſiring all men to cut his body all in peeces (being ſo ſeduced by deceits of the diuell) and ſo being hewen in peeces, they would lay it vpon a cart, and bury it there whereſoeuer the horſes would carie it of their accord. And ſo the ſaying is to be, that by the prouidence of God (whereby the wicked may learne yet hope of remiſſion with God, ſo that they will repent them in their life) the horſes of their owne accord ſtaied at the church of Laterane, and there he was buried: where as commonly by the ratling of his bones within the tombe, is pretended the death of popes, as the common report goeth. Thus much out of Johannes Stella concerning Sylueſter. By whom our ſorcerers & inchanters, or magicians may learne to beware of the deceitfull operation of Satan, who at the end deceiueth and fruſtrateth all them that haue to do with him: as the end of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which vſe the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the ſpirit of Jeſus our redéemer, diſſolue the works of Satan, and preſerue the harts of our nobles, and of all other Engliſhmen from ſuch infection, Amen.

Sylueſter the ſecond a foule ſorcerer.

Johannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Premonſtraten. Nauclerus, Antoninus, Robertus Barnus, Johannes Baleus.

Ex Iohan. Stella.

An admonition for ſorcerers and wicked conturers.

After Sylueſter, ſucceeded John the nintéenth, by whom was brought in (as Volateran ſaith) the feaſt of All ſoules in the yeere 1004, through the means and inſtigation of one Odilo, abbat of Cluniake, to be celebrate next after the feaſt of All ſaints. This monke Odilo, thinking that purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the mount Aetna, dreamed vpon a time in the country of Sicill, that hee by his maſſes had deliuered diuers ſoules from thence: ſaying moreouer, that hee did heare the voices and lamentations of diuels, crying out for that the ſoules were taken from them by the maſſes & dirges funerall. Ex Bakenthorpo. in prolo. 4. lib. ſentent. And not long after him came John the twentith, and Sergius the fourth. After whom ſucceeded Benedictus the eighth; then John the one and twentith, who being promoted by art magicke of Theophylact his nephew, Gratianus, Brazutus, & other ſorcerers brought in firſt the faſt of the euen of John Baptiſt & S. Laurence. After him followed pope Benedictus the ninth, likewiſe aſpiring to his papacie by like magick, practiſing inchantments and coniuration in woods, after a horrible maner, who reſiſting the emperor Henricus the third, ſonne to Conradus, and placing in his roome Petrus the king of Hungary with this verſe, Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam: afterward, for feare of Henricus preuailing in battell, he was faine to ſell his ſeat to his ſucceſſor Gratianus, called Gregorius the firſt, for 1500 pounds. At which time were three popes together in Rome raigning and raging one againſt another; Benedictus the ninth, Sylueſter the third, and Gregorius the firſt. For the

The feaſt of All ſoules brought into the church.

Benedictus the ninth.

Gregorius the firſt.

which cauſe Henricus, ſurnamed Niger, the emperor, comming to Rome, diſplaced theſe three monſters at one time, placing for them Clement the ſecond, and thereupon inacting that there ſhould no biſhop of Rome henceforth be choſen, but by the conſent and confirmation of the emperour. Which conſtitution, though it was both agreeable, and alſo neceſſary for publike tranquillitie of that citie, yet the cardinals would not ſuffer it long to ſtand, but did impugne it afterward by ſubtill practiſe and open violence, as in proceſſe (the Lord permitting) ſhall appeare, in the time of Henricus the fourth and the fifth. In the time of this Clement, the Romans made an oth to the emperor, concerning the election of the biſhops, themſelues to intermeddle no further therein, but as the aſſent of the emperour ſhould go withall. Howbeit the emperor departing thence into Germany againe, by and by they forgot their oth, and within nine months after poiſoned the biſhop. Which fact, ſome impute to Stephen his ſucceſſor, called Damaſus the ſecond. Some impute it to Brazutus, who (as hiſtories record) within thirtéen yeeres, poiſoned ſix popes, that is, Clement the ſecond, Damaſus the ſecond, Leo the ninth, Victor the ſecond, Stephanus the ninth, Nicholaus the ſecond.

A conſtitution, no pope to be choſen, but by the confirmation of the emperor.

Pope Clement the ſecond.

Thus Clement being poiſoned, after him ſucceeded Damaſus the ſecond, neither by conſent of the people, nor of the emperor elected, but by force and inuaſion, who alſo within three and twenty daies being poiſoned, in the yeere 1049, much contention and ſtriuing began in Rome about the papall ſeat. Whereupon the Romans through the counſel of the cardinals ſent to the foreſaid emperor, deſiring to giue them a biſhop, and ſo he did, whoſe name was Bruno an Almain, & biſhop of Tullen, afterward called Leo the ninth. This Bruno being a ſimple man, and eaſie to be led with euill counſell, comming from the emperor towards Rome in his pontificall apparell like a pope: there meeteth him by the way the abbat of Cluniake, and Hildebrand a monke, who ſeeing him ſo in his pontificalibus, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his authoritie of the emperor, and not rather of the clergy of Rome, and the people thereof, as other his predeceſſors were wont to do: and ſo counſelled him to lay downe that apparell, and to enter in with his owne habit, till he had his election by them. Bruno following their counſell, and confeſſing his fault before the clergy of Rome, obteined their fauour, and ſo was nominat Leo the ninth, whereby Hildebrand was made a cardinall, and put in high roome. Under this pope Leo were two councels; one kept at Mercellis, where the doctrine of Berengarius againſt the reall preſence in the ſacrament was firſt condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, which neuertheleſſe was done after in the councell of Lateran, vnder Nicholaus the ſecond, in the yeere 1060. The other was kept at Moguntia, where amongſt many other decrées, was enacted, prieſts to be excluded and debarred vtterly from mariage. Item, that no lay man might giue benefice or biſhoprick, or any ſpirituall promotion, &c.

Pope Damaſus the ſecond.

Pope Leo the ninth.

Concilium Moguntinum. *Nauclerus Crantz.*

This Leo being at Wormes with the emperor vpō Chriſtmas day, did excommunicat the ſubdeacon, becauſe in reading the epiſtle, he did it not in the Roman tune, he being there preſent. The archbiſhop moued therewith, departed from the altar (being then at maſſe) ſaying, he would not proceed any further in his ſeruice, vnleſſe his ſubdeacon were reſtored; whereupon the pope commanded him to be releaſed, and ſo they went forward in their ſeruice.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poiſoned the firſt yeere of his popedom, Theophylactus did ſtriue to be pope: but Hildebrand to defeat him, went to the emperor (partly alſo being ſent by the Romans for feare of the emperors diſpleaſure) who aſſigned another biſhop a German, called Victor the ſecond. This Victor hauing a councel at Florence, depoſed diuers biſhops and prieſts for ſimonie and fornication: for ſimonie, in that they tooke of ſecular men their dignities for mony: for fornication, in that contrary to their canon, they were married, &c. The ſecond yeere of his papacie, and little more, this pope alſo followed his predeceſſors, being poiſoned by the foreſaid Brazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his maſter.

Alb. Crantz. Saxo. lib. 4. cap. 45.

Pope Victor the ſecond.

Concilium Florentinum.

Here now began the church and clergy of Rome to wring out of the emperors hand the election of the pope: electing Stephen the ninth for pope, contrary to their oth, and to the emperors aſſignement. Here was the church of Millan firſt brought to obedience of the Romiſh church, by this Stephanus the ninth biſhop of Rome, who alſo ſhamed not to accuſe the emperor Henry (of whom mention is made before) of hereſie, for miniſhing the authoritie of the Roman ſea. So this was their hereſie at that time, not to maintaine the ambitious proceedings of the Romiſh prelat. And ſimonie they called this, to take and inioy any ſpirituall liuing at a ſecular mans hand. Wherefore Stephen hearing this ſimony to raigne in diuers places, namely in the churches of Burgundy and Italy, ſent forth the cardinall Hildebrand to reforme the matter: who was no leſſe earneſt in that kind of commiſſion to helpe the matter forward.

Pope Stephen the ninth.

The church of Millan firſt brought vnder the church of Rome.

The emperor accuſed of hereſie.

Hildebrand ſent in commiſſion for ſimony.

In the meane time Stephanus the pope, talking of Brazutus cup fell ſicke. Hildebrand hearing that, applieth home with all poſt ſpeed. So being returned to Rome, aſſembleth all the companies

Hildebrand beginneth to ſtir.

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companies and orders of the clergie together, making them to sweare that they should admit none to bee bishop, but which should be appointed by the publike consent of them al together. This being done, Hildebrand taketh his iourny into Florence, belike to fetch the bishop of Florence, to stall him bishop: the clergy swearing vnto him, that no bishop should be ordained before his returne againe. But the people of Rome not suffering the election to stand so long, after the death of Stephen, elected one of their own city, called Benedictus the tenth. Hildebrand hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome with one Garhardus bishop of Florence, caused the clergy to proceed to a new election, saying, that Benedictus was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing. But the clergy not daring to attempt any new election at Rome, went to Sene, and there elected this Garhardus bishop of Florence, whom Hildebrand brought with him. So were two popes in Rome togither: But Garhardus, named Nicolas the second, holding a councel at Sutrium, through the help of duke Godfride and Guibert, and other bishops about Italy, caused the other pope to be deposed. Benedictus vnderstanding them to be set against him through the meanes of Hildebrand, vnpoped himselfe, and went to Melitras, liuing there more quietly then he should haue done at Rome.

Pope Benedictus the tenth.

Pope Nicolas the second.

Two popes together at Rome.

Pope Benet vnpopeth himselfe.

The glosse of the popes decrees refuted.

Here is to be touched by the way, the error of the glosse vpon the three and twentith distinction, which falsly allegeth out of the chronicles; that Benedictus the tenth, which succeeded Stephen, was deposed: after whom came Iohannes bishop of Sabine for mony, and he againe deposed. Benedictus was then restored, and after displaced againe, and then Iohannes archdeacon Ad portam latinam, was made pope, and he againe deposed by the emperor, and all in one yeere. Which story neither is found in any chronicle, nor agreeth vpon any Benedictus, saue only that Benedictus the ninth, which was deposed, & then raigned three popes togither, Benedictus the ninth, Syluester the third, and Gregorius the firth, which before was called Iohannes ad portam latinam, whom the emperor deposed (all three togither.) But that Benedict neither was the tenth, neither did he succeed pope Stephen, as the glosse recordeth. Nicolas thus being set vp without the mind both of the emperor and of the people of Rome, after his fellow pope was driuen away, brake vp the synod of Sutrium, and came to Rome, where he assembled another councell, called Concilium Lateranum. In which councell first was promulgat the terrible sentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, and beginneth: In nomine Domini nostri, &c. The effect whereof is this. First, that he after a subtill practise (as far & as plainly as he durst speake) undermineth the emperors iurisdiction, and transferreth to a few cardinals, and certaine catholike persons, the full authoritie of chusing the pope. Secondly, against all such as doe creep into the seat of Peter by mony or fauor, without the full cõsent of the cardinals; he thundereth with terrible blasts of excommunication, accursing them and their children with diuels, as wicked persons, to the anger of almighty God, giuing also authoritie and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a councell generall, where soeuer they will against them.

Concilium Lateranum.

Anno 1059

Dist. 23. cap. In no.

A terrible curse of pope Nicolas.

Berengarius driuen to recantation.

Item, in the said councell of Laterane, vnder pope Nicolas the second, Berengarius Andegauensis, an archdeacon, was driuen to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the reall substance of Christs holy body and blod to be in the sacrament, otherwise then sacramentally and in mystery.

Transubstantiation brought into the church.

In the same councell also was hatched and inuented the new found deuice and terme of transubstantiation.

Naucl. Platina, Eneas Sil.

It were to long here to declare the confederation betwixt this Nicolas and Robertus Guiscardus, whom this pope (contrary to all right and god law displacing the right heire) made duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and captaine generall of S. Peters lands: that through his force of armes and violence, he might the better subdue all such as should rebell to his obedience, and so did. Now let all men iudge and vnderstand (which be godly wise) how this standeth with the doctrine of Christ, the example of Peter, or the spirit of a christian bishop, by outward armes and violence to conquer christian men and countries, vnder the obedience of a bishops sea. Thus pope Nicolas the second well answering to his Greeke name, by might & force continued three yeeres and a halfe. But at length he met with Brazutus cup, and so turned vp his heeles.

Potentia papae coactiua standeth not with the gospell.

Anno 1062

At the beginning of this Nicolas, or somewhat before, about the yeere of our Lord 1057, Henricus the fourth, after the deceasse of Henry the third, was made emperour, being but a child, and raigned fiftie yeeres: but not without great molestation and much disquietnesse, and all through the vngratious wickednesse of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord so permitting) shall be declared.

Henricus the fourth emperor.

Heere by the way commeth to bee noted an example, whereby all princes may learne and vnderstand, how the pope is to be handled, whosoeuer loketh to haue any goodnesse at his hand. If a man stand in feare of his curse, he shall be made his slaue: but if he be despised of you, you shall haue him as you lust. For the popes curse may well bee assimiled to Domitians thunder: If a man giue eare to the noise and cracke, it seemeth a terrible thing: but if you consider the causes and effect thereof, it is a most vaine ridicle.

The popes curse compared to Domitians thunder.

In the raigne of this Nicolas, in the yeare 1060, Aldredus bishop of Worcester, after the deceasse of Kinsius his predecessor should be made archbishop of Yorke, who comming to Rome with Tostus earle of Northumberland for his pall (as the manner was) could not obtaine it, but was depriued of all his dignitie, for some default (I cannot tell what) in his answer; and furthermore, after his reuersion home, was spoiled also of all that he brought with him. Whereupon he returning againe to Rome with Tostius the foresaid earle, there made his complaint, but could not be heard: till Tostius, a man of stout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the pope to his face, that his curse was not to be feared in far countries, which his owne neighbors, yea and most vile vagabonds derided and despised at home. Wherefore he required the pope, either to restore Aldredus againe to his goods lost, or else it should be knowne that they were lost through his meanes and subtiltie. And furthermore, it would come to passe, that the king of England hearing this, would debar him of S. Peters tribute, taking it for a great shame to him and his realme, if Aldredus should come from Rome both depriued of dignitie, and spoiled also of his goods, &c. In fine, the pope thus persuaded by the argument of his purse, was content to send home Aldredus with his pall, according to his request.

Aldredus archbishop of Yorke.

Tostius how he perswaded the pope.

After the death of Nicolas, the Lombards being oppressed before by pope Nicolas, and brought vnder feare, were the more desirous, and thought it good to haue a bishop of their companie; and so elected the bishop of Parmen called Cadolus, to be pope: sending to the emperor, and desiring his fauor and supportation therein; for the election of the pope (said they) most properly appertained vnto him.

Cadolus a Lombard made pope by the emperor.

The emperor well pleased and content, giueth his good leaue and voice withall. Hildebrand, no lesse a wicked necromancer, then a stout maintainer of popish liberties against good emperors, hearing this, setteth vp by a contrary faction, another bishop, Anselmus, after called Alexander the second. Cadolus thus elected by the emperor and the cardinals, setteth forward to Rome with a sufficient army and strength of men. Alexander also no lesse prepared, there receiued him with another armie, where they had a great conflict, and many slaine on both sides. But Cadolus as he had the better cause, so had he the worse fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himselfe and came againe with a greater power: albeit hee preuailed not. The emperor seeing this hurly burly; to take vp the matter, sent thither his ambassador Otho archbishop of Tullen, who comming to Rome, beginneth sharply to chide the pope for taking so vpon him without the leaue or knowledge of the emperor, declaring how the election of that see ought chiefely to appertaine to the right of the emperor, as it hath done for the most part in the time of his predecessors tofore. But Hildebrands all set on wickednesse and ambition, and also puft vp not a little with his late victories; not suffering the ambassador to tell to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale, affirming, that if they should stand to law & custome, the liberty of that election should rather belong to the clergie then to the emperor. To make short, Otho the ambassador bearing (belike) more with the clergie then with the emperor, was content to be persuaded: only required this in the emperors name, a councell to be had, to decide the matter: whereat the emperor should be present himselfe; and so he was. In the which councell being kept at Mantua, Alexander was declared pope, the other had his pardon granted. In this councell amongst many other considerations, was concluded concerning priests to haue no wiues: such as haue concubines to say no masse: priests children not to be secluded from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for money: alleluia to be suspended in time of Lent out of the church, &c. This also was decreed (which made most for Hildebrands purpose) that no spirituall man, what soeuer he be, should enter in any church by a secular person, and that the pope should be elected only by the cardinals, &c. Benno Cardinalis writeth thus of Alexander, that after hee perceiued the frauds of Hildebrand, and of other emperors enemies; and vnderstanding that he was set vp and vnthronised but only for a purpose; being at his masse, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not sit in the place, vnlesse he had the licence of the emperor. Which when Hildebrand heard, he was stricken in such a furie, that scarcely he could keepe his hands off him, while masse was done. After the masse being finished, by force of soldiors and strength of men he had him into a chamber, and there all to be pomild pope Alexander with his fists, rating and rebuking him for that he would seeke for fauor of the emperor. Thus Alexander being kept vp in custodie, and being stinted to a certaine allowance, as about fiue grotes a day, Hildebrand incroacheth all the whole reuenues of the church to himselfe, procuring thereby much treasure. At length Alexander vnder the miserable indurance of Hildebrand, died at euentide after eleuen yeares and a halfe of his popedome. And thus much of Romish matters.

Concilium Mantuanum.

Alleluia suspended in the time of Lent.

A decree that no secular man should giue a spirituall promotion.

Benno Cardinalis.

Pope Alexander knockt about the pate by Hildebrand.

These things thus discoursed concerning the matters of Rome; now returning againe to our owne countrie storie, the order thereof would require to enter againe into the raigne of William Conqueror, the next king following in England.

But

But as a certaine oration of king Edgars, which should haue been placed before, chanced in the meane time to come to my hands, not vnworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the end of this booke to insert the same (although out of order) yet better I iudge it out of order, then out of the booke.

The oration of king Edgar to the clergy.

BEcause God hath shewed his great mercy to worke with vs: it is meet (most reuerend fathers) that with worthy works we should answer his innumerable benefits. For we possesse not the land by our owne sword, and our owne arme hath not saued vs: but his right hand and his holy arme, because he hath bin delighted in vs. Therefore it is meet that we should submit both our selues and our soules to him, that hath subiected all these things vnder our gouernment: and that we ought stoutly to labor, that they whom he hath made subiect to vs, might be subiect to his lawes. It belongs to me to rule the lay people with the law of equitie, to do iust iudgement between a man and his neighbor, to punish church robbers, to hold vnder rebels, to deliuer the helpelesse from the hand of the stronger, the needy also and the poore from them that rob them. It belongs also to my care, to prouide necessary things to the ministers of the churches, to the flocks of the monks, to the company of virgins, and to prouide for their peace & quiet. The examining of all whose maners belongeth vnto vs: whether they liue chastlie, if they behaue themselues honestly toward them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods seruice, if they be earnest to teach the people, if they be sober in eating and drinking, if they keep measure in apparell, and if they be discreet in iudgement. If yee had regarded these things with a triall of them (O reuerend fathers, by your leaues I speake) such horrible and abominable things of the clerks, should not haue come vnto our ears. I omit to speake how their crowne is not brode, nor their rounding conuenient: the wantonnes in your life, your pride in your gesture, the filthinesse in your words, doe declare the euill of the inward man.

Psal. 43.

Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods seruice, when scarse they will be present at the holy vigils? And when they come to masse, they seeme rather to bee gathered to play and laugh then to sing. I wil tell that, that good men be sory for, and the euill laugh at. I will speake with sorrow (if so be I may expresse it) how they be riotous in bankettings, in chambering, drunkennes, and vnshamefastnes: that now clerks houses may be thought to be a stewes of harlots, and a couent of plaiers. There be dice, there is dancing and singing, there is watching to midnight, with crying & shouting. Thus the goods of kings, the almes of princes, yea (and that is more) the price of that pretious blood is not esteemed. Haue our fathers then spent their treasures for this purpose? Hath the kings coffers decaied by taking away many reuenewes, for this cause? Hath the kings liberalitie giuen lands and possessions to Christs Churches for this intent, that clerks harlots should be decked with the same? that riotous feasts might be dressed? that hounds & hawks and such other toies might be gotten? The souldiers cry out of these things, the people grudge, minstrels sing & dance, and yet ye regard it not, ye spare it, ye dissemble it. Where is the sword of Leuie, and the zeale of Simeon, which killed the Sichemits, and the circumcised, which bare the figure of the that defile Christs church with filthy deeds, because they abused Iacobs daughter as an harlot? Where is Moses spirit, which spared not his owne kinsfolke that worshipped the head of the calfe?

Gen. 34. Exod. 32.

Where is Phinees the priests dagger, which pacified Gods anger by his holy zeale, when he killed him that plaied the harlot with the Madianit? Where is Peters spirit, by whose power couetousnesse is destroied, and simoniacall heresie is condemned? Be earnest ye priests, be earnest to follow the waies of the Lord, and the righteousnes of our God. It is time to do against them that haue broken the law of God. I haue Constantines sword, and ye haue Peters sword in your hands; let vs ioyne right hands, let vs couple sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the sonnes of Leuie may minister in the temple, who said to his father and mother, I know you not, and to his brothers, I know not you. Go to diligently I pray you, lest we repent to haue done that we haue done, and to haue giuen that we giue. If we shall see that to be spent not in Gods seruice, but on the riotousnes of wicked men, through vile & corrupt liberty of life, for lacke of chastisement; let the relikes of holy Saints which they despise, & the holy altars, before which they play the mad men, moue you. Let the great deuotion of our ancestors moue you, whose almes the madnes of the clerks doth abuse. My great grandfather (as ye know) gaue the tenth part of all his lands to churches and abbies. My great great grandfather, Alfredus of holy memory, thought it not meet to spare his treasures, his goods, no costs, nor rents, that he might inrich the Church. My grandfather the elder, Edward, your fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gaue to the churches. It becommeth you to remember with what gifts my father and his brothers did inrich Christs altars. O father of fathers, Dunstan, behold (I pray thee) the eies of my father looking on thee, from that bright place of heauen: hearken to his complaining words sounding in thine eares, thus pitifully lamenting! O father Dunstan, thou, thou (I say) gauest me counsell to build abbies and Churches, thou wast my helper & fellow worker in all things: I chose thee as a shepheard & bishop of my soule, and a keeper of my maners. When did I not obey thee? What treasures did I prefer in respect of thy counsels? What possessions did I not despise, if thou badst me? If thou thoughtst meete to giue any thing to the poore, I was ready. If thou thoughtst meet to giue any thing to churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedst that monkes or clerks wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidst that almes lasted for euer, and that there was none more fruitfull then that which was giuen to abbies or churches. For with that, both Gods seruants are sustained, and that which remaineth is giuen to the poore. O worthy almes! O worthie price of the soule! O wholesome remedie for our sinnes, which now doth stinke in the sweet furs of priests lemmans, wherewith they adorne their eares and decke their fingers, apparelling their delicat bodies with silke and purple! O father, is this the fruite of mine almes, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise? What wilt thou answere to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know: When thou didst see a theefe, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them: but words haue been despised; now we must come to stripes of correction. Thou hast heere with thee the worshipfull father Edward bishop of Winchester. Thou hast the reuerend prelat Oswold bishop of Worcester. I commit this businesse to you, that both by bishoplie correction, and the kings authoritie, the filthie liuers may bee cast out of the churches, and they that liue orderly may be brought in, &c.

In this oration of king Edgar aboue prefixed, three things are chiefly to be noted and considered of them that haue iudgement to marke and vnderstand, to wit: The religious zeale and deuotion of kings, both in giuing to the church, and also in correcting the maners of churchmen. Secondly, the dissolute behauior and wantonnes of the clergy, then abusing the great donations and patrimonies of princes bestowed vpon them. Thirdly, the blinde ignorance and superstition of that time in both states, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, in esteeming Christs religion chiefly to consist in giuing to churches, and in maintaining of monkery, falsly being perswaded that remission of their sinnes, and remedy of their soules therein, did lie in building monasteries, erecting churches and cloisters, and in placing monks in the same, & such other almsdeeds, and works of deuotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true doctrine of Christs faith, and of free grace of the gospell, which promiseth life, remedy, and iustification, not by any deuout merits of ours, nor by any works either of the law of God, or of the inuentions of man, but onely and freely by our faith vpon Christ Iesus the sonne of God, in whom only consisteth all the promises of God, Amen.

The ignorance and superstition of the time of king Edgar noted.

The doctrine of iustification vnknowne.

Iustification by faith in Christ.

Now remaineth as in the former booke before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the order and race of archbishops of Canterbury, as wee haue done the race of kings, beginning with Ethelredus, who succeded next after Celnocke, the seuentenith archbishop of that sea, mentioned where we left before.

The names and order of the archbishops of Canterburie, *from the time of king Egbert to* William Conqueror.

18 Ethelredus.	18		
19 Pleimundus.	29	This Pelmundus was schoolmaster to king Alfred.	
20 Athelmus.	12		
21 Ulfelmus.	13		
22 Odo.	20	By the prayers of this Odo, the monkish stories say, that the sword of king Ethelstan was brought againe into his scabbard. As is noted before in that kings time.	
23 Elfus, or Elfinus.	1	This Elfus, first bishop of Winchester, came to the sea of Canturbury by the commandement of king Edgar, some say by bribes, contrary to the mind of Odo. Whereupon in the first day of his consecration, he insulting vpon the tombe of Odo with despite, shortly after went to Rome for his pall, where in his iourny vpon the Alps he died for cold, in so much that his horses being killed, and hee put in their warme bellies, yet could he get no heat: Malmsbur.	
24 Dunstan.	20	Of this Dunstan manie monkish miracles be fained, as of the harpe vpon the wall playing by it selfe, Gaudent in cœlis,	S. Dunstans harpe vpon the wall, fait by a pin did hang at Without mans helpe, with lie and all, and by it selfe did twang a.

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Polydorus maketh Dunstan to bee the 23 archbishop.

lis, &c. Of our Lady with her company appearing to him singing, Cantemus Domino sociæ, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio. Also of the angels singing Kyrieleison, &c. Item, of holding the diuell by the nose with a pair of tongs, tempting him with women: Malmes. Item of seeing the Holy ghost at his masse in likenesse of a doue. Item, in deliuering the soule of Edwin from the diuell. Item, in foreseeing the death of king Edred, by the death and falling of his horse. Item, of his mother being great with Dunstan, when all the candles of others went out, her only candle remained light: and many other like fables, &c.

25 Ethelgarus. 1
26 Elfricus. 11
27 Siricius. 5

This Siricius was the counseller to king Egelred, to redéeme peace of the Danes, with a great tribute.

28 Elphegus. 6
29 Liuingus. 7
30 Egenoldus. 17
31 Edlius. 11

Elphegus, because he denied to pay to the Danes a tribute, was stoned to death at Greene-wich, and of some is called a martyr.

32 Robertus. 2

This Robertus caused Godwin and his sonnes to bee banished, accusing them of treason. But afterward they being restored, he went to Rome, and at his returne died.

33 Stigandus. 17

Stigandus being an Englishman, in the time of William Conqueror the Norman, was by the craft of the said William conueied into Normandy, where a while with great honor he was entertained. At length the said William procured secretly the popes letters to depose him, that he might place Lanfrancus in his rome. This Stigandus died at length in prison.

34 Lanfrancus. 19

The end of the third Booke.

The fourth Booke, containing other three hundred yeeres from William Conqueror, to the time of *John Wickliffe, wherein is described the proud and misordered raigne of Antichrist, beginning to stir in the Church of Christ.*

William Conqueror.

WIlliam Duke of Normandie, surnamed Conqueror, base sonne of Duke Robert, the first Duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto king Edward, after the foresaid victory against Harold and the Englishmen obtained, was receiued king ouer the realme of England, not so much by assent, as for feare and necessitie of time. For else the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Atheling to the vttermost of their power. But being weakned and wasted so greatly in battels before, and the Duke comming so fast vpon them, fearing not to make their party good, submitted themselues. Whereupon the said William (of a duke made a king) was crowned vpon Christmas day in the yeere of our Lord 1067. by the hands of Aldredus archbishop of Yorke; for as much as at that time Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the king. A little before the comming in of this duke, a terrible blazing starre was seene the space of seuen daies, which was the yeere before. In record whereof, as well of the conquest of the duke, as of the blazing starre, these verses yet remaine:

{Anno 1067}

A blazing starre.

Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,
Cum percunt Angli, stella monstrante cometa.

Which king thus being crowned, did reigne ouer the realme of England the space of one and twenty yeres and one moneth, with great seueritie and cruelnesse toward the Englishmen, burthening them with great tributes and exactions; which was, to pay of euery hide of ground containing twenty acres, six shillings. By meanes whereof certaine parts of the land rebelled, and specially the citie of Excester. But at last William ouercame them, and won the citie, & punished them grieuously. But for that and for other sterne deeds of William, diuers of the lords departed into Scotland: wherefore hee kept the other lords that tarried the straiter, and exalted the Normans, giuing to them the chiefe possessions of the land. And forsomuch as he obtained the kingdome by force & dint of sword, hee changed the whole state of the gouernance of this commonweale: and ordeined new lawes at his own pleasure, profitable to himselfe, but grieuous and hurtfull to the people: abolishing the lawes of king Edward, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworne before, to obserue and maintaine. For the which, great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people (as histories record) to haue the said lawes of king Edward reuiued againe.

Tribute.

Rebellion. Earle Marcarus, and Earle Edwin, Edgar Atheling, with his mother and two sisters, Margaret & Christian fled into Scotland.

New king, new lawes.

King William forsworne in abolishing king Edwards lawes.

Where by the way speaking of lawes, this is memorable, that euen in this kings time the authoritie of the temporall magistrat was distinct from that of the church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deale in causes ecclesiasticall, and be assistant to the bishop; whose iurisdiction what it was, and how qualified by king William now holding the sterne of gouernment in his hand, the words following doe declare.

Turris Lond.

✠ *Willielmus gratia Dei rex Anglorum, comitibus, vicecomitibus, & omnibus Francigenis & Anglis, qui in episcopatu Remigy episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis, &c.* In English thus.

William by the grace of God king of England, to all shiriffes, vndershiriffes, and to all Frenchborne & English, which in the bishoprick of Remigius the bishop haue lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithfull subiects which abide in England, that the bishops lawes which haue bin not well, nor according to the precepts of holy canons, euen to my time in the kingdom of England; by the common counsel and the counsell of mine archbishops, and the rest of bishops and abbats; with all the princes of my kingdome I haue iudged to bee amended. Wherefore I command, and by my royall authority giue in charge, that no bishop or archdeacon do hold any more pleas of law in the hundred by the bishops lawes, nor bring any cause which pertaineth to the cure of soules vnto the iudgment of secular men: but whosoeuer according to the bishops lawes, about any sute or default be troubled, shall come to the place, which to this end the bishop shall chuse and name, and there answer his cause, and not according as in the hundred, but according to the canons and lawes of the bishop they shall do right vnto God and to their bishop. And if any puffed vp with pride, being called once, twice and thrice to the court of pleas, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawne to amendment, let him be excommunicat. And if need be to correct and reuenge this,

The iurisdictiō ecclesiasticall qualified and circumscribed in king Williams time.

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this, let the power and iustice of the kings vndershiriffe be vsed: And he which being called or summoned to the bishops court, will not come, for euery calling shall be put to his answer before the bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine authoritie forbid, that no vndershiriffe, or prouost, or officer of the king, nor any layman, meddle or make with the laws belonging to the bishop; nor that any layman bring or sue another out of the bishops court of iustice vnto iudgement. And as for iudgement, let it be giuen in no place but in the bishops see, or in that place which in this behalfe the bishop shall appoint.)

By this euidence of record it is manifest (as you see) that duke William (now king) hauing assumed vnto himselfe the absolute authoritie roiall, indeuored to establish a forme of gouernement both in the church and commonwealth answerable to his owne mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed vnto the clergie a kind of iurisdiction of conuenting persons before them, and likewise of exercising such ecclesiasticall discipline as the qualitie of that age and time did vse. Wherein we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our storie, as the spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct vs.

Ouer and besides this, the foresaid William, as he was a warrior, so he delighting in forts and bulworks, builded foure strong castles; two at Yorke, one at Notingham, and another at Lincolne, which garrisons he furnished with Normans.

About the third yeere of his reigne, Harold and Canutus sonnes of Swanus, king of Denmarke, entred into the north countrie. The Normans within Yorke, fearing that the Englishmen would aid the Danes, fired the suburbs of the towne. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong, that it tooke into the citie, and burnt a great part therof, with the minster of S. Peter, where no doubt many worthie works and monumets of bokes were consumed. In the time whereof the Danes by the fauor of some of the citizens entred the citie, and slue more then three thousand of the Normans. But not long after king William chased them out, and draue them to their ships, and tooke such displeasure with the inhabitants of that countrie, that he destroyed the land from Yorke to Durham, so that nine yeeres after the prouince lay wast and vnmanured, onely except S. Johns land of Beuerlie, and the people therof so strictlie being kept in penurie by the war of the king, that (as our English storie saith) they eat rats, cats, and dogs, with other vermin.

Also in the fourth yeere of this king, Malcome king of Scots entred into Northumberland, and destroied the countrie, and slue there many of the people both of men, women and children after a lamentable sort, and tooke some prisoners. But within two yeeres after, king William made such war vpon the Scots, that he forced Malcolme their king to do him homage.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this realme vnder this forren Conquerour, which is now the first time that the said land, with the inhabitants thereof hath beene scourged by the hand of God. First by the Romans in the time of Julius Cesar. Then by the Scots and Picts (as hath beene shewed) afterward by the Saxons. Againe, the Saxons or Englishmen did not enioy the possession of Britaine with long quiet, but were brought in as much subiection themselues vnder the Danes, as they had brought the Britains before (and that much more) in so much that throughout all England, if an Englishman had met a Dane vpon a bridge, he might not stir one foot, before the lord Dane (otherwise Lurdane) were past. And then if the Englishman had not giuen low reuerence to the Dane at his comming by, he was sure to be sharplie punished (with more) as aboue hath beene declared. And this subiection almost continued from the reigne of king Ethelwolfus 230 yeeres, till the reigne of king Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceased not, but stirred vp the Normans against them, who conquered & altered the whole realme after their owne purpose, in so much that besides the innouation of the lawes, coines, and possessions, there was in no church of England almost any English bishop, but only Normans and forreners placed through all their diocese. To such miserie was this land then brought, that not onely of all the English nobilitie not one house was standing; but also it was thought reprochfull to be called an Englishman. This punishment of God against the English nation, writers do assigne diuerslie to diuers causes (as partlie before is touched) of whom, some assigne this to be the cause, as followeth in the words of the storie: *In primitiua Anglia ecclesia religio clarissimè splenduit, ita vt reges & regina, duces & episcopi, vel monachatum, vel exiliũ pro Dei amore appeterent: processu verò temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, vt gentem nullam proditione & nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent, &c.* The meaning wherof is this: That whereas kings and queenes, dukes and prelats, in the primitiue time of the English church, were readie for religion to forsake either libertie or countrie, and giue themselues to a solitarie life: in processe of time they grew to such dissolutenesse, that they left no other realme like vnto them in iniquitie, &c. Againe, some writing of the vision of king Edward a little before the inuasion of the Normans, telleth, how the king reporting of his owne vision should heare, that for the great enormity and misbehauior of the head dukes, bishops, and abbats of the Realme, the kingdome should be giuen to the hand of their enemies after the decease of him, for the space of one hundred yeeres & one day. Which space was also seene by William Conqueror, to be one hundred and fiftie yeeres: and that his progeny so long should continue. Againe, some writers intreating of this so great wrath of God vpon the English people, declare the cause thereof as followeth: *Nam sicut Angli Britones quos Deus disterminare proposuerat (peccatis suis exigentibus) humiliauerãt, & à terra Angliæ minus iniustè fugauerant: sic ipsi duplici persecutione, &c.* Like as the Englishmen did subdue the Britans (whom God proposed for their deseruings to exterminate) and them vniustly did dispossesse of their land: so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution; first by the Danes, and after by the Normans: &c. Moreouer, to these iniuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Englishmen, hitherto recited, let vs ad also the cruell villany of this nation, in murthering and tithing of the innocent Normans before: who comming as strangers with Alfred the lawful heire of the crowne were despightfully put to death. Which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord (whose doings be alway iust and right) did suffer the Normans so to preuaile. By the comming in of the which Normans, and by their quarrel vnto the realm, three things wee may note and learne. First, to consider and learne the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heauen, vpon all iniquitie and vnrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for princes to leaue no issue or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often doe chance to realmes publikely by forren marriage with other princes, &c.

In the same fourth yeere of this king, betweene Easter and Whitsontide, was holden a solemne Councell at Winchester of the Clergy of England. At the which councell were present two cardinals sent frõ Pope Alexander the second, Peter and John. In this councell, the king being there himselfe present, were deposed diuers bishops, abbats, and priors, (by the means of the king) without any euident cause: to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his knights before to the rule of the temporalitie, thereby to stand in more surety of the land. Amongst whom also Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury was put downe for three causes against him pretended.

The first was, for that he had holden wrongfully that bishopricke, while Robert the archbishop (aboue mentioned) was liuing.

The second was, for that he had receiued the pall of Benedict bishop of Rome, the fift of that name. Which Benedict, for buying his popedome, had been deposed, as is shewed before.

The third cause, for that he occupied the said pall without licence and lawfull authority of the court of Rome.

Then Stigandus well proued the benevolence of king William. For where before the king seemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did vnto him great reuerence: then he changed all his mildnesse into sternnesse, and exercised himselfe by the bishop of Romes authoritie. So that in the end, Stigandus was deprined of his dignitie, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. This Stigandus is noted for a man so couetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his owne, and swearing that he had not a pennie, yet by a key fastened about his necke, was found great treasure of his vnder the ground.

At the same time was preferred to the archbishopricke of Yorke, Thomas a Norman, and canon of Baion.

At which time also Lanfrancus abbat of Cadomonencie (a Lombard, and Italian borne) was sent for, & made archbishop of Canterbury, betweene which two archbishops about their consecration first began a contention, for giuing and taking the oth of obedience: but that contention was at that time appeased by the king; and Thomas was contented to subscribe to the archbishop of Canterburies obedience.

After this it followed within short space, that the said Lanfrancus and Thomas archbishop of Yorke, who first builded the minster of Yorke, and gaue possessions thereunto, came to Rome with Remigius bishop of Dorcester for their pals, as the maner was; without which no archbishop nor bishop could be confirmed, although their election were neuer so lawfull. This pall must be asked no where but of ỳ pope or his assigns, and that within three moneths: also it must be asked not faintly, but mightily: Dist. 100. cap. prisca. Which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations (especially such as were far from Rome) so it was no small gaine to the Romish sea, so as they did order it. For although at the beginning the pall was giuen without mony, according to the decree, Dist. 100. or for little, as percase in this time of Lanfranke: yet in processe of yeers it grew to such excesse, that where ỳ bishoprick of Mentz was wont to giue to Rome but ten thousand florens: afterward it arose so, that hee which asked his confirmation, could not obtain it, without twenty thousand. And from thence it exceeded to fiue and twenty thousand, and at length to seuen and twenty thousand florens: which summe, Jacobus archbishop of Mentz was priest to pay, a little before the councell of Basil;

Yorke with the minster of S. Peter burnt.

The north countrie wasted.

Horrible famin in the north parts of Northumberland.

Scots subdued to king William.

The continuall affliction and disquietnes of this realme of England. Fiue conquests which haue bin in this realme: Romans, Scots & Picts, Saxons, Danes, Normans.

Ex Henr. Huntington. lib. 6.

Ex histor. Iornalens.

England afflicted and scourged for iniquitie.

The vision of king Edward.

Englishmen scourged for their vniust oppression of the Britans.

Englishmen iustly scourged for their vniust cruelty against the Normans.

Three things in this conquest to be noted.

Gods iust iudgement.

Lacke of succession.

Forren marriage.

Anno 1070

A councell holden at Winchester.

Might ouercommeth right.

Diuers bishops abbats and priors deposed in England.

Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury deprined, and the causes why.

A couetous bishop.

Fatre countenance not to be trusted.

Thomas made archbishop of Yorke.

Lanfrancus an Italian archbishop of Canterbury.

The minster of Yorke builded.

The giuing of the pall.

Dist. 100. cap. prisca.

Dist. 100. cap. Nouit.

Ex lib. Graua-minum nationis Germanicæ

Jacobus archbishop of Mentz.

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Eneas Siluius writeth to be fiftie bishoprikes in Germanie.

sil: insomuch that the said Jacobus, at his departing (which was within foure yeares after) said that his death did not so much greeue him, as to remember his poore subiects, which should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the popes pall. Now by this, what riseth to the pope in whole Germanie, conteining in it aboue fiftie bishoprikes, it may bee easilie coniectured. Lanfrancus thus comming to Rome, with the other two bishops: he for the estimation of his learning, obtained of Alexander two pals, one of honor, the other of loue. Item, he obtained for the other two bishops also their confirmation. At which time, they being there present before Alexander: the controuersie began first to be moued (or rather renewed) for the primacie betwixt the two metropolitans, that is, betwixt the archbishop of Canterburie, and the archbishop of Yorke, whether of them should haue preheminence aboue the other. For Canterbury challenged to himselfe the prerogatiue and primarie ouer whole Britain and Ireland: the which contention continued a long season betwixt these two churches, and was often renewed in the daies of diuers kings after this: as in the reigne of Henrie the first, betwixt Thurstinus of Yorke, and Radulphus of Canterburie. And againe in the seuen and twentith yeare of the said king, at his second coronation: for Radulphus would not suffer the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the bishop of Yorke, without his assent. Also in the reigne of Henrie the second, where Alexander pope made a letter decretall betwixt these two metropolitans, for bearing the crosse in the yeare 1159. Also another time, in the reigne of the said king, betwixt Richard of Canterburie, and Roger of Yorke. Againe, about the yeare of our Lord 1170. when Thomas Becket hearing the king to be crowned of Roger bishop of Yorke, complained thereof grieuously to pope Alexander the third. Item, another time in the yeare 1176 betwixt Richard and the said Roger, whether of them should sit on the right hand of cardinall Hugo in his councell at London. Moreouer, in the beginning of ỹ reigne of king Richard in the yeare 1190. betwixt Baldwinus of Canterburie, and Godfridus of Yorke, &c.

Now to proceed in the storie hereof. After this question was brought (as is said) to the popes presence, he (not disposed to decide the matter) sent them home into England, there to haue their cause determined. Whereupon they speeding themselues from Rome to England in the yeare 1070. and in the sixth yeare (as is said) of this William: brought the matter before the king & the clergie at Windsore. Wheras Lanfranke first alleging for himselfe, brought in, from the time of Austin, to the time of Beda (which was about 140 yeres) how that the bishop of Canterburie had euer the primacie ouer the whole land of Britain and Ireland: how he kept his councels diuers times within the precincts of Yorke: how hee did call and cite the bishops of Yorke thereto: whereof some hee did constitute, some he did excommunicate, and some he did remoue: besides also he alleaged diuers priuiledges granted by princes and prelats to the primacie of that see, &c.

To this Thomas archbishop of Yorke replieth againe, and first beginning with the first originall of the Britains church, declareth in order of time, how the Britains, &c.

Lucius the first king of Britain christened. Thenus first archbishop of London.

¶ The Brittans first possessioners of this kingdome of Britain, which indured from Brutus and Cadwalader 2076 yeares, vnder an hundred and two kings, at length receiued the christian faith in the yeare 162. in the time of Lucius their king. Eleutherius bishop of Rome sent Faganus and Damianus preachers vnto them, at which time after their conuersion, they assigned and ordained in the realme eight and twentie bishops, with two archbishops, Theonus the archbishop of London, and Theodosius archbishop of Yorke. Vnder those bishops and archbishops the church of Britain was gouerned after their conuersion almost 300 yeares, till at length the Saxons being then infidels, with Hengistus their king, subduing the Britains by fraudulent murther, inuaded their land, which was about the yeare of our Lord 440. After this the Britains being driuen into Cambria (which we now call Wales) the Saxons ouerrunning the land, diuided themselues into seuen kingdomes. And so being infidels & pagans, continued til the time that Gregorie bishop of Rome sent Austin to preach vnto them: which Austin comming first to Douer, being then the head citie of Kent, called in Latine Dorobernia, and there planting himselfe, conuerted first the king of Kent, called Edilbertus, who had then subdued certaine other kings vnto Humber. By reason whereof Austin was made archbishop of Douer, by the appointment of Gregorius, who sent him certaine pals with his letter from Rome, as before is expressed. Which letter being recited, then Thomas expounding vpon the same, beginneth to declare for himselfe, how the meaning of Gregorie in this letter was, to reduce the new church of Saxons or Englishmen to the order that was in the old time among the Britains: that is, to be vnder two metropolitans, one of London, the other of Yorke: for so the church was ordered in the time of the Britains, as is before declared. Notwithstanding, hee giueth to Austin this prerogatiue during his life time, to haue authoritie and iurisdiction, not onely ouer his twelue bishops, but vpon all other bishops and priests in England. And after his decease then these two metropolitans, London and Yorke, to ouersee the whole clergie, as in times past amongst the Britains: whom he ioineth together after the death of Austin, to constitute bishops, and to ouersee the church. And that he so meaneth London to be equall in authoritie with Yorke, it appeareth by foure arguments. First, that he will London to be consecrat by no bishop, but of his owne synod. Secondlie, in that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt London and Yorke, but according only to that as ech one of them is elder in time. Thirdlie, for that he matcheth these two together in common councell, and with one agreement to consent together in doing and disposing such things as they shall consult vpon in the zeale of Christ Iesu: and that in such sort, that one should not dissent nor discord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they should gouerne together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthlie, where he writeth, that the bishop of Yorke should not be subiect to the bishop of London; what meaneth this, but that the bishop of London should be equiualent with the metropolitan of Yorke, or rather superiour vnto him?

Lanfrancus replieth.

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregorie to be in the foresaid letter. To whom Lanfrancus againe answereth, that he was not the bishop of London, and that the question pertained not to London. Thomas replieth, hauing on his part many fautors, that this priuilege was granted by Gregorie to Austin alone, to haue all other bishops subiect to him: but after his decease, there should be equalitie of honour betwixt London and Yorke, without all distinction of prioritie; saue the onely prioritie of time should make superioritie betweene them. And although Austin translated the see from London to Kent, yet Gregorie, if his mind had beene to giue the same prerogatiue to the successors of Austin (which he gaue to him) would expressie haue vttered it in the words of his epistle, writting thus to Austin: That which I giue to thee Austin, I giue also and grant to all thy successors after thee. But in that he maketh heere no mention of his successors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind so to do.

Thomas argueth.

To this Lanfrancus argueth againe: If this authoritie had beene giuen to Austin alone, and not to his successors, it had beene but a small gift, proceeding from the apostolike see, to his speciall & familiar friend: especiallie seeing also that Austin in all his life did constitute no bishop of Yorke, neither was there any such bishop to be subiect to him. Againe, we haue priuileges from the apostolike see, which confirme this dignitie in the successors of Austin, in the same see of Douer. Moreouer, all Englishmen thinke it both right and reason, to fetch the direction of well liuing from that place, where first they tooke the sparkle of right beleeuing. Further, whereas you say, that Gregorie might haue confirmed with plaine words the same thing to the successors of Austin, which he gaue vnto him; all that I grant: yet notwithstanding, this is nothing preiudiciall to the see of Canturburie. For, if you know your logike, that which is true in the whole, is also true in the part: and what is true in the more, is also true in the lesse. Now the church of Rome is as the whole, to whom all other churches be as parts therof; and as Homo mankind is Genus the generall, in a certaine respect to all his Indiuidua, to all particular persons, and yet in euery particular person lieth the propertie of the generall: so in like maner, the see of Rome in a certaine respect is the generall and the whole to other churches, and yet in euery particular church is contained the whole fulnesse of the whole christian faith. The church of Rome is greater then all churches; that which is wrought in it ought to worke in the lesse churches also: so that the authoritie of euery chiefe head of the church ought to stand also in them that do succeed; vnlesse there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore, like as the Lord said to all bishops of Rome the same thing which he said to Peter, so Gregorie in like maner said to all the successors of Austin, that which he said to Austin. So thus I conclude; Likewise as the bishop of Canturburie is subiect to Rome, because he had his faith from thence, so Yorke ought to be in subiection to Canturburie, which sent the first preachers thither. Now, whereas you allege that Gregorie would Austin to be resident at London, that is vtterlie vncertaine. For how is it to be thought, that such a disciple would do contrarie to the mind of such a master? But grant (as you say) that Austin remoued to London, what is that to me, which am not bishop of London? Notwithstanding, all this controuersie ceasing betwixt vs, if it shall please you to come to some peaceable composition with me (all contention set apart) you shall find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equitie shall extend.

Lanfrancus replieth.

The dignitie of Canturburie confirmed by priuileges.

Well replied of an Italian.

If this similitude were formed into a sylogisme, neither were the maior true: and specially the minor were vtterlie false.

With these reasons of Lanfranke Thomas gaue ouer, condescending that the first of his prouince should begin at Humber. Whereupon it was then decreed, that Yorke from that time should be subiect to Canturburie in all matters appertaining to the rites and regiment of the catholike church: so that whersoeuer within England, Canturburie should or would hold his councell, the bishop of Yorke should resort thither with his bishops, and be obedient to his decrees canonicall.

Order taken betweene Lanfrancus bishop of Canturburie, and Thomas bishop of Yorke.

Prouided moreouer, that when the bishop of Canturburie should decease, Yorke should repaire to Douer, there to consecrat with others the bishop that should be elect. And if Yorke should decease, his successor should resort to Canturburie, or else

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els where the bishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to receiue his consecration, making his profession there, with an oath of canonicall obedience. Thomas being content withall, Lanfrancus the Italian triumpheth with no small ioy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writing, that the memory thereof might remaine to the posteritie of his successors. But yet that decree did not long stand. For shortly after the same scar so superficially cured, brast out againe. In so much that in the reigne of king Henrie the first, An. Dom. 1121. Thurstinus archbishop of Yorke could not bee compelled to sweare to the archbishop of Canterburie; and yet notwithstanding by the letters of Calixtus the second was consecrated without any profession made to the said bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to history, to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true christianity amongst christian bishops, who inflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honor, that without meere forcement of law no modesty could take place.

Of such like contentions among prelats of the clergie for superioritie, we reade of diuers in old chronicles, as in the historie intituled Chronicon Hirsfeldense, where is declared a bloodie conflict, which twice hapned in the church of Gollaria, betweene Hecelon bishop of Hildesheime, and Wederatus bishop of Fulda, and all for the superior place, who should sit next to the emperor; the emperor himselfe being there present, and loking on them, and yet not able to stay them.

Thus I haue described the troublous contention betweene Lanfrancus & Thomas metropolitan of Yorke in the daies of Alexander, of which controuersie & of the whole discourse thereof, Lanfrancus writeth to pope Alexander, beginning thus:

A letter of Lanfrancus sent to pope Alexander.

Domino totius christianæ religionis summo speculatori Alex. papæ, Lanckfrancus sanctæ Doroberneusis ecclesiæ antistes, debitam cum omni seruitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per vestram autoritatem coactum est, vbi querelæ Thomæ archiepiscopi prolatæ & ventilatæ sunt, allata est ecclesiastica gentis Anglorũ historia, quam Eboracensis ecclesiæ presbyter, & Anglorum doctor composuit: and so forth in a long processe of words which follow. Among which in the middle of the epistle speaking of Douer and Canterburie, he hath these words. *Vrbs námque, quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus, ab ipsius terræ incolis Doroberuia vocabatur, &c.* with many other words in the said epistle, which for breuitie here I ouerpasse.

In the story before of king Egelred was declared about the yeare of our Lord 1016, how the bishoprike of Lindasfarne otherwise named Holy land, in the sloud of Tweed, was translated to Durham: so likewise in the daies of this Lanfrancus archbishop of Canterburie, An. 1076, diuers bishops sees were altred and remoued from townelships to greater cities. As the bishoprike of Selese was remoued to Chichester; out of Cornwall to Excester; from Welles to Bathe; from Shireborne to Salisburie; from Dorcester to Lincolne; from Lichfield to Chester, which bishoprike of Chester, Robert being then bishop, reduced from Chester to Couentrie. Likewise after that in the reigne of William Rufus, An. 1095. Herbert bishop of Thetford from thence reduced the see to Norwich, &c.

Bishops sees translated into England.

As concerning Douer and Canterburie, whether the see was likewise translated from the towne of Douer to the citie of Canterburie in the time of Theodosius: or whither Canturburie by old time had the name of Dorobernia (as the letter of Lanfrancus to pope Alexander aboue mentioned doth pretend) I find it not in histories expressly defined, saue that I read by the words of William being yet duke of Normandie, charging then Harold to make a well of water for the kings vse in the castle of Dorobernia, that the said Dorobernia then was taken for that which we now call Douer; but whether Dorobernia and the citie of Canterburie be both one or diuers, the matter is not great. Notwithstanding this I reade in the epistle of pope Bonifacius to king Ethelbert, as also to Iustinus archbishop. Item, in the epistle of pope Honorius, to bishop Honorius. Item, of pope Vitalianus to Theodorus; of pope Sergius to king Ethelred, Alfred and Adulphus, and to the bishops of England. Likewise of pope Gregorie the third, to the bishops of England. Item, of pope Leo to Athelard archbishop of Canterburie. Of Formosus to the bishops of England, and of pope John to Dunstan, that the name of Dorobernia and of Canterburie indifferently are taken for one matter.

Dorobernia and Canturburie taken both for one.

In this time (and by the procuring of this Lanfrancus) the ninth yeare of this king, a councell was holden at London, where among the acts thereof, these were the principall things concluded.

A councell holden at London, and what were the acts thereof.

First, for the order of sitting, that the archbishop of Yorke should sit on the right hand, and the bishop of London on the left hand: or in the ablence of Yorke, London should haue the right, and Winchester the left hand of the archbishop of Canterburie sitting in councell.

2 The second, that bishops should translate their sees from villages into cities, whereupon those sees aboue named were translated.

3 That monks should haue nothing in proper: and if any so had, he dying vnconfessed, should not be buried in the churchyard.

4 That no clerke or monke of any other diocesse should bee admitted to orders, or reteined without letters commendatorie or testimoniall.

5 That none should speake in the councell except bishops and abbats, without leaue of the archmetropolitans.

6 That none should marrie within the seuenth degree, with any either of his owne kindred or of his wiues departed.

7 That none should either buy or sell any office within the church.

8 That no sorcerie nor any diuination should be vsed or permitted in holy church.

9 That no bishop nor abbat, nor any of the clergie should be at the iudgement of any mans death or dismembring, neither should be any fautor of the said indicants.

Moreouer, in the daies of this Lanfrancus, diuers good bishops of the realme began to take part with priests against the monks, in displacing these out of their churches, and to restore the married priests againe: in so much that Walkelmus bishop of Winchester had placed aboue fortie canons in stead of monks for his part; but this godly enterprise was stopped by stout Lanfranke the Italian Lombard. This lucky prelat sat nineteene yeares, but at his latter end he was not so fauoured of William Rufus, and died for sorrow. Although this Italian Franke being archbishop had little leisure to write, yet something hee thought to doe to set out his famous learning, and wrote a booke against Berengarius, intituling it Opus scintillarum. The old church of Canterburie hee plucked downe and builded vp the new.

Bishops of England about to driue out monks and to place priests againe in their stead.

Opus scintillarium Lanfranci.

After the death of pope Alexander aboue mentioned, next to him followed Hildebrand surnamed Gregorie the seuenth. This Hildebrand as he was a sorcerer, so was he the first and principall cause of all this perturbation that is now and hath beene since his time in the church: by reason that through his example all this ambition, stoutnesse and pride, entred first into the church of Rome, and hath euer since continued. For before Hildebrand came to Rome working there his feats, setting vp and displacing what bishops hee liked, corrupting them with pernicious counsell, and setting them against emperors, vnder pretence of chastitie destroying matrimony, and vnder the title of libertie breaking peace and resisting authoritie: before this (I say) the church of Rome was in some order, and bishops quietly gouerned vnder christian emperors, and also were defended by the same: as Marcellus, Meltiades, and Siluester were subdued, and vnder obedience to Constantinus, An. 340. Siricius to Theodosius, An. 388. Gregorius to Mauricius, An. 600. Hilarius to Iustinian, An. 528. Adrianus and Leo to Carolus Magnus, An. 801. Paschalis and Valentius to Ludouicus Pius, An. 830. Sergius the nine and twentith to Lotharius, An. 840. Benedictus the third and Ioannes the ninth vnto Ludouicus, son of Lotharius An. 856. But against this obedience and subiection Hildebrand first began to spurne, and by his example taught all other bishops to do the like.

Anno 1074

Hildebrandus seu Gregor. 7.

Hildebrand the cause of all this stoutnesse and pride in prelats.

In so much that at length they wrought and brought to passe, to be lawfull for a few curtisans and cardinals (contrarie to ancient ordinance and statutes decretall) to chuse what pope they list, without any consent of the emperor at all. And whereas before it stood in the emperors gift, to giue and to grant bishoprikes, archbishoprikes, benefices and other ecclesiasticall preferments within their owne limits, to whom they list: now the popes through much wrestling, wars, and contention, haue extorted all that into their owne hands, and to their assignes: yea haue plucked in all the riches and power of the whole world; and not content with that, haue vsurped and preuailed so much aboue emperors, that (as before) no pope might bee chosen without the confirmation of the emperor: so now no emperor may bee elected without the confirmation of the pope, taking vpon them more then princes, to place or displace emperors at their pleasure for euery light cause: to put downe, or to set vp when and whom they liked, as Fredericus Primus, for holding the left stirrup of the popes saddle, was persecuted almost to excommunication. The which cause moueth me to straine more diligence here, in setting out the story, acts, and doings of this Hildebrand, from whom, as the first patron and founder sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the Roman church: to the intent, that such as cannot read the Latin histories, may vnderstand in English, the originall of euils; how, and by what occasion they first began, and how long they haue continued.

What popes haue done.

Popes more then princes.

Frederike the first shent for holding the popes left stirrup.

And first how this Hildebrand hitherto had behaued himselfe before he was pope, I haue partly declared. For though he was not yet pope in name, yet hee was then pope in deed, and ruled the pope and all their doings as him liked. Item, what waies and fetches he had attempted euer since his first comming to the court of Rome, to magnifie and maintaine false libertie against true authoritie: what practise he wrought by councels, what factions and conspiracies hee made, in stirring vp popes against emperors, striuing for superioritie: and what warres followed thereof, I haue also expressed. Now let vs see further (by the helpe of Christ) the worthie vertues of this princely prelate, after hee came to bee pope, as they remaine in histories of diuers and sundrie writers described.

Ex Auentino & alijs.

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The tragicall historie of Gregorie the seuenth, *otherwise named Hildebrand.*

Gregorie the seuenth. *Ex Auentino.*

THe words of the Latine historie be these: *Hactenus pontifices Romani in comitijs curiatis calatis à sacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, senatu, &c.* In English.

Hitherto the bishops of Rome haue been elected by voices, and suffrages, of al sorts and degrees, as well of the priests and the clergie, as of the nobilitie, people, and senate, all conuenting and assembling togither. And this election so I find to stand in force, if so be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of Roman emperors, who had authority to cal and to assemble al these, as well as a bishops, togither vnto councels as case required. Under the authority and iurisdiction of these emperors, were contained both in Germany, France, Italie, and through the whole dominion of Rome, all patriarchs, bishops, masters of churches and monasteries by the decrée of councels, according to the old custom of our ancestors, as is declared in a certaine storie in the life of Carolus Magnus. The holy and ancient fathers (like as Christ our Lord with his disciples and apostles both taught and did) honored and esteemed their emperors as the supreme potestate next vnder God in earth, set vp, ordained, elected and crowned of God, aboue all other mortall men, and so counted them, and called them their lords. To them they yéelded tribute and paid their subsidies, also prayed euery day for their life. Such as rebelled against them they woke as rebels and resisters against God his ordinance and christian piety. The name of the emperor then was of great maiesty, and receiued as giuen from God. Then these fathers of the church neuer intermedled nor intangled themselues with politike affaires of the common weale: much lesse they occupied martiall armes and matters of chiualrie. Onely in pouertie and modestie was all their contention with other christians, who should be poorest and most modest among them. And the more humblenes appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceiued of him. The sharpe and two edged sword they woke, giuen to the church of Christ to saue, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, and reuoketh from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortall, immortall. Far were they from that to thrust out any prince or king (though hee were neuer so far out of the way, yea an Arrian) from his kingdome, or to curse him, to releale his subiects from their oath and their allegiance, to change and translate kingdomes, to subuert empires, to pollute themselues with christian blod, or to war with their christian brethren for rule and principalitie. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loued and obeyed their princes. Againe, princes loued them also like fathers and fellow princes with them of the soules of men. Now this Gregorius the seuenth, otherwise named Hildebrandus trusting vpon the Normans which then ruffled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania, trusting also vpon the power of Mathilda, a stout woman there about Rome; and partly againe, bearing himselfe bold for the discord among the Germans: first of all others (contrarie to the maner of elders) contemning the authoritie of the emperor, inuaded the cathedrall sée of Rome, vanting himselfe as hauing both the ecclesiasticall and temporall sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulnesse of power was in his hand to bind and loose what so hee liked. Whereupon thus he presumed to occupie both the regiments, to challenge all the whole dominion both of the east and west church, yea and all power to himselfe alone, abiding none to be equall, much lesse superior vnto him, derogating from others, and arrogating to himselfe their due right and honor, setting at light Cesars, kings and emperors, and who reigned but by his owne godamercie. Bishops and prelats as his vnderlings he kept in awe, suspending and cursing, and chopping off their heads, stirring vp strife and wars, sowing of discord, making factions, releasing oths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subiects to their princes. Yea and if hee had offended or iniured the emperor himselfe, yet notwithstanding hee ought to bee feared, as he himselfe gloryeth in a certaine epistle, as one that could not erre, and had receiued of Christ our sauiour & of Peter, authority to bind and vnbind at his wil & pleasure. Priests then in those daies had wiues openly and lawfully (no law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the déed and writings of thir chapter seales and donations, which were giuen to temples and monasteries, wherein their wiues also bee cited with them for witnesse, and were called Presbyteriſſæ. Also for bishops, prelats, persons of churches, gouernors of the clergie, masters of monasteries, and religious houses; all these were then in those times in the emperors ordination, to assigne by voice or consent to whom hee would. Now these two things Gregorius this pope could not abide; for the which two causes onely was all his striuing and driuing from his first beginning, to abolish the marriage of priests, and to translate the authoritie imperiall to the clergie. For to this scope onely tended all his labour, practises and deuices, as appeared before in the councell of Lateran vnder pope Nicolas, and also in the councell of Mantua vnder Alexander, making their marriage heresie, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himselfe, to condemne ministers that were married for Nicolaitans, and to receiue any spirituall regiment of secular persons for simonie; directing forth his letters vpon the same to Henricus the emperor, to dukes, princes, potestats, tetrarchs: namely, to Berchtoldus, to Rodulphus of Sweuia, to Whelpho, Adalberon, and their wiues. Item, to bishops, archbishops, to priests, and to all the people: in the which letters hee denounceth them to bee no priests, so many as were married, forbidding men to salute them, to talke, to eate, to companie with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Amongst all others, hee directed speciall letters to Otho bishop of Constance, concerning this matter. But Otho perceiuing the vngodly and vnreasonable pretence of Hildebrand, would neither separate them that were married from their wiues, nor yet forbid them to marrie which were vnmarried, &c.

Priests marriage made heresie.

Otho bishop of Constance.

The state and maner of the old church in times past.

Reuerence and obedience in old time giuen to princes.

The maner and vertue of the forefathers described.

The ambitious presumption of Hildebrand.

Ex Auentino, qui inuenit in instrumentis donationum.

Priests wiues called *Presbyteriſſæ*, in old chapter seales.

Hildebrand a mortall enemie against priests marriage.

The copie of the letter of Hildebrand sent to the bishop of *Constance against priests mariages.*

GRegorie bishop, seruant of seruants of God, to the clergy & laitie, both more and lesse within the dioceſie of Constance, saluation and benediction. Wee haue directed to our brother Otho your bishop, our letters exhortatorie: wherein we inioyned him, according to the necessitie of our dutie, by the authoritie apostolicall, that hee should vtterly abolish out of his church the heresie of simonie, and also should cause with all diligence to be preached the chastitie of priests. But hee neither moued with reuerence of S. Peters precept, nor yet with the regard of his dutie, neglected to doe these things, whereunto we so fatherly haue exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done cleane contrarie to our commandement (yea rather the commandement of blessed S. Peter) so that hee hath permitted his clergie not onely such as had wiues, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take vnto them. Whereupon, we being truly informed therof, and greeued therwith, haue directed to him another letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which letters also wee haue cited him vp to our councell at Rome, there to appeare and giue account of his disobedience, in the audience of the whole synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signifie this to you (our deare children) wherby in this behalfe we might the better prouide for your health and saluation. For if your bishop shal continue so obstinatly to repugne & resist against our commandement, he is not meet to sit ouer you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to blessed S. Peter, by our apostolicall authoritie, that if this your bishop shall persist in his obstinacie, you that be his subiects hereafter giue to him no seruice nor obedience. For the which thing doing, wee here discharge you before God and your soules. For if your bishop shall seeme contrarie to the decreements and iniunctions apostolicall, wee through the apostolicall authoritie of S. Peter, discharge and absolue you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworne to him, so long as hee is a rebell against God and the apostolike seat, we loose you from the peril of your oath, that you shal not need to feare therein any danger, &c.

Otho cited to appeare for suffering priests with their lawfull wiues.

The pope dispenseth for disobedience.

Otho bishop of Constance thus being cited, whether he did appeare personally himselfe, I doe not read. Thus I read and find, that in the said councell holden at Rome, Hildebrand with other bishops of Rome did then enact among many others, these three things most spectall. First, that no priest hereafter should marrie wiues. Secondly, that all such as were married should be diuorced. Thirdly, that none hereafter should bee admitted to the order of priesthood, but should sweare perpetuall chastitie, &c. This councell of Rome being ended, forthwith the act of Hildebrand concerning the single life of priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and strait commandement giuen to bishops to execute the same.

Three things enacted by Hildebrand. Here commeth in the vow of chastitie.

The copie of his bull sent into Italie and *Germanie was this.*

GRegorie the pope, otherwise Hildebrand, the seruant of the seruants of God, sendeth the apostles blessing to all them within the kingdomes of Italie and Germany that shew their true obedience to S. Peter. If there be any priests, deacons and subdeacons, that still will remaine in the sinne of fornication, we forbid them the churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of S. Peter, till time they amend and repent. But if they perseuere in their sin, wee charge that none of you presume to heare their seruice: for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their praier into sinne, as the Lord doth testifie to vs by his prophets, I will turne your blessing, &c.

The bishops of France being called vpon daily with the popes letters, were compelled to obey the decrée of the councell; but the residue of the clergie manfully and stoutly withstanding the popes decrée, & inforcement of their bishops, would not agrée, but repined thereat & said, that the councell did manifestly

The clergie of France repugning for diuorcing from their wiues.

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flatly repugne against the word of God, and that the pope did take from priests that which both God and nature had giuen them; and therefore that person to be an heretike, and author of a wicked doctrine, which ruled and gouerned not by the spirit of God but by Satan. The decree and act set forth to tend directly against the word of God and the saying of Christ: Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc: All men haue not the gift and capacitie of the word. Item, to be against the sound doctrine of S. Paul writing these words: As concerning virginitie, I haue no commandement of the Lord, &c. Againe, Hee that cannot otherwise liue continently, let him marrie. Item, that it was against the canons both of the apostles and of Nicen councell. Moreouer, that it was against the course of nature which hee required, that men being sequestred from their naturall wiues and women, should be coacted to liue as angels: that is, to performe that which nature doth not giue. And therefore the bishop therein did open a pernicious window to vncleannesse and to fornication. In summe, giuing vp their answere, thus they concluded, that they had rather giue vp their benefices, then to forsake their naturall and lawfull wiues against the word of Christ. And finally, if married priests could not please them, they should call downe angels from heauen to serue the churches. But Hildebrand nothing moued neither with honest reason, nor with the authoritie of holy scripture, nor with the determination of Nicen councell, nor any thing else, followeth this matter; calleth vpon the bishops still, with his letters and legats doth solicitate their minds, accuseth them of negligence and dastardnesse, threatneth them with excommunication, vnlesse they cause their priests to obey his decree inioyned them. Whereupon a great number of bishops for feare of the popes tyrannie, laboured the matter with their priests, by all meanes possible to bereaue them of their accustomed matrimonie.

Bishop of Mentz. *Ex Lambeito Scafnaburgen. in hist. Germanorum.*

Amongst other the archbishop of Mentz, perceiuing this act of taking away priests mariage, might breed him no little trouble; talketh with his clergie gentlie, admonitheth them of the popes mind and decree, and giueth them halfe a yeares respit to deliberate vpon the case, exhorting them diligently to shew themselues obedient to the pope and to him, and to grant with good will that which at length (will they nill they) needs they must be forced vnto, and therefore of their owne accord to stand content therewith, lest the pope should bee compelled to attempt waies of sharper seueritie. The time of deliberation expired, the archbishop assembleth his clergie at Erpsford, the moneth of October, & there willeth then according to the pontificall decree, either to abiure for euer all matrimonie, or else to renounce their benefices and ecclesiasticall liuings. The clergie againe defend themselues against the popes decree with scriptures, with reason, with the acts of generall councels, with examples of ancestors by diuers strong arguments, declaring the popes decree not to be consonant, nor ought to take effect. But the archbishop said he was compelled so of the pope, and could not otherwise doe, but to execute that which was inioyned him.

The priests of Germanie stout against the popes vnlawfull proceedings.

The clergie seeing that no reason, nor prayer, nor disputation would serue, laid their heads together, consulting among themselues what was best to be done: some gaue counsell not to returne againe to the synod, some thought it good to returne and to thrust out the archbishop from his see, and to giue him due punishment of death for his deseruing, that by the example of him, others may be warned hereafter neuer to attempt that thing any more to the prejudice of the church, and the rightfull libertie of ministers. After that this was signified to the archbishop by certaine spies that were amongst them, what the clergie intended to do, the archbishop to preuent and salue the matter, sendeth to the priests as they were comming out, certaine messengers, bidding them be of good hope, & to returne againe to the metropolitan, and they should haue that should content their minds. So being perswaded, they come againe to the councell. The bishop promiseth he would doe his indeauor what hee could, to reuoke and turne the mind of the bishop of Rome from that sentence, willing them in the meane time to continue as they had done in their cure & ministerie. The next yeare following, Hildebrand the souldier of Satan sendeth his legat (a certaine bishop called Curiensis) vnto the archbishop of Mentz, and assembled there a councell. In the which councell the archbishop againe propoleth the matter, commanding all the clergie vnder paine of the popes curse, there perpetually either to abrenounce their wiues, or their liuings. The clergie defended their cause againe with great constancie. But when no defension could take place, but all went by tyrannie & meere extortion, it burst in the end to an vprore and tumult, where the legat and the archbishop being in great danger, hardly escaped with their liues, and so the councell brake vp. By this schisme and tumult it followed, that the churches after that in chusing their priests would not send them to the bishops (the enemies and suppressors of matrimonie) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themselues, and so put them in their office without all leaue or knowledge of the bishops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no priests, but such as should take an oth of perpetuall singlenesse, neuer to marrie after. And thus first came vp the oth and profession of single

Single priesthood how it began.

priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other nations had followed the like constancie and concord of those Germane ministers, the diuelish drift and decree of this Hildebrand (or rather Helbrand) had been frustrat and auoided. But this greedinesse of liuings in weake priests made them to yeeld vp their godly libertie to wicked tyrannie. Yet this remaineth in these Germans to bee noted, what concord can doe in repressing the vnordinate requests of euill bishops if they constantly stand to truth, and hold together. And thus much for banishing of matrimonie. Now let vs proceed to the contents betweene wicked Hildebrand and the godly emperor. But before by the way of digression it shall not be much wide from the purpose, to touch a little of the properties of this pope, as we find them described in certaine epistles of Benno a cardinall, writing to other cardinals of Rome: which Benno liued in the same time of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monstrous pope.

Examples of concord in priests and ministers.

Firſt, declaring that he was a sorcerer most notable, and a necromancer, an old companion of Siluester, of Laurentius and Theophylactus, called otherwise Benedictus nonus. Amongst others Benno Cardinalis writeth this history of him: How vpon a certaine time this Gregorius, comming from Albanus to Rome, had forgot behind him his familiar booke of necromancie, which he was wont commonly to carrie alwaies with him. Whereupon remembring himselfe, entring the port of Lateran, he calleth two of his most trustie familiars to fet the booke, charging them at no hand to looke within it. But they being so restrained, were the more desirous to open it, & to peruse it, and so did. After they had read a little the secrets of the satanicall booke, suddenly there came about them the messengers of Satan, the multitude and terror of whom made them almost out of their wits. At length they comming to themselues, the spirits were instant vpon them to know wherefore they were called vp, wherefore they were vexed: quickly (said they) tell vs what ye would vs to doe, or else we will fall vpon you if ye retaine vs longer. Then spake one of the yong men to them, bidding them goe and plucke downe yonder wals, pointing vnto certaine high wals there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The yong men crossing them for feare of the spirits (scarce recouering themselues) at length came to their master. And it followeth moreouer in the epistle of the said Benno to the cardinals.

Ex Benno cardinali.

Pope Hildebrand forsaken of diuers of his cardinals.

We haue made mention to you before of diuers colleges of the church of Rome, which refused to communicate with him; as Leo then archpriest of the cardinals, Benno, Vgobaldus, Iohannes the cardinall, Peter chancellor and cardinall, being all instituted before this Hildebrand. These three also being consecrated by him, that is, Natro, Innocentius and Leo, forlooke him, cursing the detestable errors which hee held. In like case Theodinus whom hee constituted archdeacon, and other cardinals more, Iohannes surnamed Primicerius, Petrus Oblationarius, with all that appertained to them, sauing one onely man. And now, when this Hildebrand saw that the bishops also would forsake him, hee called vnto him the laie men, and made them priuie of his counsell, thinking thereby to separate the bishops, that they should haue no conference with the cardinals. After that he called together those bishops, and being garded with bands of laie men, hee inforced the bishops partly for feare, and partly for his menacing words, to sweare vnto him, that they should neuer disagree vnto that which hee would haue done, that they should neuer defend the kings quarrell, and that they should neuer fauour or obey the pope that should in his stead be instituted. Which thing being done, he sent them by meanes of the prince of Salernites, into Campania, and thus did he separate them from the companie of the cardinals, and from the citie of Rome. And not onely the bishops, but also the priests of the citie and clerks of inferior orders, as also the laie men he bound by their oaths, that at no time nor for any cause, they should condescend vnto the king.

Pope Hildebrand compelleth the bishops and priests of Rome to sweare vnto him.

As soone as pope Alexander was dead, which died somwhat before night, the same day contrarie to the canons, he was chosen pope of the lay men. But the cardinals subscribed not to his election. For the canons prescribe (vnder paine of cursing) that none should be chosen pope before the third day after the buriall of his predecessor. But he (by sinister meanes thus climing to the see) remoued the cardinals of the said see, from being of the councell. But with what persons hee consulted night and day, Rome well heard and saw. And hee now putting the cardinals from his councell, his life, faith and doctrine, no man could accuse or beare witnesse of: whereas in the canons is commanded, that in euery place wheresoeuer the pope is, should be with him three cardinals being priests, and two deacons, because of his ecclesiasticall testimonie and stile of veritie: of which canonicall decree looke gentle reader before. He violently wrested the sacred scriptures to couer his falshood, which kind of idolatrie how great it is, manifestly throughout all the scripture it appeareth. Contrarie to the minds and counsell of the cardinals, and besides the determinate order of pronouncing iudgement by the canons, he rashly did excommunicate the emperor, being in no synod solemnly accused before. The sentence of which excommunication, after rehearsall of these presents, shall also bee manifested (Christ willing)

Pope Hildebrand vnorderly made pope.

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The emperor wrongfully excommunicated.

willing) to the which excommunication, ſaith Benno, none of the cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſoone as he aroſe out of his ſeat papal, to excommunicate the emperor, the ſame ſeate (being made but a little before with big timber) ſuddenly by the appointment of God was rent and ſhiuered in pieces: ſo that all men might plainely vnderſtand, what and how great and terrible ſchiſms that lubber had ſowen againſt the church of Chriſt, againſt the ſeate of S. Peter, and how cruelly he had diſperſed the chaire of Chriſt, in defiling the lawes of the church, ruling by might and auſteritie in that his ſo perillous and preſumptuous excommunication.

The popes chaire brake vnder him as he roſe to excommunicate the emperor.

The pope diuideth the vnitie of the church.

In the deſcription of the ſame excommunication hee inſerteth thoſe things wherein he himſelfe erred, when hee abſolued the emperor being vniuſtly excommunicat, and the biſhops alſo communicating with him, and to the vttermoſt thus cutting and mangling the vnitie of the church & thoſe that communicated with the, did as much as in him lay to make two churches.

Alſo the ſame bold merchant commanded that the cardinals ſhould faſt, to the intent that God would reueale whoſe opinion was better (either of the church of Rome, or of Berengarius) touching the controuerſie of the Lords body in the ſacrament. And hereby he proued himſelfe to be a manifeſt infidell, for that in the Nicen councell it is written, he that doubteth is an infidell.

Of this miracle we read in no approued hiſtorie.

Further, he ſought after a ſigne to eſtabliſh his faith concerning the article of the Lords bodie, as did Gregorie to confirme the womans faith, when the conſecrated bread was tranſubſtantiated into the forme of a fleſhly finger. He alſo ſent two cardinals (Attones and Cunones) vnto Anaſtaſe; that with the archprieſt of the ſame church they ſhould begin a faſt of three daies ſpace, and that euery of them (euery day during thoſe three daies) ſhuld ſay ouer the pſalter, & ſing maſſes, that Chriſt would ſhew vnto them ſome ſuch like ſigne of his bodie, as he did to the foreſaid Gregorie; which thing they could not ſee.

The pope hireth one to ſlay the emperor.

The emperor was wont oftentimes to go to S. Maries church in the mount Auentine to pray. Hildebrand when hee had by his eſpials ſearched out and knew all the doings of the emperor, cauſed the place where the emperor was accuſtomed (either ſtanding or proſtrate on his face to pray) to be marked, and for money he hired a naughtiepacke (like himſelfe) to gather and lay togither a heape of great ſtones directly ouer the place in the vaut of the church, where the emperor would ſtand, that in throwing the ſame downe vpon his head, he ſhould ſlay the emperour. About which purpoſe as the hireling haſted, and was buſie, remouing to the place a ſtone of great hugeneſſe and weight, it broke the planke wheron it lay, and the hireling ſtanding thereupon, both togither fell downe from the roofe to the pauement of the church, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in pieces. And after the Romans had vnderſtanding of the handling of this matter, they faſtened a rope to one of the feet of this hireling, and cauſed him to bee drawne through the ſtreets of the citie three daies together in example to others. The emperor notwithſtanding, according to his wonted clemencie, cauſed him to be buried.

Iohannes biſhop of Portua (being one of the ſecret counſell of Hildebrand) came vp into the pulpit of S. Peter, and amongſt other things in the hearing both of the clergy and people, ſaid: Hildebrand and wee haue committed ſuch a fact and ſo horrible, for the which we are all worthie to be burne : aliue (meaning of the ſacrament of the bodie of Chriſt) which ſacrament, Hildebrand when he thereof inquired a diuine anſwere againſt the emperor and would not ſpeake, threw into the fire & burned it, contrarie to the perſuaſion of the cardinals that were preſent, and would haue reſiſted the ſame.

Hildebrand caſteth the ſacrament of the lords body in the fire, becauſe it would giue him no anſwere.

In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter weeke, when the clergie and the people were aſſembled at S. Peters church to heare maſſe, after the goſpell he went vp into the pulpit as hee was in his pontificall attire, and in the preſence of diuers biſhops and cardinals (a great company both of the ſenate and the people of Rome being gathered together) openly preached (among many other words of diuination) that the king whoſe name was Henrie, ſhould die (without all peraduenture) before the feaſt of S. Peter next inſuing: or elſe at leaſtwiſe that he ſhould be ſo deiected from his kingdome, that hee ſhould not bee able any more to gather together aboue the number of ſix knights. This he preached to the biſhops and cardinals, and all that were preſent, crying out of the pulpit in theſe words: Neuer accept me for pope any more, but plucke me from the altar if this propheſie be not fulfilled by the day appointed. About the ſame time he went about by helpe of priuie murtherers to kill the emperor, but God preſerued him. And many there were euen at that time which thought pope Hildebrand to be guilty, & to be the deuiſer of the treaſon, becauſe that then he (before the deed put in execution) preſumed of the death of the king, being by him falſly prophecied of before; which words of his wounded many mens hearts. And it came to paſſe that Hildebrand by his words was openly condemned in the congregation, which (as is ſaid) gaue iudgement of himſelfe to be no pope, neither that he would be counted for pope any longer; but thought to bee both a belier and a traitor, vnleſſe that before the feaſt of S. Peter next comming the emperor ſhould die, or elſe ſhould be depriued of all kingly honor, in ſo much as he ſhould not be able to make aboue ſix knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to paſſe, that by his owne mouth hee was condemned for an heretike.

The pope a falſe prophet.

The pope ſeeketh againe to murther the emperor.

The pope by his owne mouth condemned for an heretike.

Thus ſaith the Lord: the prophet which of arrogancie will propheſie in my name thoſe things I haue not commanded him, or elſe will propheſie in the name of other gods, let him bee ſlaine. And if thou ſhalt ſay with thy ſelfe, How ſhall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou haue to know it by: Whatſoeuer thing the prophet in the name of God ſhall propheſie, and the ſame come not to paſſe, that maieſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath imagined through the hautines of his own mind, & therfore thou ſhalt not be afraid of him.

The emperor preſerued by the power of God from the pope.

When the time was expired that Hildebrand in his diuination had ſet, & that neither the king was dead, neither the power of the empire empaired: and fearing leſt by the words of his owne mouth he ſhould be reprehended & condemned, ſubtilly hee turned his tale, ſaying, and perſuading the ignorant people that he ment not of the body of the king but of his ſoule: as though the ſoule of the king had loſt all, ſauing ſix of his knights or ſouldiers, or elſe had been dead during that ſpace: and thus by theſe ſleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Againſt ſuch peophets S. Gregory vpon Ezechiel ſaith: Between true prophets and falſe this difference there is, that true prophets, if they ſpeake any thing vpon their owne mind, they be ſoone rebuked: but the falſe prophets, both they tell lies, and not hauing the ſpirit of truth, they perſeuere in their falſitie.

A ſubtill ſhift of Hildebrand to ſaue his lying propheſie.

Three perſons before they were conuict, put to execution by Hildebrand againſt all law.

Ouer and beſide, the ſaid Hildebrand iudged to death three men before they were conuict, or elſe confeſſed their crime, without the ſentence of any ſecular iudge, and cauſed them to be hanged vpon a paire of gallowes, ouer againſt the church of S. Peter in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or aduiſement, contrarie to the lawes which command that euery publike offender ſhould haue thirtie daies ſpace before hee bee put to execution. Which thing euen amongſt the pagans is in vre and obſerued, as teacheth the authoritie of S. Ambroſe, and the martyrdome of holy Marcellianus and Marcus.

Centius taken by the pope, and put into a barrell of nailes.

The pope taken of Centius.

Centius executed by the pope contrary to promiſe and faith.

He caſt Centius the ſonne of Stephan the alderman into priſon, being before his truſtie friend; and in a veſſell being thicke ſet with ſharpe nailes, he tormented him to the point of death, who after that he was eſcaped, apprehended the ſaid Hildebrand. Of this apprehenſion before he was ſet at libertie, he openly forgaue all the conſpirators. Which thing afterwards, contrarie to his fidelity, he brake and reuenged, & cauſed Centius to whom he had forgiuen all offences, to be taken, & hanged him & nine of his mē vpon the gallowes before S. Peters porch.

The villanie of the pope in killing a widowes ſonne which before had done his penance.

There was at the apprehenſion of pope Hildebrand, a certaine widowes ſonne, to whom (and others more for their penance) hee inioyned a yeares baniſhment. Which time being expleat or run out, the widow in token of more ample ſatisfaction, thinking thereby to haue appeaſed the minde of Hildebrand, put a halter about hir ſons necke, and drawing hir ſonne by the rope vnto the foot of Hildebrand, ſaid: My lord pope at your hands will I receiue againe my ſon, which one whole yere hath indured baniſhment and other penance by your holineſſe inioyned. Then the ſaid Hildebrand for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with him in companie (diſſembling his wrath) deliuered hir hir ſonne very churliſhly, ſaying: Get thee hence woman I bid thee, and let me be in reſt. After this he ſent his officers and apprehended the widowes ſon, and gaue commandement to the iuſtices to put him to death: who all together making anſwere, ſaid, that they could no more condemne or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed appealed once to the pope, and abidden the baniſhment, and done the penance by him inioyned. Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand diſpleaſed with the iudges, cauſed the foot of the widowes ſon to be cut off: making neither repentance, nor the lawes and ordinances to bee of any eſtimation with him: and thus his foot being cut off, he died within three daies after with the paine therof. Many other wicked deeds did this Hildebrand, vpon whom the blood of the church crieth vengeance, ſhed by the ſword (that is) the miſerable trecherie of his tongue: for which things (and that iuſtly) the church refuſed to communicate with him. *Hæc Benno.*

An other epiſtle of Benno to the cardinals.

An other letter of Benno.

TO the reuerend fathers of the church of Rome, and to his beloued in Chriſt, and to his brethren that ſhall for euer be beloued, Benno the cardinall of the church of Rome wiſheth faithfull ſeruice, health and communion with the ſeruants of the catholike church. Of the which communion, diſcipline, and power he vainely braggeth, that by the preſumption of his authority ſhall vniuſtly bind or loſe any maner of perſon. And he doth vniuſtly bind whatſoeuer he be, that curſeth any man (being willing to make ſatisfaction and bewailing his boldneſſe, being alſo vnconuict, and not confeſſing the crime) but rather curſing that partie in vaine, hee curſeth and condemneth himſelfe, turning his weapon vpon his owne perſon to his deſtruction. O ſtrange and new found trecherie proceeding from the ſanctuarie, nay rather from him which as high prieſt ſeemeth to rule the church, and to be a iudge ouer the iudges!

Hilde-

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A diuelliſh practiſe of Hildebrand in ſetting the biſhops againſt the emperor.

Hildebrand was earneſtly in hand with the emperor, that he ſhould depriue thoſe biſhops, which came in by ſimonie. The emperor (thinking as a zealous prince, that this commiſſion had proceeded from the throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith without any conſideration, or iudiciall order, depriued certaine biſhops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand he offered an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not knowing the craftie handling of him. But Hildebrand then againe placed thoſe, whom the emperor for ſimony at his commandement had before depoſed, and thoſe whom by that meanes he made to beare a hatefull heart to the emperor, he reconciled againe vnto himſelfe in great familiaritie, and by many and great othes taken of them, for their fidelitie towards him, he promoted aboue all the reſt. And thus by theſe pranks, the imperiall ſeate of the king being ſhortly after impaired, and deſtitute almoſt of friends, hee craftilie purchaſing the friendſhip and fauor of the greateſt princes, the better to bring his matters to paſſe: ſuddenly againe, without any lawfull acculation, without any canonicall vocation, without all iudiciall order, excommunicated the emperor (ſo obedient alwaies vnto him) and ſet the princes of the empire all againſt him. And notwithſtanding (as the apoſtle ſaith) that no man ought to circumuent his brother in his buſineſſe, as much as in him lay he rather mortified and killed him, then brotherly corrected him. Thus the emperor being many waies circumuented: as, excommunicated beſides the canonicall order, and by the conſent and counſell of Hildebrand, ſpoiled of the greateſt part of his imperiall honor, and ouercharged with great warres and ſlaughters of his owne ſubiects, in vaine deſired hee and ſued for to haue the canon read and heard, cauſing him by force and violence at Canuſium, in the preſence of Hildebrand, to accuſe himſelfe by his owne confeſſion.

The emperor cauſed by Hildebrand to accuſe himſelfe.

Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as loue iuſtice, and loue not to leane either vpon the left hand, or elſe the right hand, in the fauor of any perſon; ſay your minds, whether that ſuch a confeſſion being forced vpon neuer ſo poore a man (much leſſe vpon an emperor) ought at ſuch a time to be preiudiciall or not? Or whether he which extorted the ſame confeſſion, is guiltie of the canon? Or elſe he, which being ſo peruerſlie iudged, ſuffered the iniurie of a moſt peruerſe iudge? Which alſo moſt patiently & publikely ſuffered this violence with lamentable affliction vpon his bare feet, clothed in thin garments, in the ſharpe winter, which neuer was vſed, and was three daies togither at Canuſium, made a ſpectacle both of angels and men, and a ludibrious mocking ſtocke to that proud Hildebrand. Neuer truſt me, if that fouretéen cardinals, the archdeacon himſelfe, and he that is called Primicerius, being all wiſe and religious men, beſides many other of the clerks of Lateran, to the iudgement and priuiledge of whole holy ſeate the whole world is obedient (weighing and conſidering his intollerable apoſtaſie) departed not from participating, and refuſed from communicating with him.

The great patience of the godly emperor.

This glorious Hildebrand, and his affinitie by their newe authoritie, breaking the decrées of the Chalcedon councell, not onely in words, but alſo in publike writings haue agréed, that it is tollerable both to baptiſe and communicat being out of the church of God: and how blind theſe men were, and alſo what heretiks they be, their owne writings doe declare. What a miſchiefe is this? (ſaith Benno) they preſume to iudge of the church, which ſwarme themſelues in all errors, who alſo eſtéeme the veritie but as a lie; and leſt their poyſoned falſhood both in words and writings ſhould appeare, they haue (like ſubtill poyſoners, the ſoner to deceiue) mired honie therewithall. A lie, ſaith ſaint Auguſtine, is euery thing pronounced with the intent of deceiuing of others.

Mendacium quid.

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doings, and diabolicall practiſes, of coniurings, charmes, and filthie ſorceries, exercciſed betweene him and Laurentius, and Theophylact, otherwiſe named pope Benedict the ninth, whereof a long narration followeth in the foreſaid epiſtle of Benno to the cardinals to be ſéene, to whom the reader may repaire, who ſo hath either leiſure to read or mind to vnderſtand more of the abominable parts and diuelliſh acts of this Hildebrand.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of ſorcerie and coniuring.

Thus hauing ſufficiently alleaged the words and teſtimonies of Benno and Auentinus, concerning the acts and facts of this pope; now let vs procéede (in the order as followeth in his ſtorie) to ſet forth the miſerable veration which the vertuous and godly emperor ſuſteined by that vngodly perſon.

Henricus 4. emperor.

About what time Hildebrand was made pope, Henricus the fourth emperor was incumbred and much vered with ciuill diſſention in Germanie, by reaſon of certaine grieuances of the Saxons againſt him and his father Henricus the third. Wherupon the matter growing to ſedition, ſides were taken, and great warres enſued, betwixt Otho duke of Saxonie, and Henricus the emperor. This buſie time ſéemed to Hildebrand very opportune to worke his feats, whoſe ſtudie and drift was euer from the beginning to aduance the dominion of the Romiſh ſeat aboue all other biſhops, and alſo to preſſe downe the authoritie of the temporall rulers, vnder the ſpirituall men of the church. And although he went about the ſame long before, by ſubtill traines and acts ſet forth concerning ſimonie: yet now he thought more effectuouſlie to accompliſh his purpoſed intent, after ỹ he was exalted thither, where he would be. And therefore now bearing himſelfe the bolder, by the authoritie of ſaint Peters throne, firſt he began to purſue the act ſet out by his predeceſſor, as touching ſimonie, curſing and excommunicating, whoſoeuer they were, that receiued any ſpirituall liuing or promotion at laie mens hands, as all ſuch as were the giuers thereof. For this he called then ſimonie, that vnder that colour he might defeate the temporall poteſtates of their right, and ſo bring the whole clergie at length to the lure of Rome. And forſomuch as the emperor was the head, thinking firſt to begin with him, he ſendeth for him by letters and legats to appeare in the councell of Lateran at Rome. But the emperor buſied in his wars againſt the Saxons, had no leiſure to attend to councels. Notwithſtanding Gregorius the pope proceédeth in his councell, rendring there the cauſe and reaſon before the biſhops, why he had excommunicate diuers of the clergie, as Herman biſhop of Bamberge, counſellor to the emperor, and other prieſts more for ſimony. And there moreouer in the ſaid councell, he threatneth to excommunicate likewiſe the emperor himſelfe, and to depoſe him from his regall kingdome, vnleſſe he would abrenounce the hereſie of ſimonie, and doe penance. The councell being ended, Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauenna perſuaded with one Centius (a Romane, the captaines ſonne, whom the pope had excommunicated) to take the emperors part againſt the pope: who watching his time in the temple of ſaint Marie, vpon Chriſtmaſſe day in the morning, taketh the pope and putteth him faſt in a ſtrong tower. The next day the people of Rome hearing this, harneſſe themſelues with all expedition to helpe the biſhop, whom when they loſed out of priſon, they beſieged the houſe of Centius, and pluckt it downe to the ground; his familie hauing their noſes cut off, were call out of the citie; Centius himſelfe eſcaping fled to the emperor. Guibert the archbiſhop pretending good will to the pope, departed from Rome, who likewiſe had wrought with Hugo Candidus cardinall, and with Theobaldus archbiſhop of Millain, alſo with diuers other biſhops about Italie, to forſake the pope and take the emperors part. Gregorie the pope, called Hildebrand, hearing the conſpiracie, layeth the ſentence of excommunication vpon them all, and depriueth them of their dignitie. The emperor being moued (not vnworthilie) with the arrogant preſumption of the proud prelat, called togither a councell at Wormes. In which councell all the biſhops not onely of Saxonie, but of all the whole empire of Germaines, agrée and conclude vpon the depoſition of Hildebrand, and that no obedience hereafter ſhould be giuen to him. This being determined in the councell, Roulandus a prieſt of Parmen was ſent to Rome with the ſentence, who in the name of the councell ſhould command Gregorie to yéeld vp his ſeate, and alſo charge the cardinals to reſort to the emperor for a new election of another pope. The tenor of the ſentence ſent by Roulandus was this.

Much boaſt made of Peters throne, but his life they let alone.

Hermannus excommunicate of Hildebrand.

Centius.

Hildebrand caſt in the tower.

Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauenna.

The ſentence of the councell of Wormes againſt Hildebrand.

The councell of Wormes againſt the pope.

Forſomuch as thy firſt ingreſſe and comming in hath beene ſo ſpotted with ſo manie periuries, and alſo the church of God brought in no little danger through thine abuſe and newfanglenes: moreouer, becauſe thou haſt defamed thine owne life and conuerſation, with ſo much and great diſhoneſtie, that we ſee no little perill or ſlander to riſe thereof: therefore the obedience which yet we neuer promiſed thee, hereafter we vtterlie renounce, and neuer intend to giue thee. And as thou haſt neither taken vs yet for biſhops (as thou haſt openly reported of vs) ſo neither will we hereafter take thee to be apoſtolike.

Vale.

Gregorie the pope tickled with this ſentence, firſt condemneth it in his councell of Lateran with excommunication. Secondarilie, depriueth Sigifridus archbiſhop of Mentz of his dignities, and eccleſiaſticall liuings, with all other biſhops, abbats and prieſts, as many as tooke the emperors part. Thirdly, accuſeth Henricus the emperor himſelfe, depriueth him of his kingdome and regall poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all his ſubiects of their oth of allegiance giuen vnto him, after this forme and maner.

The councell of Rome againſt the councell of Wormes.

Henricus the emperor excommunicated by Hildebrand.

The tenor of the ſentence excommunicatorie againſt Henricus the emperor, by Hildebrand.

Ex Platina.

O Bleſſed S. Peter prince of the apoſtles, bow downe thine eares I beſeech thee, and heare me thy ſeruant, whom thou haſt brought vp euen from mine infancie, and haſt deliuered me vntill this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and perſecute me, becauſe of my faith in thee. Thou art my witneſſe, & alſo the bleſſed mother of Ieſu Chriſt, & thy brother S. Paul, fellow partner of thy martyrdome, how that I entred this function (not willingly) but inforced againſt my will: not that I take it ſo as a robberie, lawfullie to aſcend into this ſeate: but becauſe that I had rather paſſe ouer my life, like a pilgrime

Marke this ye papiſts that ſay the pope cannot erre.

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The pope threatneth kindnesse of S. Peter.

or priuate person, then for any fame or glorie to climbe vp to it. I doe acknowledge (and that worthilie) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge ouer christian people, and this power of binding and loosing is committed to me. Wherfore, trusting vpon this assurance for the dignitie and tuition of holy church in the name of God omnipotent, the father, the sonne, and the Holy ghost, I doe here depose Henrie the sonne of Henrie once the emperor, from his imperiall seat, and princely gouernment, who hath so boldy and presumptuouslie laid hands vpon thy church. And furthermore, all such as to fore haue sworne to be his subiects, I release them of their oth, whereby all subiects are bound to the allegiance of their princes. For it is meet and conuenient that he should be void of dignitie, which seeketh to diminish the maiestie of thy church. Moreouer, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his people; and hath separate himselfe from the fellowship of the church (which he, through his seditions, studieth to destroy) therfore I bind him by vertue of excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainely, that thou art Peter (in the rocke of whom as in the true foundation Christ) our king hath built his church.

Quis tulerit Gracos de seditione querentes? Iuuen.

The emperor thus assaulted with the popes censure, seeth abrode his letters throw all nations, to purge himselfe, declaring how wrongfully, and against all right hee was condemned. The princes of Almanie partly fearing the cracke of the popes thunderclap, partly againe reioycing that occasion was renewed to rebell against the emperor, assembled a commensement, where they did consult and so conclude, to elect another emperor, and to fall from Henrie, vnlesse the pope would come to Germany, and hee there content to submit himselfe and obtaine his pardon.

The Saxons take the popes part against the emperor.

Wherein is to be considered the lamentable affections of the Germans in those daies, so to forsake such a valiant emperor, and so much to repute a vile bishop. But this was the rudenesse of the world then, for lacke of better knowledge. The emperor seeing the chiefe princes readie to forsake him, promiseth them with an oth, that if the pope would repaire to Germany, he would aske forgiuenesse.

Upon this the bishop of Tricts was sent vp in commission to Rome, to intreate the pope to come into Germanie. The bishop (at the instance of the legat and of the princes) was content. He entred into Germanie, thinking to come to Augusta. After he was come to Vercellos (the bishop of that citie being the chancellor of Italie, and desirous to disturbe peace for the old grudge he had to the emperor) falslie persuadeth with the pope, that he was certaine the emperor was comming with a mightie great armie against him, counselling him therefore to prouide betimes for his owne safegard in some stronger place. Wherby the popes mind being altered, he retired backe to Canusium or Canollus, a citie being subiect to Matilda, a countesse of Italie, where he should not need to feare the emperor.

Peace disturbed through wicked counsell.

Henricus vnderstanding the false feare of the pope, and of his retire to Canusium, incontinent (comming out of Spires with his wife and his yong sonne, in the deepe and sharpe of winter) resorteth to Canollus. All his peeres and nobles had left him for feare of the popes curse, neither did any accompanie him. Wherefore the emperor, being not a little troubled (laying apart his regall ornaments) came barefooted with his wife and child to the gate of Canollus, where he from morning to night (all the day fasting) most humblie desireth absolution, craning to be let in, to the speech of the bishop. But no ingresse might be giuen him once within the gates. Thus he continuing three daies togither in his petition and sute; at length answere came, that the popes maiestie had yet no leisure to talke with him. The emperor nothing moued therwith, that he was noe let into the citie, patient and with an humble mind abideth without the wals, with no little grieuance and painefull labor, for it was a sharpe winter, and all frosen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate sute, at length it was granted through the intreating of Matilda ye popes paramor, and of Arelaus earle of Sebaudia, and the abbat of Cluniake, that he should be admitted to the popes speech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, hee yeeldeth to the popes hands his crowne, with all other ornaments imperiall: and confessed himselfe vnworthie of the empire, if euer he doe against the pope hereafter, as he hath done to fore, desiring for that time to be absolued and forgiuen. The pope

A wondrous submission of a valiant emperor to a vile pope.

Notable patience in a noble emperor.

Henricus the emperor, with his wife and child, barefoot and barelegd

waiting on pope Hildebrand, three daies and three nights, at the gates of

Canusium, before he could be suffered to come in.

Diuers conditions of the pope.

answereth he will neither forgiue him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but vpon conditions. First, to promise, that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrement in the counsell, and to take such penance as he shall inioyne him: also that he shall be prest and readie to appeare, in what place or time the pope shal appoint him. Moreouer, that he being content to take the pope iudge of his cause, shall answere in the said councell to all obiections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall neuer seeke any reuengement herein. Item, that he (though he be quit and cleared therin) shall stand to the popes mind and pleasure, whether to haue his kingdome restored, or to lose it.

Pope both accuser and iudge.

Finally, that before the triall of his cause, he shall neither vse his kingly ornaments, scepters, or crowne, nor vsurpe the authoritie to gouerne, nor to exact any oth of allegiance vpon his subiects, &c. These things being promised to the bishop by an oth, and put in writing, the emperor is onely released of excommunication. The tenor of the writing is this.

Heere the beast of the Apocalyps appeareth in his colours.

The forme and tenor of the oth, which *Henricus made to the pope.*

I Henricus king, after peace and agreement made to the mind and sentence of our lord Gregorius the seuenth, promise to keepe

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keepe all couenants and bonds betwixt vs, and to prouide that the pope go ſafely whereſoeuer he will without any danger either to him or to his retinue; eſpecially in all ſuch places as bee ſubiect to our empire. Nor that I ſhall at any time ſtay or hinder him, but that hee may doe that belongeth to his function, where and whenſoeuer his pleaſure ſhall be. And theſe things I bind my ſelfe with an oth to keepe. Actum Canoſ. 5. calend. Februarij indic. 15.

Thus the matter being decided betwixt them after the popes owne preſcribement, the emperor taketh his iourny to Papia. The pope with his cardinals did vance and triumph with no little pride that they had ſo quailed the emperor, and brought him on his knees to aſke them forgiuenelle. Yet notwithſtanding, miſtrulting themſelues, and miſdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter, if fortune ſhould turne, and God giue the emperor to inioy a more quiet kingdome: therefore to preuent ſuch dangers betime, they ſtudy and conſult priuily with themſelues how to diſplace Henry cleane from his kingdome. And how that deuice might ſafely be conueied, they conclude and determine to deriue the empire vnto Rodulphus, a man of great nobility amongſt the chiefeſt ſtates of Germanie, and alſo to incite and ſtir vp all other princes & ſubiects (being yet free and diſcharged from their oths) againſt Henry, and ſo by force of armes to expell the emperour out of his kingdome. To bring this purpoſe the better to paſſe, legats were ſent downe from the pope, Sigehardus patriarch of Aquileia, and Altimanus biſhop of Padway, which ſhould perſwade through all France, that Henry the emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they ſhould giue to the biſhop of Rome their conſents in chuſing Rodulphus to be emperor. This being done, there was ſent to the ſaid Rodulphus duke of Sueuia, a crowne from the pope with this verſe:

The crafty conſpiracy of the cardinals againſt the emperor.

The verſe.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho.

The rocke gaue the crowne to Peter,
Peter giueth it to Rodulph.

Here by the way of digreſſion (to make a little gloſſe vpon this barbarous verſe) two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lieth vpon Chriſt, the other where he lieth vpon Saint Peter. Firſt, that Chriſt gaue any temporall diademe to Peter, it is a moſt manifeſt lie, and againſt the ſcriptures, when as he would not take it, being giuen to himſelf, and ſaith, his kingdome is not of this world. Againe, where he ſaith that Peter giueth it to Rodulph: here he plaieth the poet; for neither had Peter any ſuch thing to giue; and if he had, yet hee would not haue giuen it to Rodulph from the right heire: neither is it true that Peter did giue it, becauſe Hildebrand gaue it. For it is no good argument; Hildebrand did giue it; Ergo, Peter did giue it: except ye will ſay, Hildebrand ſtirred vp great wars and bloudſhed in Germany; Ergo, Peter ſtirred vp great wars in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did giue it to Rodulphus, but only Hildebrand the pope: who after he had ſo done, he gaue in commandement to the archbiſhop of Mentz and of Cullen, to elect this Rodulphus for emperor, and to anoint him king, and alſo to defend him with all force and ſtrength they might.

The gloſſe vpon the verſe of Hildebrand.

The pope proued a double lier.

While this conſpiracy was in hand, Henricus the emperor was abſent, and the popes ambaſſadors with him alſo. In the meane ſpace Rodulphus was elected emperor, vnknowing to Henry. Vpon this commeth the biſhop of Straſborough vnto the emperor, certifying him what was done. He ſuſpecting and ſeeing the ſtomacke and doings of the Saxons ſo bent againſt him, muſtereth his men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but firſt ſendeth to Rome (truſting vpon the league betwixt him and his pope) and requireth the biſhop to proceed with his ſentence againſt Rodulphus, for the rebellious inuaſion of his empire. But the biſhop minding nothing leſſe, ſendeth word againe, not to be right to condemne any perſon (his cauſe being not heard:) thus vnder the pretence of the law, colouring his vnlawfull treachery. Henricus thus diſappointed and forſaken on euery ſide, with his men about him, attempteth battell againſt Rodulphus. In which battel, a maruellous great ſlaughter was on both ſides, but the victory on neither part certaine; ſo that both the captaines yet challenged the empire. After the battell and great murther on both ſides, they ſent to Rome both, to know of the popes determination, to whether of them two he iudged the right title of the empire to appertain. The biſhop commandeth them both to breake vp their armies, and depart the field, promiſing that he ſhortly would call a councel where this matter ſhould be diſputed; in the meane time they ſhould ceaſe from war. But before the meſſengers returned againe (their armies being refreſhed) they had another conflict togither, but no victory got on either part. Thus both the captaines being wearied in warres, the Romiſh beaſt the biſhop which was the cauſe thereof, perceiuing whither theſe cruell wars would tend, to the great calamity not onely of the Germans, but alſo of other nations (truſting to finde another way to helpe Rodulphus and his adherents) ſendeth downe a commiſſion by Otho archbiſhop of Treuers, Bernardus deacon, and Bernardus abbat of Haſſilia: to whom he gaue in charge that they ſhould call togither a councell or ſitting in Almany, and there to be defined to whether part the empire ſhould pertaine, by moſt right and publike conſideration; promiſing that what they ſhould therein determine, he (looking vpon the matter, through the authoritie of God omnipotent, and of ſaint Peter, and ſaint Paul) would ratifie the ſame. Moreouer, for that no let nor impeachment ſhould happen to the legats by the way, hee giueth with them letters to the princes and nations of Germany; whereof the contents bee declared briefely in Platina, if any liſt to reade them.

Great wars ſtirred vp by the pope.

The pope traitor to the emperor.

But the emperor would not ſo permit the legats to haue any councell within Germany, except they would firſt depriue Rodulphus of his kingdome. The legats conſidering that to be againſt the drift and intention of the pope, returned againe from whence they came. The pope hearing this, and ſeeing his purpoſe was ſo diſappointed by the emperor, deuiſeth out another excommunication againſt him, and againe bereaueth him of his kingdome: ſending about his letters excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of Rodulphus the better. Platina hath in his booke the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this ſort.

The copie of the ſecond excommunication of *Hildebrand againſt the emperor.*

BLeſſed S. Peter, prince of the apoſtles, and thou Paul alſo the teacher of the Gentiles, giue eare vnto me I beſeech you a little, and gently heare me, for you are the diſciples and louers of truth. The things that I ſhall ſay are true. This matter I take in hand for truth ſake, that my brethren (whoſe ſaluation I ſeeke) may the more obſequiouſly obey me, & better vnderſtand, how that I truſting vpon your defence (next to Chriſt & his mother, the immaculat virgin) reſiſt the wicked, and am ready to helpe the faithfull. I did not enter this ſeat of mine owne accord, but much againſt my will, and with teares, for that I accounted my ſelfe vnworthy to occupy ſo high a throne. And this I ſay, not that I haue choſen you, but you haue choſen me, and haue laid this great burthen vpon our ſhoulders. And now, whereas by this your aſſignement, I haue aſcended vp this hill, crying to the people, and ſhewing them their faults, and to the children of the church their iniquities, the members of Satan haue riſen vp againſt mee, and haue laid hands togither to ſeeke my bloud. For the kings of the earth haue riſen vp againſt mee, and the princes of this world, with whom alſo haue conſpired certaine of the clergy ſubiects againſt the Lord, and againſt vs his annointed, ſaying: Let vs breake aſunder their bonds, and caſt off from vs their yoke. This haue they done againſt me, to bring me either to death, or to baniſhment. In the number of whom is Henricus, whom they call king, the ſonne of Henry the emperor, which hath lift vp ſo proudly his hornes & heele againſt the church of God, making conſpiracie with diuers other biſhops, both Italian, French, and Germans. Againſt the pride of whom, hitherto your authority hath reſiſted, who rather being broken then amended, comming to mee in Ciſalpina, made humble ſute to me for pardon and abſolution. I thinking nothing elſe but true repentance in him, receiued him againe to fauor, and did reſtore him to the communion only, from which he was excommunicat; but to his kingdome (from which in the ſynod of Rome hee was worthily expelled) I did not reſtore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof (that he might returne to the faith againe) that I granted not to him. And that I did for this purpoſe, that if he ſhould deferre to fall to agreement with certaine of his neighbours, whom he hath alwaies vexed, and to reſtore againe the goods both of the church, and otherwiſe; then he might be compelled by the cenſures of the church and force of armes thereunto. Whereby diuers and ſundry biſhops and princes of Germany (ſuch as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, elected Rodulphus their duke to be king in the place of Henricus, whom they for his tranſgreſſions had remoued and diſpatched from his empire. But Rodulphus firſt in this matter vſing a princely modeſtie and integrity, ſent vp his meſſengers to me, declaring how he was conſtrained (wild he, nild he) to take that regall gouernment vpon him, albeit he was not ſo deſirous thereof, but that he would rather ſhew himſelfe obedient to vs, then to the other that offered him the kingdome; and whatſoeuer our arbitrement ſhould be therein, he would be vnder obedience, both of God and of vs. And for more aſſurance of his obedience, he hath ſent his owne children hither for pledges. Vpon this Henricus began to ſnuffe, and firſt intreated with vs, to reſtraine and inhibit Rodulphus through the paine of our curſe, from the vſurpation of his kingdome. I anſwered againe, I would ſee whether of them had more right and title thereunto, and ſo ſend our legats thither vpon the ſame, to know the whole ſtate of the matter, and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But Henricus would not ſuffer our legats to come to take vp the matter, and ſlew diuers both ſecular men, and of the clergy, ſpoiling and prophaning churches, and ſo by this meanes hath indangered himſelfe in the bonds of excommunication. I therefore truſting in the iudge-

O pettie[fo]gs hypocrit.

The pope praiſeth ſaint Peter to diſhonor his king.

And ſaint Peter bindeth the pope to honor his king.

Crocodili lachryme.

Scripture well applied.

A figure called ἀντιμεσώδη.

Cuius contrarium verum eſt.

Vim faciunt ſcripturæ, vt plenitudinem accipiant poteſtatis.

Let all papiſts marke here well the holineſſe of their holy father.

As though he were not ſet vp by you rather then by them.

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ment and mercy of God, and in the ſupportation of the bleſſed virgin, alſo vpō your authority, do lay the ſentence of curſe vpon the ſaid Henricus, and all his adherents: and here againe I take his regall gouernment from him, charging and forbidding all chriſtian men that haue bin ſworne vnto him, (whom I diſcharge here of their oth) that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but to take Rodulphus to their king, who is elected by many princes of the prouince. For ſo right it is and conuenient, that as Henry for his pride and ſtubbornnes, is depriued of his dignity and poſſeſſion: ſo Rodulphus being gratefull to all men, for his vertue and deuotion be exalted to the imperiall throne and domination.

The more to blame emperors to ſuffer you to be ſo ſaucy with them.

Therefore, O you bleſſed princes of the apoſtles, grant to this, and confirme with your authority that I haue ſaid, ſo that all men may vnderſtand, if you haue power to bind and looſe in heauen, you haue alſo power in earth to giue & take away empires, kingdomes, principalities, and whatſoeuer here in earth belongeth to mortall men. For if you haue power to iudge in ſuch matters as appertaine to God: what then ſhould we think you haue of theſe inferior and prophane things? And if it be in your power to iudge the angels, ruling ouer proud princes, what then ſhall it beſeeme you to do vpon their ſeruants? Therfore let the kings vnderſtand by this example, and all other princes of the world, what you bee able to doe in heauen, and what your are with God, that thereby they may feare to contemne the commandement of holy church. And now doe you exerciſe this iudgement quickly vpon Henricus, whereby all men may ſee this ſonne of iniquity to fall from his kingdome, not by any chance, but by your prouiſion and only worke. Notwithſtanding this I would craue of you, that he being brought to repentance through your interceſſiō, yet in the day of iudgement, may finde fauor and grace with the Lord. Actum Romæ, nonis Martij, indictione 3.

Nero argumentum.

Confer this clauſe with the hiſtory of the ſtory hereafter. O double hypocrit.

Furthermore, Hildebrand not yet content with this, interdicteth & depoſeth alſo Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauenna, for taking the emperors part, commanding all prieſts to giue no maner obedience to him, and ſendeth thither to Rauenna another archbiſhop with full authority.

Guibertus archbiſhop depriued.

After and vpon this, Henricus and Rodulphus to try the matter by the ſword, coped togither in battell, not without bloudſhed, where Henricus by the fauor of God againſt the iudgement of Hildebrand had the victory. Rodulphus there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and caried to Hyperbolis, where hee commanded the biſhops and chiefe doers of his conſpiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted vp his right hand, in which he had taken his deadly wound, and ſaid: This is the hand which gaue the oth and ſacrament vnto Henricus my prince, and which through your inſtigation, ſo oft hath fought againſt him in vaine: now go and performe your firſt oth and allegiance to your king; for I muſt to my fathers, and ſo died. Thus the pope gaue battell, but God gaue the victory.

The 4. battell betwixt Henry and Rodulph. Henricus victor.

Rodulphus at his death repenteth.

The pope giueth war, God giueth victory.

Henricus (after his enemy being thus ſubdued, and wars being ceaſed in Germany) forgat not the old iniuries receiued of Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his kingdome, and three daies making humble ſute (yea and that in ſharpe winter) could find no fauor with him. Beſides that, he incited moreouer and aided his enemy againſt him. Wherefore calleth togither a councell or aſſembly of diuers biſhops of Italy, Lombardy and Germany at Brixia, 1083, where he purged himſelfe, and accuſed the biſhop Hildebrand of diuers crimes, to be an vſurper, periured, a necromancer and ſorcerer, a ſower of diſcord; complaining moreouer of wrongs and iniuries done by the biſhop and church of Rome, in that the church of Rome preferred the biſhop before him, when that his father being emperor before him, had inthronized and ſet in diuers and ſundry biſhops there by his aſſignement, without all others election. And now this biſhop contrary to his oth and promiſe made, thruſt in himſelfe, without the will and knowledge of him, being their king and magiſtrat. For in the time of his father Henricus the third, this Hildebrand with other, bound themſelues with a corporall oth, that ſo long as the emperor and his ſonne now being king, ſhould liue, they ſhould neither themſelues preſume nor ſuffer any other to aſpire to the papall ſeat, without the aſſent and approbation of the foreſaid emperors; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his corporall oth had done. Wherefore the foreſaid councell with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he ſhould be depoſed. The tenor of which condemnation is thus expreſſed in Abbate Vrſpergenſi.

Concilium Brixienſe.

Anno 1083

No biſhop of Rome can be choſen without conſent of the emperor.

Abbas Vrſpergenſis.

The ſentence of the councell of Brixia, *againſt Hildebrand.*

BEcauſe it is not vnknowne, this biſhop not to be elected of God, but to haue intruded himſelfe by fraud and mony, who hath ſubuerted all eccleſiaſticall order, who hath diſturbed the gouernment of the chriſtian empire, menacing death of body and ſoule againſt our catholike & peaceable king, who hath ſet vp and maintained a periured king, ſowing diſcord where concord was, cauſing debate amongſt friends, ſlanders, and offences amongſt brethren, diuorcements and ſeparation amongſt the maried (for he tooke away the mariage of prieſts, as Henricus Mutius witneſſeth) and finally diſquieting the peaceable ſtate of all quiet life: Therefore we here in the name and authority of God congregat togither, with the legats and hands of 19. biſhops, the day of Pentecoſt at Mentz, doe proceed in canonicall iudgement, againſt Hildebrand, a man moſt wicked, preaching ſacrilege and burning, maintaining periury and murthers, calling in queſtion the catholike faith of the body and bloud of the Lord, a follower of diuination and dreames, a manifeſt necromancer, a ſorcerer, and infected with a pythonicall ſpirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, we iudge him to be depoſed and expelled. And vnleſſe he hearing this, ſhall yeeld and depart the ſeat, to be pertually condemned. Enacted 7. Calend. Iulij, feria. 5. indictione 3.

Henricus Mutius.

Note here the pope iudged and depoſed of the councell.

This being enacted and ſent to Rome, they elected Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauenna in the place of Hildebrand, to gouerne the church of Rome, named Clemens the third. But when Hildebrand neither would giue ouer his hold, nor giue place to Clement, the emperor gathering an army to ſend to Italy, came to Rome to depoſe Gregory, & to place Clement. But Hildebrand ſending to Matilda the counteſſe before mentioned, required (in remiſſion of all her ſins) to withſtand Henry the emperor; and ſo ſhe did. Notwithſtanding Henricus preuailing, came to Rome, where he beſieged the city all the Lent, and after Eaſter got it, the Romans being compelled to open the gates vnto him: ſo he comming to the temple of S. Peter, there placeth Clement in his papacy. Hildebrand ſtraight flieth into Adrians tower with his adherents, where he being beſet round about, at length ſendeth for Robert Guiſcardus his friend a Norman. In the mean time, while Robertus collecteth his power, the abbat of Cluniake, conferring with Gregory, exhorteth him to crowne Henricus emperor in Lateran. Which if he would doe, the other promiſeth to bring about, that Henry ſhould depart with his army into Germany, whereunto the people of Rome alſo did likewiſe moue him. To whom Gregory anſwered, that he was content ſo to doe (but vpon condition) that the emperor would ſubmit himſelfe to aſke pardon, to amend his fault, and to promiſe obedience. The emperor not agreeing to thoſe conditions, went to Senas, taking Clement new ſtalled pope with him.

The pope ſeeketh ſuccor of his paramour. The firſt example to fight for remiſſion of ſins, began in Hildebrand.

After the returne of the emperor, the foreſaid Robert Guiſcardus approching with his ſouldiors, burſt in at one of the gates, and ſpoileth the city. And not long after deliuereth Hildebrand out of his enemies hands, and carried him away to Campania, where he not long continuing after, died in exile.

Platina. Naucleru. Sabellicus. Crantzius. Benno, &c.

Antonius writeth, that Hildebrand, as hee did lie a dying, called to him one of his chiefe cardinals, bewailing to him his fault and miſorder of his ſpirituall miniſtery, in ſtirring vp diſcord, war, and diſſenſion; whereupon he deſired the cardinall to goe to the emperor, and deſire him of forgiuenelle, abſoluing from the danger of excommunication both him and all his partakers both quicke and dead.

¶ Thus haſt thou (gentle reader) the full hiſtory of pope Gregory the ſeuenth, called Hildebrand; which I haue laid out more at large, and deſire thee to marke, becauſe that from this pope (if thou marke well) ſpringeth all the occaſion of miſchiefe, of pride, pompe, ſtoutneſſe, preſumption and tyranny, which ſince that time hath raigned in his ſucceſſors hitherto, in the cathedrall church of the Romiſh clergy. For here came firſt the ſubiection of the temporall regiment, vnder the ſpirituall iuriſdiction: and emperors, which before were their maſters, now are made their vnderlings. Alſo here came in the ſuppreſſion of prieſts mariage, as is ſufficiently declared. Heere came in moreouer, the authority of both the ſwords ſpirituall and ſecular into ſpirituall mens hands. So that chriſtian magiſtrates could do no thing in election, in giuing biſhopricks or benefices, in calling councels, in hearing and correcting the exceſſes of the clergy, but only the pope muſt do all. Yea moreouer, no biſhop nor paſtor in his owne pariſh could excommunicat or exercile any diſcipline amongſt his flocke, but only the pope challenged that prerogatiue to himſelfe. Finally, here came in the firſt example to perſecute emperors and kings with rebellion and excommunication, as the clergy themſelues hereafter do teſtifie and witnes in proceeding againſt Paſchalis. Thus theſe notes being well obſerued, let vs (by the grace of Chriſt) now repaire againe to our country hiſtory of England.

Hildebrand the firſt author and patron of all miſrule that followed after in popes.

About the death of pope Hildebrand (or not long after) followed the death of king William conqueror, in the yeer 1090, after he had raigned in England the ſpace of one and twenty yeeres, and ten moneths. The cauſe of his ſickneſſe and death is ſaid to be this: for that Philip the French king vpon a time (ieſting) ſaid that king William lay in childbed and nourished his fat belly. With this the foreſaid William hearing thereof, anſwered again, and ſaid, when he ſhould be churched, he would offer a thouſand candles to him in France, wherewithall the king ſhould haue little ioy. Whereupon king William in the moneth of July (when the corne, fruit, and grapes were moſt flouriſhing) entred into France, and ſet on fire many cities and townes in the weſt ſide of France. And laſtly, comming to the city of Meaux, where hee burning a woman being as a recluſe in a wall incloſed (or as ſome ſay, two men anachorits incloſ-

The death of William Conqueror.

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inclosed) was so feruent and furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the time of the yeere, thereby he fell into sicknesse and died vpon the same.

By the life and acts of this king it may appeare true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guilefull; rich, but rouetous; a faire speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in victory and strong in armes, but rigorous in oppressing whom he ouercame, in leuying of tasks passing all others. Insomuch that he caused to be inrolled and numbred in his treasury euerie hide of land, and owner thereof: what fruit and reuenewes surmounted of euery lordship, of euery township, castell, village, field, riuer, and wood, within all the realme of England. Moreouer, how many parish churches, how many liuing cattell there were, what and how much euery baron in the realme could dispend, what fees were belonging, what wages were taken, &c. The tenor and contents of which testament yet remaineth in rols. After this tasking or numbring, which was the yeere before his death, followed an exceeding murren of cattell, and barrennesse of the ground, with much pestilence and hot feuers among the people, so that such as escaped the feuer, were consumed with famin. Moreouer, at the same season among certaine other cities, a great part of the city of London, with the church of Pauls was wasted with fire, in the yeere of our Lord 1085.

Pestilence in England, and murren of beasts.

London with the church of Pauls burnt.

In hunting and in parks the foresaid king had such pleasure, that in the country of Southhampton by the space of 30 miles, he cast downe churches and townships, and there made the new forrest, louing his Deere so dearly, as though hee had beene to them a father, making sharpe lawes for the increasing thereof, vnder paine of losing both the eies. So hard he was to Englishmen, and so fauorable to his owne country, that as there was no English bishop remaining, but onely Wolstan of Worcester, who being commanded of the king and Lanfranke to resigne vp his staffe, partly for inability, partly for lacke of the French tongue, refused otherwise to resigne it, but only to him that gaue it, and so went to the tombe of king Edward, where he thought to resigne it, but was permitted to inioy it still: so likewise in his daies, there was almost no Englishman that bare office of honor or rule in the land. In so much that it was halfe a shame at ỳ time to be called an Englishmã. Notwithstanding hee some deale fauored the city of London, and granted vnto the citizens the first charter that euer they had, written in the Saxon, with greene wax sealed, and contained in few lines.

Wolstan bishop of Worcester.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that so giuen he was to peace and quiet, that any maiden being laden with gold or siluer, might passe through the whole realme without harme or resistance. This William in his time builded two monasteries, one in England at Battell in Sussex, where he won the field against Harold, called the abby of Battell; another besides named Barmondsey in his countrie of Normandy.

England peaceable from theeues.

The abby of Battell.

The abby of Barmoundsay.

After the life and story of king William thus briefly described, with the acts and order of battell betweene him and king Harold (although much more might haue been written of that matter, if the booke had come sooner to my hands, which afterwards I saw) now remaineth in the end of this story to describe the names of such barons & nobles of Normandy, which entred with him into this land, as well of them which were imbarked with him, and slaine also (as appeareth in the battell) as also of them who were planted and aduanced by the said Conqueror in the lands and possessions of English lords, whom he either expelled, or else beheaded. The names of which Normans here follow vnder written.

Out of the annals of Normandy in French, whereof one very ancient written booke in parchment remaineth in the custody of the writer hereof.

The day after the battell, very early in the morning, Odo bishop of Baieux sung masse for those that were departed. The duke after that desirous to know the estate of his battell, and what people he had therein lost and were slaine, he caused to come vnto him a clerke that had written their names when they were imbarked at S. Valeries, and commanded him to call them all by their names, who called them that had bin at the battell, & had passed the seas with duke William. And hereafter follow their names.

The names of those that were at the conquest of England.

Odo, bishop of Baieulx.
Robert, Conte de Mortaign. These two were bretheren vnto duke William by their mother.
Baudwin de Buillon,
Roger conte de Beaumont, surnamed With ỳ beard; of whom descended the line of Meullent.
Guillaume Malet,
Le sire de Monfort, sur Rille,
Guill. de Vicxpont,
Neel de S. Saueur le Viconte,
Le Sire de Fougiers,
Henrie Seigneur de Ferrieres,
Le Sire Daubemare,
Guillaume Sire de Rommare,
Le Sire de Lithehare,
Le Sire de Touque,
Le Sire de la Mare,
Le Sire de Neauhou,
Le Sire de Pirou,
Rob. Sire de Beaufou,
Le Sire Danou,
Le Sire de Sotouille,
Le Sire de Margneuille,
Le sire de Tancaruille,
Eustace Dambleuille,
Le sire de Mangneuille,
Le Sire de Grãtmesnil
Guillaume Crespin,
Le sire de S. Martin,
Cuill. de Moulins,
Le sire de Puis,
Geoffrey sire de Maienne,
Auffroy de Bohon,
Auffroy & Maugier de Cartrait,
Guill. de Garrennes,
Hue de Gournay, Sire de Bray,
Le conte Hue de Gournay,
Euguemont de laigle,
Li viconte de Touars,
Rich. Danuerrenchin,
Le sire de Biars,
Le sire de Solligny,
Le Bouteiller Daubigny,
Le sire de Maire,
Le sire de Vitry,
Le sire de Lacy,
Le sire du val Dary,
Le sire de Tracy,
Hue sire de Montfort,
Le sire de Piquegny,
Harnon de Kaieu,
Le sire Despinay,
Le sire de Port,
Le sire de Torcy,
Le sire de Iort,
Le sire de Riuiers,
Guillaume Moyonne,
Raoul Tesson de Tingueleiz,
Roger Marmion,
Raoul de Guel,
Auenel des Byars,
Paennel du Monstier Hubert,
Rob. Bertramle Tort,
Le sire de Seulle,
Le sire de Doriual,
Le sire de Breual,
Le sire de S. Ichan,
Le sire de Bris,
Le sire du Homme,
Le sire de Sauchhoy,
Le sire de Cailly,
Le sire de Semilly,
Le sire de Tilly,
Le sire de Romelly,
Mar. de Basqueuille,
Le sire de Preaulx,
Le sire de Gonis,
Le sire de Sainceaulx,
Le sire de Moulloy,
Le sire de Monceaulx,

¶ The archers du val du Reul, and of Bretheul, and of many other places.

Le sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio,
Le sire de la Kiuiere,
Le sire de Salnaruille,
Le sire de Rony,
Eude de Beaugieu,
Le sire de Oblie,
Le sire de Sacie,
Le sire de Nassie,
Le Visquaius de Chymes,
Le sire du Sap,
Le sire de Glos,
Le sire de Mine,
Le sire de Glanuille,
Le sire de Breencon,
Le Vidam de Partay,
Raoul de Morimont,
Pierre de Bailleul, sire de Fiscamp,
Le sire de Beausault,
Le sire de Tillieres,
Le sire de Pacy,
Le Seneschal de Torcy,
Le sire de Gacy,
Le sire Doully,
Le sire de Sacy,
Le sire de Vacy,
Le sire de Tourneeur,
Le sire de Praeres,
Guillaume de Coulombieres,
Hue sire de Bollebec,
Rich. sire Dorbeck,
Le sire de Bonneboz,
Le sire de Tresgoz,
Le sire de Montfiquet,
Hue le Bigot de Maletot,
Le sire de la Hay,
Le sire de Mombray,
Le sire de say,
Le sire de la Ferte,
Bouteuillain,
Troussebout,
Guillaume Patric de la Laund,
Hue de Mortemer,
Le sire Danuillers,
Le sire Donnebaut,
Le sire de S. Cler.
Rob. le filz Herneys duc de Orleans,
Le sire de Harecourt,
Le sire de Creuecœur.
Le sire de Deincourt,
Le sire de Bremetot,
Le sire de Combray,
Le sire Daunay,
Le sire de Fontenay,
Le conte Deureux,
Le sire de Rebelchil,
Alain Fergant conte de Britaigne,
Le sire de S. Vallery,
Le conte Deu,
Gualtier Giffard cõte de Longeuille,
Le sire Destouteuille,
Le conte Thomas Daubmalle,
Guill. conte de Hoymes & Darques,
Le sire de Bereuille,
Le sire de Breante,
Le sire de Freauuille,
Le sire de Pauilly,
Le sire de Clere,
Toustan du Bec,
Le sire de Maugny,
Roger de Montgomery,
Amauri de Touars.

Ouer and besides the great number of knights and esquires that were vnder them. In the same battell betweẽ the said William the bastard, duke of Normandy on the one part, and king Harold on the other part, there were slain on king Harolds side of Englishmen, 66654. And on duke Williams side there were slaine 6013 men, as it is to be found in the chronicles of S. Peter of Westminster, besides those that were drowned in the riuer of Thames.

Whenas the aboue named and many other great lords were so called, some of them appeared, other some did not, for some of them were slaine there in the field, and others so wounded, that they could not come forth to shew themselues. Then gaue the duke commandement, that the dead should be buried; and those that were sicke comforted and eased the best that might be, &c.

Our

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Out of the ancient chronicles of England, touching the names of other *Normans which seemed to remaine aliue after the battell, and to be aduanced in the signiories of this land.*

IOhn de Maundeuile,
Adam Vndeuile,
Bernard de Freuile,
Rich. de Rochuile,
Gilbert de Frankuile,
Hugo de Douile,
Symond de Roteuile,
R. de Euile,
B. de Kneuuile.
Hugo de Moruile,
R. de Coleuile,
A. de Waruile,
C. de Karuile,
R. de Roteuile,
S. de Stoteuile.
H. Bonum,
I. Monum,
W. de Vignoum,
K. de Viſpount,
W. Bailbeof,
S. de Baleyn,
H. de Marreys,
I. Aguleyne,
G. Agilon,
R. Chamburlayne,
N. de Vendres,
H. de Verdon,
H. de Verto,
C. de Vernon,
H. Hardul,
C. Cappan,
W. de Camuile,
I. de Cameyes,
R. de Rotes,
R. de Boys,
W. de Waren,
T. de Wardboys,
R. de Boys,
W. de Audeley,
K. Dynham,
R. de Vaures,
G. Vargenteyn,
I. de Haſtings,
G. de Haſtank,
L. de Burgee,

R. de Butuileyn,
H. de Malebranch,
S. de Malemain,
G. de Hauteuile,
H. Hauteyn,
R. de Morteyn,
R. de Mortimer,
G. de Kanouile,
E. de Columb,
W. Paynel,
C. Panner,
H. Pontrel,
I. de Riuers,
T. Reuile,
W. de Beauchamp,
R. de Beaupale,
E. de Oü,
F. Louel,
S. de Troys,
I. de Artel,
Iohn de Montebrugge,
H. de Mounteſerel,
W. Truſſebut,
W. Truſſel,
H. Byſet,
R. Baſſet,
R. Molet,
H. Malouile,
G. Bonet,
P. de Bonuile,
S. de Rouile,
N. de Norbeck,
I. de Corneux,
P. de Corbet,
W. de Mountague,
S. de Mountfychet,
I. de Geneuyle,
H. Gyffard,
I. de Say,
T. Gilbard,
R. de Chalons,
S. de Chauward,
H. Ferret,
Hugo Pepard,
I. de Harecourt,

H. de Haunſard,
I. de Lamare,
P. de Mautreuers,
G. de Ferron,
R. de Ferrers,
I. de Deſty,
W. de Werders,
H. de Borneuile,
I. de Saintenys,
S. de Syncler,
R. de Gorges,
E. de Gemere,
W. de Feus,
S. de Filberd,
H. de Turberuile,
R. Troblenuer,
R. de Angon,
T. de Morer,
T. de Rotelet,
H. de Spencer,
R. de Saintpuenten,
I. de Saint Martin,
G. de Cuſtan,
Saint Conſtantin,
Saint Leger & Saint Med,
M. de Cronu & de S. Viger,
S. de Crayel,
R. de Crenker,
N. Meyuel,
I. de Berners,
S. de Chumly,
E. de Charers,
I. de Grey,
W. de Grangers,
S. de Grangers,
S. Baubenyn,
H. Vamgers,
E. Bertram,
R. Bygot,
S. Treoly,
I. Trigos,
G. de Feues,
H. Filiot,
R. Taperyn,

S. Talbot,
H. Santſauer,
T. de Samford,
G. de Vandien,
C. de Vaurort,
G. de Mountague,
Tho. de Chambernon,
S. de Montfort,
R. de Ferneuaulx,
W. de Valence,
T. Clarel,
S. de Cleruaus,
P. de Aubemarle,
H. de Saint Aruant,
E. de Auganuteys,
S. de Gant,
G. de Malearbe,
H. Mandut,
W. de Cheſun,
L. de Chandut,
R. Filz vrs,
B. Vicont de Low,
G. de Cantemere,
T. de Cantlow,
R. Breaunce,
T. de Broxeboof,
S. de Bolebec,
B. Mol de Boef,
I. de Muelis,
R. de Brus,
S. de Brewes,
I. de Lille,
T. de Bellile,
I. de Wateruile,
G. de Neuile,
R. de Neuburgh,
H. de Burgoyne,
G. de Bourgh,
S. de Lymoges,
L. de Lyben,
W. de Helyoun,
H. de Hildrebron,
R. de Loges,
S. de Seintlow,

I. de Maubank,
P. de Saint Malow,
R. de Leoferne,
I. de Louotot,
G. de Dabbeuile,
H. de Appetot,
W. de Percy,
H. de Lacy,
G. de Quincy,
E. Tracy,
R. de la Souche,
V. de Somery,
I. de Saint Iohn,
T. de Saint Gory,
P. de Boyly,
R. de Saint Valery,
P. de Pinkeny,
S. de Pauely,
G. de Monthaut,
T. de Mountcheſy,
R. de Lymozy,
G. de Lucy,
I. de Artois,
N. de Arty,
P. de Grenuile,
I. de Greys,
V. de Creſty,
F. de Courcy,
T. de Lamar,
H. de Lymaſtz,
I. de Moubray,
G. de Morley,
S. de Gorney,
R. de Courtenay,
P. de Gourney,
R. de Cony,
I. de la Huſe,
R. de la Huſe,
V. de Longeuile,
P. Longeſpy,
I. Pouchardon,
R. de la Pomercy,
I. de Pountz,
R. de Pontlarge,
R. Eſtraunge,
Tho. Sauage.

A little aboue, mention was made of the bishops sea of Shireborne, translated from thence to Salisbury. The first bishop of Salisbury was Hirmannus a Norman, who first began the new church and minster of Salisbury. After whom succéeded Olmundus, who finished the worke, and replenished the house with great liuing, and much good singing. This Olmundus first began the ordinary which was called Secundum vsum Sarum, An. 1076. The occasion whereof was this, as I find in an old story booke intituled Eulogium. A great contention chanced at Glastenbury betweéen Thurstanus the abbat and his couent, in the daies of William Conqueror. Which Thurstanus the said William had brought out of Normandy from the abby of Cadonum, and placed him abbat of Glastenbury. The cause of this cõtentious battell was, for that Thurstanus contemning their quier seruice, then called the vse of Saint Gregory, compelled his monks to the vse of one William a monke of Fiscam in Normandy. Whereupon came strife and contentions amongst them, first in words, then from words to blowes, after blowes then to armor. The abbat with his gard of harnest men, fell vpon the monks, and draue them to the steps of the high altar, where two were slaine, eight were wounded with shafts, swords, and pikes. The monks then driuen to such a strait and narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselues with formes and candlesticks, wherewith they did wound certaine of the souldiors. One monke there was (an aged man) who in stead of his shield, toke an image of the crucifix in his armes for his defence, which image was wounded in the breast by one of the bow-men, whereby the monke was saued. My story addeth more, that the striker incontinent vpon the same fell mad; which sauoreth of some monkish addition besides the text. This matter being brought before the king, the abbat was sent againe to Cadonum, and the monks by the commandement of the king were scattered in far countries. Thus by the occasion hereof, Olmundus bishop of Salisbury deuised that ordinary, which is called the vse of Sarum, and was afterward receiued in a maner through all England, Ireland and Wales. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this king William.

The first bishop of Salisbury. Olmund bishop of Sarum. *Ordinale ecclesiastici officij secundum vsum Sarum.* *Ex Eulogio historico. lib. 1.* The vse and ordinary of Sarum, how and when it was deuised.

Which William after his death by his wife Matildis or Maud, left three sonnes, Robert Courtsele, to whom he gaue the dutchy of Normandy; William Rufus his second sonne, to whom he gaue the kingdome of England; and Henry the third sonne, to whom hee left and gaue treasure; and warned William to be to his people louing and liberall, Robert to be to his people sterne and sturdy.

In the history called Iornalensis, is reported of a certaine great man, who about this time of king William was compassed about with mice and rats, and flying to the midst of a riuer, yet when that would not serue, came to the land againe, and was of them deuoured. The Germans say that this was a bishop, who dwelling betweéne Cullen and Mentz, in time of famin and dearth, hauing store of corne and graine, would not helpe the pouerty crying to him for relefe, but rather wished his corne to be eaten vp of mice and rats. Wherefore being compassed with mice and rats (by the iust iudgement of God) to auoid the annoiance of them, he builded a tower in the midst of the riuer of Rheine (which yet to this day the Dutchmen call Rats tower) but all that would not helpe, for the rats and mice swam ouer to him in as great abundance as they did before, of whom at length he was deuoured.

Example of Gods iust iudgement vpon a bishop, who being vnmercifull to the poore, was eaten with rats and mice.

William Rufus.

WIlliam Rufus, the second son of William Conqueror, began his raigne in the yéere of our Lord 1088, and raigned thirteene yéeres, being crowned at Westminster by Lanfrancus, who after his coronation, released out of prison by the request of his father, diuers of the English lords, which before had béen in custody. It chanced that at the death of William Conqueror, Robert Courtsey his eldest sonne was absent in Almanie; who hearing of the death of his father, and how William his younger brother had taken vpon him the kingdome, was therewith greatly moued, in so much that he laid his dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry, and with that good gathered vnto him an army, and so landed at Hampton, to the intent to haue expelled his brother from the kingdome. But William Rufus hearing thereof, sent to him faire and gentle words, promising him dedition and subiection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that

Anno 1088 William Rufus.

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seeing he was now in place and possession, he might inioy it during his life, paying to him yeerely three thousand markes, with condition; that which of them ouerliued the other, should inioy the kingdome. The occasion of this variance betweene these brethren, wrought a great dissension betweene the Norman lords and bishops, both in England and in Normandy. In so much that all the Norman bishops within the realme almost rebelled against the king, taking part with duke Robert, except onely Lanfrancus, and Wolstan bishop of Worcester aboue mentioned, an Englishman, who for his vertue and constancie was so well liked and fauoured of his citizens, that (imboldened with his presence and praier) they stoutly maintained the citie of Worcester against the siege of their enemies, and at last vanquished them with vtter ruine. But duke Robert at length by the aduice of his counsell (hearing the words sent vnto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiuing some matter of doubt or doublenesse) was yet content to assent to all that was desired, and so returned shortly after into Normandy, leauing the bishops and such others in the briers, which were in England taking his part against the king.

Wolstan bishop of Worcester.

This Rufus was so ill liked of the Normans, that betweene him and his lords was oft dissension. Wherefore (well neere) all the Normans tooke part against him: so that he was forced of necessitie to draw to him the Englishmen. Againe, so couetous he was, and so immeasurable in his tasks and takings, in selling benefices, abbies and bishoprickes, that he was hated of all Englishmen.

Anno 1091

In the third yeere of this king, died Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturbury; from whose commendation and worthinesse, as I list not to detract any thing (being so greatly magnified of Polydorus his countryman) so neither doe I see any great cause why to adde any thing thereto. This I thinke, vnlesse that man had brought with him lesse superstition, and more sincere science into Christ his church, he might haue kept him in his country still, and haue confuted Berengarius at home. After the decease of Lanfranke, the sea of Canterbury stood empty foure yeeres.

The death of Lanfrancus archbishop of Canterbury.

After the councell of Lanfrancus aboue mentioned, wherein was concluded for translating of bishops seas, from villages into head cities; Remigius bishop of Dorchester, who (as ye heard, accompanied Lanfrancus vnto Rome) remoued his bishops sea from Dorchester vnto Lincolne, where he builded the minster there situate vpon an hill within the said citie of Lincolne. The dedication of which church, Robert archbishop of Yorke did resist, saying, that it was builded within the ground of his precinct. But after, it had his Romish dedication by Robert Bleuet, next bishop that followed. By the same Remigius also was founded the cloister or monasterie of Stow, &c.

Remigius bishop of Lincolne.

Lincolne minster builded.

Stow abby builded.

Anno 1092

In the fourth yeere of this king, great tempests fell in sundry places of England, specially at Winchcombe, where the steeple was burned with lightning, the church wall burst thorow, the head and right leg of the crucifix, with the image of our lady on the right side of the crucifix throwne downe, and such a stinke left in the church, that none might abide it. At London the force of the weather and tempest ouerturned six hundred houses. In which tempest the roofe of Bowchurch was hurled vp in the wind, and by the vehemencie thereof was pitched downe a great depnesse into the ground.

Winchcombe steeple burnt with lightening.

Six hundred houses blowne downe with wind.

The roofe of Bow-church ouerthrowne.

King William (as ye haue heard, an exceeding poller, or rauener rather of church goods) after hee had giuen the bishoprick of Lincolne to his chancellor Robert Bleuet (aboue minded) began to cauill, auouching the sea of Lincolne to belong to the sea of Yorke, till the bishop of Lincolne had pleased him with a great sum of mony of fiue thousand marks, &c.

Robert Bleuet paid fiue thousand marks for his bishoprick.

And as nothing could come in those daies without mony from the king; so Herbert Losinga, paying to the king a piece of mony, was made bishop of Thetford, as he had paid a little before to bee abbat of Ramsey. Who likewise the same time remouing his sea from Thetford to the citie of Norwich, there erected the cathedrall church with the cloister in the said citie of Norwich, where he furnished the monks with sufficient liuing and rents of his owne charges, besides the bishops lands. Afterward, repenting of his open and manifest simony, he went to Rome, where hee resigned into the popes hands his bishoprick, but so, that incontinent he receiued it againe. This Herbert was the sonne of an abbat called Robert, for whom he purchased of the king to be bishop of Winchester, whereof run these verses:

Herbert Losinga bishop of Norwich.

Losinga 1.

adulator.

Norwich minster builded by Herbert.

Filius est præsul, pater abba, Simeon vtérque:
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quod vult facit, addit & aufert,
Res nimis iniusta, nummus fit præsul & abba, &c.

We heard a little before of the death of pope Hildebrand, after the time of which Hildebrand the Germaine emperors began to lose their authority and right in the popes election, and in giuing of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand, came pope Victor by the setting vp of Matilda, and the duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewise shewed himselfe stout against the emperour. But God gaue the shrewd cow short hornes. For Victor being poisoned (as some say in his chalice) sate but one yeere and a halfe. Notwithstanding the same imitation and example of Hildebrand continued still in them that followed after. And like as the kings of Israel followed most part the steps of Jeroboam, till the time of their desolation: so for the greatest sort all popes followed the steps and proceedings of this Hildebrand their spirituall Jeroboam, in maintaining of false worship, and chiefly in vpholding the dignity of that sea, against all rightfull authority, and the lawfull kingdome of Sion. In the time of this Victor, began the order of the monks of Charterhouse, through the meanes of one Hugo bishop of Gracionople, and of Bruno bishop of Cullen.

Pope Victor poisoned in his chalice.

A comparison betwixt Hildebrand pope of Rome, and Jeroboam king of Israel.

The order of charter monks began.

Next to Victor sat Urban the second, by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and also new decrees enacted against Henry the emperor. In this time were two popes at Rome, Urbanus and Clemens the third, whom the emperor set vp. Vnder pope Vrban came in the white monks of Cistercian order, by one Stephan Harding a monke of Shireborne, (an Englishman) by whom this order had his beginning in the wildernesse of Cistery, within the prouince of Burgoine, as witnesseth Cestrensis. Others write that this Harding was the second abbat of that place, & that it was first founded by the means of one Robert abbat of Molisme in Cestercium, a forrest in Burgundy, Anno 1098, (perswaded perchance by Harding) and afterwards in the yeere of our Lord 1135, it was brought into England by a certaine man called Elpeke, which builded an abbie of the same order called Meruale. In this order the monks did liue by the labor of their hands; they paid no tithes nor offerings, they wore no fur nor lining, they wore red shoes, their coules white, and cotes blacke, all shorne saue a little circle, they eat no flesh but only in their iourny. Of this order was Bernardus, &c.

Pope Urban the second.

Two popes in Rome.

The order of Cistercian or white monks began.

This Urban held diuers councels; one at Rome, where he excommunicated all such lay persons as gaue inuestiture of any ecclesiasticall benefice. Also all such of the clergy as abiected themselues to be vnderlings or seruants to lay persons for ecclesiasticall benefices, &c.

Synodus Romana vel Placentina.

Another councell he held at Cleremount in France, where among other things, the bishop made an oration to the lords being there present, concerning the voyage and recouering of the holy land from the Turkes and Saracens. The cause of which voyage first sprang by one Peter a monk or hermit, who being in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the christians vnder the Pagans, made thereof declaration to pope Vrban, and was therein a great solicitor to all christian princes. By reason whereof, after the foresaid oration of pope Vrban, 30000 men (taking on them the signe of the crosse for their cognisance) made preparation for that voyage, whose captaines were Godfrey duke of Lorraine, with his two brethren, Eustace and Baldwine, the bishop of Pody, Bohemund duke of Puell and his nephew Tancredus, Raimund earle of saint Egidius, Robert earle of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, brother of Philip the French king. To whom also was ioined Robert Curthoise duke of Normandy, with diuers other noble men, with the foresaid Peter the hermit, who was the chiefe causer of that voyage.

Synodus Clarimontana.

The voyage vnto the holy land.

The number that went.

The captaines of them which went to the holy land.

At that time many of the said noble men laid their lands and lordships to morgage to prouide for the forenamed voiage; as Godfrey duke of Lorraine, who sold the dukedome of Bollogne to the bishop of Eburone for a great sum of mony. Also Robert Curthoise duke of Normandy, laid his dukedome to pledge to his brother William king of England for ten thousand pounds, &c.

Thus the christians, which passed first ouer Bosphorus, hauing to their captaine Peter the hermit (a man perchance more deuout then expert to guide an armie) being trapped of their enemies, were slaine and murthered in great numbers among the Bulgars, and neere to the towne called Ciuitus.

Anno 1096

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Constantinople (where Alexius was emperor) passing ouer by Hellespontus going to Hierusalem, they tooke the cities of Nicea, Eraclea, Tarsis, and subdued the country of Cicilia, appointing the possession thereof to certaine of their captaines.

The acts of the christians in their voyage to win Hierusalem.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth month of the siege, it was yeelded to the christians by one Pyrrhus; about which season were fought many strong battels, to the great slaughter and desolation of the Saracens, and not without losse of many christian men. The gouernance of this citie was committed to Bohemund duke of Puell, whose martiall knighthood was often proued in time of the siege thereof.

Antioch taken by the christians.

Anno 1098

And not long after, Corbona master of the Persians chiualry was vanquished and slaine, with an hundred thousand infidels. In which discomfiture were taken 15000 camels.

The slaughter of the Persian infidels.

Hierusalem on the nine and thirtith day of the siege, was conquered by the christians. Robert also duke of Normandy was elect to be king thereof. Howbeit he refused it, hearing of the death of king William Rufus of England; wherefore hee neuer sped in all his affaires well after the same. Then Godfrey, captaine of the christian army, was proclaimed the first king of Hierusalem. At the taking of the citie was such

Hierusalem conquered by the christians. *Ex Henric. lib. 7.*

Pope Victor the third.

such a murther of men, that bloud was congealed in the street the thicknesse of a foot. Then after Godfrey, raigned Baldwin his brother: After him Baldwin the secõd nephew: Then Gaufridus duke of Gaunt, and after him Gaufridus his sonne, by whom many great battels there were fought against the Saracens, and all the country thereabout subdued, saue Ascalon, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the voiage to the holy land. Now to our owne land againe.

About this time (as Matt. Parisiensis writeth) the king of England fauored not much the see of Rome, because of their impudent and insatiable exactions which they required, neither would he suffer any of his subiects to goe to Rome, alleaging these words in the author thus expressed: Quòd Petri non inhærent vestigijs, præmijs inhiantes; non eius potestatem retinent, cuius sanctitatem probantur non imitari: that is, Because they follow not the steps of Peter, hunting for rewards; neither haue they the power and authority of him, whose holinesse they declare themselues not to follow, &c.

The king of Englands iudgement against the pope. *Ex Matt. Paris.*

Decrees of pope Urbanus.

By the same Urbanus the seuen houres which we cal Septem horas canonicas, were first instituted in the church.

Item, by this pope was decreed, no bishop to be made but vnder the name and title of some certaine place.

Item, that mattins and houres of the day should euery day be said.

John Stella.

Also euery saturday to bee said the masse of our lady, and all the Iewes sabbath to be turned to the seruice of our lady, as in the councell of Turon, to the which seruice was appointed the antheme, Ora pro populo, interueni pro clero, intercede pro deuoto fœmineo sexu.

Nauclerus.

Dist. 31. Eos qui 15. q. 6. Iuratos.

Item, all such of the clergy as had wiues, to be depriued of their order.

Item, to be lawfull for subiects to breake their oth of allegiance, with al such as were by the pope excommunicat.

Item, not to be lawfull both for husband and wife to christen one child both togither; with matters many more.

By the same pope thus many chapters stand written in the canon law, Dist. 7. Sanctorum. dist. 31. Eos qui 1. q. 1. Si qui dist. 56. Presbyterorum, 11. q. 3. quibus 15. q. 6. Iuratos 16, q. 7. Congregatio 19, q. 2. Statuimus, 23. q. 8. Tributum, 30, q. 4. quod autem, &c.

30 q. 8. quod autem.

Example of Gods rightfull iudgement in punishing cruel murther.

In the first yeere of this kings raigne, Malcolme king of Scots, which foure times before had made great slaughter of old and young in the north parts, as is before shewed, burst into Northumberland with all the power hee could make, and there by the right iudgement of God was slaine with his son Edward, and also Margaret his wife, sister to Edgar Adeling aboue minded, a vertuous and deuout lady, within three daies after.

Anselme made archbishop of Canterbury.

The same yeere he gaue the archbishoprick of Canterbury (after that hee had detained the same in his owne hands foure yeeres) to Anselme abbat of Becke in Normandy.

This Anselme was an Italian, in the citie of Augusta borne, and brought vp in the abbie of Becke in Normandie: where he was so strict a follower of vertue, that (as the storie recordeth) he wished rather to be without sin in hell, then in heauen with sin. Which saying and wish of his (if it were his) may seeme to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and vnderstanding of the scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the iustification of a christian man. Further, they report him to be so far from singularity, that he should say, it was the vice which thrust the angels first out of heauen, and man out of paradise.

The saying of Anselme pondered.

The vice of singularity.

Of this Anselme it is moreouer reported, that he was so ill willing to take the archbishoprick, that the king had much adoe to thrust it vpon him: and was so desirous to haue him take it, that the city of Canterbury (which before Lanfrancus did hold but at the kings good will and pleasure) he gaue now to Anselme wholly, which was about the yeere of our Lord 1093. But as desirous as the king was then to place the said Anselme, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all maner of meanes to defeat him if he might. Such strife and contention rose between them two for certaine matters, the ground and occasion whereof first was this:

Anselme ill willing to take the archbishoprick.

Canterbury first giuen to the archbishop wholly.

Strife and contentiõ between the king and Anselme.

After that Anselme had been thus elected to the sea of Canterbury, before he was fully consecrate, the king communed with him (allaying by all gentle maner of words to intreat him) that such lands & possessions of the church of Canterbury as the king had giuen & granted to his friends since the death of Lanfrancus, they might still inioy the same, as their owne lawfull possessions, through his grant and permission. But to this, Anselme in no case would agree. Wherupon the king conceiuing great displeasure against him, did stop his consecration a great season, till at length in long processe of time, the king inforced by the daily complaints and desires of his people and subiects for lacke of an archbishop to moderat the church, was constrained to admit and authorize him vnto them. Thus Anselme with much adoe, taking his consecration, and doing his homage to the king, went to his sea of Canterbury. And not long after, the king sailed ouer to Normandy.

Anselme stopped from his consecration.

Anselme consecrated.

Anselme doth homage to king William.

About this time there were two striuing in Rome for the popedome, as is afore touched, Urbanus and Guibertus. Diuers realmes diuerslie consenting, some to the one, some to the other. England taking part with their king, was rather inclined to Guibertus, called Clement the third: but Anselme did fully goe with Urbanus, making so his exception with the king, entring to his bishoprick. After the king was returned againe from Normandy, the archbishop commeth to him, and asketh leaue to goe to Rome, to fet his pall of pope Urban: which when he could not at first obtaine, he maketh his appeale from the king to the pope. Whereat the king being iustly displeased, chargeth the archbishop with breach of his fealty, contrary to his promise made: that is, if hee without his licence, would appeale either to Urban or to any other pope. Anselme answereth againe, that it was to be referred vnto some greater councell, where it is to be disputed, whether this be to breake a mans allegiance to a terrene prince, if he appeal to the vicar of saint Peter. And here much arguing and contending was on both sides. The kings reason proceedeth thus: The custome (saith he) from my fathers time hath been in England, that no person should appeale to the pope without the kings licence. Hee that breaketh the customes of the realme, violateth the power & crowne of the kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my crowne, is a traitor & enemy against me, &c. To this Anselme replieth againe; The Lord (saith he) easily discusseth this question, briefly teaching what fidelity and allegiance we ought to giue vnto the vicar of S. Peter, where he saith; Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church, &c. And to thee I will giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind in earth, it shall be bound in heauen; and whatsoeuer thou lowsest in earth, shall be lowsed in heauen, &c. Againe, to them all in generall he saith; He that heareth you heareth me; and who despiseth you despiseth me. And in another place; He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. On the other side, what duty we owe to the king, he sheweth also; Giue (saith he) to the emperor, what belongeth to the emperor, and to God, giue that to God belongeth. Wherefore in such things as belong to God, I will yeeld, and must yeeld by good right and duty, my obedience to the vicar of saint Peter; and in such things as belong againe to terrene dignities of my prince, in those I will not deny to him my faithfull helpe and counsell, so far as they can extend.

England fauored Clement.

Anselme holdeth with Urbanus.

Anselme denied leaue to goe to Rome.

Anselme appealeth from the king, to the pope.

Anselme charged for a traitor.

The kings argument against Anselme.

The custome of England from William Conquerors time, not to appeale to the pope.

Anselmes reply against the king.

The reasons of Anselme to proue the popes authority aboue other kings.

Anselme here ignorantly calleth the Pope the vicar of S. Peter, where the canon law calleth him but the successor of Peter, and vicar of Christ.

Thus haue ye the grounded arguments of this prelat, to stand so stiffly against his prince, whereunto peraduenture was ioined also some peere of a stubborne heart. But in this conclusion, none of his fellow bishops durst take his part, but were all against him: namely, William bishop of Duresme; to whom Anselme thus protesteth, saying: Whosoeuer hee were that would presume to proue it any breach of allegiance of fealty to his soueraigne, if hee appealed to the vicar of saint Peter, he was ready to answere at all times to the contrary. The bishop of Duresme answering againe, that hee which would not be ruled by reason, must with force be constrained, &c. The king hauing on his part the agreement of the bishops, thought to depriue the archbishop both of his pall for all sea, and to expell him out of the realme. But he could not performe his purpose; for Anselme as he was ready to depart the realme, he said, whensoeuer he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he toke nothing else. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the meane season the king had sent priuily two messengers vnto pope Urban, to intreat him to send his pall to the king, for him to giue it where he would. Which messengers by this time were returned againe, bringing with them from Rome Gualter bishop of Alban the popes legat, with the pall to bee giuen vnto Anselme. This legat first landing at Douer, from thence came priuily (vnknowne to Anselme) to the king, declaring and promising, that if Urban was receiued pope in England, whatsoeuer the king required to be obtained, he by his priuilege from the apostolicall sea would ratifie and confirme the same: saue onely that when the king required of the legat that Anselme might be remoued, the legat thereunto would not agree, saying that it was vnpossible to be obtained, that such a man as he being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause. In conclusion, so it followed, ỹ although he could not obtaine his request of the legat, yet the legat wrought so with the king, that Urban was proclaimed lawfull pope throughout all the realme.

All the bishops of the Realme stood of the kings side against Anselme, William bishop of Duresme.

Gualterus the popes legat commeth to England.

Anselme could not be remoued by the king.

The pope taketh this as no fault, for a subiect to repugne against his king.

Then were sent to Anselme certaine bishops to moue and proue his mind, declaring what charges and paines the king had been at in his behalfe, to procure the pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would haue stood him in great expences, & that all this the king had done for his sake. Wherefore it were good reason and conuenient, that he (to gratifie the king) should something condescend to his request againe. But with all this Anselme the stout archbishop would not bee moued. Wherefore the king seeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant vnto him the full right of his archbishoprick. And so the day appointed when ỹ pall should be brought to Canterbury (being carried with al solemnity in a thing of siluer) the archbishop with a great concourse of people, came forth bare foote with his priestly vestments, after a most goodly maner to meet the same: and so being brought in, was laid vpon the altar, whilest Anselme (spreading ouer his shoulders his popish vestments) proceeded vnto his popish masse.

The stoutnesse of Anselme standing against his king.

The maner of bringing in Anselmus pall into Canterbury.

Thus

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Thus agreement being made betweene the king and the bishop, so long as it would hold, it happened the yeare following, the king with his armie entred into Wales, to subdue such as there rebelled against him. After the victorie gotten, the king returned home againe with triumph, to whom Anselme thought to haue come to congratulate his prosperous successe. But the king preuented him by messengers, laying to the bishops charge both the small number and euill seruice of his souldiers sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anselme was dasht, who at the same present had thought to haue obtained and done many great matters with the king touching the state of the church. But here all turned contrarie to his expectation: insomuch that hee was charged against the next court of parliament, to make his answere. But he auoided that by appealing to Rome. Wherefore he made his sute and friends to the king for licence to goe to the pope. Unto the which sute the king answered againe, that hee should not goe, neither was there any cause for him so to doe, for that both hee knew him to be of so sound a life, that hee had done no such offence, whereof he needed to craue absolution at Rome, neither was there any such lacke of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsell there: Insomuch (saith the king) I dare say, pope Urban rather hath to giue place to the wisedome of Anselme, then Anselme to haue need of Urban. Wherefore as he hath no cause to go, so I charge him to tarrie. And if he continue in his stubbornnesse still, I will assuredly seize vpon his possessions, and conuert his archbishoprike into my coffers: for that hee transgresseth and breaketh his fidelitie and obeysance, promising before to obserue all the customs of my kingdome. Neither is it the fashion in this realme, that any of my nobles should goe to Rome without my sending. And therfore let him sweare vnto me, that he shall neither for any greeuance appeale hereafter to the see of Rome, or else let him void my realme.

Another quarell of the king against Anselme.

Anselme againe appeareth to Rome.

The kings answere to Anselme for his appealing to Rome.

The custome of England.

No prelate or noble man to go to Rome without the kings sending.

Against these words of the king, Anselme thinking not best to replie againe by any message, but by word of mouth, comming himselfe personally to the king, placeth himselfe (after his order) on the right hand of the prince, where he made his replie vnto the message sent to him by the king. Whereas you say I ought not to goe to Rome either for lacke of any trespasse, or for abundance of counsell and knowledge in me (albeit I grant to neither of them as true) yet what the truth is therein, I refer it to the iudgement of God. And whereas yee say that I promised to keepe and obserue your customs: that I grant, but with a condition: so far to keepe them, and such of them to obserue, as were consonant to the lawes of God, and ruled with right and equitie. Moreouer, whereas ye charge me with breach of my fidelitie and allegiance, for that contrarie to your customs I appeale to the see apostolike (my reuerence and dutie to your soueraignetie reserued) if another would say it, that is vntrue. For the fidelitie and obeysance that I owe to thee (O king) I haue it of the faith and fidelitie of God, whose vicar S. Peter is, to whose seate I do appeale. Further, whereas ye require me to sweare, that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeale to Rome: I pronounce openly that a christian prince requireth such an oth of his archbishop vniustly. For if I should forsweare S. Peter, I should denie Christ. And when I shall at any time denie Christ, then shall I bee content and readie to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking licence to go to Rome. And peraduenture when I am gone, the goods of the church shall not so serue your temporall desires and commodities as ye weene for. At these words of the bishop, the king and his nobles were not a little incensed: defending againe, that in obseruing the kings customs, there was neither condition nor any clause put in, either of God or right. No was? said Anselme. If so be that in your customs was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any christian should be bound to any customs which goe contrarie to God and to right. Thus on both sides passed much altercation betweene them.

The answere of Anselme to the king.

Note the high reasons of Anselme.

At length the king, after many threatning words, told him hee should carrie nothing out of the realme with him. Well said the bishop, if I may neither haue my horse nor garments with me, then will I walke on foot; and so addressed him toward his tourney (all the other bishops forsaking him) whereof none would take his part: but if hee came to them for counsell, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsell, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holines was willing and able to persecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the king their lord; whose fauor they could not lacke, for the perill that might happen both to themselues & to their kindred. But for him because hee was both a stranger, and void of such worldly corruption in him: they willed him to go forward as he had begun, their secret consent he should haue, but their open voice they would not giue him. Thus Anselme remaining at Douer fifteene daies tarrying for wind, at last sped him toward his passage. But his packing being secretly knowne in the court, the kings officer, William Warlwast, preuented his purpose, searching by the kings commandement al his trusses, coffers, satchels, sleeues, purse, napkin, and bosome for letters, and for money, and so let him passe. Who sailing into France, first rested a while at Lions, from thence came to Pope Urban, according to the tenor and forme of a certaine epistle of this, wherein among many other things in the same epistle contained: these words he writeth to pope Paschalis, the third yere after his banishment, after the death of Urban, and a little before the death of the king.

The bishops left Anselme alone.

Anselme flying out of England.

Anselme searched by the kings officer for letters.

To the lord and reuerend father Paschalis, *high bishop, Anselme seruant of the church of Can-*turburie offreth due subiection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any stead.

Ex epist 36. paulo post initium.

I See in England many euils, whose correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor suffer without mine owne fault. The king desireth of me, that vnder the name of right I should consent to his pleasures, which were against the law and will of God. For he would not haue the pope receiued nor appealed vnto in England, without his commandement; neither that I should send a letter vnto him, or receiue any from him, or that I should obey his decrees. He suffered not a councell to be kept in his realme now these thirteene yeares, since he was king. In all these things and such like, if I asked any counsell, all my suffragan bishops of his realme, denied to giue me any counsell, but according to the kings pleasure. After that I saw these and such other things that are done against the will and law of God: I asked licence of him to goe to Rome, vnto the see apostolicall, that I might there take counsell for my soule, and the office committed vnto me. The king said that I offended against him for the onely asking of licence; and propounded to me, that either I should make him amends for the same as a trespasse (assuring him neuer to aske his licence any more to appeale to the pope at any time hereafter) or else that I should quickly depart out of his land. Wherefore chusing rather to goe out of the land then to agree to so wicked a thing, I came to Rome as you know, and declared the whole matter to the lord pope. The king by and by (as soone as I went out of England) inuaded the whole archbishoprike, and turned it to his owne vse, taxing the monks only with bare meate, drinke and cloth. The king being warned and desired of the lord pope to amend this, contemned the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And now is the third yeare since I came thus out of England, and more. Some men not vnderstanding, demand why I did not excommunicate the king. But the wiser sort, and such as haue vnderstanding, counsell me that I do not this thing: because it belongeth not vnto me both to complaine and to punish. To conclude, I was forewarned by my friends that are vnder the king, that mine excommunication (if it should bee done) would bee laughed to scorne and despised, &c.

A fragment or portion of a letter of Anselme to pope Paschalis. Ex legenda Anselmi Edmero, ex epist. Anselm. 36.

The king would not haue the pope receiued nor appealed vnto in England.

Anselme complaineth of the king and of his suffragan bishops.

The king contemneth the popes warning.

By these here aboue prefixed, appeareth how Anselme the archbishop comming vnto Rome, made his complaint to pope Urban of the king: and how the pope writing vnto the king in the behalfe of Anselme, his letters and commandements were despised. And now to our storie. In the meane time, while the popes letters were sent to the king, Anselme was bid to waite about the pope to looke for an answere backe. Who perceiuing at length, how little the king reputed the popes letters, began to be wearie of his office, desiring the pope that hee might bee discharged thereof: but the pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him vpon his obedience, that whersoeuer hee went, he should beare with him the name and honor of the archbishp of Canturburie. Whereunto Anselme againe said, his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for Gods cause was readie to suffer whatsoeuer should happen (yea though it were death it selfe) as hee thought no lesse would follow thereof. But what should we thinke (saith he) is there to be done, where not onely iustice taketh no place, but is vtterly oppressed? And whereas my suffragans not onely doe not helpe (for dread) the righteous cause, but also for fauor doe impugne the same? Well (saith the pope) as touching these matters, wee shall sufficiently prouide for at the next counsell to be holden at Baion, whereas I will you the same time and place to bee present.

When the time of the councell was come, Anselme amongst others was called for, who first sitting in an vtter side of the bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the pope, with these words: *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro tanquam alterius orbis papam.* Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the successors of the see of Canturbury, in euery generall councell by the decree of pope Urban, to sit at the right foot of the pope. In this said counsell great stir and much reasoning there was against the Grecians, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the holy Ghost. Where is to be noted, that the Greeke church hath of long time dissented from the Latine church in many and sundrie points, to the number of twentie, or almost 29 articles, as I haue them collected out of the register of the church of Hereford: whereof like as occasion hereafter may serue (God willing) for a further

Concilium Baionense.

Anselme and his successors of Canturburie placed at the right foot of the pope in his generall councels.

De processione spiritus sancti.

The difference betweene the Greeke church and the Latine.

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ther and more ample tractation to be made: so here by the way partly I meane to touch some. The first is,

Wherein the Greeke church differeth from the Latine.

Ex registro eccles. Hereford.

THe first article wherein the Greeke church altereth from the Latine or Romish church is this: *Quòd sunt extra obedientiam Romanæ ecclesiæ, pro eo quòd ecclesia Constantinopolitana non est subiecta, sed ei æqualis.* 1. *Dicunt dominum apostolicum non habere maiorem potestatem, quàm quatuor patriarchæ. Et quicquid sit præter scientiam eorum per papam vel sine eorum approbatione, nullius est valoris, &c.* In English.

The articles and opinions of the Greeke church differing from the Latine church of Rome.

First they are not vnder the obedience of the church of Rome, because that the church of Constantinople is not subiect, but equall to the same.

2 They hold that the bishop of the apostolike sée of Rome, hath not greater power then the foure patriarchs. And what soeuer the pope doth beside their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no value.

3 Item, they say what soeuer hath béen done or concluded since the second generall councell, is of no full authoritie, because from that time they recount the Latins to bee in error, and to be excluded out of the holy church.

4 Item, *Dicunt eucharistiam consecratam per Romanam ecclesiam non esse verum corpus Christi.* That is: They hold the eucharist consecrated by the church of Rome, not to bee the very body of Christ. Also where the Romish church doth consecrate in vnleauened bread, they consecrate in bread leauened.

5 Item, they say that the Romish church doth erre in the words of baptisme, for saying, I baptise thee: when they should say, Let this creature of God be baptised, &c.

6 They hold moreouer, to bee no purgatorie, nor that the suffrages of ꝑ church do auaile the dead, either to lessen the paine of them that be destinat to hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to saluation.

7 Item, they hold that the soules out of the bodies departed (whether they haue done good or euill) haue not their perfect paine, nor glorie: but are reserued in a certaine place, till the day of iudgement.

8 Item, they condemne the church of Rome, for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

9 Item, they condemne the church of Rome, for that as well women as priests annoint children (when they baptise them) on both shoulders.

10 Item, *Dicunt panem nostrum panagiam.* That is, They call our bread *Panagia.*

11 Item, they blame the church of Rome for celebrating their masse on other daies besides sundaies, and certaine other feasts appointed.

12 Also in this the Greeke church varieth from the Latine, for they haue neither creame, nor oyle, nor sacrament of confirmation.

13 Neither do they vse extreme vnction, or anoiling after the maner of the Roman church, expounding the place of S. Iames of the spirituall infirmitie, and not corporall.

14 Item, they inioyne no satisfaction for penance, but only that they shew themselues to the priests, annointing them with simple oyle in token of remission of sinnes.

15 Item, only on maundie thursday they consecrate for the sicke, keeping it for the whole yeare after, thinking it to be more holy on that day consecrated, then vpon any other. Neither do they fast any saturday through the whole yeare, but onely on Easter euen.

16 Item, they giue but onely fiue orders, as of clerks, subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops; when as the Romane church giueth nine orders, after the nine orders of angels.

My copie here seemed to want somewhat.

17 Moreouer, the Grecians in their orders make no vow of chastitie, alleging for them the fift canon of N. ¶ *Ego presbyter vel diaconus, vxorem causa honestatis non reiciam, &c.* That is: I N. priest or deacon will not forsake my wife for honestie sake.

18 Item, euery yere the Grecians vse vpon certaine daies to excommunicate the church of Rome, and all the Latines as heretiks.

19 Item, among the said Grecians they are excommunicate, that beat or strike a priest. Neither do their religious men liue in such priestly chastitie as the Roman priests do.

20 Item, their emperor amongst them doth ordaine patriarchs, bishops, and other of the clergie, and deposeth the same at his pleasure, also giueth benefices to whom he listeth, and retaineth the fruits of the same benefices, as pleaseth him.

This article seemeth not to be rightly collected out of the Grecians.

21 Item, they blame the Latin church because they eat not flesh, egs and chéese on fridaies, and doe eate flesh on saturdaies.

22 Item, they hold against the Latine men, for celebrating without the consecrated church, either in the house or in the field: and fasting on the sabbath day: and for permitting menstrous women to enter into the church before their purifying: also for suffering dogs and other beasts to enter into the church.

23 The Grecians vse not to kneele in all their deuotions, yea not to the body of Christ (as the register tearmeth it) but one day in the whole yeare: saying and affirming, that the Latins be gotes and beasts, for they are alwaies prostrating themselues vpon the ground in their prayers.

24 The Grecians moreouer permit not the Latins to celebrate vpon their altars. And if it chance any Latin priest to celebrate vpon their altar, by and by they wash their altar in token of abomination and false sacrifice. And diligently they obserue, that whensoeuer they do celebrate, they do but one liturgie or masse vpon one altar or table that day.

25 Item, they dissent from the church of Rome touching the order and maner of the proceeding of the holy Ghost.

These articles, wherin is declared the difference betweene the east and west church, of the Grecians and Romans, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authenticall register of the church of Hereford: so I thought here to insert them, & leaue them to the consideration of the reader. Other foure articles more in the same register be there expressed concerning simonie, diuorce, not with them forbidden: and touching also their emperor; and how they teach their children to heare or damnifie by any maner of way the Latine priests, &c. Which articles, for that either they séeme not truely collected out of their teachings, or else not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I ouerpasse them. To the purpose now of our storie againe.

When certaine of these aboue prefired were moued in the foresaid councell to be discussed; namely concerning the assertion of proceeding of the holy Ghost, and concerning leauened bread in the ministration of the Lords supper; Anselme, as is aboue said, was called for, who in the tractation of the same articles so bestirred him in that councell, that he well liked the pope and them about him, as mine author recordeth. Whereupon, touching the matter of vnleauened bread, how indifferently he séemed there to reason, and what he writeth to Ualeran bishop of Nurenburgh, thereof ye shall heare by a piece of his letter sent to the said bishop, the copie hereof insueth.

Anselme a stout champion against the Grecians.

Anselme seruant to the church of Canturburie, *to Waltram bishop of Nurenburgh. Epist. 325. post initium.*

A letter of Anselme sent to Waltram bishop of Nurenburgh. *Ex epist. Anselmi, 325.*

AS concerning the sacrifice, in which the Grecians thinke not as we do: it seemeth to many reasonable catholike mẽ, that which they do, not to be against the christian faith: for both hée that sacrificeth vnleauened and leauened, sacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when hee made his bodie of bread) that he tooke bread and blessed: it is not added vnleauened, or leauened. Yet it is certaine that he blessed vnleauened bread (peraduenture) not because the thing that was done required that, but because the supper in which this was done, did giue that. And whereas in an other place he called himselfe and his flesh bread, because that as many as liue temporally with this bread, so with that bread he liueth for euer. Hee saith not vnleauened or leauened, because both alike are bread: for vnleauened and leauened differ not in substance as some thinke, like as a new man afore sin, and an old rooted man in the leauen of sinne, differ not in substance. For this cause therefore only he might be thought to call himselfe and his flesh, bread, & made his body of bread, because that this bread (vnleauened or leauened) giueth a transitorie life; and his body giueth euerlasting life, not for that it is either leauened or vnleauened. Although it be a commandement in the law to eate vnleauened bread in the passeouer, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Christ whom they looked for was pure and cleane: and we that should eate his body were admonished to be likewise pure from all leauen of malice and wickednesse. But now, after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eate the vnleauened flesh of Christ, that old figure in bread (of which we make that flesh) is not necessarie for vs. But manifest it is, to bee better sacrificed of vnleauened, then of leauened, &c.

Bread in the communion to be vnleauened is not necessarie.

To this letter I haue also adioyned an other epistle of his to the said Waltram, appertaining to matters not much vnlike to the same effect: wherin is intreated touching the varietie and diuers vsages of the sacraments in the church, whereby such as call and crie so much for vniformitie in the church, may note peraduenture in the same something for their better vnderstanding.

A peece of an other letter of Anselme to the said Waltram bishop of Nur.

To the reuerend father and his friend, Waltram by the grace of God the worshipfull bishop of Nurenburgh, Anselme the seruant of the church of Canturburie, greeting, &c. *Ex epist. Anselmi, 317.*

Another letter.

YOur worship complaineth of the sacraments of the church, that they are not made euery where after one sort, but are handled in diuers places after diuers sorts. And truely, if they were ministred after one sort and agreeing through the whole church

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church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithstanding, because there be many diuersities which differ not in the sum of the sacrament, in the strength of it, or in the faith, or else can be gathered into one custome: I thinke that they are rather to bee borne with in agreement of peace, then to be condemned with offence. For we haue this from the holy fathers, that if the vnitie of charitie be kept in the catholike faith, the diuersitie of customes hurt nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diuersitie of customes do spring; I perceiue no other cause thereof, but the diuersitie of mens wits, which although they differ not in strength and truth of the thing: yet they agree not in the fitnesse and comelinesse of the ministring. For that which one iudgeth to be meeter, oftentimes an other thinketh lesse meet: wherefore not to agree in such diuersities, I thinke it not to swarue from the truth of the thing, &c.

Diuersitie of vsages in the church to be borne with peace, rather then to be condemned with offence.

Diuers customes in the church hurt nothing.

Excommunication denounced against the Grecians.

Then in the storie it followeth, after long debating and discussing of these matters in the councell, when they had giuen forth their determination vpon the same; and the pope had blasted out his thundring excommunications against the Grecians, and all that toke their part: at length was brought in, touching the complaints and accusation against the king of England. Vpon the hearing wherof, pope Urban with his adherents was readie to proceed in excommunication against the king. But Anselme kneeling before the pope, after hee had first accused his king, then after obtained for him longer time to be giuen vpon further triall.

Excommunication bent against king William.

First breake his head, and then giue him a plaster.

Thus the councell breaking vp, the pope returning againe to Rome, directeth downe his letters to the king, commanding him that Anselme with all his partakers (in speedie wise) should be reuested againe into his archbishoprike, and al other possessions thereunto appertaining. To this the king sendeth answere againe by messengers, who comming to the pope, declared in the kings behalfe on this wise; That the king their master did not a little maruell, what came in his mind to command Anselme to be reuested and reseized againe into his former archbishoprike, seeing he told him before plainely, that if hee went out of England without his leaue, hee would so doe vnto him. Well (saith the pope) haue ye no other matter against Anselme but onely this? No (quoth they.) And haue ye taken all this trauell (saith the pope) to come hither so far to tell me this, that the primate of your countrie is therfore seized and dispossessed, because he hath appealed to the see and iudgement apostolicall? Therefore if thou louest thy lord, speed thee home and tell him, if hee will not bee excommunicated, that he quickely reuest Anselme againe to all that he had before. And lest I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, looke to thy tearme, and see that thou bring me answere againe from him into this citie, against the next councell the third weeke after Easter. The messenger or speaker being somewhat astonied at the hearing of this so tragicall answere, thinking yet to worke something for his king and master; came secretly to the pope, saying that hee would confer a certaine mysterie from his king priuatlie with his holinesse betweene them two. What mysterie that was, or what there passed from the king to the pope and the court of Rome, mine author doth not shew: but so cunningly that mysterie was handled, that with a full consent both of the pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was giuen, from Easter to Michaelmas, and the popes cholerike heate so assuaged, that when the councell came (which then was holden at S. Peters church in Rome) albeit great complaints were then denounced against the king: yet such fauor was found, that hee toke no harme. Onely the sentence of excommunication was there pronounced against such lay persons as gaue inuesture of churches, & them that were so inuested. Also against them that doe consecrate such, or which giue themselues in subiection to laymen for ecclesiasticall liuings, as is before touched, &c.

Message betweene the king and the pope.

A loud cracke of thunder, but without a thunderbolt.

A bribing mysterie handled at Rome.

Concilium Romanum. Optimus eau sidicus nummus.

Acts of the councell of Rome.

This councell being finished, the archbishop seeing the vnstedfastnesse of the pope (which pleased him but a little) toke his iourney into Lions, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death first of pope Urban, then after of the king.

Of this king William many things be diuerslie recorded, some to his commendation, and some to his discommendation: whereof this is one, which some will ascribe to hardinesse, but I rather to rashnes in him. As this king vpon a time was in his disport of hunting, suddenly word came to him, that Cenourona (a citie in Normandie) was besieged. The king without longer tarrying or aduisement toke the straight way toward the sea side, sending to his lords that they should follow after. They being come to his presence, aduised him to stay till the time his people were assembled, but he would not bee staied: saying, that such as him loued (hee knew) would follow him shortly, and so went to take ship. The shipmaster seeing the weather so darke and cloudie, was afraid, and counselled the king to tarie till the wind did turne about, & the weather more fauourable. But the king persisting in his iourney, commanded him to make all the spæd he might for his life: saying, that he neuer heard that any king yet was euer drowned. And so passed the sea in safetie, and came to Normandie.

The hardines or rather rashnes of king William.

The saying of king William, how he neuer knew anie king drowned.

The thirteenth yeare of his reigne the said king William hauing the same time in his hand three bishoprikes, Canturburie, Winchester, and Sarum; also twelue abbeyes in farme: as he was in his disport of hunting in the new forrest, by glancing of an arrow (shot of a knight named Walter Tirell) was wounded to death, and so speechlesse was carried to Westminster, and there was buried. Where also is to be noted, that Richard the cosen germane of king William, and sonne to duke Robert his brother, was likewise slaine in the foresaid forrest. See the iust hand of God vpon kings vsurping wrongfully vpon other mens grounds, as did William Conqueror their father, in making this new forrest, plucking downe diuers churches and townships the compasse of thirtie miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot reuenge, yet God reuengeth either in them, or in their posteritie, &c. This king as he alwaies vsed concubines, so left he no issue legitimate behind him. His life was such, that it is hard for a storie that should tel the truth, to say whether he was more to be commended or reproued. Among other vices in him, especially is to be rebuked in him vnmeasurable and vnreasonable couetousnes: insomuch that he coueted (if he might) to be euery mans heire. This one example of a liberall and princely nature I find in him: that vpon a time, when a certaine abbat of a place was dead, there came to his court two monks of the same house, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the king, and offered large offers, either of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was also the third monke of the same place, which of meekenesse and humilitie followed the other two; to the intent that vpon him whom the king had admitted for abbat, he should giue attendance, and as his chapleine to haue with him returned. The king called before him the two monks seuerally, of whom the either outproffered the other. As the king cast his eye aside, he espied the third monke standing by, supposing that his comming had been also for the like cause. Then the king calling him, asked what he would do, whether he would giue more then his brethren had offered to be abbat. He answered to the king, and said: that hee neither had nor would (if he might) offer any pennie for it, by any such vnlawfull meane.

The death of William Rufus.

Walter Tirrell.

The new forrest.

Example of the iust hand of God reuenging the faults of kings in their posteritie.

Couetousnes noted in king William.

A famous example of bribes refused.

Two bribing monks both disappointed.

When the king had well pondered this third monks answere, he said that he was best worthie to be abbat, and to haue the rule of so holy a charge; and so gaue vnto him that benefice without taking any pennie.

Vrban excommunicated Henrie the fourth emperor.

Vrban bishop of Rome, who (as is said) succeeded after Victor, ruled the church of Rome, about the space of twelue yeres: and among his other acts, hee excommunicated the emperour Henrie the fourth of that name, as a man not much deuote to that see of Rome. But yet a worthie and victorious prince hee was; in whom albeit some vice perchance might be noted: yet none such, wherefore any prelate or minister of Christ ought to excite his subiects to rebell against publike authoritie of God appointed. This emperor Henry the fourth was by foure popes seuerally excommunicat: first by Hildebrand, by Victor, Vrban, and Paschal; Which excommunication wrought so in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many (as well of the nobles as of the multitude, contrarie to their sworne allegiance) rebelliouslie conspired against their king and emperor. In number of whom, amongst the rest, was one certaine earle named Ludouicus, to whom Waltramus bishop of the church of Mergburgh (a godly and faithfull man, as appeareth) doth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and instructing him in the office of obedience. Vnto the which letters hee likewise doth answere againe, by cauilling sophistication, and by meere affection, rather disposed to discord, then seeking sinceritie of truth. And for so much as in these two letters, the argument of christian obedience on both sides is so debated by proofes and reasons, as may be profitable for the reader to peruse and vnderstand: I thought therefore not to defraud the English reader of the same, whereof peraduenture some vtilitie might be taken. The tenor of the bishops letter to the earle here followeth.

Henrie the fourth emperor, by foure popes excommunicated.

Ludouicus earle conspiring and rebellious against the emperor.

The epistle of Waltramus bishop of Mergburgh to *the earle Ludouicus, exhorting to concord* and obedience.

Anno 1090

Ex appendice Mariani Scoti.

WAltramus Dei gratia id quod est, Ludouico serenissimo principi, cum instantia orationum, semetipsum ad omnia deuotissimum. Omni regno vtilis est concordia, desiderabilis est iustitia, &c.

Concord and iust obedience necessarie in a common wealth.

In English.

Waltram by the grace of God being that he is, to Ludouike the noble prince, with instance of prayers offereth himselfe seruiceable to all things. To euery realme concord is a thing profitable, and iustice much to be desired. For this vertue is the mother of godlinesse, and the consecration of all honestie. Whosoeuer seeking after ciuill dissension, & incenseth others to effusion of blood, he is a murtherer, and partaker with him, who euer gaping & thirsting for anothers blood, goeth about seeking whom he may deuoure. You therefore, considering with your selfe (most noble prince) how God is the God of peace and not of dissension (so much as in you doth lie) haue peace with all men. God is charity, the diuell is hatred. The whole law & prophets consist in loue & charitie. He that hateth & maligneth his brother is a murtherer, & hath no part with Christ in the kingdome of God. This we read testified and protested both by him

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which is the truth himselfe,& by him which was the scholar of the truth: who vpon the breast of the Lord (drinking a more ful draught of the gospell) reioyceth the citie of God with abundance of plentifull flouds. In like maner that worthie vessell of election, who being rapt vp to the third heauen (not by man, but by reuelation of Iesus Christ) protesteth also, saying: Let euery soule submit himselfe to higher powers: There is no power, saith he, but of God. He that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that be true therfore, which certaine of our friends do iangle among women, and the vulgar sort, that we ought not to bee subdued to kingly power: then is it false which the apostle teacheth, that euery soule must submit himselfe vnder power & superiority. But can the verity lie? Or doe we seeke for experimēt of him, who spake in the apostle, Christ the Lord? Or do we prouoke the Lord? Be we stronger then hee? For what doth he but thinketh himselfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? For there is no power but of God. But what saith the prophet? Confounded be all they that striue against thee O Lord, and the men which rupugne against thee shall perish. Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert, with many other princes, resisted the ordinãce of God in Henrie the emperor. And lo, euen as they had neuer been, so are they now perished; and as their end was euil, so their beginning could not be good.

Disobedience punished of God.

Now therfore, forsomuch as they which be contrarie to vs do earnestly striue against vs euen with their owne arguments, wheras of right (I dare refer me to your iudgement) we ought to vse the authority of Christ & ancient fathers, before that which our aduersaries take out of their own treasurie: And becauſe I will not refuse the order of law in this behalfe; let it bee the end of the strife, that either I may be openly shamed before the people, either else (the victorie falling on our side) we may win you to the obedience of our soueraigne lord the emperor. Also take you heed to this saying; If any man doe preach otherwise then that which is preached, let him be of you accursed. This curse, I say, doth not proceed from any new prophane authoritie, but is thundred downe from the third heauen. And of them which know not the righteousnes of God, but goe about to stablish their owne righteousnesse, and therefore bee not subiect to the righteousnes of God, I may boldly say; let such be accursed. So may you well say, Confounded bee all they that proudly rise vp against the Lord; but thy seruant (O Lord) shall reioyce. For as thou hast well said, Without me you can doe nothing, so in iudging of the wicked thou dost not condemne the iust. Who art thou that iudgest another mans seruant, to his owne lord whether he doth stand or fall?

Gal.

Iohn.

Rom.

The answere of earle Lewis to bishop Waltram.

A railing answere to the former letter of bishop Waltram.

THe earle Lewis to the lord Waltram, howsoeuer vnworthie or vnmeet he be for the name. Like as a good man from the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good fruit, so doth the euill man from the euill treasure of the heart bring forth euill fruit. What arrogancie hath so possest you, to prouoke my displeasure with such iniurious contumelies? For indeed those my good lords and spirituall fathers, which strengthen mee in the way of righteousnes: you (railingly) call them bloodie men like vnto Satan, and the wholesome lessons which they teach, you say they are but dreams of the common people amongst foolish wome. Hath God any need of your iudgement that you should speake leasings for him? Iniquitie hath taught your mouth to follow blasphemous tongues: so that well may the prophet say of you, He would not vnderstand to doe well, hee hath deuised wickednes vpon his bed. Although therefore you being altogither froward, haue only spoken froward things: yet we haue determined to set a watch before your mouth, like as if a shameles person should stand vp before vs: & the word of God doth prouoke vs, saying: Answer a foole according to his owne foolishnesse, lest he should seeme wise in his owne opinion. Shall follie speake & wisedome hold hir peace? Shall lies be freely vttered, & truth compelled to keepe silence? Shall darkenes couer the earth, & shal not the Lord arise & shine? yea rather the light hath lightened the darkenes, & darkenes hath not comprehended it. In consideration hereof our hearts haue melted, and our zealous meditation haue set vs on fire. We therfore speake and crie, and the little foxes which vndermine the Lords vincyards (as much as in vs is) we driue away, fearing the threatning prophecie: You haue not withstood our aduersaries, neither haue you made a bulworke for the defence of the house of Israel, that you might be able to stand in battell in the day of the Lord. Let them heare (I speake not to you which haue eares and heare not, eyes and see not, which haue made darke the light that is in you) but let them heare (I say) that bee well disposed, and haue eares to heare withall: as for you, you haue no vnderstanding, and if you haue you cloke it. Neither haue you any thing to say or to proue, by what reason wee should be subiect to the lord Henrie whom you call emperor. And yet (as it is giuen vs to vnderstand) you goe about to persuade, that of necessitie we ought to be subiect to him, and that by the argument of S. Paul; Let euery soule be subdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; he therefore that doth withstand power, doth resist Gods ordinance. The which sentence of the apostle, we say that you doe euill conceiue, and therfore euill interpret:

Well said, when you are not able to withstand his wisedome, call him a foole. Note how the earle here calleth light darknes and darknes light.

He hath vttered more reason then you are able euer to answere to.

for if euery power be of God (as you vnderstand) what is ment by that, that the Lord doth speake of some by the prophet? They did reigne and were not made princes by me, and I knew them not. If euery power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lord doth say: If thine eye offend thee, plucke it out, and cast it from thee? For what is power, but the eye? Certainely, Aug. in the exposition of this sentence of the apostle (Let euery soule, &c:) doth say, that if the powers do command any thing against God, then haue them in contempt: but yet neuertheless feare them. Is there any iniquitie with God? Is Christ the minister of sin? God forbid. What shall we therefore say? Doth the apostle preach contrarie to truth? Aug. saith, No. One wind filleth many pipes of diuers tunes. Therefore let vs heare the apostle agreeing and expounding himselfe, and destroying his enemie and auenger: There is (saith he) no power but of God. What followeth? He therefore (saith he) that doth resist the power, &c: God forbid, doth nothing follow? But what doth follow? Those powers which bee ordained of God truely, that is it we looke for. O crafty tongue, O hart imagining mischief, O consuming breath that shal not returne, why hast thou lied to the Holy ghost? Thine owne conscience shall accuse thee. Behold the wicked fleeth and no man doth pursue him. Why would you suppresse the truth to the intent to deceiue? Why stole ye away the pith & effect of this sentence? For if these words should be taken away from the midst of the sentence, it should lie (contrarie to it selfe) inconuenient and halfe dead. The word of the Lord is herein fulfilled, He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour shall fall therin himselfe. Verily you can neither excuse you of theft, neither auoid the punishment due for the same. O vnhappie man! what shall you answere to the iudge, when he shall require an account of his seruants of whom he putteth you in trust, seeing you shall be set before him in the midst, & proued a picker of your masters treasure? Wherefore did you not feare the iudgement & execution, when as the guiltines of offence doth require condigne punishment? The apostle through the Holy ghost did foresee, that you and such heretiks as you are should spring in the church, which should cal good euill, & euill good, & that should put darkenes in place of light, & light in place of darkenes, which also should take occasion by the sentences of truth to bring in error: when as he did set this before, There is no power but of God: to the intent he might take away the coniecture of false vnderstanding. For (saith he) those powers that be, are ordained of God. Giue therfore an ordinarie power, and we doe not resist, yea we will forthwith doe our homage. But I doe maruell (if at the least there remaine in you any one drop of blood) that you are not ashamed, to call the lord Henrie a king, or to allow him any ordinarie place.

Whether euery power is to be obeyed or no. Ose.8.

If euery power which offendeth his subiects is to be cast out, then hath this earle made a fatre argument.

How finely these papists describe themselues in their owne colour.

But Paul iudged the emperor to be an ordinarie power, when he appealed to him.

Is this a seemely order (thinke you) to giue place to wickednesse, and to make a generall confusion in mixing good and euill, Gods and mans deuices togither? Either do you thinke this good order for man to sin against his owne body, as (oh shamefull wickednesse) to make his owne wife a common harlot, a mischiefe not heard of at any time since the beginning of the world before now? Or do you allow this for good order, when as the Lord saith, Defend the widows, especially such as require equitie of iustice, and then them to send away most filthily defiled? Mad Orestes doth protest him to be out of his wit that will say these things to be orderly or well done. Vntill this most miserable time, nature hath euer loued secrecie; but your king giuen vp to a reprobrte sense, hath vncouered the priuities of nature, who hath not let to lay abrode all shamefastnesse. We will not speake of other things which cannot be numbred, that is to say, burning of churches, robberies, firing of houses, manslaughters, murders, and such like, the number wherof he knoweth, and not we: for let vs speake chiefly of those things which most grieue the church of God. Harken therfore to true & not fained things: Harken, I say, to matters of earnest, & to no trifles. Euery one that doth sell spirituall dignities, is an heretike. But the lord Henrie, whom they call a king, doth sell both bishopriks and abbacies: for truly he sold for money the bishoprike of Constance, Babemberge, Mentz, and many others. The bishoprikes of Ratisbone, Augusta, and Strausbrough he sold for a sword, & the abbey of Fulda for adulterie: and for filthie sodomitrie hee sold the bishoprike of Mon. A wickednesse it is to speake or heare of such a fact. The which things if without shame ye wil denie, he is to be condemned by the witnesse of heauen & earth: yea & of the silly poore idiots that come from the smiths forge. Wherfore the lord Henry is an heretik, for the which most wicked euils he is excommunicate from the see apostolike, so that he may not exercise either kingdom or power ouer vs which be catholike. And wheras you burthen vs with hatred of our brethren, know you that we purpose not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeale. God forbid that we should thinke Henry worthy to be accounted amongst our christian brethren, who indeed is reputed for an ethnike and publican, in that he refused to heare the church which so oft hath reproued him. The hatred of whom we offer vnto God for a great sacrifice, saying with the Psalmist: Lord shall not I hate them that hate thee? and shall not I triumph ouer thine enemies? I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemies to me for thy sake. The truth it selfe commending the worthinesse of this hatred, doth say: If any doe not hate father and mother, brethren and sisters for my sake,

This is likely, that the emperor would make his owne wife a common harlot.

Euill will neuer said well.

A zeale, but far from knowledge.

And when they shall slay you, they shall thinke they doe God great seruice. Ioh.16.

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sake, he cannot be my disciple. We are not therefore iustly to be reproued of hatred, which do giue ouer our owne soule to bee in the way of God: who indeed are commanded to hate father and mother, and euery affection which doth withstand vs for walking in the path of God. Hereof it commeth, that we labor with al our studie and indeauour to beware of the enimies of the church, and them to hate; not for that they bee our enimies, but Gods. Further, where you persuade peace to bee had with all men, you must remember what the apostle doth put before, If it may be. But if it cannot be that we can haue peace with them, who can be contrarie to God? Who doth not know the Lord our sauiour, to commend not onely peace, when as hee saith; My peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leaue vnto you: but that he is the peace (as saith the apostle:) he is the peace which made of both one: for hee calleth him our peace, speaking in commendation of the peace: Think not (saith he) that I came to send peace, for I came not to send peace, but the sword. What is meant by this? Why is peace called a sword? Or doth peace bid battell? Yea truely, to destroy the peace of the diuell. For the diuell hath his peace, wherof the Lord speaketh: When as the strong man keepeth his house, he doth possesse all his substance in peace. Oh how mightilie doth the diuell keepe his souldiers and his house in this time! who with the shield of falshood, and the helmet of vntruth, so doth defend him, that hee will not suffer either arrow or dart of truth to pierce him. Neuertheless, our Lord being more strongly armed, and fiercely comming vpon your giant, is able to ouercome him and to take away his weapons, wherein hee putteth his trust. We are not therfore to be blamed, if we do detest that peace, more cruell then any war, the which the truth it selfe did reprooue, weeping ouer Ierusalem, and saying: Truely, it grieueth me this day to see sinners in peace; being like vnto that peace, whereat the Psalmist was offended. Whereas you condemne pope Gregorie, king Rodulphus, and marques Eggebertus, as men that haue died of an vnhappie death, and do magnifie your lord, because he doth ouerliue them: it doth plainely (forsooth) appeare, that you remaine voide of all spirituall consideration. Is it not better to die well, then to liue ill? They be truely happie, who suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake. By the same reason may you esteeme Nero, Herod, and Pilat happie, in that they ouerliued Peter, Paul, Iames apostles, and Iesus Christ. What can be said more foolish and wicked then this opinion? Wherefore refraine your babling tongue from this blasphemie, lest that you place your selfe in the number of them, which seeing the end of the iust to be glorious (themselues doing late and vnfruitfull penance, bewailing in the anguish of the spirit) shal say: These be they whom sometime we had in derision & laughed to scorne, we being out of our wits, thought their liues madnesse, & their end to bee without honor. Behold how they be allowed to bee amongst the children of God, and their portion is amongst the saints. Wherefore we haue erred from the way of truth, and the brightnesse of righteousnesse did not shine vpon vs. What did our pride auaile vs? And what profit did the boasting of our riches bring vs? They are all vanished away like a shadow. The which words we haue registred vp into perpetuall memory, and we do despise euery attempt that shall lift vp it selfe against the truth of God; and reioycing in troubles, we may be reproued, put to shame and rebuked, yea and finally be slaine and killed, but we will neither yeeld, nor bee ouercome. And with great triumph will we reioyce in our fathers doings, of whom you (as a beardlesse boy, and of small knowledge) haue not rightly conceiued: who indeed despising princes commandements, haue deserued euerlasting reward.

Yea true, if he had compelled you to forsake the name of Christ, which he neuer did.

Oh how craftilie doth Satan here shape himselfe to an angell of light!

There is a certaine chronicle in old English meeter, which among other matters speaking of William Rufus, declareth him to be so sumptuous and excessiue in pompous apparel, that hee being not contented with a paire of hose of a low price, which was three shillings, caused a paire to bee bought of a marke; whereupon his chamberleine procuring a paire much worse then the other before, said:

That they costened a marke, and vnneth he them so bought:
Yea belamie (quoth the king) they are well bought.

Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be seene betweene the hose of princes then, & the hose of seruingmen now.

Ex vetusto chronico.

Appendix historiæ.

After the time of this king William, the name of kings ceased in the countrie of Wales among the Britaines, since king Ris, who in the reigne of this king, the yeare of our Lord 1093, was slaine in Wales. Ex continuatione Roger. Houed.

Kings ceased in Wales.

King Henrie the first.

{Anno 1100}

HEnry the first of that name, the third son of William Conquerour, succeeding his brother Rufus, began his reigne in England, the yeere of our Lord 1100, who for his knowledge and science in the seuen liberall arts was surnamed Clerke or Beuclerke. In whom may well appeare, how knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce to the gouernment and administration of any realme or countrie. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the clergie, released the grieuous paiments, reduced againe king Edwards lawes, with emendation thereof; hee reformed the old and vntrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arme, he greatly abhorred excesse of meats and drinks, many things misused before his time hee reformed, and vsed to vanquish more by counsell then by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton, he secluded from his court. This man (as appeareth) little fauoured the vsurped power of the bishop of Rome. Soone after he was king, hee married Matild or Maud, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, and of Margaret his wife, daughter of Edward the outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed nun in Winchester, whom notwithstanding (without the popes dispensation) he married by the consent of Anselme, by the which Maud he receiued two sons, William and Richard, and two daughters, Maud and Marie, which Maud afterward was married to Henry the fift emperor, &c.

Henrie Beuclerke the first, king of England.

What learning doth in a prince.

The lawes of king Edwards reduced.

The measure of England made after the length of king Henries arme.

Wanton persons remoued out of the court.

Ex Mat. Paris. Flor. hist.

In the second yeare of his reigne, Robert his elder brother duke of Normandie, who being occupied in the christian warres against the Turks, and being elect (as you heard) king of Ierusalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refused the kingdome thereof: for the which (as is thought) he neuer sped well after. Thus the said Robert leauing off the Lords businesse, and returning into Normandie, made there his preparation, and came ouer into England with a great host to challenge the crowne: but by mediation of the lords it was agreed vpon, that Robert should haue yearely during his life three thousand marks, as was likewise promised him before by king Rufus his brother: and whether of them ouerliued the other, to be the others heire. And thus Robert departed againe into Normandie, to the great discontentation of his lords there. But in few yeares after, the forenamed tribute of three thousand marks through the meanes of queene Maud, was released to the king his brother. In processe of time, variance falling betweene king Henrie and the said Robert his brother: at length Robert in his war was taken prisoner and brought ouer into England, and was put into the castle of Cardife in Wales, where hee continued as prisoner while he liued.

Example what it is to leane off the Lords businesse.

Duke Robert taken prisoner.

In this time, as about the third yeare of this king, the hospitall of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded (by meanes of a minstrell belonging vnto the king, named Raier) and after it was finished by Richard Whittington alderman and maior of London. This place of Smithfield was at y day a lay stal of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the kings lawes were put to execution.

The hospitall of Bartholomew founded. Raier and Richard Whittington founders of saint Bartholomewes in London.

Diuers strict lawes were by this king prouided, especially against theeues and felons: that whosoeuer were taken in that fault, no money should saue him from hanging.

Item, that whoso did counterfeit false money, should haue both his eyes and nether parts of his body cut off.

Item, in the same councell was decreed an order for priests to be sequestred from their wiues, which before were not forbidden, according as the words of mine author do purport, whose words be these: *Anselmus prohibuit vxores sacerdotibus Anglorum, antè non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent, &c.* Henr. Hunt.

Ex Hen. lib. 7. Anselmus.

Item, it was then decreed, that monks and priests should beare no rule ouer lay persons.

Item, it was then decreed concerning brodering of haire, and wearing of garments.

Item, that the secret contract betweene a yong lad and a yong maid should not stand: with other things more concerning the excommunication of Sodomits, &c.

In the storie of William Rufus before, was declared how Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie departing out of the realme, went vnto the pope; who after the death of king William was sent for againe by the foresaid king Henrie, and so returned againe, and was at the councell of the king at Westminster; where the king in the presence of the lords as well temporall as spirituall, ordained and inuested two bishops, Roger bishop of Salisburie, and Roger bishop of Hereford. During which parliament or councell of the king, Anselme in his conuocation deposed and displaced diuers abbats and other prelats from their rowmes and dignities: either for that they lawfully came not by them, or vprightly did not administer the same.

The king ordeined and inuested bishops without the pope.

After this councell, and the other before set forth by Anselme, Herbert bishop of Norwich, had much adoe with the priests of his diocesse: for they would neither leaue their wiues nor yet giue ouer their benefices. Whereupon he wrote to Anselme the archbishop for counsell, what was to be done therin. Which Anselme required him (as he did others more the same time by writing) to persuade the people of Northfolke and Suffolke: that as they professed christianity, they should subdue them as rebels against the church, and vtterly to driue both them and their wiues out of the countrie, placing monks in their rowmes, as by the epistles of the said Anselme doth appeare. Wherof certaine parcels shall hereafter (by the grace of Christ) insue for the better euidence of this and the other his acts aboue recited.

Herbert Bishop of Norwich driueth his priests from their wiues had much adoe.

Anselme cruell and fierce against married priests. Ex epist. Ansel. 176.

The like businesse also had Gerard the archbishop of Yorke, in depriuing the priests of his prouince from their wiues:

which thing with all his excommunications and thundrings he could hardly bring about. Upon this ruffling of Anselme with married priests, were riming verses made to helpe the matter withall, when reason could not serue. Which verses for the follie thereof I thought here to annex.

Versus malè fe-riati, ex bibliis Rumsey.

O malè viuentes, versus audite sequentes,
Vxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum.
Quod si non facitis, inferna claustra petetis.
Christi sponsa iubet, ne presbyter ille ministret,
Qui tenet vxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem:
Contradicentem fore dicimus insipientem:
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius sed amore.

§ Anno § 1103

A strife betweene king Henrie and Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie.

About the end of the third yeare of this king, which was the computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell betweene king Henrie and Anselme, the occasion whereof was this. Ye heard a little before how Henrie the foresaid king had of his owne authoritie inuested two bishops, one Roger which was chancellor, bishop of Salisburie: and another bishop of Hereford. Besides them diuers also he inuested, and diuers other like things toke hee vpon him in the ecclesiasticall state, which hee might lawfully do, Gods word allowing well the same: but because it was restrained by the bishop of Rome for him so to doe, this Anselme swelled, fretted and waxed so mad, that he would neither consent to it, neither yet confirme them, nor communicate nor talke friendly with them, whom the king had instituted and inuested: but opprobriously called them abortiues, or children of destruction, disdainefully rebuking the gentle king as a defiler of religion and pollutor of their holy ceremonies: as witnesseth Polydorus. With this vncomely outrage the king was much displeased (as he might full well) and required Gerard the archbishop of Yorke (as he ought him allegiance) to consecrat them: who without delay did so, well performing the same, saving that one William Giffard, to whom the king had giuen the bishoprike of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke. For the which cause the king (worthilie with him offended) depriued him both of bishoprike and goods, and banished him the realme.

Giffard bishop of Winchester refuseth to be consecrated by the archbishop of Yorke.

A strife betweene king Henrie and Anselme archbishop of Canturburie. *Ex Guli. lib. 1. de gestis.*

Moreouer, the king required of Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie, to doe vnto him homage after the maner of his ancestors, as witnesseth Guliel. de gestis pontif. Anglo. Also it was asked of the said Anselme, whether that he would be with the king in giuing inuestures, as Lanfrancus his predecessor was with his father. To whom Anselme said, that he promised not at any time, that hee would enter into this order, to keepe the law or custom of his father, as Lanfrancus did. Moreouer, as concerning homage to be done to the king, that he refused, alleging the censures of the popes excommunication, who in his councell of Rome a little before, had giuen forth open sentence of excommunication, vpon all such laie persons (whatsoeuer they were) that should from henceforth confer or giue any spirituall promotions: also vpon them that receiued them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receiuers. Moreouer, he accursed all them that for benefices or other ecclesiasticall promotions should subiect themselues vnder the homage or seruice of any great man, king, prince, duke, or earle of the laitie. For it was vnseemely (said the pope) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were conuerted into so high a working, as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their crosses, which created all, and to offer vp the same before the sight of the father for the saluation of the whole world) should be brought to such a slauerie, as to bee subiect to those filthie hands, which both day and night are polluted with shamefull touchings, robberies and bloodshed, &c. This decree of pope Urban, Anselme alleging for himselfe, denied to subiect himselfe to the kings homage, fearing (as he said) the popes excommunication. Vpon this, messengers were sent to Rome on both parts vnto the pope (then Paschalis) who stoutly standing to the steps & determinations of Urban his predecessor, would in no case yeeld to the kings inuesting.

Acts of the Roman councell against laymen to giue any spirituall promotions. No spirituall person to be vnder subiection to any lay personage. *Ex Iornalensis bibliotheca historia.* Anselme refuseth to do homage to his king. Messengers sent to Rome. *Ex Matthæo Paris.* *Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de gestis pont. Ang.*

In the meane time, while there was long disputation on both sides for inuesting; the nobles of the realme contended, that inuestings did belong to the kings dignitie: wherefore the king calling for Anselme againe, required him either to doe homage to him, or else to voide his kingdome. To whom Anselme replying againe, required the popes letters to be brought forth, and according to the tenor thereof, so the matter to bee decided. For now the messengers were returned from Rome, with the popes answere, altogither bearing with Anselme. Then said the king: What haue I to doe with the popes letters? I will not forgo the liberties of my kingdom for any pope. Thus the contention continued betweene them. Anselme saith, hee would not out of the realme, but depart home to his church: and there see who would offer him any violence, and so did. Not long after, message came from the king to Anselme, requesting him after a gentle sort, to repaire to the kings presence againe, to set an end of the controuersie begun: whereunto Anselme granted and came. Then were new ambassadors sent againe to the pope, that he would something qualifie and moderate (or rather abolish) the straitnesse of the Roman decree before mentioned. On the part of Anselme went two monks, Baldewinus and Alexander. On the kings behalfe were sent two bishops, Robert, bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert bishop of Norwich, with the kings letters written vnto the pope, containing in forme as followeth.

The king hath nothing to do with the popes letters.

Messengers sent againe to Rome.

Patri venerabili Paschali summo pontifici, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Promotioni vestræ in sedem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ plurimùm congaudeo, petens vt amicitia quæ patrimeo cùm antecessoribus vestris fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Vnde, vt dilectio & benignitas a me videatur sumere initium, beneficiũ quod ab antecessoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eósque honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei antecessores vestri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo vt habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, vt dignitatis vsus & consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Angliæ habuit, ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integrè obtineam. Notúmque habeat sanctitas vestra, quòd me viuente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates & vsus regni Angliæ non minuentur. Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me dilectione ponerem: optimates mei (imo totius Angliæ populus) id nullo modo paterentur. Habita igitur (charissime pater) vtiliori deliberatione, ita se erga nos moderetur benignitas vestra, ne quid inuitus faciam, & a vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia. In English.

The letter of king Henrie the first vnto the pope.

To the reuerend father Paschall the chiefe bishop, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. For this your promotion vnto the see of the holy church of Rome, as I am heartily glad: so my request is to you, that the friendship and amity, which hath beene tofore betweene my father and your predecessors in times past, may now also betweene vs in like maner continue vndiminished. And that loue and gentlenesse may first begin on my part; here I send to you that gift that S. Peter had in former time of my predecessors. And likewise the same honors and obedience, which your predecessors haue had in the realme of England before in the time of my father, I will you to haue the same in my time also: after this forme I meane and tenor, that the vsage and maner of dignitie and customs which my father hath had in this realme of England in the time of your ancestors; I in like ample maner also now in your time may fully inioy the same in this the said realme of England. Thus therefore be it knowne to your holinesse, that during this life of mine (God almightie abling me to the same) these aboue mamed dignities, vsages, and customes of this realme of England, shall in no part be lessened. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I should) would so much deiect my selfe vnto such cowardnesse: yet my nobles, yea the whole people of England in no case would suffer it. Wherefore (deare father) vsing with your selfe a better deliberation in the matter, let your gentlenesse so moderat it selfe towards vs, lest ye compell me (which I shal do against my will) to recede and depart vtterly from your obedience.

Spoken like a king.

The king is at a point to leaue the popes obedience.

At the same terme also hee sent another letter or epistle to the said pope, craning of him the pall for Gerardus archbishop of Yorke, the forme whereof here also followeth.

Another letter of king Henrie the first, sent to the pope

Reuerendo & diligendo patri vniuersali papæ Paschali, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Amor quem plurimùm erga vos habeo, & benignitas quæ multùm vestros actus exornat, &c. In English.

To the reuerend and welbeloued father, vniuersall pope Paschalis, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. The great loue which I beare to you, and the no lesse gentlenesse in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, ministreth to me boldnesse to write. And whereas I thought to haue retained still this Gerardus with me, and to haue craued your pall for him by letters: yet notwithstanding, when his desire could not otherwise be satisfied, but would needs present himselfe before your presence, by his owne heart to craue of you the same, I haue sent him vp vnto you, desiring your benigne fatherhood in this behalfe, that he obtaining the pall at your hands, may be sent home againe to me. And thus requring the assistance of your praiers, I pray the Lord long to conserue your apostleship.

This second letter of the king in sending for the pall, was well taken of all the court of Rome, which (as mine author saith) procured such fauor to Gerardus archbishop of Yorke, and bringer therof: that no complaint of his aduersaries afterwards could hurt him with the pope. Notwithstanding he was accused grieuously for diuers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of Anselme archbishop of Canturburie.

A place of Polydorus Virg. found faultie. *Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de pont. Ang.*

Polydorus in his eleuenth booke of his English historie affirmeth, that Anselmus also went vp to Rome with Gerardus, about the same cause. But both the premises and sequell of the storie argue that to be vntrue, for what needed the two monks to be sent vp on Anselms side, if hee had gone vp himselfe? Againe, how could the pope write downe by the said messengers to Anselme, if hee had there been himselfe present? For so proceedeth the storie by the narration of Malmesburie and others.

After

The pope loth to goe against his owne profit.

After the ambassadors (thus on both sides sent vp to Rome) had labored their cause with instant sute, one against the other; the pope glad to gratifie the king (yet loth to grant his request, being against his owne profit, and therefore more inclining to Anselms side) sendeth downe his letters to the said Anselme, signifying that he would not repeale the statutes of his holy fathers for one mans pleasure: charging him moreouer, not only not to yelde in the cause of inuesting, but constantly to adhere to the foresaid decreement of pope Urban his predecessor, &c. Besides this letter to Anselme, he directed also another to the king himselfe: which letter, mine author saith, the king suppressed and did not shew, onely declaring by word of mouth, what the ambassadors had said vnto him from the pope. Which was, that he permitted vnto him the licence of inuesting, vpon condition that in other things hee would execute the office of a good prince, &c. To this also the testimony of the two bishops aboue minded, did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the two monks on the other side replied againe, bringing forth the letter of Anselme to the contrary, &c. To them was answered againe, that more credit was to be giuen to the degree and testimony of the bishops, then to theirs. And as for monks, they had no suffrage nor testimony (said they) in secular matters, and therefore they might hold their peace. But this is no secular matter, said Baldwine abbat of Ramsey. Whereunto the nobles againe of the kings part answered, saying; that he was a good man, and of such demeanor, as they had nothing to say against him, neither so would if they might: but yet both humane and diuine reason taught them so, to yeelde more credit and confidence to the testimony of three bishops, then of two monks. Whereby may well appeare, that Anselme at that time went not with them. Then Anselme seeing the king and his peeres how they were set, and hearing also the testimony of the three bishops, against whom he saw he could not preuaile, and also hauing the popes seale, which hee saw to be so euident on the contrary side, made his answere againe; that he would send to Rome for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreouer, that he neither would, nor durst giue ouer his cause, though it should cost him his life, to do or proceed against the determination of the church of Rome, vnlesse he had a perfect warrant of absolution from thence, for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that hee should not send, but go himselfe to Rome. And much intreaty was made, that he would take that iourny in hand himselfe, in his owne person, to present himselfe to the pope for the peace of the church and of his country. And so at the length, by perswasion, was content, went to Rome, and spake with the pope. In short time after followeth also the kings ambassador (William Warlwast) new elect bishop of Excester, who there pleading on the kings side, for the ancient customes of the realme, and for the kings right of inuesting, &c. first declared, how England of a long continuance had euer bin a prouince peculiar to the church of Rome, and how it paied duly his yeerely tribute vnto the same. Inferring moreouer how the king, as he was of nature very liberal, so also of courage a prince stout and valiant. Then what a shame would he thinke it should be to him (as it were indeed) if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his progenitors, should not defend and maintaine the liberties and customes by them procured? Wherefore he desired the pope to see to the matter, so as might stand both with the kings honor, and also with his owne profit and aduantage; who otherwise no doubt should lose a great peece of mony out of the realme, vnlesse he did remit something of the seuerity of his canons and lawes decretall.

He meaneth beside the two bishops, Gerardus, which made the third.

Anselme a denout chaplen to the church of Rome.

Anselme tourneth againe to Rome.

The effect of the oration of M. Warlwast at the popes court.

With these and such other perswasions like to the same effect, the court of Rome was well contented, agreeing that the kings request ought with all fauor to be granted. But the pope and Anselme sat still marking their doings. The ambassador supposing their silence to be halfe a yeelding vnto him, added moreouer and said; that the king, no not for the crowne of his realme, would lose the authority of inuesting or admitting his prelats within his dominion. Whereunto the proud pope answering againe, burst out in these words: Nor I (said he) for the price of this head (as thou saiest) will lose the giuing of spirituall promotions in England, and confirming it with an oth (Before God saith he I speake it) know it for a certaine, &c. Then it followeth in the story of Malmesbury: With this word of the pope, the mindes of the rest were changed, saying: Benedicta sit cordis tui constantia, benedicta oris tui loquela. The kings attorny also was therewith dashed, who notwithstanding yet brought to passe, that certaine of the kings customes vsed before of his father, were released vnto him. At the which time in the same court was decreed, that (the king only which had inuested them, being excepted) the other which were inuested by the king, to be excommunicated: the absolution and satisfaction of whom, was left to Anselme the archbishop.

Ex Guli. de gestis pont. lib. 1.
Ex Matth. Paris. lib. 3.
A proud answer of the pope.

Excommunication abused.

Thus Anselme being dismissed from Rome, took his iournie toward England. But the ambassador pretending to goe to S. Nicolas, remained behinde, to see whether he could win the popes mind to the kings purpose. Which when he saw it would not be, he ouertaketh Anselme by the way, at Placentia, and opened to him the kings pleasure. The king (saith he) giueth to you in charge and commandement, that if you will come to England, and there behaue your selfe to him, as your predecessors did to his father, you should be receiued and retained in the realme accordingly: if not, you are wise enough (saith he) yee know what I meane, and what will follow, &c. And so with these words parting from him, returned againe to the king. Anselme remained at Lions a yere and a halfe, writting diuers letters to the king, after this effect, and words as followeth.

Anselme restrained from comming to England. Ex Radulph. Londinens.

To his reuerend lord, Henry, king of England, Anselme, archbishop of Canturbury, faithfull seruice with praiers. Epist. 224.

A letter of Anselme to king Henry.

Although you vnderstand by William Warlwast, what we haue done at Rome; yet I shall shortly shew you that belongeth to mee. When I came to Rome, I declared the cause wherefore I came to the lord pope. He answered that he would not swarue from the statutes of his predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should haue no fellowship with them that receiued inuestings of churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this prohibition, except they will doe penance, and forsake that they had receiued, without hope of recouery, neither that they should communicat with the other bishops that had consecrated such men, except they would present themselues to the iudgement of the apostolike sea. The foresaid William can be a witnesse of all these things if he will. This William when we departed asunder (reckoning vp in your behalfe the loue and liberalitie which you haue had alwaies towards me) warned me as your archbishop, that I should shew my selfe such a one, that if I would come into England, that I might be with you as my predecessour was with your father: and yee might intreat me with the same honour and liberality that your father intreated my predecessor. By which words I vnderstand, that except I should shew my selfe such a one, you would not haue mee come into England. For your loue and liberalitie I thanke you: but that I should bee with you as my predecessor was with your father, I cannot doe it. For I dare not do homage to you, nor dare communicat with them that take inuestings of churches at your hands: because of the foresaid inhibition made, I my selfe hearing it. Wherefore I desire you to send me your pleasure heerein (if it please you) whether I may returne into England (as I said) with your peace, and power of mine office.

The proud stoutnesse of a prelat in a wrong cause.

In the meane while, great businesse there was, and much posting went to and fro betweene the king, the archbishop, and the pope, but nothing was done: for neither would the pope agree to the king, neither would the king condescend to the archbishop. At last, the archbishop seeing by no meanes he could preuaile against the king, thought to reuenge himselfe by excommunication, and so went about the same. The king, hauing word thereof by the countesse Adela his sister, desireth her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselme with her: whereupon (through the means of the countesse) reconcilement was made, and the archbishop was restored to his former possessions againe. Only his returne into England was deferred, because he would not communicat with those whom the king had inuested. So the king tooke his passage ouer into England, and Anselme made his abode at the abby of Becke.

Anselme about to excommunicat the king.

Reconcilement made betweene the king and Anselme.

Then were ambassadors againe directed vnto Rome, William Warlwast, and Baldwin aboue named, abbat of Ramesey, who at length concluded the long controuersie betweene the king and the pope, vpon this agreement, that the king should take homage of the bishops elect, but should not deale with inuesting them by staffe & ring, &c. While the ambassadors were thus in their sute at Rome, diuers complaints were daily brought from England to Anselme, against the priests and canons, who in his absence, contrary to the late councell holden at London, receiued their wiues vnto their houses againe, and so were permitted by the king, paying him certaine mony for the same. Anselme (the more enemy against lawfull marriage) grieued therewith, addresseth his letters vnto the king, requiring him to refraine from any more taking of such exactions; declaring moreouer and affirming, that the offences of all such ecclesiasticall ministers, must be corrected by the instance of bishops, and not of lay men. To this the king answereth gently againe by letters, tempering himselfe; how he purposed shortly to come ouer into Normandy, and if he had done any thing amisse, either in these or other things, he would reforme it by his obedience.

Ambassage to Rome.

Guliel. Malmesb. lib. 1. de gest. pontif.

Priests receiued their wiues againe by the absence of Anselme.

The faults of ecclesiasticall ministers belong to none but to bishops to correct, quoth Anselme.

It was not long after (the messengers being now returned from Rome) but the king as he had promised, sped him into Normandy, where hee warring against his brother Robert, brought both him and the country of Normandy at last vnder his subiection. But first meeting with Anselme at the abby of Becke, he conuented and agreed with him in all such points as the archbishop required. As first, that all his churches, which before were made tributary vnto king William his brother, now should remaine free from all tribute. Item, that he should require nothing of the said churches or prouinces, in the time of the seat being vacant. Moreouer, concerning such priests and ministers, as had giuen mony to the king for their company with their wiues, it was agreed that they should surceasse from all

The king brought vnder the archbishop.

Conditions granted by the king to Anselme.

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all ecclesiasticall function, the space of three yéeres, and that the king should take no more after such maner. Item, that all such goods, fruits, and possessions, as had been taken away before from the archbishoprick, should be restored at his comming againe into England, &c.

Lawfull matrimony punished.

Anselme returneth into England.

This Anselme, the stout champion of popery and superstition, after this victory gotten vpon the king, for the which he so long fought; with ioy and triumph saileth into England, hauing all his popish requests obtained. Where first he fleeth like a lion vpon the married priests, contrary to the word of God, diuorcing and punishing that by mans authority, which the eternall and almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them, which did hold any church by farme vnder the king. Against simony likewise, and against them that married within the seuenth degrée, he proceedeth with his full pontificall authority.

Priests driuen againe from their wiues.

Anno 1106

Shortly after, as king Henry had finished his warre in Normandy, and with victory returned againe into England, about the sixth yéere of his raigne, Anselme archbishop of Canturbury (by the permission of the king) assembled a great councell at Westminster in London, of the clergy and prelats of England.

In the which by the bishop of Romes authority he so wrought with the king, that at length, albeit (as the story saith, not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no temporall man after that day, should make inuesture with crosse or with ring, or with pastorall hooke. In this councell sundry and diuers iniunctions were giuen forth to priests and deacons: as diuers other synodall acts also by the same Anselme had been concluded in other councels before. And because here falleth in mention of the acts synodall concluded in the time of this Anselme, I thought here good to packe them all in one generall heape together, as we find them in Malmesbury, and in other sundry authors scatteringly recited.

Ex lib. Guliel. de gestis pontifi. l. 1. Ex Iornalensi & alijs.

The first thing decréed by this Anselme in his synodal councels, was touching the fault of simonie, whereby diuers both bishops and abbats (as is aforesaid) were at the same time deposed. And lay men forbidden to conferre any ecclesiasticall promotion.

Priestly apparell.

Also it was decréed, that no bishop should beare any office in secular mens businesse or meetings. And that such should not goe apparrelled as the lay men did, but should haue their vestures decent and meet for religious persons. And that in all places they should neuer go without some to beare witnesse of their conuersation.

Archdeaconries not to be farmed.

Item, that no archdeaconries should be let out to farme.

Item, that no archdeacon should be vnder the degrée of a deacon.

Mariage of priests forbidden.

Item, that no archdeacon, priest, deacon, subdeacon, colligener, nor canon, should from thencefoorth marry a wife, nor yet kéep her, if he had been maried to one before.

How of chastitie brought in.

Item, that euery subdeacon, being vnder the degrée of a canon (after the profession of chastity, marrying a wife) should be subiect to the same rule.

Benefices not to goe by heritage.

They ordained also, that a priest kéeping company with his wife, should be reputed vnlawfull, and that he should say no masse; and if he said masse, he should not be heard.

They charged that none were admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degrée of a subdeacon, vnlesse he did profesle chastity.

That priests sonnes should not claime by heritage the benefices of their fathers, as the custome had alwaies béene before.

How then was Steuen Gardiner lord chancellor in queene Maries time?

Item, that no spirituall person should sit in any secular office, as to be procurators or iudges of bloud.

Item, that priests should not resort to tauerns, or bankets, nor sit drinking by the fire side.

That the garments of priests should be of one colour, and that their shoes should be decent.

Priests crowns
Tithes.
Buying of prebends.
Building of chapels.
Euery church to finde his own priest.
Abbats to maintaine no war.

Item, that monks or any other of the clergy (if they forsake their order) either to come againe, or to be excommunicated.

Item, that the men of the clergy should weare broad crownes.

Item, that no tithes should be giuen but to the church.

Item, that no churches or prebends should be bought.

That no new chapels should bee made without consent of the bishop.

That no church should be hallowed, before the necessary prouision were made for the priest, and for the church to be maintained.

That abbats should set forth no men to war, and that they must both léep and eat in the same house with their monks, vnlesse some great necessity doe let.

Monks limited in giuing penance.

Item, that monks doe inioine no penance to any man without the knowledge of his abbat. And that their abbats may giue no licence therein, but onely for such persons whose charge they haue of soule.

Monks no godfathers, nor nuns godmothers.

That no monks should bee godfathers, nor nuns godmothers.

Abby lands.

That monks should haue no lordships to farme.

Item, that monks should take no churches but by the bishop, neither should so spoile and oppresse the churches giuen to them, with their rents, that sufficient were not left for the ministers of the same.

Impropriations restrained.

That priuie contract betweene man and woman without witnesse should not stand, but be frustrat if each party doe goe from the contract.

Priuy contracts.

Item, that such as weare long haire of the clergy, be so rounded, that part of their eare appeare, and that their eies be not couered.

Rounding.

Item, that there be no matrimoniall copulation, within the seuenth degrée of kindred, nor so to continue if they bee maried: but the marriage to be broken. And if any being priuie to that incest, do not detect the same, he to be guilty of the same crime.

Mariage within the seuenth degree restrained.

Item, that no funerall or burynges be without their owne parish church, so that the priest thereof doe lose that which to him is due.

Burynges.

Item, that no man vpon any newe fangled rashnesse, do attribute any reuerence or opinion of holinesse to dead mens bodies, to fountaines, or to any other thing (as the vse hath been in times past) without authority of the bishop.

No holinesse to be giuen to shrines and places.

Item, that no buying and selling be vsed hereafter in England of men, as of other cattell.

Selling and buying of men.

Item, after the restraint of priests marriage, when filthy sodomitry began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced also to make an act for that; which was this.

Sodomitry.

With a grieuous curse we condemne both them that occupie the vngratious vice of sodomitry, and them also that willingly assist them, or be wicked doers with them in the same, till such time as they may deserue absolution by penance and confession.

A flay with a for taile for sodomitry.

So that whatsoeuer he be that is noised or proued to be of this wickednes (if he be a religious person) he shal from thencefoorth be promoted to no degrée of honor, and that which he hath shall be taken from him.

If he be a lay person, he shall bee depriued of all his fréedome within the land, and be no better then a forrener.

And because it shal be knowne, the absolution of such as be secular, to belong only to bishops: it was therfore enacted, that on euery sunday in euery parish church of England, the said excommunication should be published, &c.

But marke in this great matter what followed. For as Ranulphus Cestrensis witnesseth: this grieuous generall curse was sone called backe againe by the sute of certaine, which perswaded Anselme, that the publication or opening of that vice, gaue kindlings to the same in the hearts of lewd persons, ministring occasion of more boldnesse to them to doe the like. And so to stop the occasion of filthy sodomitry, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and restrainment of priests vnlawfull mariage (which chiefly was the cause thereof) remained still. And thus euer since horrible sodomitry remained in the clergy both for lacke of marriage more vsed, and for lacke of publication lesse punished.

Ranulph. Cestrensis, lib. 7.

Note the preposterous proceeding of Anselme in ceasing the vice of sodomitry.

Besides all these synodall acts aboue comprehended, and giuen out by Anselme in his councels before, here also in this present councell at Westminster, in the yéere of this king aforesaid, he also directed other new iniunctions to the priests.

First, that they and their wiues should neuer more meet in one house, neither yet haue dwelling in their territories.

Penalties and forfets against priests that keepe their wiues.

Item, that the priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should kéepe no woman in their house, vnlesse they were of their next kin.

Item, for such as had disseuered themselues from the society of their wiues, yet for some honest cause they had to common with them, they might, so it were without doore, and with two or three lawfull witnesses.

In the latter dates shal come false teachers, forbidding mariage, and eating of meats, &c.

Item, if any of them should be accused by two or three witnesses, and could not purge himselfe againe by sir able men of his owne order (if he be a priest, or if he be a deacon by foure, or if he be a subdeacon by two) then he should be iudged a transgressor of the statutes, depriued of his benefice, and be made infamous, or be put to open reproch of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, as in contempt of this new statute, held still his wife, and presumed to say masse, vpon the eight day after (if he made not due satisfaction) should be solemnly excommunicated.

Item, all archdeacons and deacons to be straitly sworne, not to winke or dissemble at their méetings, nor to beare with them for mony. And if they would not be sworne to this, then to lose their offices without recouery.

Purification of priests that had been maried.

Item, such priests as forsaking their wiues, were willing to serue still and remaine in their holy order, first must cease forty daies from their ministration, setting vicars for them in the meane time to serue; and taking such penance vpon them, as by their bishop should be inioined them.

Thus haue ye heard the tedious treatise of the life and doings of Anselme, how superstitious in his religion, how stubborne against his prince he was, what occasion of warre and discord hee ministred by his complaints (if they had béene taken) what zeale without right knowledge, what feruencie without cause he pretended, what paines without profit hee tooke. Who if he had bestowed that time and trauell in preaching

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ching Chriſt at home to his flocke, which he toke in gadding to Rome, to complaine of his country, in my minde he had been better occupied. Moreouer, what violent and tyrannicall iniunctions he ſet forth of inueſting and other things, yee haue heard; but ſpecially againſt the lawfull and godly mariage of prieſts. Wherein, what a vehement aduerſary he was, here may appeare by theſe minutes or peeces extracted out of his letters, which we haue here annexed; in forme and effect as followeth.

A letter of Anſelme.

Anſelme archbiſhop, to his brethren and deareſt ſonnes the Lord prior and others at Canturbury.

King Henry permitted prieſts to haue both churches and wiues. *Ex epiſt. Anſel. 77. & 177.* Pope Paſchal hath ſo decreed it at Rome. Ergo prieſts muſt haue no wiues.

AS concerning prieſts, of whom the king commanded that they ſhould haue both their churches and their women as they had in the time of his father, & of Lanfrancus archbiſhop: both becauſe the king hath reueſted and reſeized of the whole archbiſhopricke, & becauſe ſo curſed a mariage was forbidden in a councell in the time of his father and of the ſaid archbiſhop: boldly I command by the authority which I haue by my archbiſhopricke, not onely within my archbiſhopricke, but alſo throughout England: that all prieſts which keepe women ſhall be depriued of their churches and eccleſiaſticall benefices.

A letter of pope Paſchalis to Anſelme.

Paſchal biſhop, ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to his reuerend brother Anſelme, archbiſhop of Canturbury, greeting and apoſtolicall bleſſing.

Ex epiſt. Anſel. 33. If profit of the church may come by prieſts children, what hurt the were it to the church for prieſts to haue wiues?

WE beleeue your brotherhood is not ignorant what is decreed in the Romiſh church concerning prieſts children. But becauſe there is ſo great multitude of ſuch within the realm of England, that almoſt the greater and better part of the clerks are reckoned to be on this ſide: therefore we commit this diſpenſation to your care. For we grant theſe to be promoted to holy offices by reaſon of the need at this time, and for the profit of the church (ſuch as learning and life ſhall commend among you) that yet notwithſtanding the preiudice of the eccleſiaſticall decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.

Another letter of Anſelme for inueſting.

To the reuerend lord and louing father Paſchal high biſhop, Enſelme ſeruant of Canturbury church, due ſubiection and continuall praiers.

King Henry and his nobles ready to forſake the Romiſh church.

AFter that I returned to my biſhoprick in England, I ſhewed the apoſtolicall decree: which I being preſent, heard in the Romiſh councell. 1. That no man ſhould receiue inueſting of churches at the kings hand, or any lay perſon, or ſhould become his man for it, and that no man ſhould preſume to conſecrat him that did offend herein. When the king and his nobles, and the biſhops themſelues, and others of the lower degree heard theſe things, they took them ſo grieuouſly, that they ſaid they would in no caſe agree to the thing, and that they would driue me out of the kingdome, and forſake the Romiſh church, rather then keep this thing. Wherefore reuerend father, I deſire your counſell by your letter, &c.

Another letter of Anſelme.

Anſelme archbiſhop, to the reuerend Gudulphus biſhop, and to Arnulphus prior, and to William archdeacon of Canturbury, and to all in his dioceſſe, greeting.

A letter of Anſelme againſt prieſts receiuing againe their wiues. *Ex epiſt. 37.* Prieſts excommunicated for receiuing againe their wiues.

WIlliam our archdeacon hath written vnto me, that ſome prieſts that be vnder his cuſtody (taking againe their women that were forbidden) haue fallen vnto the vncleannes from the which they were drawne by wholeſome counſell and commandement. When the archdeacon would amend this thing, they vtterly deſpiſed with wicked pride, his warning and worthy commandement to be receiued. Then he calling togither many religious men and obedient prieſts, excommunicated worthily the proud and diſobedient, that beaſtly deſpiſed the curſe, and were not afraid to defile the holy miniſtery, as much as lay in them, &c.

Vnto theſe letters aboue prefixed, I haue alſo adioined an other of the ſaid Anſelme, touching a great caſe of conſcience, of a monks whipping of himſelfe. Wherein may appeare both the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition of thoſe religious men, and the iudgement of this Anſelme in the ſame matter.

Another letter of Anſelme.

Anſelme archbiſhop, to Bernard monke of the abby of S. Warburg, greeting and praier.

A letter of Anſelme.

IHeard it ſaid of your lord abbat, that thou iudgeſt it to be of greater merit, when a monke either beateth himſelfe, or deſireth himſelfe to be beaten of another; then when he is beaten (not of his owne will) in the chapter, by the commandement of the prelacie. But is not ſo as you think. For that iudgement that any man commandeth to himſelfe, is kingly. But that which he ſuffereth by obedience in the chapter is monkiſh. The one is of his owne will, the other is of obedience, and not of his owne will. That which I call kingly, kings and rich proud men command to be done to themſelues. But that which I call monkiſh, they take, not commãding, but obaying. The kingly is ſo much eaſier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the ſufferer. But the monkiſh is ſo much the grieuouſer, by how much it diſſereth from the will of the ſufferer. In the kingly iudgement, the ſufferer is iudged to be his owne: in the monkiſh he is proued not to be his owne. For although the king or rich man, when he is beaten, willingly ſheweth himſelfe humbly to be a ſinner; yet he would not ſubmit himſelfe to this humbleneſſe at any others commandement, but would withſtand the commander with all his ſtrength. But when a monke ſubmitteth himſelfe to the whip humbly in the chapter at the will of the prelat; the truth iudgeth him to be of ſo much greater merit, by how much he humbleth himſelfe more, and more truly then the other. For hee humbleth himſelfe to God only, becauſe he knoweth his ſinnes. But this man humbleth himſelfe to man for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himſelfe both to God and man for Gods cauſe, then he which humbleth himſelfe to God only, and not to Gods commandement. Therefore if he that humbleth himſelfe, ſhall be extolled, Ergo he that more humbleth himſelfe, ſhall be more exalted. And where I ſaid, that when a monk is whipped, that it differeth from his wil; you muſt not ſo vnderſtãd it, as though he would not patiently beare it with an obedient will; but becauſe by a naturall appetite he would not ſuffer the ſorrow. But if ye ſay, I doe not ſo much flie the open beating for the paines (which I feele alſo ſecretly) as for the ſhame: know then that hee is ſtronger that reioiceth to beare this for obedience ſake. Therefore be thou ſure, that one whipping of a monke by obedience, is of more merit then innumerable whippings taken by his owne mind. But whereas hee is ſuch, that alwaies he ought to haue his heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to iudge him then to be of a great merit, whether hee be whipped priuily or openly, &c.

Ex epiſt. 255. Whether is more merit for a monke to cauſe himſelfe in the chapter to be whipped, or to ſuffer obediently the whipping of his abbat.

The iudgement or concluſion of Anſelme vpon the caſe. Falſe opinion of merit.

And thus much concerning Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturbury, whoſe ſtout example gaue no little courage to Thurſtinus and Becket his ſucceſſors, and others that followed after, to do the like againſt their kings and princes, as in proceſſe hereafter by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appeare.

§ Anno 1105 §

About this time 1105, two famous archbiſhops of Mentz being right vertuous and well diſpoſed prelats, were cruelly and tyrannouſly dealt withall, and intreated by the biſhop of Rome: their names were Henry and Chriſtian. This Henry hauing intelligence that hee was complained of to the pope, ſent a learned man (a ſpeciall friend of his) to excuſe him, named Arnold, one for whom he had much done, and promoted to great liuings and promotions. But this honeſt man Arnold, in ſtead of an excuſer, become an accuſer, bribing the two chiefeſt cardinals with good gold, by which meanes he obtained of the pope thoſe two cardinals to be ſent as inquiſitors and onely doers in that preſent caſe. The which (comming to Germany) ſummoned the ſaid Henry, and depoſed him of his archbiſhopricke (for all he could doe) either by law or iuſtice: ſubſtituting in his place the foreſaid Arnold, vpon hope (truly) of the eccleſiaſticall gold. Whereupon that vertuous and honorable Henry (as the ſtory telleth) ſpake vnto thoſe his peruerſe iudges on this wiſe: If I ſhould appeale vnto the apoſtolike ſea for this your vniuſt proceſſe had againſt mee, perhaps the pope would attempt nothing any more therein then yee haue, neither ſhould I win any thing by it, but only toile of body, leſſe of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and miſſing of his fauor.

Iudges corrupted.

Wherefore I doe appeale vnto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as to the moſt high and iuſt iudge, and cite you before his iudgement, there to anſwer me before the high iudge. For neither iuſtly nor godly (but by corruption as it pleaſeth you) you haue iudged. Whereunto they ſcoffingly anſwered: Goe you firſt, and we will follow. Not long after (as the ſtory is) the ſaid Henry died. Whereof the ſaid two cardinals hauing intelligence, ſaid one to the other ieſtingly; Behold, he is gone before, and we muſt follow according to our promiſe. And verily they ſaid truer then they were aware of: for within a while they died in one day. For the one ſitting vpon a iakes to eaſe himſelfe, voided out all his intrailes into the draught, and miſerably ended his life. The other gnawing off the fingers of his hands, and ſpitting them out of his mouth (all deformed in deuouring himſelfe) died. And in likewiſe, not long after the end of theſe men, the foreſaid Arnold (moſt horribly) in a ſedition was ſlaine; and certaine daies (lying ſtinking aboue the ground vnburied) was open to the ſpoile of euery raſcall and harlot. The hiſtoriographer in declaring hereof crieth vpon the cardinals in this manner: O ye cardinals, yee are the beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hither therefore, come yee hither, and heape and carry vnto your countries

A terrible example for corrupt iudges to beware.

the

the diuell, and offer your selues to him with that mony, whereof ye haue been most gluttonous and insatiable.

About the same time and yeere when king Henry began his raigne, pope Paschalis entred his papacie, succeeding after Urbanus, about the yeere of the Lord 1100, nothing swaruing from the steps of Hildebrand his superior. This Paschalis being elected by the cardinals, after that the people had cried thrice, Saint Peter hath chosen good Rainerus, hee then putting on a purple vesture, and a tire vpon his head, was brought vpon a white palfray into Lateran, where a scepter was giuen him, and a girdle put about him, hauing seuen keies, with seuen seales hanging thereupon for a recognisance or token of his seuen-fold power, according to the seuen-fold grace of the holy Ghost; of binding, losing, shutting, opening, sealing, resigning, and iudging, &c. After this Paschalis was elected pope, Henry the fourth, the foresaid emperor (of courage most valiant, if the time had serued thereto) thought to come vp to Italy to salute the new pope. But vnderstanding the popes mind bent against him, he changed his purpose. In the meane time, Paschalis to shew himselfe inferior to Hildebrand in no point, began first to depose all such abbats and bishops whom the emperor had set vp. Also banished Albertus, Theodoricus, and Maginulphus striuing at the same time for the papacie. I spake before of Guibert, whom Henry the emperour had made pope against Hildebrand. Against this Guibert, Paschalis made out an army, who being put to flight, not long after departed.

The popes tirement.

The seuenfold power of the pope.

About the same time, Anno 1101, the bishop of Fluence began to teach and to preach of antichrist then to be borne and to be manifest, as Sabellicus testifieth: whereupon Paschalis assembling a councel, put to silence the said bishop, and condemned his bookes. In this councell at Trecas, priests that were married were condemned for Nicolaitans. Item, according to the decree of Hildebrand, all such of what degree or estate soeuer they were (being laymen) that gaue any ecclesiasticall dignities, were condemned of simonie. Furthermore, the statute of priests tithes there he renewed, counting the selling away thereof as a sinne against the holy Ghost. Concerning the excommunication and other troubles, that Hildebrand wrought against Henricus the fourth emperor, it is declared sufficiently before. This excommunication Paschalis the pope renewed afresh against the said Henry. And not onely that, but also conuenting the princes of Germany vnto a generall assembly set vp his owne sonne against him, causing the bishop of Mentz, of Cullen, and of Wormes, to depriue him of his imperiall crowne, and to place his sonne Henricus the fifth in his fathers kingdome, and so they did. Comming to the place at Hilgesheim, first they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crowne, from him. The emperor demandeth the cause, being then excommunicat and void of friends. They pretending againe (I cannot tell what) for selling of bishoprickes, abbacies, and other ecclesiasticall dignites for mony: also alleaging the popes pleasure and of other princes. Then required he first of the bishop of Mentz (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their bishoprickes before) asking them in order, if he had receiued of them any peny for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be so; Well (saith he) and doe you requite me againe with this? With diuers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their oth and alleagiance to their prince. But the periured prelats, neither reuerencing his maiesty, nor moued with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him (sitting in his throne) his crowne imperiall, then diuested him, taking from him his purple and his scepter. The good emperor being left desolat and in confusion, saith to them: Videat Deus & iudicet: that is, let God see and iudge. Thus leauing him, they went to his sonne to confirme him in his kingdome, and caused him to driue his father out. Who then being chased of his owne sonne (hauing but nine persons about him) did flie by the dukedome of Limbrugh, where the duke being then in hunting, perceiuing and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The emperor fearing no other but present death (for he had displaced the same duke before out of his dukedome) submitted himselfe, crauing of him pardon, and not reuengement. The duke full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not only remitted all his displeasure, but also receiued him to his castell. Moreouer, collecting his souldiors and men of war, brought him to Cullen, and there was well receiued. His sonne hearing this, besieged the citie of Cullen. But the father by night escaping, came to Leodium, where resorted to him all such as were men of compassion and of constant heart. In so much, that his power being strong enough, hee was now able to pitch a field against his enemies, and so did; desiring his friends that if he had the victory, they would spare his sonne. In fine, (the battell ioined) the father had the victory, the sonne was put to flight: many being slain on both sides. But shortly after, the battel renewed againe, the sonne preuailed, the father was ouercome and taken. Who then being vtterly dispossessed of his kingdome, was brought to that exigent, that comming to Spire, was faine to craue of the bishop there (whom he had done much for before) to haue a prebend in the church; and for that he had some skill of his booke, he desired to serue in our ladies quire. Yet could he not obtaine so much at his hand, who swore by our lady, he should haue none there. Thus the wofull emperor (most vnkindly handled, and repulsed on euery side) came to Leodium, and there for sorrow died, after he had raigned fifty yeers, whose body Paschalis after his funerall, caused to be taken vp againe, and to be brought to Shires, where it remained fiue yeeres vnburied. Hæc ex Helmoldo.

Of antichrist, borne and manifest.

The bishops of Fluence a martyr.

Sabellicus.

A councell at Trecas.

A tragicall historie of the pope Paschalis setting the son against the father.

Ex historia Helmoldi.

The vnkindnes of a proud prelat.

The emperor fiue yeers without burial.

After the decease of this emperor Henry the fourth, his sonne Henricus the fifth raigned the space of twenty yeeres. Who comming to Rome to be crowned of the pope, could not obtaine it, before hee would fully assent to haue this ratified, that no emperor should haue any thing to do with the election of the Roman bishop, or with other bishoprickes. Besides that, (about the same time) such a stir was made in Rome by the said bishop, that if the emperor had not defended himselfe with his owne hands, he had been slaine. But as it happened, the emperor hauing the victory, amongst many other Romans (which were partly slaine, partly taken in the same skirmish) he taketh also the pope, and leadeth him out of the citie: where he indenteth with him vpon diuers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recouering againe his right and title in the election of the pope, and of other bishops: whereunto the pope assenting, agreed to all. So the emperor (being crowned of Paschalis) returned againe with the pope to Rome.

Anno 1106

Henricus emperor. *Ex chronico Cuionis, lib. 3.*

The pope taken prisoner.

All the conditions betweene the emperor and the pope (so long as the emperor remained at Rome) stood firme and ratified. But as soone as the emperor was returned againe to Germany, forthwith the pope calling a synod, not only reuoked all that he had agreed to before: but also excommunicated Henricus the emperor, as hee had done his father before, reproouing the former Priuilegium for prauilegium. The emperor returning from Rome to France, there maried Mathild daughter to king Henry. Who then hearing what the pope had done, (grieued not a little) with all expedition marched to Rome, and putteth the pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the meane time the bishops of Germany (the popes good friends) slept not their businesse, incensing the Saxons all that they might against their Cesar: in so much that a great commotion was stirred vp, and grew at length to a pitcht field: which was fought in the month of February, by the wood called Sylua Catulaira, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifteene.

War raised by the pope and his papists.

The emperor seeing no end of these conflicts (vnlesse hee would yeeld to the pope) was faine to giue ouer, and forgoe his priuiledge, falling to a cõposition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the popes electiõ, nor with inuesting, nor such other things belonging to the church and churchmen. And thus was the peace betweene them concluded, and proclaimed to no smal reioicing of both the armies, then lying by Wormes, neere the riuer of Rhene.

Peace concluded betweene the emperor and the pope.

In the time of this Paschalis, liued Bernardus, called Abbas Clarauallensis, in the yeere 1108, of whom sprang the Bernardine monks.

Bernardus the abbat.

Bernardine monks came in.

About what time the city of Worcester was consumed almost all with fire, An. 1109.

The city of Worcester almost all consumed with fire.

All this while Henricus the emperor had no issue (hauing to wife Mathildis, the daughter of Henry the first, king of England) and that by the iust iudgement of God, as it may appeare. For as he hauing a father, persecuted him by the popes setting on, contrary to the part of a naturall son: so Gods prouidence did not suffer him to be the father of any child, naturally to loue him, or to succeed him.

Mathildis. Example of the lords iust retribution and iudgement.

After the death of Paschalis, An. 1118, succeeded pope Gelasius, chosen by the cardinals, but without the consent of the emperor, whereupon rose no little variance in Rome. And at length another pope was set vp by the emperour called Gregorius the eighth, and Gelasius driuen away into France, and there died. After whom came Calixtus the second, (chosen likewise by a few cardinals, without the voice of the emperour) who comming vp to Rome to inioy his seat, first sent his legat into Germany to excommunicat the emperor Henricus, who then hauing diuers conflicts with his fellow pope Gregorius, at length draue him out of Rome. At this time by this occasion, great disputation and controuersie was betweene the emperor and the popes court, whether of them in dignity should excell the other: whereof reasons and arguments on both sides were alleaged, as in the verses here following are comprehended.

Two popes striuing together.

Pope Calixtus the second.

The pope excommunicateth the emperor.

A gratefull example of a good and thankfull duke.

A naughty son of a good father.

Ex Helmoldo, & Gotfrido Viterbiensi.

Allegatio imperatoris contra papam.

Cæsar lex viua stat regibus imperatiua,
Legeq; sub viua sunt omnia iura datiua,
Lex ea castigat, soluit & ipsa ligat.
Conditor est legis, neq; debet lege teneri,
Sed sibi complacuit sub lege libenter haberi:
Quicquid ei placuit, iuris adinstar erat.
Qui ligat ac soluit Deus ipsum protulit orbi,
Diuisit regnum diuina potentia secum,
Astra dedit superis, cætera cuncta sibi.

Responsio

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Responsio Romanæ curiæ contra imperatórem.

Pars quoque papalis sic obuiat imperiali,
Sic dans regnare, quòd Petro subyciaris:
Ius etenim nobis Christus vtrumque parit.
Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subiecta potenter,
Corpore terrena teneo cœlestia mente,
Vnde tenendo polum, soluo ligóque solum.
Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, papa videtur:
Nam dare, tollere, nectere, soluere cuncta meretur,
Cui dedit omne decus lex noua, léxque vetus.
Annulus & baculus quamuis terrena putentur,
Sunt de iure poli, quæ significare videntur.
Respice iura Dei, mens tua cedat ei, &c.

In conclusion, the emperor being ouercome so much with the vaine reasons of the popes side, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of his curse (talking with princes and perswaded by his friends) was faine to condescend to the vnreasonable conditions of the pope. First to ratifie his election, notwithstanding the other pope (whom the said emperor had set vp) yet was aliue. Secondly, that he should resigne vp his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the pope, and inuesture of bishops.

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set vp in the church of Lateran for a triumph of the emperor thus subdued, the pope maketh out after Gregorius his fellow pope, being then in a towne called Sutrium, being besieged and taken, Gregorius also was taken. Whom Calixtus the pope, sitting vpon a camell (his face to the camels taile) brought him so through the streetes of Rome, holding the taile in his hand in stead of a bridle, and afterward being shorne, was thrust into a monastery.

Gregorius brought into Rome by the pope, his face to the horse taile. *Ex Platina. Vincentio. Stella &c.*

Amongst many other acts done by this glorious pope, first he established the decrées of the papall sea against this emperor. He brought in the fours quarter fasts, called ember daies. Dist. 70. cap. Ieiunium.

The ember daies by whom they were brought in, and when. *Dist. 76. cap. Ieiunium.*

By the same Calixtus, the order of monks called Præmonstratenses were brought in.

The order of monks. *Præmonstratenses.*

Further, by him it was decreed to be iudged for adultery, if any person (by his life time) had put from him either bishopricke or benefice, grounding vpon this scripture of S. Paul to the Romans: *Alligata est vxor legi viri, quàm diu vir eius viuit: eo defuncto, soluta est a lege viri, &c.* That is, The wife is bound to the law of her husband, so long as the husband liueth: after he is dead, she is loose from the law of her husband, &c.

Scripture clerkly applied of the pope.

Item, the same Calixtus holding a generall councell at Rhemis, decreed that priests, deacons, and subdeacons should put away their concubines and wiues: or else, whosoeuer was found to keepe his wife, to be depriued of benefice, and all other ecclesiasticall liuings: whereupon a certaine English writer made these verses following:

Priests and ministers compelled to leaue their wiues.

O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te.
Quondam presbyteri poterant vxoribus vti,
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.
That is, word for word.
The hatred of the clergy, hast thou good Calixte,
For sometimes priests might vse their wiues right,
But that thou hast reiected, since pope thou wast elected.

Anno 1109

And thus much of the Roman matters. Now to our country storie againe. After the death of Anselme before mentioned (who deceased the yéere of Christ 1109. after he had béen in the sea sixteene yéeres) the church of Canturbury stood void fiue yéeres: and the goods of the church were spent to the kings vse. And when he was praied to helpe the church that was so long without a pastor, his answer was: pretending that where his father and brother had accustomed there to set the best tried and approued men that might be found, to the intent therefore that he might do the same (in chusing such, which either should equall the former examples of them before, or at least follow their footsteps as néere as they could) he tooke therein the more time and leasure. And so with shift of answer delaied out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice.

The bishopricke of Ely first planted. Henry first bishop of Ely.

The same yéere (after the death of Anselme) the king conuerted the abby of Ely to a bishopricke, which before was vnder the bishopricke of Lincolne, placing there Henry bishop of Bangor, the first bishop of that sea. And as of late yéeres before this, diuers wonders were séene, as starres falling from heauen, so thicke that they could not be numbred, at the setting forth of the christians to the holy land: Iornalens. A blasing starre ouer Constantinople. A spring boiling out bloud (séene at Fincham sted in Barkeshire) three weekes togither. An. 1090. Gisburnensis. After that, the firmament appearing so red, as it had béen all on fire: also two full moones appearing together, one in the east, the other in the west (on Maundy thursday) with a blasing starre in the same yéere appearing about the taking of duke Robert, hauing a white circle inclosing it, An. 1106. Iornalens. Also with an eclipse of the Sun darkned after that. So likewise about this present yéere, An. 1110. was séene the flood of Trent, about Nottingham, so dried vp from morning to three of the clocke at after noone, that men might go ouer it dry shod: Gisburnens. Also in Shrewsbury a great earthquake happened, and after that followed a sharpe winter, great murren of beasts, and pestilence of men, as Gualterus Gisburnens. recordeth. Moreouer, the same author mentioneth, that next about the same yéere, the like vading of water also happened in the flood of Medway: and in the Thamis (betwéene the bridge and the tower, and vnder the bridge, from midnight to the next euening) was so great an ebbe, that an vnnumerable sort of people and children waded ouer, scarce knée déepe in the water, the sea withdrawing his tide ten miles from his accustomed course. Rog. Houeden. Gualter. Gisburnens. &c. In the which yéere also, as the said author and Iornalens. doe testifie, the cittie of Worcester by casuality was consumed with fire. Also the city of Chester, An. 1114. Rog. Houed.

Trent dried vp.

An earthquake. Murren and pestilence. *Ex Gualtero Gisburnens.*

Anno 1113

Worcester consumed with fire.

Anno 1114

The next yéere following, Rodulphus bishop of Rochester (an Englishman) was promoted to bee archbishop of Canturbury, and Thurstinus the kings chaplen was elect archbishop of Yorke. Who being content to receiue his benediction or consecration of the sea of Canturbury; yet because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same sea, he was by the king deprined of his dignity.

Rodulphus archbishop of Canturbury. Thurstinus archbishop of Yorke.

Then Thurstin (by the instigation of certaine of his clerks at Yorke) tooke his iourny to Rome, who there making his complaint to pope Paschalis, brought with him a letter from the pope to the king, where among other words was contained as followeth: *Audiuimus electum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, virum sapientem & strenuum, sine iudicio ab Eboracensi sequestratum ecclesia, quod nimirũ diuinæ iustitiæ, & S. patrũ institutionibus aduersatur. Nos quidem neque Cant. ecclesiam minui, neque Eboracensem volumus præiudicium pati, sed eam cõstitutionem quæ à B. Gregorio Anglicæ gentis apostolo, inter easdem ecclesias constituta est, firmam censemus, illibatámque seruari. Idem ergo electus vt iustitia exigit, ad suam ecclesiam omnibus modis reuocetur. Si quid autem quæstionis inter easdem ecclesias nascitur, præsentibus vtrisque partibus in vestra præsentia pertractetur, &c.*

Diuision betweene Thurstine of Yorke, and Rodulph archbishop of Canturbury for subiection. The letter of Paschalis to king Henry.

In English thus:

We heare and vnderstand, that the archbishop elect of the church of Yorke (a discréet and industrious man) is sequestred from the church of Yorke, which standeth against both diuine iustice, and the institution of holy fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the church of Canturbury should be impaired, nor against that the church of Yorke should suffer any preiudice, but that the same constitution which was by blessed Gregory (the apostle of the English nation) set and decreed betwéene those two churches, should remaine still in force and effect vnuiolat. Wherefore, as touching the foresaid elect, let him be receiued againe by any meanes, as right and méete it is, vnto his church. And if there be any question betwéene the foresaid churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present, &c.

Ex Gualtero Gisburnens. Ex Guliel. de pontif. lib. 4. Ex Rog. Houed. Fabia. &c.

Upon the occasion of this letter, a solemne assembly there was appointed at Salisbury, about the hearing of this controuersie. The variance betwéene these two prelats still increased more and more. Rodulph archbishop of Canturbury in no case would yéeld nor condescend to giue imposition of hands vnto him, vnlesse he would make his profession of obedience. Thurstin againe said he would willingly receiue and imbrace his benediction; but as touching the profession of his subiection, that he would not agrée vnto. Then the king declaring his mind therein, signified vnto Thurstin, that without his subiection and obedience professed to the archbishop of Canturbury, hee should not inioy his consecration to bee archbishop of Yorke. Whereunto Thurstin nothing replying againe, renounced his archbishoprick, promising moreouer to make no more claime vnto it, nor molest them that should inioy it.

Anno 1116

Assembly of the nobles of Salisbury. Thurstin refuseth to professe subiection to the archbishop of Canturbury. Thurstin promiseth to renounce his archbishoprick.

Shortly after this, it happened that pope Paschalis died: after whom, as is aboue rehearsed, succeeded pope Gelasius, who liued not full a yéere, and died in France. Whereupon the cardinals (which then followed the said pope Gelasius vnto Cluniake) created another pope of their chusing, whom they called Calixtus the second. The other cardinals which were at Rome did chuse another pope called Gregory, as mention before is made: about which two popes much stir there was in christian realmes. As this Calixtus was remaining in France, and there calling a generall councell at Rhemis, as ye heard before; Thurstinus the archbishop of Yorke desired licence of the king to go to the councell, purposing there to open the cause of his church, which eftsones he obtained: first promising to the king that he should there attempt nothing that should be preiudiciall to the church of Canturbury. In the meane time, the king had sent secret word vnto the pope, by Rodulph and other procurators, that in no case he would consecrat Thurstinus. Yet, notwithstanding the faithfull promise of the pope made to the king, so it fell out, that the said pope through the sute of his cardinals, whom Thurstinus had won to him, was inclined to consecrat him, and gaue him the pall. For this deed the king was sore discontented with Thurstin, and warned him the entry of his land.

Anno 1118

Pope Calixtus breaketh promise with the king. Thurstin sacred archbishop of Yorke by the pope against the kings mind.

In this councell at Rhemis (aboue mentioned) where were gathered 434. prelats, these fiue principall acts were concluded:

Concilium Rhemense.

1. That

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Acts of the councell of Rhemis.

1 That no man should either buy or sell any bishopricke, abbatship, deanry, archdeaconship, priesthood, prebendship, altar, or any ecclesiasticall promotion, or benefice, orders, consecration, church halowing, seat or stall within the quier, or any office ecclesiasticall, vnder danger of excommunication, if he did persist.

2 That no lay person should giue inuesture of any ecclesiasticall possession; or that any spirituall man should receiue any such at any lay mans hand, vnder paine of deprivation.

3 That no man should inuade, take away, or detaine the goods or possessions of the church; but that they should remain firme and perpetuall, vnder paine of perpetuall curse.

4 That no bishop or priest should leaue any ecclesiasticall dignitie or benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreouer, that for baptisme, chrisme, anoiling, or burial, no mony should be exacted.

5 Item that all priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should be vtterly debarred and sequestred from company of their wiues and concubines, vnder paine of excluding from all christian communion.

The acts sent to the emperor.

The acts thus determined, were sent eftsones to Henricus the emperor, to see and try, before the breaking vp of the councell, whether he would agree to the canonicall elections, free consecration, and inuesting of spirituall persons, and to other acts of the said councell. The emperor maketh answer againe, that he would lose nothing that ancient custome of his progenitors had giuen him. Notwithstanding, because of the authority of the generall councell, he was content to consent to the residue, saue only the inuesting of ecclesiasticall function to bee taken from him, to that he would neuer agree. Vpon this, at the next returne of the pope to the councell, the emperor was appointed to be excommunicated. Which thing, when diuers of the councell did not well like, and therefore did separat themselues from the rest, the pope applying against them the multitude of the seuenty disciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therfore diuided themselues from him; declaring moreouer to them, how they which gathered not with him, scattered; and they that were not with him, were against him. By these and such like perswasions, reducing them againe to his side, and so by that councell Henricus the emperor was excommunicated.

The emperor agreed not to the popes inuesting.

The councell diuided.

Ex Rog. Houed.

Henry the emperor excommunicated.

Agreed that England should haue no other legat from Rome, but only the archbishop of Canturbury.

It was not long after but the pope came to Gisortium, where Henry king of England resorted to him, desiring and also obtaining of him, that he would send henceforth no legat, nor permit any to be sent from Rome to England, vnlesse the king himselfe should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not otherwise be decided by his owne bishops at home. The cause why the king required this of the pope was, for that certaine Roman legats had been in England a little before (to wit) one Guido, and another Roman named Anselmus, and another also called Petrus, who had spoiled the realme of great treasure, as the accustomed maner of the popes prend legats is wont to be, Guliel. de pont. lib. 1. Also he required of the pope, that he might vse and retaine all the customes vsed before of his forefathers in England and in Normandy.

England spoiled by the popes legats.

All the customs of the realme granted of the pope.

To these petitions the pope did easily consent, requiring againe of the king, that he would licence Thurstinus the archbishop aboue minded, to returne with fauor into his realme. But that the king vtterly denied, vnlesse he would professe subiection to the church of Canturbury, as his predecessors had done before, and excused himselfe by his oth, which hee before had made. To this the pope answered againe, that he by his authority apostolicall, both might, and would also easily dispence with him for his promise or oth. Then the king said, that hee would talke with his counsell thereof, and so bend him an answer of his mind. Which answere was this, that for the loue and request of the pope, he was cõtent that Thurstinus should reenter his realme, and quietly inioy his prelatship, vpon this condition, that he would (as his predecessors did) professe his subiection to the church of Canturbury. Otherwise (said he) so long as he was king, hee should neuer sit archbishop of the church of Yorke. And thus ended that meeting betweene the king of England and the pope for that time.

Anno 1120

The yeere following after that, which was An. 1120, the foresaid pope Calixtus directeth his letters for Thurstinus to the king, and to Rodulph archbishop of Canturbury. In which epistle, by his full power apostolicall, he doth interdict both the church of Canturbury, and the church of Yorke, with all the parish churches within the same cities, from all diuine seruice, from the burial also of the dead, except onely baptising of children, and absolution of them that lie on dying; vnlesse within a month after the receit of the same, Thurstinus without any exaction of subiection made) were receiued and admitted to the sea of Yorke, and that the king likewise should doubtlesse be excommunicated, except he would consent vnto the same. Whereupon Thurstinus for feare of the popes curse, was immediatly sent for and reconciled to the king, and was placed quietly in his archiepiscopall sea of Yorke.

The popes letter to the king, compelled to receiue Thurstinus for feare of the popes curse.

Thurstinus restored.

Anno 1122

It followed not long after (within two yeeres) Rodulph archbishop of Canturbury departed, in whose sea succeeded after him Guilielmus de Turbine. About which time (in the seuen and twentith yeere of the kings raigne) the gray friers by procuring of the king came first into England, and had their house first at Canturbury. About the same season or a little before, the king called a councell at London, where the spiritualty of England (not knowing to what purpose it was required) condescended to the king to haue the punishment of married priests: by reason of which grant (whereof the spiritualty afterwards much repented) the priests paying a certain to the king, were suffered to retaine their wiues still, whereby the king gathered no small sum of mony, Rog. Houed. Guliel. Gisburnensis. At this time began first the foundation of the monastery called Gisburne in Cleueland.

William archbishop of Canturbury.

The gray friers first came into England.

Anno 1125

Priests paid for their wiues.

Ex Roger. Houed. Et Guliel. Gisburnensi. Hunting. lib. 7.

The abby of Gisburne builded.

It was aboue touched, how Matild or Maud daughter to king Henry, was married to Henry the fifth emperor; who after the decease of the said emperor her husband, returned about this present time with the imperiall crowne to her father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of S. James. For the loy whereof the king builded the abby of Reading, where the said hand was reposed. This Matild was receiued by the said councell to be next heire to the king her father, in possession of the English crowne, for lacke of issue male. And soone after vpon the same, was sent ouer to Normandy, to marry with Gefrey Plantagenent earle of Anion, of whom came Henry the second, who (after Stephan) was king of England. And about this time also was founded the priory of Norton in the prouince of Chester, by one William the sonne of Nichelle. In the story of Polychronicon, Iornal. and Polydorus is declared; how the king was troubled greatly with three sundry visions appearing vnto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of husbandmen of the country, which appeared to flie vpon him with their mattocks and instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe vnto them. In the second, hee saw a great number of souldiers and harnessed men to come fiercely vpon him. In the third, he saw a company of prelats & churchmen, threatning him with their bishops staues, and fiercely approching vpon him. Whereupon (being dismaied) in all haste ran and tooke his sword to defend himselfe, finding there none to strike: who afterward asking counsell concerning these visions, was monished by one of his physitians (named Grimbald) by repentance, almes, and amendment of life, to make some mends to God, and to his country whom he offended. Which three vowes thus being made, the next yeere after he went to England; where he being vpon the seas in a great tempest with his daughter Matild, remembred there his three vowes. And so comming to the land (for performance of the same) first released vnto the commons the Dane gilt which his father and his brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to S. Edmundsbury, where he shewed great benefits to the churchmen. Thirdly, he procured iustice to be administred more rightly throughout his realme, &c. Also he ordained and erected a new bishopricke at Carlill.

S. James hand.

Reading abby founded.

Matild daughter of king Henry heire to the crowne.

Geffrey Plantagenet.

Henry 2. borne of Matild the empresse.

Anno 1130

The priory of Norton founded.

Three terrible visions of the king.

Three vowes made of king Henry.

Anno 1131

Dane gilt released.

The church reuiued.

Iustice rightly administred.

Bishoprickes of Carlill newly erected by king Henry.

In the three and thirtith yeere of the kings raigne (as witnesseth a certaine author) a great part of the citie of London, with the church of S. Paul, was burned with fire in Whitsunweeke.

The city and Pauls church of London burned.

After Calixtus (whose story and time is before discoursed) succeeded pope Honorius the second, notwithstanding that the cardinals had elected another, yet he by the meanes of certaine citizens, obtained the papacie, An. 1125. About the second yeere of his induction (as is to be read in Mat. Parisiens.) there was a certaine legat of his called Iohannes Cremensis, sent downe to England from the pope for the redresse I cannot well tell whereof. But in deed the chiefest purpose of his comming, as of all others after him in those daies, was to fill their pouches with English mony, as may further appeare by their procedings. This legat comming then with the popes letters directed both into England and into Scotland, after he had well refreshed himselfe in bishops houses, and amongst the abbats, at length resorted to London, where he assembled the whole clergie togither, inquired of priests concubines, otherwise called their wiues, and making thereupon a statute in the said synod of London, after this tenor: *Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, & canonicis, vxorum, concubinarum, & omnium omnino fœminarum cõtubernia, autoritate apostolica inhibemus, præter matrem aut sororem, vel amitam, aut eiusmodi quæ omnino careant suspicione. Et qui decreti huius violator extiterit (confessus vel conuictus) ruinã ordinis patiatur. Inter consanguineos seu affinitate propinquos, vsque ad septimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus.* That is, To priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons, we doe vtterly inhibit by authority apostolicall, all maner society and conuersation with all kind of women, except only their mother, sister, or aunt, or such whereof can rise no suspicion. And whosoeuer shall be found to violat this decree, being conuict thereof, shall sustaine thereby the losse of all that he hath by his order. Moreouer, amongst kinred or such as be ioined in affinity, we forbid matrimony vnto the seuenth generation, &c. But see how God worketh against such vngodly procedings. The next night after it hapned the same cardinall (ruffling and reuelling with his concubines) to be apprehended in the same vice, whereof he had so strictly giuen out precepts the next day before, to the no little slander and shame, as Mat. Paris. doth write, of the whole clergy.

Matthæus Parisiensis.

A Romish statute concerning priests wiues and concubines.

Marriage forbid to the seuenth degree.

The popes legat giuing precepts of chastitie, was found with an harlot.

Vnto

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Vnto this time liued Henricus the fift emperour, after hée had raigned twentie yeares, dying without issue, as is before mentioned. Next after Henricus, the imperiall crowne came vnto Lotharius duke of Saxon, in the yeare one thousand one hundred twentie and seuen.

Arnulphus martyred at Rome. The history of Arnulphus.

Certaine histories make mention of one Arnulphus, in the time of this pope Honorius the second. Some say hée was archbishop of Lugdune, as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus. Tritemius saith he was a priest, whose history, as it is set forth in Tritemius, I will briefly in English expresse. About this time, saith he, in the daies of Honorius the second, one Arnulphus Priest, a man zealous and of great deuotion, and a worthie preacher, came to Rome, which Arnulphus in his preaching rebuked the dissolute and lasciuious lasciuiousnesse, incontinencie, auarice, and immoderat pride of the clergie, prouoking all to follow Christ and his apostles in their pouertie rather, and in purenesse of life. By reason whereof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobilitie of Rome for a true disciple of Christ, but of the cardinals and the clergie, no lesse hated then fauoured of the other. In so much that priuilie in the night season they tooke him and destroyed him. This his martyrdome, saith he, was reuealed to him before, from God by an angell, he being in the desert when he was sent forth to preach, whereupon he said vnto them publikely with these words: I know (saith he) ye seeke my life, and know you will make mée away priuilie: but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutnesse, auarice, incontinencie, with your vnmeasurable greedinesse in getting and heaping vp of riches, therefore be you displeased with me. I take héere heauen and earth to witnesse, that I haue preached vnto you, that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemne me and your Creator, who by his only sonne hath redéemed you. And no marueil if you seeke my death, being a sinfull person, preaching vnto you the truth, when as if Saint Peter were héere this day and rebuked your vices, which do so multiplie aboue all measure, you would not spare him neither. And as he was expressing this, with a loud voice he said moreouer: For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truths sake; but this I say vnto you, that God will looke vpon your iniquities, and will be reuenged. You being full of all vnpuritie, play the blind guides to the people committed vnto you, leading them the way to hell; a God he is of reuengeance. Thus the hatred of the clergie being incensed against him for preaching truth, conspired against him, and so laying priuie wait for him, tooke him and drowned him. Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.

Arnulphus martyr.

In the second tome of the generall councels imprinted at Cullen, is mentioned a certaine booke called Opus tripartitum, written as the author supposeth, aboue foure hundred yeares ago, either of this Arnulphus, or iust about the same time. In this booke the writer complaineth of many enormities and abuses in the church. First of the number of holy daies, declaring what occasions of vice grow thereby, according vnto the common saying of whores and naughtie women, which say they vantage more in one holy day then in fiftie other daies besides.

Ex Tritemio. A booke called *Tripartitum*, written 400 yeares ago.

Number of holie daies.

Item, complaineth of the curious singing in cathedrall churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea many yeares about the same, which otherwise they might giue to the learning of better sciences.

Curious singing in cathedrall churches.

Likewise complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging friers and religious men, and professed women, shewing what great occasion of idle and vncomely life commeth thereof.

The world ouercharged with begging religions.

Also of the inconsiderat promotion of euill prelats, and of their great negligence, in correcting and reforming the euill demeanor of the people.

Promotion of euill prelats.

Item of the great wantonnesse and lasciuiousnesse in their seruants and families, concerning their excessiue wearing of apparell.

Superfluitie of apparell in bishops families.

Item, complaineth also of the outragious and excessiue gaines that prelats and other vnder them take for their seale, especially of officials, scribes, and such like; which giue out the seale they care not how nor wherfore, so they may gaine money.

Bishops seales abused to get money.

He complaineth in like maner that prelats be so slacke and negligent in loking to the residents in their benefices.

Non residents in benefices.

Further, lamenteth for the rash giuing of benefices to parsons, vicars, and curats, not for any godlinesse or learning in them, but for fauour or friendship, or intercession, either else for hope of some gaine, whereof springeth this great ignorance in the church.

Rash bestowing of benefices.

After this he noteth in prelats, how they waste and expend the goods of the church in superfluities, or vpon their kinsfolkes, or other worse vses, which should rather be spent on the poore.

Wasteful spending of the church goods.

Merily, in the tenth chapter hée complaineth, for that through the negligence of men of the church (especially of the church of Rome) the books and monuments of the old councels, and also of the new, are not to be found: which should be reserued and kept in all cathedrall churches.

Old bookes of councels lost by the negligence of the clerkes.

Item, that many prelats be so cold in doing their duties. Also reprocheth the vnchast and voluptuous demeanour of ecclesiasticall persons, by the example of storkes, whose nature is (saith he) that if any of their company leauing his owne mate, ioyneth with any other, all the rest flieth vpon him, whether it be he or she, beateth him, and plucketh his fethers off: what then, saith he, ought good prelats to do to such a person of their companie, whose filthines and corrupt life both defileth so many, and stinketh in the whole church?

The vnchast life of prelats condemned by the nature of the storkes.

Againe, for so much as we reade in the booke of Esdras, lib. 2. cap. 9. that he purging Israel of strange women, began first with the priests; so now likewise in the purging and correcting of al sorts of men, first the purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the prophet Ezechiel; Begin first with my sanctuarie, &c.

Amendment of life ought first to begin with the priests.

Moreouer, how that in the time of Philip king of France, the whole realme was interdicted, for that the king had but one woman in stead of his wife, which was not his wife by law. And againe, séeing in these our daies the king of Portugale hath béen sequestred from his dominion, by the authoritie of the church, being thought not sufficient to gouerne: What then ought to be said to that prelat who abuseth other mens wiues, virgins and nuns, which also is found vnable and insufficient to take vpon him the charge of soules?

The realme of France interdicted.

King of Portugale deposed.

About the yéere of our Lord 1128, the orders of the knights of the Rhodes called Johannits, also the order of Templars rose vp.

The knights of the Rhodes and Templars.

After Honorius, next in the same vsurpation succéeded pope Innocentius the second, An. 1130. But as it was with his predecessors before him, that at euerie mutation of new popes came new perturbations, and commonly neuer a pope was elected, but some other was set vp against him (sometimes two, sometimes three popes together) so likewise it happened with this Innocentius; for after he was chosen, the Romans elected another pope named Anacletus. Betwixt these two popes was much ado, and great conflicts through the partaking of Rogerius duke of Sicile, taking Anacletus part against Innocentius, vntill Lotharius the emperor came, who rescuing Innocentius, droue Rogerius out of Italy. Our stories record, that king Henrie was one of the great helpes in setting vp and maintaining this pope Innocentius against Anacletus: Gisburnensis.

Pope Innocentius the second.

Vnkindnesse betweene popes.

Amongst many other things, this pope decréed that whosoeuer did strike a priest or clerke being shauen, hée should bée excommunicated, and not to be absolued, but only of the pope himselfe.

The popes curse proclamed against such as strike any priest.

About the time of doing these things, being the yeare of our Lord 1135, king Henrie being in Normandie, as some say, by taking there a fall from his horse, as others say, by taking a surfet in eating lampries, fell sicke and died, after he had raigned ouer the realme of England fiue and thirtie yéeres and odde monthes, leauing for his heires Matild the empresse his daughter, with her yong sonne Henrie to succéed after him, to whom all the prelats and nobilitie of the realme were sworne. But contrarie to their oath made to Maud in the presence of her father before; William the archbishop of Canturburie and the nobles of the realme crowned Stephen earle of Bologne, and fifters sonne to king Henrie, vpon Saint Stephens day in Christmas weeke, which archbishop the next yeare after died, being, as it was thought, iustly punished for his periurie. And many other lords which did accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like iustice of punishment is numbred also Roger bishop of Salisburie, who contrarie vnto his oath, being a great doer in the coronation of Stephen, was apprehended of the same king, and miserablie, but iustly, extermined.

The death of king Henrie. {Anno 1135}

Periurie iustly punished.

A certaine written English storie I haue, which addeth more, and saith, that king Stephen hauing many foes in diuers quarters kéeping their holds and castles against him, went then to Oxford and tooke the bishop of Salisburie, and put a rope about his necke, and so led him to the castle of Wies, that was his, and commanded them to render vp the castle, or he would slay and hang their bishop. Which castle being giuen vp, the king tooke the spoile thereof. The like also he did vnto the bishop of Lincolne named Alexander, whom in like manner he led in a rope to a castle of the bishops that was vpon Trent, and bad them deliuer vp the castle, or else he would hang their lord before the gate. Long it was before the castle was giuen vp, yet at length the king obtaining it, there entred and tooke all the treasure of the bishop, &c. Roger Houeden and Fabian alledging a certaine old authour, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cause of this periurie vnto one Hugh Bigot, steward sometime with king Henrie. Who immediatly after the death of the said Henrie, came into England, and before the said archbishop and other lords of the land, tooke wilfully an oath and swore, that he was present a little before the kings death, when king Henrie admitted for his heire (to be king after him) Stephen his nephew, for so much as Maud his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the archbishop with the other lords gaue too hastie credence. But this Hugh, saith he, scaped not vnpunished, for he died miserable in a short time after. Ex Fabian. Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practise of Henrie bishop of Winchester, and other prelats by his setting on, which Henrie was brother vnto king Stephen, &c.

Ex chron. Anglic. incerti autoris. The bishop of Sarum and of Lincolne taken prisoners of the king, and led with ropes about their necks.

Roger Houed. in vit. Steph.

Ex Fabi. in vita Steph.

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King Stephan.

Anno 1136 King Stephan.

THus when king Stephan, contrarie vnto his oath made before to Maud the empresse, had taken vpon him the crowne (as is aboue said) he swore before the lords at Orford, that he would not hold the benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Dane-gilt, with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreouer, because he dreaded the coming of the empresse, he gaue licence to his lords, euery one to build vpon their owne ground strong castles or fortresses, as them liked. All the time of his raigne he was vexed with wars, but especially with Dauid king of the Scots, with whom hee was at length accorded: but yet the Scotish king did him no homage, because he was sworne to Maud the empresse. Notwithstanding, yet Henrie the eldest son to king Dauid did homage to king Stephan. But he after repenting thereof, entred into Northumberland with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruell wise, neither sparing man, woman or child. Such as were with child they ript, the children they tost vpon their speares points, and laying the priests vpō the altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhod of the English lords and souldiers, and through the meanes of Thurkin archbishop of Yorke, they were met withall, and slaine a great number of them, and Dauid their king constrained to giue Henrie his sonne hostage for suretie of peace. In the meane time king Stephan was occupied in the south countries, besieging diuers castles of diuers bishops and other lords, and tooke them by force, and fortified them with his knights and seruants, to the intent to withstand the empresse, whose comming he euer feared.

Building of castles in England.

The crueltie of the Scots against the Englishmen.

Anno 1140 Maud the empresse came into England against Stephan.

About the first yeare of his raigne, Maud the empresse came into England out of Normandie, and by the aid of Robert earle of Glocester, and Ranulph of Chester, made strong warre vpon king Stephan. In the end wherof the kings partie was chased, and himselfe taken prisoner, and sent to Bristow there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when king Stephan should ioyne his battell, it is said in a certaine old chronicle before minded, that he being at the masse (which then the bishop of Lincolne said before the king) as he went to offer vp his taper, it brake in two pieces. And when the masse was done, (at what time the king should haue beene houseled) the rope whereby the pix did hang, did breake, and the pix fell downe vpon the altar.

King Stephan taken prisoner.

After this field, the quéene, king Stephans wife (lying then in Kent) made great labour to the empresse and her counsell, to haue the king delivered and put into some house of religion, but could not obtaine. Also the Londoners made great suite to the said empresse, to haue and to vse againe S. Edwards lawes, and not the lawes of her father, which were more strict and strange vnto them then the other. Which when they could not obtaine of her and her counsell, the citizens of London, being therewith discontented, would haue taken the empresse: but she hauing knowledge thereof, fled priuilie from London vnto Orford. But then the Kentishmen and Londoners taking the kings part, ioyned battell against the empresse, there the foresaid Robert earle of Glocester, and base brother to the empresse was taken, and so by exchange, both the king and earle Robert were deliuered out of prison. Then Stephan without delay, gathering to him a strong army, straitly pursued the foresaid Matild or Maud with her friends, besieging them in the castle of Orford. In the siege whereof fell a great snow and frost so hard, that a man well laden might passe ouer the water: vpon the occasion whereof, the empresse bethinking her selfe, appointed with her friends and retinue, clothed in white sheets, and so issuing out by a posterne gate, went vpon the ice ouer Thames, and so escaped to Walingford. After this, the king (the castle being gotten) when he found not the empresse, was much displeased, and molested the countrie about diuers waies. In conclusion, he pursued the empresse and her companie so hard, that he caused them to flie the realme, which was the first yeare of his raigne.

What it is for princes to be hard and strict to their subiects.

King Stephan and Robert earle of Glocester deliuered by exchange.

Ex incerti autoris chronico.

The second yeare after this, which was the eight yeare of his raigne, there was a parlament kept at London, vnto the which all the bishops of the realme resorted, and there denounced the king accursed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the church, or to any minister thereof. Whereupon the king began somewhat to amend his conditions for a certaine space: but afterward (as my storie saith) was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were, my author maketh no relation thereof, &c. To returne againe to the storie, the empresse compelled, as is said, to flee the realme, returned againe into Normandie to Gefferey Plantagenet her husband. Who, after he had valiantly wonne and defended the duchie of Normandie, against the puissance of king Stephan a long time, ended his life, leauing Henrie his sonne to succeed him in that dukedome. In the meane while, Robert earle of Glocester, and the earle of Chester, who were strong of people, had diuers conflicts with the king, in so much that at a battell at Wilton betweene them the k. was well neere taken, but yet escaped with much paine.

The decease of Gefferey Plantagenet.

It was not long after, but Eustace sonne to king Stephan, who had married the French kings sister, made war on duke Henrie of Normandie, but preuailed not. Soone after, the said Henrie duke of Normandie (in the quarrell of his mother Maud) with a great puissance entred into England, and at the first wan the castle of Malmesburie, then the tower of London, and afterward the towne of Nottingham, with other holds and castles, as of Walingford and other more. Thus betweene him and the king were fought many battels, to the great annoyance of the realme. During which time, Eustace the kings sonne departeth. Vpon the occasion whereof, the king caused Theobald (which succeeded next after William aboue mentioned) archbishop of Canturburie, to make meanes to the duke for peace, which vpon this condition betweene them was concluded, that Stephan during his life time should hold the kingdome, and Henrie in the meane time to be proclamed heire apparent in the chiefe cities throughout the realme. These things thus concluded, duke Henrie taketh his iourney into Normandie (king Stephan and his sonne William bringing him on his way) where William the kings sonne taking vp his horse before his father, had a fall and brake his leg, and so was had to Canturburie. The same yeare king Stephan, about October (as some say for sorrow) ended his life, after he had raigned nineteene yeares periuredly.

Henrie duke of Normandie.

Henrie entreth into England.

Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

Peace betweene king Stephan and duke Henrie concluded.

The death of king Stephan.

As Theobald succeeded after William archbishop of Canturburie, so in Yorke after Thurkin succeeded William, which was called S. William of Yorke, who was poisoned in his chalice by his chaplaines.

Saint William of Yorke.

In the time of this king, which was the sixteenth yeare of his raigne, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the pope, did hold a councell at London. In the which councell first began new found appellations from councels to the pope, found out by Henrie bishop of Winchester. For as the words of mine author do record: *In Anglia namque appellationes in vsu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintonienſis epiſcopus dum legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit. In eodem namque concilio ad Romani pontificis audientiam ter appellatum eſt, &c.* That is: For appellations before were not in vse in England, til Henrie bishop of Winchester being then the popes legat, brought them cruelly in, to his owne hurt. For in that councell thrice appeale was made to the bishop of Rome.

In the time of king Stephan died Gratianus a monke of Bononie, who compiled the booke called the popes decrees. Also his brother Petrus Lombardus bishop of Paris, which is called the master of sentences, compiled his foure bookes of the sentences. These two brethren were the greatest doers in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the sacrament, that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them: and this they call the spirituall vnderstanding of the mysterie. And therefore no maruell if the sunne in those daies were séene blacke and dimme.

Gratianus the compiler of the popes decrees.

Petrus Lombardus master of the sentences.

Some also affirme, that Petrus Comestor, writer of the scholasticall historie, was the third brother to these aboue named.

Petrus Comestor.

In the same time and raigne of the said king Stephan was also Hugo surnamed De sancto victore. About the which time (as Polychronicon reciteth) liued and died Bernardus Clarevallensis.

Hugo de sancto victore.

Bernardus Clarevallensis.

The author of the historie called Iornalensis, maketh also mention of Hildegare the nun and prophetesse in Almanie, to liue in the same age. Concerning whose prophesie against the friers, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) more shall be said, when we come to recite the order and number of friers and religious men crept into the church of Christ.

Hildegare.

We reade moreouer of one named Ioannes de temporibus, which by the affirmance of most of our old historiens, liued 361 yeares (seruant once to Carolus Magnus) and in the raigne of Stephan king of England died. Polychron. lib. 7. Continuator Henr. Hunt. Iornalensis in vita Steph. Nicol. Triuet. &c.

Ioannes de temporibus.

In the daies also of this king, and by him, was builded the abbey of Feuersham, where his sonne and he were buried. He builded the monasterie of Finerneis and of Fomitance, the castle of Walingford, with a number of other castles more.

During the time of the said king Stephan, the yeare of our Lord 1144, the miserable Iewes crucified a child in the citie of Norwich. Nicol. Triuet, & alij.

The Iewes crucified a christian bodie at Norwich.

Much about the same time came vp the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert sonne to Jacoline a knight of Lincolneshire, &c.

The order of the Gilbertines.

Mention hath been made before of certaine English councels holden in the time of this king, where it was (in one of them vnder Theobald the archbishop of Canturburie) decreed, that bishops should liue more discreetly, should teach their flocke more diligently: that reading of scriptures should be frequented more vsually in abbeyes: that priests should not be rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learne and teach the Lords prayer and creed in English. Malmesb.

The Lords prayer and the creed in English.

Matth. Parisiensis writeth, how Stephan king of England in these daies reserued to himselfe the right and authoritie of bestowing of spirituall liuings, and inuesting prelats, in the yeare 1123.

Matth. Pariſienſ. lib. chron. de Stephan king of England.

At which time also, Lotharius the emperour began to doe the

the like in recouering againe the right and priuiledge taken away from Henricus his predeceſſour, had not Bernardus giuen him contrarie counſell.

Curſing with booke, bell, and candle.

Heere came into the church the manner of curſing with booke, bell, and candle, deuiſed in the councell of London, holden by William biſhop of Wincheſter vnder pope Celeſtinus, which ſucceeded after Innocentius, An. 1144.

Also Lotharius ſucceeded in the imperiall crowne Conradus, the nephew of Henricus the fift afore mentioned, An. 1138. which only amongſt many emperours is not found to receiue the crowne at the popes hand.

{Anno 1038}

In the daies of this emperor, who raigned fiftéene yeares, were diuers popes, as Celeſtinus the ſecond, Lucius the ſecond, Eugenius the third, at which time the Romans went about to recouer their former old manner of chuſing their conſuls and ſenators. But the popes then being in their ruffe, in no caſe would abide it, whereupon aroſe many commotions, with much ciuill war amongſt them. In ſo much that pope Lucius (ſending for aid to the emperour, and he otherwiſe letted at that time could not come) armed his ſouldiers, thinking to inuade them, or elſe to deſtroy them in their ſenat houſe. But this comming to their knowledge before, the people was all in aray, and ſo much adoe was amongſt them. Pope Lucius being alſo amongſt them in the fight (well pelted with ſtones and blowes) liued not long after. Likewiſe pope Eugenius after him, An. 1145, purſuing the Romans for the ſame matter, firſt did curſe them with excommunication: after, when hée ſaw that would not ſerue, he came with his hoſt, and ſo compelled them at length to ſéeke his peace, and to take his conditions, which were theſe; That they ſhould abolith their conſuls, and take ſuch ſenators as he by his papall authoritie ſhould aſſigne them.

Pope Lucius the ſecond warring againſt the ſenators.

Spirituall excommunication abuſed in temporall cauſes.

Then followed Anaſtaſius the fourth, and after him Adrian the fourth an Engliſh man, by his name called Breakeſpeare, belonging once to S. Albons. This Adrianus kept great ſtirre in like ſort with the citizens of Rome for abolithing their conſuls and ſenat, curſſing, excommunicating, and warring againſt them with all power he could make, to the time he remoued the conſuls out of their office, and brought them all vnder his ſubiection. The like buſineſſe and rage he alſo ſtirred vp againſt Apulia, and eſpecially againſt the empire, bluſtring and thundering againſt Fredericus the emperor, as (the Lord granting) you ſhall heare anon, after we haue proſecuted ſuch matter, as neceſſarily appertaineth firſt to the continuation of our Engliſh ſtorie.

Adrianus a pope, an Engliſh man.

King Henrie the ſecond.

{Anno 1154}

King Henrie the ſecond.

HEnrie the ſecond of that name, the ſonne of Gefferey Plantagenet, and of Maud the empreſſe, and daughter of king Henrie the firſt, began his raigne after king Stephen, and continued fiue and thirtie yeares. The firſt yeare of his raigne he ſubdued Ireland, and not long after, Thomas Becket was made by him lord chancellour of England. This king caſt downe diuers caſtles which were erected in the time of king Stephen. He went into the north parts, where he ſubdued William king of Scotland, who at that time held a great part of Northumberland, vnto Newcaſtle vpon Tine, and ioyned Scotland to his owne kingdome from the ſouth ocean, to the north iles of Orchades. Also he put vnder his dominion the kingdome of Wales, and there let to fall downe many great woods, and made the waies plaine. So that by his great manhood and policie, the ſeignorie of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the iles Orchades, Britaine, Poictou, and Guien. Alſo he had in his rule, Normandie, Gaſcoine, Angeou, and Chinon: alſo Aluerne and the citie of Tholous he won, and were to him ſubiect. Quer and beſides (by the title of his wife Elenor, daughter to the earle of Poictou) he obtained the mounts Pyrams in Spaine: ſo that we reade of none of his progenitors, which had ſo many countries vnder his dominion.

Thomas Becket chancellour of England.

{Anno 1157}

In England were ſéene in the firmament two ſunnes, or (as it is in Chronica chronicorum) in Italie appeared three ſunnes by the ſpace of three houres in the weſt, and the yéere following appeared three moones, whereof the middle moone had a red croſſe ouerthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the iudgement of ſome) the great ſchiſme that after fell among the cardinals for the election of the biſhop of Rome: or elſe rather the buſineſſe betweene Fredericus the emperour and the popes, whereof partly now incidently occaſion giueth vs to diſcourſe; after that I haue firſt written of Gerhardus and Dulcinus Nauarenſis, who in their time according to their gift, did earneſtly labour and preach againſt the church of Rome, defending and maintaining, that prayer was not more holy in one place then in another, that the pope was antichriſt, that the clergie and prelats of Rome were reiect, and the verie whore of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalypſe, &c. Peraduenture theſe had receiued ſome light of knowledge of the Waldenſes, who at length with a great number of their followers were oppreſſed and ſlaine by the pope. And although ſome inconuenient points of doctrine and diſhoneſtie in their aſſemblies be againſt them alledged of ſome, yet theſe times of ours do teach vs ſufficiently, what credit is to be giuen to ſuch popiſh ſlanders, forged rather vpon hatred of true religion, then vpon any iudgement of truth. Illiricus in his booke De teſtibus, referreth the time of theſe two to the yeare of our Lord 1280: but as I find in the ſtorie of Robert Guiſburne, theſe two about the yeare of our Lord 1158, brought thirtie with them into England, who by the king and the prelats were all burnt in the forehead, and ſo driuen out of the realme, and after (as Illiricus writeth) were ſlaine by the pope.

Gerhardus, and Dulcimus, preachers againſt antichriſt of Rome.

Ex hiſtoria Giſburnenſi.

{Anno 1158}

And now (according to my promiſe preuiſed) the time requireth to proceed to the hiſtorie of Fredericus the firſt (called Barbaroſſa) ſucceſſor vnto Conradus in the empire, who marched vp to Italie, to ſubdue there certaine rebels. The pope hearing that, came with his clergie to meet him by the way, in a towne called Sutrium, thinking by him to find aid againſt his enemies. The Emperour ſéeing the biſhop, lighteth from his horſe to receiue him, holding the ſtirrup to the prelat on the left ſide, when he ſhould haue held it on the right, whereat the pope ſhewed himſelfe ſomewhat grieued. The emperour finding, excuſed himſelfe that he was neuer accuſtomed to hold ſtirrups. And ſéeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the leſſe matter was what ſide of the horſe he held. The next day to make amends againe to the biſhop, the emperor ſending for him, receiued him, holding the right ſtirrup vnto the prelat, and ſo all the matter was made whole, and he the popes white ſonne againe.

Frederikus Barbaroſſa emperour.

The pope diſpleaſed that the emperour did not hold his right ſtirrup.

The emperour holdeth the popes ſtirrup.

After this, as they were come in and ſat together, Adrianus the pope beginneth to declare vnto him, how his anceſtors before him, ſuch as ſought vnto the ſée of Rome for the crowne were wont alwaies to leaue behind them ſome ſpeciall token or monument of their beneuolence, for the obtaining thereof, as Carolus Magnus in ſubduing the Lombards, Otho the Berengarians, Lotharius the Normans, &c. Wherefore he required ſome benefit to proceed likewiſe from him vnto the church of Rome, in reſtoring againe the countrie of Apulia to the church of Rome. Which thing if he would doe, he for his part againe would do that which appertained vnto him to do: meaning in giuing him the crowne, for at that time the popes had brought the emperours to fetch their crowne at their hands.

The popes old practiſe in ſetting princes together by the eares.

Frederike with his princes, perceiuing that vnleſſe hée would of his owne proper coſts and charges fetch in againe Apulia out of Duke Williams hands, he could not ſpeed of the crowne, was faine to promiſe to all that the pope required, and ſo the next day after was crowned.

This done, the emperour returneth into Germanie, to refreſh his armie and his other furniture, for the ſubduing of Apulia. In the meane while Adrianus not thinking to be idle, firſt giueth forth cenſures of excommunication againſt William duke of Apulia. Beſides, not content with this, ſendeth alſo to Emmanuel emperor of Conſtantinople, incenſing him to war againſt the foreſaid William. The duke perceiuing this, ſendeth to the pope for peace, promiſing to reſtore to him whatſoeuer he would.

Warre ſtirred vp by the pope.

But the pope through the malignant counſell of his cardinals would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by warre. The duke ſéeing nothing but war, prepareth himſelfe with all expedition to the ſame. To be briefe, making all his power out of Sicilia, he arriueth at Apulia, and there putteth Emmanuel the emperour to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the citie of Bonauenture, where the pope with his cardinals were looking for victorie. He planting there his ſiege, ſo ſtraitly preſſed the citie, that the pope with his cardinals were glad to intreate for peace, which they refuſed before. The duke granted vnto their peace vpon certaine conditions: that is, that neither he ſhould inuade ſuch poſſeſſions as belonged to Rome, and that the pope ſhould make him king of both Sicils. So the matter was concluded and they departed. The biſhop comming to Rome, was no leſſe troubled there about their conſuls and ſenators, in ſo much that when his curſes and excommunications could not preuaile nor ſerue, he was faine to leaue Rome, and remoued to Ariminum.

What more gainefull to the pope then peace.

The pope driuen to intreat for peace.

The emperour all this while ſitting quietly at home, began to conſider with himſelfe, how the pope had extorted from the emperours, his predeceſſours, the inueſting and induing of prelats, how he had pilled and polled all nations by his legats, and alſo had béen the ſower of ſeditions through all his empire: he began therefore to require of all the biſhops of Germanie homage, and oath of their allegeance; commanding alſo, the popes legats, if they came into Germanie without his ſending for, not to be receiued. Charging moreouer all his ſubiects, that none of them ſhould appeale to Rome. Beſides this, in his letters he ſet and preferred his name before the popes name: whereupon the pope being not a little offended, directed his letters to the foreſaid Frederike Emperour, after this tenor and forme as followeth.

The godly proceedings of Frederike the emperour againſt the pope.

The copie of Adrianus the popes letters, to Frederike the emperour.

ADrianus epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, Frederico imperatori ſalutem, & apoſtolicam benedictionem, &c. ¶ Cætera vide

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in priore editione. In English.

A letter of pope Adrian to the emperour Frederike.

Adrian bishop, seruant of the seruants of God, to Frederike emperour, health and apostolical benediction. The law of God, as it promiseth to them that honor father and mother long life, so it threatneth the sentence of death to them that curse father and mother. Wee are taught by the word of truth, that euerie one, the which exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low. Wherefore (my well beloued sonne in the Lord) we maruell not a little at your wisdome, in that you seeme not to shew that reuerence to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, which you ought to shew. For why? In your letters sent to vs, you prefer your owne name before ours, wherein you incur the note of insolencie, yea rather (to speake it) of arrogancie. What should I heere recite vnto you, the oath of your fidelitie, which you sware to blessed S. Peter and to vs, and how you obserue and keepe the same? Seeing you so require homage and allegeance of them that be gods, and all the sonnes of the high God, and presume to ioyne their holy lands with yours, working contrarie to vs: seeing also you exclude, not only out of your churches, but also out of your cities, our cardinals, whom we direct as legats from our side: what shall I say then vnto you? Amend therefore I aduise you, amend; for while you go about to obtaine of vs your consecration and crowne, and to get those things you haue not, I feare much your honour will lose the things you haue. Thus fare ye well.

The emperours name before the popes.

The answere of Frederike the emperour to the pope.

FRederike by the grace of God, Romane emperour, euer Augustus, vnto Adrian bishop of the Romane church, and vnto all such that be willing to cleaue vnto those things which Iesus began to worke and teach, greeting. The law of iustice giueth to euery person accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our parents: of whom, according as we haue receiued this our dignity of the imperial crowne and gouernance: so in the same kingdome of ours, we doe render their due and true honor to them againe. And for so much as dutie in all sorts of men is to be sought out, let vs see first in the time of Constantine (Siluester then being bishop of Rome) what patrimonie or regalitie he had of his owne, due to him that he might claime. Did not Constantine of his liberal benignity giue libertie, and restored peace vnto the church? And whatsoeuer regalitie or patrimonie the see of our papacie hath, was it not by the donation of princes giuen vnto them? Reuolue and turne ouer the ancient chronicles (if either you haue not read, or neglected that we do affirme) there it is to be found. Of them which be Gods by adoption, and hold our lordships of vs; why may we not iustly require their homage, and their sworne allegeance, when as he which is both your master and ours (taking nothing of any king or any man, but giuing all goodnesse to all men) paid toll and tribute for him and Peter, vnto Cæsar? giuing you example to do the like. And therefore saith to you and all men, Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of heart, &c. Wherefore either render againe your lordships and patrimonies which yee hold of vs: or else if ye find them so sweet vnto you, then giue that which is due to God, vnto God: and that which is due to Cæsar, vnto Cæsar. As for your cardinals, we shut them out both of churches and cities, for that we see them not preachers, but prollers; not repairers of peace, but rakers for money; not pillars and vpholders of the church, but pollers insatiable of the world, and moilers of money and gold. What time we shall see them to be other men (such as the church requireth them to be) members and makers of peace, shining forth like lights to the people, assisting poore and weake mens causes in the way of equitie, &c: then shall they find vs prest and readie to relieue them with stipends, and all things necessarie. And whereas you inferre such questions as these vnto secular men (little conducing to religion) you incur thereby no little note and blemish of your humilitie (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your mansuetude. Therefore let your fatherhood beware and take heed, lest in mouing such matters as seeme to vs vnseemely for you, yee giue thereby offence to such as depend of your word (giuing eare to your mouth, as it were to an euening shower:) for wee cannot but tell you of that we heare, seeing now the detestable beast of pride doth creepe into the seat of Peter, prouiding alwaies (as much as we may by Gods grace) for the peace of the church. Fare ye well.

Upon this Adrian the pope directeth out a bull against Frederike, excommunicating him with publike and solemne ceremonies. Moreouer, conspiring with William duke of Apulia sought all manner of waies to infest the emperour, and to set all men against him, especially the clergie. Amongst manie other writing to Hillinus bishop of Triuers, to Arnulphus bishop of Mentz, and to Frederike bishop of Cullen, seeketh first to make them of his side. His epistle to them soundeth to this effect.

Afflictions and proud letter of the pope to the bishops of Germanie.

THe empire of Rome was transferred from the Greekes to the Almans, so that the king of Almans could not be called emperour, before he were crowned of the bishop apostolicall. Before his consecration hee is a king, afterwards emperour. Whence hath he his empire then, but of vs? By the election of his princes he hath the name of a king, by our consecration he hath the name of the emperour of August, or of Cæsar. Ergo by vs he raigneth as emperour. Search ancient antiquities. Zacharias P. promoted Carolus, and made him a great name, that he was made and called emperour: and after that, euer the king of Almans was named emperour and aduocat to the see apostolicall, so that Apulia (conquered by him) was subdued to the bishop of Rome: which Apulia with the citie of Rome is ours, and not the emperours. Our seat is at Rome, the seat of the emperour is at Aquis in Arduenna, which is a wood in France. The emperor whatsoeuer he hath, he hath it of vs. As Zacharias did translate the empire from the Greeks to the Almans, so we may translate it againe from the Almans to the Greekes. Behold it lieth in our power to giue it to whom we will, being therefore set vp of God aboue gentiles and nations, to destroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant, &c.

Well bragged and like a pope.

Scripture wel wrested.

And yet further to vnderstand the ambitious presumption of this proud see of Rome, it so chanced this emperour Fredericus at his first comming vp to Rome, did behold there in the palace of Lateran, a certaine picture brought forth vnto him, how Lotharius the second emperor was crowned of the pope, with the inscription of certaine verses in Latine, declaring how the foresaid emperour comming to Rome, first did sweare to the citie, after was made the popes man, and so of him receiued the crowne. Fredericus offended with this picture, desired the pope it might be abolished, for that it should be no cause of any dissension hereafter. The pope vnderstanding the intent of the emperour, how loth he was to come vnder subiection to his see, deuised by all craftie waies to bring it to passe. And first taking his occasion by the bishop of Laodicea (being then detained in custodie, I cannot tell by whom) sent diuers and sharpe letters vnto him; and yet not so sharpe, as proud and disdainfull. Wherein the first salutation by his legats, was this in Latine: *Salutat vos beatissimus pater noster papa, & vniuersitas cardinalium, ille vt pater, hi vt fratres.* **That is, Our most blessed father the pope greeteth you, and the vniuersall companie of the cardinals, he as your father, they as your brethren. Meaning thereby that he should vnderstand himselfe to be subiect and vnderling to the pope, no lesse then the cardinals were. Moreouer in his letters obiecting diuers things against him, reciteth how many and great benefits he had receiued of the church of Rome, by the which church he had obtained the fulnesse of his honour and dignitie, &c. The emperour with his princes perceiuing whereunto the pope by his legats did shot (being a prince of courage) could not abide such intolerable presumption of a proud message: whereupon much contention fell betweene the legats and the princes. And of whom then, say the legats, receiueth Cesar the empire, if hee take it not of the pope: with the which word the German princes were so much offended, that had not the emperour stayed them (with much ado) they would haue vsed violence against the legats. But the emperour not permitting that, commanded the legats away, straitly charging them to make no turne by the way to any person or persons, but straight to depart home. And he, to certifie the whole state of the empire of the truth of the matter, directeth forth these letters that follow.**

Ex Radennico, in appendice Frisingen.

See the ambitious presumption of a proud priest.

The tenor of the emperours letter sent through all his empire.

FOr so much as the prouidence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in heauen and earth) hath committed to vs his annointed, this our regiment and empire to be gouerned, and the peace of his churches by our imperiall armes to be protected; we cannot but lament and complaine to you with great sorrow of heart, seeing such causes of dissension (the root and fountaine of euils, and the infection of pestiferous corruption) thus to rise from the holy church, imprinted with the seale of peace, and loue of Christ.

By reason whereof (except God turne it away) we feare the whole bodie of the church is like to bee polluted, the vnitie thereof to be broken, and a schisme and diuision to be betwixt the spirituall and temporal regiment. For we being of late at Bisunze, and there intreating busily of matters pertaining as wel to the honor of our empire, as to the wealth of the churches, there came ambassadors of the sea apostolicall, declaring that they brought a legacie to our maiestie of great importance, redounding to the no small commoditie of our honor and empire.

Who then, the first day of their comming, being brought to our presence, and receiued of vs (as the manner is) with honour accordingly, audience was giuen them to heare what they had to say. They forthwith bursting out of the mãnon of iniquitie, hautie pride, stoutnesse and arrogancie, out of the execrable presumption of their swelling heart, did their message with letters apostolicall, whereof the tenour was this: That we should alwaies haue before our eyes, how that our soueraigne lord the pope gaue vs the imperiall crowne, and that it doth not repent him, if so be it we haue receiued greater benefits at his hand.

And

And this was the effect of that ſo ſweet and fatherly legation, which ſhould nouriſh peace both of the church and of the empire, to vnite them faſt together in the band of loue.

At the hearing of this ſo falſe, vntrue, and moſt vaineglorious preſumption of ſo proud a meſſage, not only the emperors maieſtie conceiued indignation, but alſo all the princes (there preſent) were moued with ſuch anger and rage thereat, that if our preſence and requeſt had not ſtaied them, they could not haue held their hands from theſe wicked prieſts, or elſe to haue proceeded with ſentence of death againſt them.

Furthermore, becauſe a great number of other letters (partly written alreadie, partly with ſeales readie ſigned, for letters to be written according as they ſhould thinke good to the churches of Germanie) were found about them, whereby to worke their conceiued intent of iniquitie here in our churches, to ſpoile the altars, to carie away the iewels of the church, and to fley off the limis & plates of golden croſſes, &c. To the intent their auaricious meaning ſhould haue no further power to raigne, we gaue them commandement to depart the ſame way they came. And now, ſeeing our raigne and empire ſtandeth vpon the election of princes, from God alone, who in the paſſion of his ſonne ſubdued the world to be gouerned with two ſwords neceſſarie, and againe, ſeeing Peter the apoſtle hath ſo informed the world with this doctrine, *Deum timete, regem honorificate*: that is; Feare God, honor your king: therefore, whoſo ſaith that we haue and poſſeſſe our emperiall kingdome by the benefit of the lord pope, is contrarie both to the ordinance of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and alſo ſhall be reproued for a lier.

Note heere a couragious hart in a valiant emperour.

An example for all princes to follow.

Note.

Therefore as our endeuour hath been heretofore, to helpe and to deliuer the ſeruile captiuitie of churches out of the hand, and from the yoke of the Egyptians, and to maintaine the right of their liberties and dignities, we deſire you all with your compaſſion to lament with vs, this ſlanderous ignominie inferred to vs and our kingdome, truſting that your faithfull good will, which hath been euer truſtie to the honor of this empire, (neuer yet blemiſhed from the firſt beginning of this citie, and of religion) will prouide, that it ſhall haue no hurt through the ſtrange nouelties and preſumptuous pride of ſuch. Which thing rather then it ſhould come to paſſe, know you this for certaine; I had rather incur the danger of death, then to ſuffer ſuch confuſion to happen in our daies.

This letter of Cæſar fretted the pope not a little, who wrote againe to the bishops of Germanie, accuſing the emperor, and willing them to worke againſt him what they could. They anſwere againe with all obedience to the pope, ſubmitting themſelues, and yet threatning the emperour, and blaming him rather; and exhorted him hencefoorth to temper his letters and legacies with more gentlenes and modeſtie; which counſell hee alſo followed, perceiuing otherwiſe, that he could not preuaile.

Much trouble had good Frederic with this pope, but much more with the other that followed. For this pope continued not very long, the ſpace only of 4. yeares and od months. About whoſe time roſe vp the order of the hermits by one William once duke of Aquitania, and afterward a frier. This Adrianus walking with his cardinals abroad, to a place called Anagnia or Arignanum, (as Volateran calleth it) chanced to be choked with a flie getting into his throat, and ſo was ſtrangled, who in the latter time of his papacie was wont to ſay, that there is no more miſerable kind of life in the earth, then to be a pope, and to come to the papacie by blood, that is (ſaid he) not to ſucceed Peter, but rather Romulus, who to raigne alone did ſlay his brother.

The order of hermits.

{Anno 1159}

The ſaying and iudgement of pope Adrianus of the papal ſee.

The popes rather ſucceſſors to Romulus then to Peter. Pope Alexander the third.

Although this Adrian was bad enough, yet came the next much worſe, one Alexander the third of that name; who yet was not elect alone; for beſide him the emperor with nine cardinals (albeit Sabellicus ſaith but with three) did ſet vp another pope, named Victor the fourth. Betweene theſe two popes roſe a foule ſchiſme and great diſcord, and long continued. In ſo much that the emperour being required to take vp the matter, ſent for them both to appeare before him, that in hearing them both, he might iudge their cauſe the better. Victor came, but Alexander (diſdaining that his matter ſhould come in controuerſie) refuſed to appeare. Whereupon the emperour with a full conſent of his biſhops and clergie about him, aſſigned and ratified the election of Victor to ſtand, and ſo brought him into the citie, there to be receiued and placed. Alexander, flying into France, accuſed them both, ſending his letters to all chriſtendome againſt them, as men to be auoided and caſt out of all chriſtian companie. Alſo to get him friends at Rome by flatterie and money, got on his ſide the greateſt part of the citie, both to the fauouring of him, and to the ſetting vp of ſuch conſuls as were for his purpoſe. After this, Alexander comming from France to Sicill, and from thence to Rome, was there receiued with much fauour, through the helpe of Philip the French king.

Alexander cloſeth the emperour.

The emperour, hearing this rebellion and conſpiracie in Rome, remoued with great power into Italie, where he had deſtroyed diuers great cities. Comming at length to Rome, {Anno 1164} he required the citizens that the cauſe betwixt the two popes might be decided, and that he which had the beſt right might be taken. If they would ſo do, he would reſtore againe that which he tooke from them before. Alexander miſtruſting his part, and doubting the wils of the citizens (hauing ſhips readie prepared for him, from William duke of Apulia) fetcht a courſe about to Venice.

To declare heere the difference in hiſtories, betweene Blondus, Sabellicus, and the Venetian chroniclers, with other writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will ouerpaſſe. In this moſt doe agree, that the pope being at Venice, and required to be ſent of the Venetians to the emperour, they would not ſend him. Whereupon Frederic the emperour ſent thither his ſonne Otho, with men and ſhips well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his comming. The yong man more hardie then circumſpect (ioyning with the Venetians) was ouercome, and ſo taken, was brought into the citie. Hereby the pope toke no ſmall occaſion to worke his feats.

The father to helpe the captiuitie and miſerie of his ſonne, was compelled to ſubmit himſelfe to the pope, and to intreat for peace. So the emperour comming to Venice (at S. Marks church, where the biſhop was, there to take his abſolution) was bid to kneele downe at the popes feet.

The proud pope ſetting his foot vpon the emperors necke, ſaid the verſe of the Pſal. *Super aſpidem & baſiliſcũ ambulabis, et cõculcabis leonẽ et draconem*; That is: Thou ſhalt walke vpon the adder & on the baſiliske, and ſhalt treade downe the lion and the dragon. To whom the emperor anſwering again, ſaid: *Non tibi ſed Petro*: That is: not to thee but to Peter. The pope againe: *Et mihi, et Petro*: Both to me and to Peter. The emperor fearing to giue any occaſiõ of further quarrelling, held his peace, & ſo was abſolued, & peace made betweene them. The conditions whereof were theſe. Firſt, that he ſhould receiue Alexander for the true pope. Secondly, that he ſhould reſtore againe to the church of Rome all that he had taken away before. And thus the emperour obtaining againe his ſonne, departed.

Holy Scripture abuſed.

The pope treading on the emperours necke.

Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Frederike the emperour.

Heere, as I note in diuers writers, a great diuerſitie and varietie touching the order of this matter (of whom ſome ſay that the emperour campt in Paleſtina before he came to Venice, ſome ſay after) ſo I maruell to ſee in Volateran (ſo great a fauourer of the pope) ſuch a contradiction, who in his two and twentith booke ſaith, that Otho the emperors ſonne was taken in this conflict, which was the cauſe of the peace betweene his father and the pope. And in his three and twentith booke againe

Volateran taken with a contradiction.

M. iij. ſaith,

saith, that the emperour himselfe was taken prisoner in the same battell: and so afterwards (peace concluded) toke his iourney to Asia and Palestina. This pope in the time of his papacie (which continued one and twentie yeares) kept sundrie councels both at Turo and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand, and others his predecessors; as to bind all orders of the clergie to the vow of chastitie; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define chastitie aright. For who so liueth not a chast life (saith he) is not fit to be a minister. But herein lieth an error full of much blindnesse, and also perill, to thinke that matrimonie immaculat (as S. Paul calleth it) is not chastitie, but only a single life, that they esteeme to be a chast life.

Concilium Lateranense. The clergie bound to the vow of chastitie. Papists erre not so much in promising chastity, as in defining chastitie.

Now for so much as our English pope holy martyr, called Thomas Becket, hapned also in the same time of this pope Alexander, let vs somewhat also speake of him, so far as the matter shall seeme worthie of knowledge, and to stand with truth: to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flatterie and lies of such popish writers as paint out his storie, men may the better iudge both of him what he was, and also of his cause.

The life and historie of Thomas Becket *archbishop of Canturburie.*

Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturbury.

IF the cause make a martyr (as is said) I see not why we should esteeme Thomas Becket to die a martyr, more then any other whom the princes sword doth here temporally punish for their temporall deserts. To die for the church, I grant is a glorious matter. But the church (as it is a spirituall and not a temporall church) so it standeth vpon causes spirituall, and vpon an heauenly foundation, as vpon faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to Gods commandements; and not vpon things pertaining to this world, as possessions, liberties, exemptions, priuiledges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these bee giuen to the church, I pray God churchmen may vse them well; but if they be not giuen, the church cannot claime them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the princes power. To contend with princes for the same, it is no matter, (in my mind) materiall, to make a martyr, but rather a rebellion against them, to whom we owe subiection. Therefore, as I suppose Thomas Becket to be farre from the cause and title of a martyr (neither can he be excused from a plaine rebell against his prince) so yet would I haue wished against the law rather publikely to haue found out his fault, then the swords of men (not bidden nor sent) to haue smitten him, hauing no speciall commandement, neither of the prince, nor of the law so to do. For though the indignation of the prince (as the wise prince saith) is death, yet it is not for euery priuat person straightwaies to reuenge the secret indignation of his prince, except he be publikely authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose) the better way, the lawes first to haue executed their iustice vpon him. Certes, it had been the safest way for the king, as it proued after; who had iust matter enough, if he had prosecuted his cause against him. And also thereby his death had been without all suspicion of martyrdome, neither had there followed that shrining and sainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret prouidence of God (which gouerneth all things) did see this way percase to be best, and most necessarie for those daies. And doubtlesse (to say here what I thinke, and yet to speake nothing against charitie) if the emperours had done the like to the popes, contending against them, what time they had taken them prisoners, that is, if they had vsed the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traiterous rebellion, they had broken the necke of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the church. But for lacke of that, because emperours hauing the sword, and the truth on their side, would not vse their sword; but standing in awe of the popes vaine curse, and reuerencing his seate for Saint Peters sake, durst not lay hand vpon him, though he were neuer so abominable and traiterous a malefactour: the popes perceiuing that, toke so much vpon them (not as the Scripture would giue) but as much as the superstitious feare of emperours and kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it past all order, rule, and measure: and all because the superiour powers either would not, or durst not practise the authoritie giuen vnto them of the Lord, vpon those inferious, but suffered them to be their masters.

Becket no martyr.

But as touching Thomas Becket, whatsoeuer is to bee thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all Romish prelats not to be so stubborne (in such matters not pertaining vnto them) against their prince, vnto whom God hath subiected them.

Now to the storie, which if it be true that is set forth in Quadrilogo, by those foure, who toke vpon them to expresse the life and processe of Thomas Becket, it appeareth by al coniectures that he was a man of a stout nature, seuere, and inflexible. What persuasion or opinion he had once conceiued, from that he would in no wise be remoued, or very hardly. Threatnings and flatterings were to him both one; in this point singular, following no mans counsell so much as his owne. Great helps of nature there were in him (if hee could haue vsed them well) rather then of learning; albeit somewhat skilfull he was of the ciuill law, which hee studied at Bononie: in memorie excellent good, and also well spoken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chast and strait life, if the histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet archdeacon of Canturburie, and after lord chancellour) he was verie euill, courtly, pleasant, giuen much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the court; and highly fauoured he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his sonne and heire to his institution and gouernance. But in this his first beginning, he was not so well beloued, but afterward he was againe as much hated (and deseruedly) both of the king, and also of the most part of his subiects, saue only of certaine monkes and priests, and such others as were perswaded by them, who magnified him not a little for vpholding the liberties of the church (that is) the licentious life and excesse of churchmen. Amongst all others, these vices he had most notable, and to bee rebuked; full of deuotion, but without all true religion; zealous, but cleane without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiffe and stubborne of nature, so (a blind conscience being ioyned withall) it turned to plaine rebellion. So superstitious he was to the obedience of the pope, that he forgot his obedience to his naturall and most beneficiall king: and in maintaining (so contentiously) the vaine constitutions and decrees of men, he neglected the commandements of God. But herein most of all to be reprehended, that not only (contrarie to the kings knowledge) hee sought to conuey himselfe out of the realme (being in that place and calling) but also (being out of the realme) set matter of discord betweene the pope and his king, and also betweene the French king and him, contrarie to all honestie, good order, naturall subiection, and true christiantie. Whereupon followed no little disquietnesse after, both to the king, and damage of the realme, as heere (in processe and order following, by the grace of Christ) we will declare; first beginning with the first rising vp of him, and so consequently to prosecute in order his storie as followeth.

What commeth of blind zeale destitute of right knowledge.

And first heere to omit the progenie of him and of his mother named Rose, whom Polyd. Virgilius falsely nameth to be a Saracen, when indeed shee came out of the parts bordering neere to Normandie; to omit also the fabulous vision of his mother, mentioned in Roberto Crikeladensi, of a burning torch issuing out of her bodie, and reaching vp to heauen: his first preferment was to the church of Branfield, which hee had by the gift of S. Albans. After that, he entred in the seruice of the archbishop of Canturburie, by whom he was then preferred to be his archdeacon; and after by the said Theobald was put (as a man meet for his purpose) to king Henrie to bridle the yong king, that hee should not bee fierce against the clergie, whom in processe of time the king made lord chancellour, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellour. He fashioned his conditions like to the kings both in waightie matters and trifles; hee would hunt with him, and watch the time when the king dined and slept. Furthermore, he began to loue the merrie iestings of the court, to delight himselfe with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And that I may passe ouer his houshold stuffe, hee had his bridle of siluer, and the bosses of his bridle were worth a great treasure. At his table and other expences he passed any earle: that on the one side men would iudge him little to consider the office of an archdeacon; and on the other side would iudge him to vse wicked doings. Hee played also the good souldier vnder the king in Gascoigne, and both wan and kept townes. When the king sent Thomas being chancellour home into England (ambassadour with other nobles after the death of the archbishop) hee willed Richard Lucie (one of the chiefest) to commend in his name this Thomas to the couent of Canturburie, that they might chuse him archbishop; which thing he did diligently. The monkes said it was not meet to chuse a courtier and a souldier to be head of so holy a company; for he would spend (said they) all that they had. Others had this surmise also, because he was in so great fauour with the prince the kings sonne, and was so suddenly discharged of the chancellourship which he had borne fiue yeares: in the foure and fortith yeare of his age (on the saturday in Whitsonweeke) he was made priest, and the next day consecrated bishop.

The life of Thomas Becket. Polydorus mistaketh the mother of Becket. *Ex Roberto Crikeladensi.* *Ex Florilego.*

As touching the priesthood of this man, I find the histories to varie in themselues: for if he were beneficed, and chaplaine to Theobald, and afterwards archdeacon (as some say) it is no other like, but that he was priest before, and not (as our most English stories say) made priest in one day, and archbishop the next.

Difference in chronicles.

But howsoeuer this matter falleth, heere is in the meane time to be seene, what great benefits the king had done for him, and what great loue had been betweene them both. Now after that Becket was thus promoted, what variance and discord hapned betweene them, remaineth to be shewed: the causes of which variance were diuers and sundrie.

As first, when (according to the custome) the kings officers gathered of euerie one hide money through the realme, for the defence of their owne countrey; the king would haue taken it to his coffers. But the bishop said, that which euerie man gaue

The causes of variance retired betweene the king and the archbishop.

Herbertus de Boscham. Ioan. Charnot. Alanus abbat of Teuchburie. *Gulielmus Cantuariensis.* Thomas Becket described.

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gaue willinglie, he should not count as his proper rent.

Another cause was, that where a priest was accused of murder, and the kings officers and the friends of the dead accused the priest earnestlie afore the bishop of Salisburie his diocesan to whom he was sent, desiring iustice to be done on him, the priest was put to his purgation. But when he was not able to defend himselfe, the bishop sent to the archbishop to aske what he should do. The archbishop commanded he should be depriued of all ecclesiasticall benefices, and shut vp in an abbie to doe perpetuall penance. After the same sort were diuers others handled for like causes, but none put to death, nor lost ioynt, nor burned in the hand, or the like paine.

The third cause was, that where a canon of Bruis did reuile the kings iustices, the king was offended with the whole clergie. For these and such like, the archbishop (to pacifie the kings anger) commanded the canon to be whipped and depriued of his benefices for certaine yeeres. But the king was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased their boldnesse, and therefore he called the archbishop, bishops, and all the clergie to assemble at Westminster. When they were assembled together, the king earnestlie commanded that such wicked clerks should haue no priuiledge of their clergie, but bee deliuered to the gailors, because they passed so little of the spirituall correction; and this he said also their own canons and lawes had decreed. The archbishop counselling with his bishops and learned men, answered probablie: and in the end he desired hartily the kings gentlenesse (for the quietnesse of himselfe and his realme) that vnder Christ our new king, and vnder the new law of Christ hee would bring in no new kind of punishment into his realme (vpon the new chosen people of the Lord) against the old decrees of the holie fathers; and oft he said, that he neither ought nor could suffer it. The king moued therewith (and not without cause) alleageth againe and exacteth the old lawes and customes of his grandfather, obserued and agreed vpon by archbishops, bishops, prelats, and other priuiledged persons, inquiring likewise of him whether he would agree to the same, or else now (in his raigne) would condemne that which in the raigne of his grandfather was well allowed. To which lawes and customes the said Thomas did partlie grant, and partly not grant. The copie of the which foresaid laws are contained in the number of eight and twentie or nine and twentie, whereof I thought heere to recite certaine not vnworthie to be knowne.

The copie of the old lawes and customes whereunto Thomas Becket did grant.

The kings customs.

1 That no order should be giuen to husbandmens children and bondmens children, without the assent or testimoniall of them, which be the lords of the countrie where they were borne and brought vp: and if their sonnes become clerks, they shall not receiue the order of priesthood without licence of their lords.

Out of an English chronicle as it appeareth, drawne out of French by earle Riuers, lord Scales.

2 And if a man of holy church hold any lay fee in his hand, he shall do therefore the king the seruice that belongeth thereto, as vpon iuries, assise of lands and iudgements, sauing onlie at execution doing of death.

3 If any man were the kings traitor, and had taken the church, that it should be lawfull to the king and his officers to take him out.

4 And if any fellons goods were brought to holie church, that there should none such keepe there, for euery fellons goods bee the kings.

5 That no land should be giuen to the church, or to any house of religion, without the kings licence.

These articles following Thomas agreed not vnto.

1 If that betweene a clerke and a lay man were any striuing for church goods, they would the plea should bee done in the kings court.

2 That there should neither bishop nor clerke goe out of the land without the kings licence, and then he should sweare vpon a booke he should procure no hurt against the king, nor none of his.

3 If any man were denounced accursed, and were come againe to amendment, the king would not that he should bee sworne, but only find sureties to stand to that that holy church should award.

4 The fourth, that no man that held of the king in chiefe or in seruice, should be accursed without the kings licence.

5 That all the bishoprikes and abbies that were vacant, should be in the kings hands, vntill such time that he should chuse a prelat thereto, and he should be chosen out of the kings chapels; and first before he were confirmed, he should doe his homage to the king.

6 If any plea were brought to ỹ consistory, they should appeale from thence to the archdeacon, and from thence to the bishops court, and from the bishops court to the archbishops, and from thence to the king, and no further. So that in conclusion, the complaints of holy church must come before the king, and not the pope.

7 That al debts that were owing through trothplight, should not be pleaded in spirituall, but in temporall courts.

8 That the Peter-pence, which to the pope were gathered, should be taken to the king.

9 If any clerke for felonie were taken and so proued, hee should bee first degraded, and then through iudgement to bee hanged, or if he were a traitor, to be drawne.

Other lawes and constitutions made at Clarendon *in Normandie and sent to England, whereunto Becket* and the pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the realme.

The lawes of Clarendon.

1 If any person shall bee found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canturburie any writing containing any indict or curse against the realme of England, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a traitor, and execution to be done vpon the same.

2 That no monke nor any clerke shall be permitted to passe ouer into England without a passport from the king or his iustices; who so doth the contrarie, that man is to be tached and imprisoned.

3 No man to be so bold once to appeale to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canturburie out of England.

4 That no decree or commandement proceeding from the authoritie of the pope or the bishop of Canturburie, to be receiued in England, vnder paine of taking and imprisoning.

5 In generall, to forbid any man to carrie ouer any commandement or precept, either of clerke, or layman, to the pope or to the archbishop of Canturburie, vnder paine of imprisonment.

6 If any bishop, clerke, abbat, or layman shall doe contrarie to this inhibition, or will keepe the sentence of interdicting, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the land, with all their kinred, and to leaue all their goods behind them.

7 All the possessions, goods and chattels of such as fauour the pope or the archbishop of Canturburie, to be seized and confiscat for the king.

8 All such of the clergie as be out of the realme, hauing their rents and profits out of the land, to be summoned and warned through euery shire within three moneths to repaire home, or else their rents and goods to returne to the king.

9 That S. Peters pence should be no more paid to the apostolicall see, but to be reserued diligently in the kings coffers, and there to bee at his commandement. Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.

10 That the bishops of Salisburie & Norwich be at the kings mercie, and be summoned by the shiriffe and bedels, that they before the kings iustices doe right to the king and his iustices, because (contrarie to the statutes of Clarendon) by commandement they interdicted the land of earle Hugh, and published the same in their diocesse without licence of the kings iustices.

¶ By these and such other lawes and decrees it may appeare, that the abolishing of the pope is no new thing in the realme of England. This only difference there is, that the pope being driuen out then, could not be kept out so long as now hee is. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that antichrist should so fullie be reuealed; neither was his wickednes then so fullie ripe in those daies, as it hath been now in our time. Now these premised, let vs returne where we left, to the matter betweene the king and Thomas Becket.

The communication and controuersie betweene the king and Thomas Becket with his clergie.

The bishop of Chichester.

The king (as is aforesaid) conuenting his nobles and clerks together, required to haue the punishment of certaine misdoers of the clergie; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the king came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his clergie, that the customs then set forth in the realme (meaning the first part of those decrees aboue specified) should be obserued. To which the archbishop, consulting together with his brethren, giueth answer againe; that he was contented the kings ordinances should be obserued, adding this withall, Saluo ordine suo, that is; Sauing his order. And so in like manner all the other bishops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition, Saluo ordine suo. Onelie Hilarius bishop of Chichester, perceiuing the king to be exasperat with that addition, in stead of Saluo ordine, agreed to obserue them Bona fide. The king hearing them not simplie to agree vnto him, but with an exception, was mightilie offended; who then turning to the archbishop and the prelats, said; that he was not well contented with that clause of theirs, Saluo suo ordine, which he said was captious and deceitfull, hauing some manner of venom lurking vnder; and therefore required an absolute grant of them without any exception to agree to the kings ordinances. To this the archbishop answered againe, that they had sworne vnto him their fidelitie, both life, bodie, and earthlie honor, Saluo ordine suo; and that in the same earthlie honor also those ordinances were comprehended, and to the obseruing they would bind themselues after

Beckets addition, *Saluo ordine suo.*

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after no other forme, but as they had sworne before. The king with this was moued, and all his nobilitie not a little. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt but they would easilie haue relented, had not the stoutnesse of the archbishop made them more constant then otherwise they would haue been. The day being well spent, the king (when he could get no other answer of them) departed in great anger, giuing no word of salutation to the bishops, & likewise the bishops euery one to his owne house departed. The bishop of Chichester (amongst the rest) was greatly rebuked of his fellowes for changing the exception contrarie to the voice of al the others. The nert day following the king tooke from the archbishop all such honors and lordships, as he had giuen him before, in the time that he was chancellor, whereby appeared the great displeasure of the king against him and the clergie. Not long after this, the king removing from London (vnknowne to the bishops) sailed ouer to Normandy, whither the bishop of London called Gilbert (not long after) resorted to craue the kings fauour, and gaue him counsell withall to ioyne some of the bishops on his side, lest if all were against him, peraduenture hee might sooner bee ouerthrowne. And thus the greatest number of the bishops were by this means reconciled againe to the king, only the archbishop with a few others remained in their stoutnes still. The king (thinking to trie all maner of waies) when he saw no feare nor threats could turne him, did assay him with gentlenesse; it would not serue. Many of the nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the king; it would not be. Likewise the archbishop of Yorke with diuers other bishops and abbats (especiallie the bishop of Chester) did the same. Besides this his owne houshold dailie called vpon him, but no man could perswade him. At length vnderstanding (partly by them that came to him) what danger might happen not only to himselfe, but to all the other clergie vpon the kings displeasure: partly considering the old loue and kindnesse of the king towards him in time past, was content to giue ouer to the kings request, and came to Oxford to him, reconciling himselfe about the addition, which displeased the king so much. Wherupon the king (being somewhat mitigated) receiueth him with a more cheerefull countenance, but yet not all so familiarlie as before, saying; that hee would haue his ordinances and proceedings after the forme confirmed in the publike audience and open sight of his bishops and all his nobles. After this the king (being at Clarendon) there called all his peeres and prelats before him, requiring to haue that performed, which they had promised, in consenting to the obseruing of his grandfathers ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop suspecting (I cannot tel what) in the kings promise, drew backward, and now would not that he would before, at last with much adoe he was inforced to giue assent. First, came to him the bishop of Salisburie and of Norwich, who (for old matters indangered to the king long before) came weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to haue some compassion of them, and to remit his pertinacie to the king, lest if hee so continued (through his stoutnesse to exasperat the kings displeasure) happily it might redound to no small danger, not onely of them which were in ieopardie alreadie, but also of himselfe to be imprisoned, and the whole clergie to be indangered. Besides these two bishops, there went to him other two noble peeres of the realme, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the kings desire: if not, they should be inforced to vse violence, as neither would stand with the kings fame, and much lesse with his quietnesse; but yet the stout stomach of the man would not giue ouer. After this came to him two rulers of the temple called Templares, one Richard de Hall, another Tostās de Yeuerton with their companie, lamenting and bewailing their great perill which they declared vnto him to hang ouer his head: yet neither with their teares nor with their kneelings would he be remoued. At length came the last message from the king, signifying vnto him with expresse words (& also with teares) what he should trust to, if he would not giue ouer to the kings request.

By reason of which message, he (either terrified or els perswaded) was content to submit himselfe. Whereupon the king incontinent assembling the states together, the archbishop first before all others beginneth to promise to the king obedience, and submission vnto his customs, and that Cum bona fide, leauing out his former addition, Saluo ordine, mentioned before: in stead whereof he promised in Verbo veritatis, to obserue and kéep the kings customes and sweare to the same. After him the other bishops likewise gaue the like oth whereupon the king commanded incontinent certaine instruments obligatorie to be drawne, of the which the king should haue the one, the archbishop of Canturburie another, the archbishop of Yorke the third, requiring also the said archbishop to set to his hand & seale. To the which the archbishop (although not denying but that he was readie so to doe) yet desired respit in the matter, while that he (being but newlie come to his bishoprike) might better perus with himselfe the foresaid customes and ordinances of the king. This request as it séemed but reasonable, so it was lightlie granted; and so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake vp.

Alanus, one of the foure writers of the life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth; that the archbishop in his voiage towards Winchester, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certaine about him, but chiefly of his crosbearer, who going before the archbishop, sharplie and earnestly expostulated with him for giuing ouer to ỳ kings request, against the priuiledge and liberties of the church, polluting not onlie his fame and conscience, but also giuing a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like words. To make the matter short the archbishop was so touched vpon the same with such repentance, that kéeping himselfe from all companie, lamenting with teares, with fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himselfe, did suspend himselfe from all diuine seruice, and would not receiue comfort, before that (word being sent to his holy grandfather the pope) he should be assoiled of him, who tendering the teares of his déere chicken, directed to him letters againe by the same messenger which Thomas had sent vp to him before. In wh.ch letters not onlie hée assoiled him from his trespasse, but also with words of great consolation did incourage him to be stout in the quarell he tooke in hand. The copie of which letters consolatorie sent from the pope to bishop Becket, héere followeth vnder written.

A letter of pope Alexander to Thomas Becket.

ALexander bishop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been aduertised vs, how that vpon the occasion of a certaine transgression or excesse of yours, you haue determined to cease henceforth from saying of masse, & to abstaine from the consecration of the bodie & bloud of the Lord; which thing to doe, how dangerous it is (especially in such a personage) and also what inconuenience may rise thereof, I wil you aduisedly to consider, and discreetly also to ponder. Your wisdome ought not to forget what difference there is betweene them which aduisedly & willingly doe offend, & those which through ignorance & for necessitie sake do offend. For as you reade, so much the more greater is wilfull sinne, as the same not being voluntarie is lesser sinne. Therfore if you remember your selfe to haue done any thing that your owne conscience doth accuse you of, whatsoeuer it be, we counsell you (as a prudent and wise prelat) to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the mercifull and pitifull God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer then to the thing done, will remit & forgiue you the same according to his accustomed great mercie. And we trusting in the merits of the blessed apostles S. Peter and Paul doe absolue you from the offence committed, and by the authoritie apostolicall wee release you vnto your fraternitie, counselling you & commanding you, that henceforth you abstaine not (for this cause) from the celebration of the masse.

This letter with others more after like sort the pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarell so nerely pertaining to the popes profit. By the occasion whereof, Becket toke no small heart and consolation: in so much that therof séemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malapert against his prince, as hereafter followeth to be séene by his doings. What the other letters were that the pope wrote vnto him, shortlie after (when we come to the appellations made to the pope) shall appeare God willing. In the meane season (as he sat thus mourning at home) the king hearing of him, and how he denied to set his seale to those sanctions, which he condescended to before, toke no little displeasure against him: in so much that hee (threatning to him and his banishment & death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burthen him with paiments, that all men might vnderstand that the kings mind was sore set against him. The archbishop hereupon (whether more for the loue of the pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make an escape out of the realme, and so went about in the night (with two or three with him stealing out of his house) to take the sea priuilie. Now amongst others the kings ordinances and sanctions, this was one; that none of the prelacie or nobilitie without the kings licence (or of his iustices) should depart out of the realme. So Becket twice attempted the sea to flée to the sée of Rome, but the weather not seruing, was driuen home againe, and his deuice for that time frustrated. After his departure began to be knowne and noised abrode, the kings officers came to Canturburie to seize vpon his goods in the kings behalfe. But as it chanced the night before their comming, Becket being returned & found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Upon this, the archbishop (vnderstanding the king sore bent against him, and the seas not to serue him) made hast to the court lying then at Woodstocke, where the king receiued him (after a certaine manner) but nothing so familiarlie as he was wont, taunting him iestinglie & merilie, as though one realme were not able to hold them both. Becket (although hee was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the court) yet could not obtaine the fauour that hee would, perceiuing both in himselfe, and confessing no lesse to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either hee should be constrained to giue ouer with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The archbishop of Yorke in the meane time (going betwixt the king & the archbishop) labored to make a peace and loue betwixt them; but the king in no case would be reconciled, vnlesse the other would subscribe to his lawes.

So

The stubborne wilfulnesse of Tho. Becket.

Thomas Becket relenteth to the king.

Becket veeleth to the king.

Saluo ordine left out in the compolition.

Becket repenteth of his good deed.

Becket taunted of the king.

Becket enterpriseth against the kings lawes to flie out of the realme.

So the while, neither the king would otherwise agree, nor yet the archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foule discord; where the fault was, let the reader here iudge betweene them both. The king for his regall authoritie thought it much that any subiect of his should stand against him. The archbishop againe (bearing himselfe bold vpon the authoritie, and especially vpon the letters of the pope lately written to him) thought him strong inough against the king & all his realme. Againe, such was his quarrell for the maintenance of liberties and glorie of the church, that hee could lacke no letters on and fauourers in that behalfe, in so sweet a cause amongst the clergie. Wherefore the archbishop (trusting to these things) would giue no place, but by vertue of his apostolike authoritie gaue censure vpon these lawes and constitutions of the king, condemning some, and other some approuing for good and catholike, as is before declared. Besides this, there came also to the king Rotrodus archbishop of Rothomage (sent from the pope) to make peace betweene the king and Canturburie: whereunto the king was well content, so that the pope would agree to ratifie his ordinances. But when that could in no wise be obtained at the popes hands, then the king being stopped and frustrat of his purpose by reason of Beckets apostolike legacie (being Legatus à latere) thought good to send vp to the pope, and so did, to obtaine of him, that the same authoritie of the apostolike legacie might bee conferred to another after his appointment, which was the archbishop of Yorke: but the pope denied. Notwithstanding at the request of the kings clergie, the pope was content that the king should bee legat himselfe; whereat the king tooke great indignation (as Houeden writeth) so that he sent the pope his letters againe. Here the pope was perplexed on both sides.

Ex Rogero Houed. pri. parte historiæ continuatæ post Bedam.

The king to be the popes legat.

If he should haue denied the king, that was too hot for him: for the pope vseth alwaies to hold in with kings howsoeuer the world spedeth. Againe, if he should haue forsaken such a churchly chaplen the cause being so sweet and so gainefull) that should haue been against himselfe. What did he then? Here now commeth in the old practise of popish prelacie, to play with both hands: primlie he conspireth with the one, and openly dissembleth with the other. First, he granted to the kings ambassadors their request, to haue the legat remooued, and to place in that office the archbishop of Yorke, after his owne contentation; and yet notwithstanding (to tender the cause of Thomas Becket) he addeth this promise withall, that the said Becket should receiue no harme or damage thereby. Thus the pope craftily conueying the matter betweene them both, glad to further the archbishop for his owne aduantage, and yet loth to denie the king for displeasure, writeth to the king openly, and also secretlie directeth another letter to Becket: the contents whereof here follow.

The craftie dissimulation of the pope.

Alexander the pope, to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie.

The popes secret letters to Becket.

ALthough wee condescending to the kings request, haue granted the gift of our legacie after his mind from you: yet let not your mind thereby be discomforted, nor brought into sighs of despaire. For before that we had granted that, or gaue our consent thereunto; the kings ambassadors firmely promised in the word of truth (readie also to bee sworne vpon the same, if I would so haue required) that their letters also which hee had obtained, should not be deliuered to the archbishop of York without our knowledge and consent therein. This is certaine, and so perswade your selfe boldly without any scruple, doubt or mistrust, that it was neuer my mind or purpose, nor euer shall be (God willing) to subdue you or your church vnder the obedience of any person, to be subiect, saue only to the bishop of Rome. And therfore we warne you & charge you, that if you shall perceiue the king to deliuer these foresaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to do; forthwith by some trustie messenger or by your letters you will giue vs knowledge thereof: whereby wee may prouide vpon the same both for your person, your church, and also your city committed to you, to be clearely exempt by our authority apostolicall, from all power and iurisdiction of any legacie.

Vpon these letters and such others (as is said before) Becket seemed to take all his boldnesse to be so stout and sturdy against his prince as he was. The pope (beside these) sent secretlie this chaplen of his, and directed another letter also vnto the king, granting and permitting at his request, to make the archbishop of Yorke legat apostolicall.

The king (after he had receiued his letters sent from the pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, first beginning with the inferiors of the clergie, such as were offendors against his lawes: as fellons, robbers, quarellers, breakers of peace, & especially such as had committed homicide and murthers, whereof more then an hundred at that time were proued vpon the clergie (as witnesseth Guliel. Neuburgensis, in his booke De gestis Anglorum, lib. 2. cap. 16.) vrging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the law temporall, and iustice to bee ministred to them according to their deserts: as first to be depriued, and so to be committed to the secular hands. This seemed to Becket to derogat from the liberties of holy church, that the secular power should passe in causes criminall, or sit in iudgement against any ecclesiasticall person. This law, the rollers (then of the clergie) had picked and forged out of Anacletus & Euaristus, by whose falsitie alleaged and pretended authoritie they haue deduced this their constitution from the apostles, which giueth immunitie to all ecclesiasticall persons to be free from secular iurisdiction. Becket therefore like a valiant champion (fighting for his liberties, and hauing the pope on his side) would not permit his clerks infamed, otherwise to be conuented then before ecclesiasticall iudges, there to bee examined and depriued for their errelle, and no secular iudge to proceed against them: so that after their depriuation, if they should incurre the like offence againe, then the temporall iudge to take hold vpon them, otherwise not. This obstinat and stubborne rebellion of the archbishop stirred vp much anger and vexation in their king, and not only in him, but also in the nobles and in all the bishops (for the greater part) that almost he was alone a wonderment to all the realme.

More then an hundred murthers done by the clergie. Guliel. Neuburg. lib. 2. cap. 16.

The kings wrath daily increased more and more against him (as no maruell it was) and caused him to be cited vp to appeare by a certaine day at the towne of Northhampton, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come (all the peeres and nobles, with the prelats of the realme vpon the kings proclamation being assembled in the castel of Northhampton) great fault was found with the archbishop, for that hee (personally cited to appeare) came not himselfe, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not, Houeden assigneth to be this: for that the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the archbishops lodging (which was a house there of canons) wherewith he being offended, sent word againe that he would not appeare, vnlesse his lodging were voided of the kings horsemen, &c. Whereupon (by the publike sentence as well of all the nobles, as of the bishops) all his moueables were adiudged to be confiscat for the king, vnlesse the kings clemencie would remit the penaltie. The stubborne archbishop againe (for his part) quarelling against the order and forme of the iudgement, complaineth: alleaging for himselfe (seeing he is their primat, and spirituall father, not onely of all other in the realme, but also of the king himselfe) not to be conuenient, the father so to be iudged of his children, nor the pastor of his flocke so to be condemned: saying moreouer, that the ages to come should know what iudgement was done, &c. But especially he complaineth of his fellow bishops (when they should rather haue taken his part) so to sit in iudgement against their metropolitane. And this was the first daies action.

Becket cited to Northhampton.

The archbishop condemned in the councell at Northhampton in the losse of all moueables.

The next day following, the king laid an action against him in the behalfe of one that was his marshall (called John) for certaine iniuries done to him, and required of the said archbishop the repaying againe of certaine monie, which he (as is said) had lent vnto him being chancelor, the sum whereof came to 500. marks. This monie the archbishop denied not but hee had receiued of the king, howbeit, by the way and title of gift as he tooke it, though he could bring no probation therof. Whereupon, the king required him to put in assurance for the paiment therof: whereat the archbishop making delaies (not well contented at the matter) was so called vpon, that either he should be countable to the king for the monie, or elle he should incur present danger, the king being so bent against him. The archbishop being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his owne suffragans, could heere by no meanes haue escaped, had not fiue persons of their owne accord stepped in being bound for him, euery man for 100. marks a peece. And this was vpon the second day concluded.

Becket required to giue an account.

The morow after, which was the third day of the councel, as the archbishop was sitting below in a certaine conclaue with his fellow bishops about him, consulting together, the doores fast locked to them, as the king had willed and commanded, it was propounded vnto him in the behalfe of the king, that he had had diuers bishoprikes & abbaries in his hand which were vacant, with the fruits and reuenues therof due vnto the king for certaine yeeres, whereof he had rendered as yet no account to the king: wherfore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and a cleare reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the councell, great displeasure to be in the king, and no lesse danger toward the archbishop.

The aduice of the bishops for Thomas Becket.

THus while the bishops and prelats were in counsell, aduising and deliberating what was to bee done, at length it came to voices, euery man to say his mind, and to giue sentence what were the best way for their archbishop to take. First began Henrie bishop of Winchester, who then tooke part with Becket so much as he durst for feare of the king, who said, hee remembred that the said archbishop, first being archdeacon, and then lord chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the church of Canturburie, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporall court, as all the other bishops could not but beare record to the same.

The verdict of Winchester.

Next

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The counsell of the bishop of London.

Next spake Gilbert bishop of London, exhorting and motioning the archbishop that he should call with himselfe to mind from whence the king toke him, and set him vp; what and how great things he had done for him; also that he should consider with himselfe the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruine he might bring vpon the whole church (and vpon them all there present) if he resisted the kings mind in the things he required. And if it were to render vp his archbishoprike (although it were ten times better then it is) yet he should not sticke with the king in the matter. In so doing it might happen, the king, seeing that submission and humilitie in him, would release him peraduenture of all the rest. To this the archbishop answering, Well, well (saith he) I perceiue well inough my Lord whither you tend, and whither about you go. Then spake Winchester, inferring vpon the same; This forme of counsell (saith he) seemeth to me very pernicious to the catholike church, tending to our subuersion, and to the confusion of vs all. For if our archbishop and primat of all England doe leane to this example, that euery bishop should giue ouer his authoritie & the charge of the flocke committed to him, at commandement and threatning of the prince; to what state shall the church bee brought then, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing to stand certaine by any order of law, and so as the priest is, so shall the people be?

Canturburie.

Winchester.

Chichester.

Hilarie the bishop of Chichester replieth againe to this, saying: If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force vs, I would thinke this counsell here giuen were good to be followed. But now seeing the authoritie of our canon faileth, and cannot serue vs, I iudge it not best to go so strictlie to worke, but so to moderat our procedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which seuere correction may destroy. Wherfore my counsell and reason is, to giue place to the kings purpose for a time, lest (by ouer hastie proceeding wee exceede so far) that both it may redound to our shame, and also cannot rid our selues out againe when we would.

Moderat counsell.

Much to the same end spake Robert the bishop of Lincolne after this maner: Seeing (saith he) it is manifest that the life and bloud of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his archbishoprike, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his bishoprike, his life being lost, I doe not greatly see.

Lincolne.

Next followed Bartholomew bishop of Exceter with his aduice, who (inclining his counsell to the state of the time) confirmed their sayings before, affirming how the daies were euill and perillous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest vnder the couer of bearing & relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, he said, could not bee, except strict seueritie should giue place to tractabilitie; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no lesse, especially seeing that persecution was not generall, but personall & particular; and thought it more holy and conuenient, one head to run into some part of danger, then the whole church of England to be subiect and exposed to inconuenience ineuitable.

Exceter.

The answer of Roger bishop of Worcester was deuised in a double suspence, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whole saying was this: That he would giue no answer on neither part; for if I (saith he) shall say that the pastorall function and cure of soules ought to be relinquished at the kings will or threatning, then my mouth shall speake against my conscience to the condemnation of mine owne head. And if I shall giue againe contrarie counsell to resist the kings sentence, heere be they that will heare it, and report it to his grace, and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the synagogue, and for my part to bee accounted amongst the publike rebels (with them to be condemned:) wherefore neither do I say this, nor counsell that.

Worcester.

And this was the consultation of the bishops in that place, assembled together by the kings commandement. Against these voices and censures of the bishops, Becket the archbishop replieth againe, expostulating and checking them with rebukefull words. I perceiue (saith he) and vnderstand ye go about to maintaine and cherish but your owne cowardnesse, vnder the colorable shadow of sufferance: and vnder pretence of dissembling softnesse to choke the libertie of Christs church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O vnsatiable bishops? What meane yee? Why do yee so vnder the impudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloke your manifest iniquitie? What call yee this bearing with time, the detrument of the church of Christ? Let termes serue the matter. Why peruert you the matter that is good with vocables and termes vntrue? For that ye say we must beare with the malice of time, I grant with you: but yet we must not heape sinne to sinne. Is not God able to helpe the state and condition of his church, but with the sinfull dissimulation of the teachers of the church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me (I pray you) whether should the gouernors of the church put themselues to dangers for the church in time of tranquillitie, or in time of distresse? Ye will be ashamed to denie the contrarie, but in distresse. And now then (the church lying in so great distresse and veration) why should not the good pastor put himselfe into perill therefore? For neither doe I thinke it a greater act or merit for the ancient bishops of the old time, to lay the foundation of the church then (with the bloud,) then now for vs to shed our bloud for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plaine, I thinke it not safe for you to swarue from an example which you haue receiued of your holy elders. After these things were spoken, they sat all in silence a certaine space being locked in together. At length (to find a shift to cause the doore to be opened) I will (saith the archbishop) speak with two earles which are about the king, and named them who they were. Who (being called) opened the doore and came in with hast, thinking to heare some thing which should appease the kings mind. To whom the archbishop spake in this manner: As touching and concerning the matters betweene the king and vs, we haue here conferred together. And forsomuch as we haue them not present with vs now, which knew more in the matter then we doe (whose aduice we would be glad also to follow) therefore wee craue so much respit as till the next day following, and then to giue our answer vnto the king. With this message two bishops were sent to the king, which was the bishop of London, and the bishop of Rochester.

A great distresse growne in the church, because that bishops may not be aboue kings and princes.

London (to helpe the matter, and to set quietnes, as I take it, adding something more to the message) said to the king, that the archbishop craued a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the kings desire, &c. Wherfore, two barons were sent to him from the king to grant him that respit or stay; so that he would ratifie that which the messengers had signified to the king. To the which the archbishop answereth, that he sent no message as was intimat in his name: but onelie, that the next day hee would come and giue answer to the king in that which he had to say. And so the conuocation of the bishops was dissolued and dismissed home: so that the most part of them that came with the archbishop and accompanied him before (for feare of the kings displeasure) seuered themselues from him. The archbishop thus forsaken and destitute (as his storie saith) sent about for the poore, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them hee might sooner obtaine his victorie, then by the others which had so slipt from him.

Becket destitute and forsaken.

On the next day following, because it was sunday, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second ferie, the archbishop was cited to appeare. But the night before (being taken with a disease called Passio iliaca, the colicke) as that day he kept his bed & was not able, as he said, to rise. Euery man supposing this to be but a fained sicknesse, as it seemed no lesse, certaine of the chiefe nobles were sent to trie the matter, and to cite him to the court: namely, Robert earle of Leicester, & Reginald earle of Deuonshire. To whom the archbishop answered, that as that day he was so diseased that he could not come, yea though he were brought in an horslitter. So that day passed ouer. The morrow after, certaine that were about him, fearing no lesse but that some danger would happen to him, gaue him counsell in the morning to haue a masse in the honor of the holy martyr S. Steuen, to keepe him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come (being tuesday) there came to him the bishops & prelats, counselling and perswading him couertly by insinuation (for apertly they durst not) that he would submit himselfe with all his goods (as also his archbishoprike) to the will of the king, if peraduenture his indignation by that means might asswage. Adding moreouer, that vnles he would so doe, periurie would be laid against him: for that hee being vnder the oth of fidelitie to keepe the kings lawes and ordinances, now would not obserue them.

Becket taken with sicknesse when he should appeare.

A masse of S. Steuen to saue him from his enemies.

To this Becket the archbishop answereth againe: Brethren yee see and perceiue well how the world is set against me, and how the enemie riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous & lamentable, yet the thing that grieueth me most of all, is this: The sonnes of mine owne mother be pricks and thornes against mee. And albeit I doe hold my peace, yet the posteritie to come will know and report how cowardly you haue turned your backes, and haue left your archbishop and metropolitane alone in his conflict, and how you haue sitten in iudgement against me (although vnguiltie of crime) now two daies together, and not onely in the ciuill and spirituall court, but also in the temporall court readie to do the same. But in generall this I charge and command (as the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your order) that ye be present personally in iudgement against mee. And that yee shall not faile so to do, I heere appeale to our mother (the refuge of all such as be oppressed) the church of Rome: and if any secular men shall lay hands vpon mee (as it is rumored they will) I straitly inioyne and charge you in the same vertue of obedience, that you exercise your censure ecclesiasticall vpon them, as it becommeth you to do for a father and an archbishop. And this I doe you to vnderstand, that though the world rage, and the enemie be fierce, and the bodie trembleth (for the flesh is weake) yet God so fauouring me, I will neither cowardlie shrinke, nor yet vilie forsake my flocke committed vnto my charge, &c.

Beckets answer to the bishops.

Becket appealeth to Rome.

But the bishop of London, contrarie to this commandement of the archbishop, did incontinent appeale from him. And thus the bishops departed from him to the court; saue onely two, Henrie of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisburie, who returned

London appealeth from the archbishop.

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returned with him secretly to his chamber and comforted him. This done, the archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sicke that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresseth him to his masse of S. Stephan with all solemnitie, as though it had been an high festuall day, with his metropolitan pall, which was not vsed but vpon the holy day to be worne, &c. The office of his masse began, Sederunt principes & aduersum me loquebantur: that is, Princes sat & spake against me, &c. (the kings seruants being also there and beholding the matter.) For this masse Gilbert bishop of London accused Becket afterward, both for that it was done Per artem magicam, & in contemptum regis (as the words of Houeden purport) that is, both by art magike, and in contempt of the king, &c.

A masse to charme away persecutors.

The masse being ended, the archbishop (putting off his pal, his miter and other robes) procéedeth to the kings court: but yet not trusting peraduenture so greatly to the strength of his masse (to make the matter more sure) he taketh also the sacrament priuilie about him, thinking thereby himselfe sufficiently defensed against al bugs. In going to the kings chamber (there to attend the kings comming) as he was entring the doore, he taketh from Alexander his crosier, the crosse with the crosse staffe, in the sight of all that stood by, and carieth it in himselfe, the other bishops following him, and saying he did otherwise then became him. Amongst others Robert bishop of Hereford offered himselfe to beare his crosse rather then he should so do, for that it was not comelie, but the archbishop would not suffer him. Then said the bishop of London vnto him: If the king shall see you come armed into his chamber, perchance hee will draw out his sword against you, which is stronger then yours, and then what shall this your account profit you? The archbishop answereth againe; If the kings sword doe cut carnallie, yet my sword cutteth spirituallie, and striketh downe to hell. But you my lord, as you haue plaied the fole in this matter, so you will not yet leaue off your follie for any thing I can see; and so he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his comming and of the maner therof, tarried not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himselfe with his other bishops about him. First, the crier called the prelats and all the lords of the temporalitie together. That being done (and euery one placed in his seat according to his degrée) the king beginneth with a great complaint against the archbishop for his maner of entring into the court, not as (saith he) a subiect into a kings court; but as a traitor, shewing himselfe in such sort as hath not been séene before in any christian kings court, professing christian faith. To this all (there present) gaue witnesse with the king, affirming him alwaies to be a vaine & a proud man, and that the shame of his fact did not only redound against the prince himselfe, but also against his whole realme. Moreouer, they said that this had so happened to the king, for that he had done so much for such a beast, aduancing him so highly in such a place and rome next vnder himselfe. And so all together with one crie called him traitor on euery side, as one that refused to giue terren honor to the king, in keeping (as he had sworne) his lawes and ordinances, at whose hands also he had receiued such honor and great preferments, and therfore was well worthie (said they) to be handled like a periured traitor and rebell. Whereupon great doubt and feare was what should befal vpon him. The archbishop of York comming downe to his men, said he could not abide to see what the archbishop of Canturburie was like to suffer. Likewise, the tipstaues and other ministers of the assemblie comming downe with an outcrie against him, crossed them to see his hautie stubbornnesse, and the bustlenesse there was about him. Certaine there were of his disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse vpon them. Others (contrarie) bidding him not to curse, but to pray and to forgiue them; and if he lost his life in the quarell of the church and the libertie thereof, he should be happie. Afterward, one of them, named Iohannes Stephani, desired to speake something in his eare; but could not be suffered by the kings marshal, who forbad that any man should haue any talke with him. Then he (because he could not otherwise speak to him) wrought by signes, making a crosse, & looking vp with his eies, and wagging his lips, meaning that hee should pray and manfully stand to the crosse. In the meane time commeth to him Bartholomew bishop of Exceter, desiring him to haue regard and compassion of himselfe and also of them, or els they were all like to perish for the hatred of him: for there commeth out (saith he) a precept from the king that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open rebell that hereafter taketh your part. It is said moreouer that Iocelinus bishop of Salisburie, and William bishop of Norwich are to bée had to the place of execution, for their resisting and making intercession for the bishop of Canturburie. When he had thus said, the archbishop (looking vpon the said bishop of Exceter) Auoid hence from me, saith he, thou vnderstandest not, neither doest sauour those things that be of God.

Becket carieth with him the sacrament going to the king.

A blind zeale for the proud liberties of the church.

Houeden referreth not this saying to the bishop of London, but to the archbishop of Yorke.

Whoso taketh Beckets part, is counted a rebell.

Becket called traitor of the king and all his nobles.

The bishops and prelats then going aside by themselues from the other nobles (the king so permitting them to do) take counsell together what was to be done. Here the matter stood in a doubtfull perplexitie, for either must they incur the dangerous indignation of the king, or else with the nobles they must proceed in condemnation against the archbishop for resisting the kings sanctions; which thing, neither they themselues did fauor. In this strict necessitie, they (deuising what way to take) at length agreed vpon this: that they with a common assent should cite the archbishop to the sée of Rome vpon periurie; and that they should oblige and binde themselues to the king with a sure promise, to worke their diligence in deposing the archbishop (vpon this condition) that the king should promise their safetie, and discharge them from the perill of that iudgement which was towards them. So all the bishops obliging themselues thus to the king, went forth to the archbishop: of whom one speaking for the rest (which was Hilarie bishop of Chichester) had these words: Once you haue been our archbishop, and so long wee were bound to your obedience: but now forsomuch as you (once swearing your fidelitie to the king) doe resist him, neglecting his iniunctions and ordinances concerning and appertaining to his terren honor and dignitie; we here pronounce you periured, neither be we bound to giue obedience to an archbishop thus being periured; but putting our selues and all ours in the popes protection, doe cite you vp to his presence. And vpon the same, assigned him his day and time to appeare. The archbishop answering againe, said he heard him well inough, and vpon this sendeth vp to Rome in all hast to the pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how and wherefore, and by whom he was cited. To whom the pope directed againe his letters of comfort (as he had done diuers before) the copie whereof heere insueth.

Becket cited to Rome vpon periurie by the bishops.

Becket condemned of periurie.

Becket cited to Rome.

Pope Alexander to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie.

YOur brotherly letters, which you directed to vs, and such other matters which your messenger by word of mouth hath signified vnto vs, we haue diligently heard the reading thereof: and thereby fully vnderstand the grieuous vexations and dolorous griefes wherewith your mind is daily incombred: by reason whereof, we hearing and vnderstanding, are not a little disquieted in our spirit for your sake: in whose prosperities we do both gladly reioyce, and no lesse do sorrow in your aduersities as for our most deare brother. You therefore (as a constant and wise man) remember with your selfe that which is written: The apostles departed away (reioycing) from the face of the councell, &c. With like patience doe you also sustaine that mans molestations, and let not your spirit bee troubled therein more then needeth, but receiue in your selfe consolation: that we also together with you may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preserued you to the corroboration of his catholike and christian veritie, in this distresse of necessitie: and from whom also it hath pleased him to wipe away the blot of such things which haue been vnorderly of you committed, and heere to punish the same through sundrie afflictions: whereby (in the strict iudgement of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But henceforth let not this much grieue you: neither let your heart be so deiect or timorous in the matter (for that you are cited vp to the apostolike see) which to vs is both gratefull & accepted. And this we will you, that if they which haue cited you shall chance to come: draw not you backe, but follow the appeale (if you please) and spare not (al doubt and delay set apart:) for the authoritie of the church tendring this your constancy, may not doe that which may put you either in feare, or doubt. But our diligence shall be with all labour & studie, to conserue the right and prehemineince (God willing) of that church committed to you, so much as in vs lieth (sauing our iustice and equitie) as to one whom in working for the church, we find to be both a constant and a valiant champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repaire vnto the church of Canturburie: and retaining but a few clerks about you (such onlie as serue your necessitie) make no excurses out (as little as you can) in that countrie. But in this especially I thought to premonish you (that in no case) neither for feare or any aduersitie, whatsoeuer may happen, you be brought to renounce and giue vp the right and dignitie of your church. Written at Sene the seuenth before the kalends of Nouember.

As the archbishop was thus cited vp to Rome, sitting with his crosse waiting in the court, neither giuing place to the kings request, nor abashed with the clamor of the whole court against him, calling him traitor on euery side, neither following the aduertisement of his fellow bishops, at length the king by certaine earles and barons sent commandement to him, (Robert earle of Leicester doing the message) that hee should without delay come & render a full account of all things that he had receiued, as the profits and reuenues of the realme, in the time he was chancellor, & especially for the 30000. marks, for the which he was accountable to the king. To whom the archbishop answereth againe; the king knew how of he had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him. Further and besides, Hentie his sonne & heire of his realme, with all his barons, and also Richard Lucie chiefe iustice of England told him, that he was free and quit to God & to holy church from all receits and computations, and from all secular exactions on the kings behalfe. And so hee taking thus his discharge at their hands, entred into his office; & therefore other

Becket called to a full account.

Ex Rogero Houedano.

accounts

Becket iudged to be laid in prison.

account besides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his barons to do the law vpon him, who so doing, iudged him to be apprehended & laid in prison. This done, the king sendeth to him Reginald earle of Cornewall and Deuonshire, and Robert earle of Leicester, to declare to him what was his iudgement. To whom the archbishop answereth: Heare, my sonne & good erle, what I say vnto you: how much more pretious the soule is more then the body, so much more ought you to obay me in the Lord, rather then your terren king. Neither doth any law or reason permit the childrẽ to iudge or condemne their father. Wherefore, to auoid both the iudgement of the king, of you, & all others; I put my selfe onely to the arbitrement of the pope, vnder God alone to be iudged of him, and of no other; to whose presence here before you all I doe appeale, committing the ordering of the church of Canturburie, my dignitie, with all other things appertaining to the same, vnder the protection of God & him. And as for you my brethren and fellow bishops, which rather obay man then God, you also I call and cite to the audience and iudgement of the pope, and depart hencefoorth from you as from the enemies of the catholike church, & of the authoritie of the apostolike see.

Ex quadripartita hist. l. 6. cap. 28.

Becket appealeth to the pope.

Becket thinketh not sufficient the protection of God without the pope.

While the barons returned with this answer to the king, the archbishop passing through the throng, taketh vnto him his palfrey, holding his crosse in one hand, and his bridle in the other, the courtiers following after, and crying, Traitor, traitor, tarrie and heare thy iudgement. But he passed on till he came to the vttermost gate of the court, which being fast locked there had bẽ staied, had not one of his seruants called Peter, surnamed Demunctorio, finding there a bunch of keies hanging by, first prooued one keie, then another, till at last finding the true keie, had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbishop went straight to ẏ house of canons, where he did lie, calling vnto him the poore, where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he caused to be made betwixt two altars, priuilie while the king was at supper, prepareth his iourne secretly to escape away; and changing his garment and his name, being called Derman, first went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwich, where he tooke ship, and sailed into Flanders, and from thence iourned into France, as Houedenus saith. Albeit Alanus differing somewhat in the order of his flight, saith that he departed not that night; but at supper time came to him the bishops of London & Chichester, declaring to him, that if he would surrender vp to the king his two manors of Otford & Wingcham, there were hope to recouer the kings fauor, and to haue all remitted. But when the archbishop would not agree thereunto, forsomuch as those manors were belonging to the church of Canturburie; the king hearing thereof, great displeasure was taken, insomuch that the next day Becket was faine to send to the king two bishops and his chaplaine for leaue to depart the realme. To the which message the king answered, that he would take pause thereof till the next day, and then he should haue an answer. But Becket not tarrying his answer, the same day conueyed himselfe away secretly, as is aforesaid, to Ludouicus the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert the bishop of London, and William the earle of Arundell, sent from the king of England to France preuented him: requiring the said French king in the behalfe of the king of England, that he would not receiue, nor retaine in his dominion the archbishop of Canturburie. Moreouer, that at his instance, he would be a meanes to the pope, not to shew any familiaritie vnto him. But the king of England in this point seemed to haue more confidence in the French king, then knowledge of his disposition. For thinking that the French king would haue bẽ a good neighbour to him, in trusting him too much, he was deceiued. Neither considered he with himselfe enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the realme of England, who then were glad to seeke and take all maner of occasions to doe some act against England.

Becket flieth out of the court.

Becket changeth his name and is called Derman.

Histories differ some thing in the order of his flight.

The French king supporteth Becket against the king of England.

And therefore Ludouike the French king, vnderstanding the matter, and thinking (percase) thereby to haue some vantage against the king and realme of England by the occasion hereof, contrarie to the kings letters and request, not onely harboureth and cherisheth this Derman, but also (writing to the pope by his almoner & brother) intreateth him (vpon all loues as euer he would haue his fauour) to tender the cause of the archbishop Becket. Thus the kings ambassadors repulsed of the French king returned; at what time he sent another ambassage (vpon the like cause) to Alexander the pope then being at Sene in France. The ambassadors sent in this message, were Roger archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, Henry bishop of Winchester, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew bishop of Exceter, with other doctors and clerks: also William earle of Arundell, with certaine more lords and barons, who comming to the popes court, were friendly accepted of certaine of the cardinals: amongst the which cardinals rose also dissentiõ about the same cause. Some iudging the bishop of Canturburie in the defence of the liberties of the church (as in a good cause) to be maintained. Some thinking againg, that he (being a perturber of peace and vnitie) was rather to be bridelled for his presumption, then to be fostered & incouraged therein. But the pope partly bearing with his cause (which onely tended to his exaltation and magnificence) partly againe incensed with the letters of the French king, did wholy incline to Becket, as no maruel was. Wherefore the next day following, the pope sitting in consistorie with his cardinals, the ambassadors were called for to the hearing of Beckets matter; and first beginneth the bishop of London; next, the archbishop of Yorke; then Excester; and the other bishops euery one in their order to speak. Whose orations being not well accepted of the pope, and some of them also disdained; the earle of Arundell perceiuing that (and somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the popes eares) began after this maner.

Ambassadors sent to the pope.

The oration of the earle of Arundell to the pope.

ALthough to me it is vnknowne (saith he) which am both vnlettered and ignorant, what is that these bishops heere haue said, neither am I in that tongue so able to expresse my mind as they haue done: yet being sent and charged thereunto of my prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sending hither: not (truly) to contend or striue with any person, nor to offer any iniurie or harme vnto any man (especially in this place) and in the presence here of such an one, vnto whose beck and authoritie all the world doth stoope and yeeld. But for this time is our legacie hither directed, to present here before you and in the presence of the whole church of Rome, the deuotion and loue of our king and master, which euer he hath had, and yet hath still toward you. And that the same might the better appeare to your excellencie, he hath assigned and appointed to the furniture of this legacie, not the least, but the greatest: not the worst, but the best and chiefest of al his subiects: both archbishops, bishops, earles, barons, with other potentates more, of such worthinesse and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his realme, he would haue sent them, both for the reuerence of your person, and of the holy church of Rome. Ouer and besides this, I might adde to more (which your sanctitude hath sufficientlie tried and prooued alreadie) the true and heartie fidelitie of this our king and soueraigne toward you, who (in his first entrance to his kingdome) wholly submitted himselfe with all that is his besides, to your will and pleasure. And truely, to testifie of his maiestie how he is disposed to the vnitie of the catholike faith: we beleeue there is none more faithfull in Christ then he, nor more deuout to God, nor yet more moderat in keeping the vnitie of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to protest for our king and master, so neither doe I denie the archbishop of Canturburie to be a man destitute or vnfurnished with gifts and ornaments in his kind of calling, but to bee a man both sage and discreet in such things as to him appertaine, saue only that he seemeth to some more quicke & sharpe then needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and that the breach betweene our king and him had not so hapned, both the regiments together (of the temporaltie and spiritualtie) might quietly haue flourished one with the other in much peace and concord, both vnder a prince so worthie, and a pastor so vertuous. Wherefore (the case so standing as it doth) our message hither, and our supplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your fauour and wisdome) the necke of this dissension may be broken, and that reformation of vnitie and loue (by some good meanes) may be sought.

The pope tendereth Beckets cause against the king.

¶ This oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softnesse and moderation thereof, yet it could not so perswade the Romish bishop to condescend to their sute & request: which sute was, to haue two legats or arbitrers to be sent from his popish side into England, to examine & take vp the controuersie betweene the king and the archbishop. But the pope (incensed (as is said before) would not grant to their petition, forsomuch as it should be (saith he) preiudiciall and tending to the oppression of the archbishop to grant vnto it, hee being not present. And therefore he willed them to tarie his comming vp, otherwise (he being absent) he would not (he said in any case) proceed against him. But they (alleaging againe their time to be expired, appointed vnto them of the king, hauing besides other lets and causes as they alleaged) said that they could not there wait for the comming of Becket, but returned backe (their cause frustrated) without the popes blessing to the king. Within foure daies after Becket commeth to the popes court, where he prostrating himselfe at his feet, brought out of his bosome a scroll containing the customs & ordinances of the king, before mentioned. The pope receiuing the foresaid scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said decrees of the king, which he called Consuetudines auitas, that is, his grandfathers ordinances. Besides this, the pope moreouer blameth Becket, for that he so much yeelded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithstanding (because he was repentant for his vnaduised fact) he was content to absolue him for the same, and the rather because of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holie church did sustaine, and so with great fauour for that day dismissed him.

Becket complaineth of the king to the pope.

Repentance for his well doing.

The next day (Alexander the pope assembling his cardinals together in his secret chãber) appeareth before them archbishop Becket, hauing this oration to the pope & his popelings, which heere I thought to set out in our vulgar English tongue (tran-

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(translated out of Latine) to the intent that the posteritie hereafter may vnderstand, either the vaine superstition or vile slauerie of the churchmen in those daies: who, being not content with their owne naturall prince and king giuen them of God, must seeke further to the pope: thinking no ecclesiasticall liuing to be giuen, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his oration be noted rightly thus.

The oration of Becket resigning his bishoprike to the pope.

FAthers and lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much lesse before God, and in your presence here. Wherfore with much sighing and sorow of heart I grant and confesse, that these perturbations of the church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entred into the fold of Christ, but not by the doore of Christ, for that, not the canonicall election did call me lawfullie thereunto, but terrour of publike power droue me in. And albeit I against my will tooke this burden vpon me, yet not the will of God, but mans pleasure placed me in the roome. And therefore no maruell though all things haue gone contrarie and backward with me. And as for the resigning vp againe thereof; if I had so done, and giuen vp to their hands the priuiledge of my bishoplie authoritie, which I had granted to me at the commandement of the king (so as my fellow bishops did instantly call vpon me to do) then had I left a pernicious and dangerous example to the whole catholike church. By reason whereof I thought to defer that vnto your presence. And now therefore (recognising with my selfe my ingresse not to be canonicall, and therfore fearing it to haue the worse end; and againe pondering my strength and abilitie not to be sufficient for such a charge) lest I should be found to sustaine that roome to the ruine of the flocke, to whom I was appointed a pastor vnworthie: I render vp to your fatherly hands the archbishoprike heere of Canturburie, &c. ¶ And so putting off his ring from his finger, and offering it to the pope, desired a bishop for the church of Canturburie to be prouided: seeing he thought not himselfe meet to fulfill the same, and so (with teares, as the storie saith) ended his oration.

Becket's argument: The pope brought him not in but the king, Ergo, God brought him not in.

And why might ye not (M. Becket) resigne it as well to his hands of whom ye tooke it?

This done, the archbishop was bid to stand apart. The pope conferring vpon this with his cardinals, about the resignation of Becket what was best to be done: some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the kings wrath might easily be assuaged, if the church of Canturburie were assigned to some other person, and yet the said Becket otherwise to be prouided for notwithstanding. Contrarie, others againe thought otherwise, whose reason was: If he (which for the liberties of the church had ventured not onely his goods, dignitie and authoritie, but also his life) should now at the kings pleasure be depriued: like as it might bee a president hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if his cause were maintained; so contrariwise if it quailed, it should be an example to all others hereafter, none to resist his prince in the like case. And so might it redound not onely to the weakening of the state of the catholike church, but also to the derogation of the popes authoritie. Briefely, this sentence at length preuailed: and so Becket receiueth his pastorall office of the popes hand againe, with commendation and much fauour. But for so much as he could not be well placed in England; in the meane while, the pope sendeth him with a monkes habit into the abbey of Pontiniake in France, where he remained two yeares; from thence he remoued to Senon, where he abode fiue yeares. So the time of his exile continued a seuen yeares in all, &c.

A consultation betweene the pope and the cardinals about Beckets matter.

Becket in banishment seuen yeares.

Upon this, the king being certified by his ambassadours of the popes answere, how his fauour inclined more to Becket then to him, was moued (and worthily) with wrathfull displeasure. Who vpon the same sailing from England vnto Normandie, directed ouer certaine iniunctions against the pope, and the archbishop of Canturburie, as were recited afore. The contents whereof were declared to be these.

If any person should be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canturburie, &c.

Of these and such other iniunctions Becket specifieth partly in a certaine letter, writing to a friend of his in this maner.

THomas archbishop of Canturburie, to his well beloued friend, &c. be it knowne to your brotherly goodnesse, that we with all ours heere (by Gods grace) are safe and in good health. Hauing a good hope and trust to your faithfull amitie, I charge you and require you, that either by the bringer hereof, or by some other (whom ye know faithfull and trustie to our church of Canturburie, and to vs) you write with all speed what is done. As touching the kings decrees heere set out, these they be: That all hauens and ports should be diligently kept: that no letters of the popes interdict or curse be brought in. And if religious men bring them in, they shal haue their feet cut off: if hee be a priest or clerke, he shall lose his priuie members: if he be a lay-man, let him be hanged: if he be a leper, let him be burned. And if any bishop, for feare of the popes interdict, will depart, besides his staffe only in his hand, let him haue nothing else. Also the kings will is, that all scholars and students beyond the seas shall repaire home, or else lose their benefices. And if they yet shall remaine still, they shall lose the libertie of all returning. Further, if any such priests shall be found, that for the popes suspence or interdict will refuse to sing, they shall lose their priuie members. In summe, all such priests as shew themselues rebels to the king, let them be depriued of their benefices, &c.

The kings decrees.

Besides these and such like iniunctions, it was also set forth by the kings proclamation, An. 1166, that all manner of persons, both men and women, whosoeuer were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and sent to him where he was: which was no little vexation to Becket to behold them. Moreouer, for so much as he then was lying with Gwarine abbat of Pontiniake, to whom the pope, as is aforesaid, had commended him, therefore the king writing to the same abbat, required him not to retaine the archbishop of Canturburie in his house: for if he did, he would driue out of his realme all the monkes of his order. Whereupon Becket was inforced to remoue from thence, and went to Lewis the French king, by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of him the space of fiue yeers, as is aboue mentioned.

{Anno 1166}

Beckets kindred banished.

These monkes were of the Cistertian order.

In the meane time, messengers went daily with letters betweene the king and the pope, betweene the pope again and him, and so betweene the archbishop and others. Whereof if the reader (peraduenture) shall be desirous to see the copies: I thought heere to expresse certaine of them, to satisfie his desire: first beginning with the epistle of Becket, complaining of his prince to the pope, in maner and forme as followeth.

Becket complaineth of his prince to the pope.

The copie of an epistle sent of Thomas Becket to pope Alexander.

TO your presence and audience I flie, most holy father, that you, who hath brought the libertie of the church with your so great danger, might the rather attend to the same (either being the only or chiefest cause of my persecution) vsing and following therein the example of you. It grieueth me that the state of the church should fall to any decay, and that the liberties thereof should be infringed through the auarice of princes. For the which cause I thought to resist betime that inconuenience beginning so to grow. And the more I thought my selfe obliged to the same my prince (vnto whom next vnder God I am most chieflie bound) the more boldnesse I tooke to me, to withstand his vnrightfull attempts; till such as were on the contrarie part, my aduersaries, preuailed, working my disquietnesse, and incensig him against me. Whereupon, as the manner is amongst princes, they raised vp against me citations and slanders, to the occasion of my persecution: but I had rather to be proscribed, then to subscribe. Besides this, I was also called to iudgement, and cited before the king to make answere there as a laie person, to secular accounts: whereas they whom I most trusted did most forsake me. For I saw my fellow brethren the bishops, through the instigation of some, readie to my condemnation. Whereupon all being set against me, and I thus oppressed on euerie side, tooke my refuge to appeale vnto your goodnesse, which casteth off none in their extremities: being readie to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to be iudged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that (father) but to vsurpe to themselues your right, and to bring the spiritualtie vnder the temporaltie? Which thing (once begun) may breed an example to many. And therefore so much the more stout I thought to bee in withstanding this matter, how much more prone and procliue I saw the way to hurt, if they might once see vs to bee faint and weake in the same. But they will saie to mee heere againe: Giue to Cæsar that which belongeth to Cæsar, &c. But to answere againe thereunto, albeit we are bound to obey our king in most things, yet not in such manner of things, whereby he is made to be no king: neither were they then things belonging to Cæsar, but to a tyrant. Concerning the which points, these bishops should, not for me onelie, but for themselues, haue resisted the king. For if the extreme iudgement be reserued to him which is able to iudge both bodie and soule: is it not then extreme pride for men there to iudge, which iudge but by themselues? If the cause of the bishops and of the clergie, which I maintaine, be right: why be they set against me? why do they reprehend me? For if that I appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawfull, or els not expedient for me to do: what seeme they by this, but either to blame me causelesse, or else to distrust your equitie? For me to be conuicted before your holinesse, it had been a double confusion. Or wherein haue I deserued to be persecuted of them, for whose cause I haue set my selfe to stand in their behalfe? And if they had willed, I had preuailed; but it is ill with the head, when he is left of his members and forsaken: as if the eies should take the tongue to speake against the head. If they had had eyes to haue foreseene the matter, they might vnderstand themselues to speake their owne destruction: and that the princes did vse their helpe but to their owne seruitude. And what so great cause of hatred had they against me, to procure their

To keepe vnder the pride of prelats is no cause sufficient to vnking a prince.

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owne vndoing, in vndoing of me? So while they neglected spirituall things in stead of temporall, they haue lost them both. What should I speake more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience (yet notwithstanding) they durst presume to stand in iudgement and condemnation against me, as children against their father? Yea, and not against me only, but against the vniuersall church of God (conspiring together with the prince) being with me offended. And this suspection might also as well pertaine to you holy father. But to this they will say, that they owe their dutie and seruice vnto the king, as their lord: to whom they are bound, vpon their allegeance. To whom I answere, that to him they stand bound bodily, to me spiritually. But to whom ought they rather to stand bound, then to themselues? And were it not better to sustaine the losse of corporall, then of spirituall things? But heere they will say againe: At this time the prince was not to be prouoked. How subtillie doe these men dispute for their owne bondage? Yea, they themselues prouoke him by their owne excesse, ministring wings vnto him to fight against them; for he would haue rested if they had resisted. And when is constancie more to be required, then in persecution? Be not a mans chiefe friends most tried in persecution? if they giue ouer still, how shall they obtain the victorie? Sometimes they must needs resist. Condescend therefore (holy father) to my exile and persecution. And remember, that I also once was a great man, in the time when it was, and now for your sake thus iniuriously I am intreated. Vse your rigour and restraine them, by whose instigation the name of this persecution began. And let none of these things be imputed to the king, who rather is to be counted the repairer then the author of this businesse.

If ye meane by spirituall things, such as pertaine to the spirituall part of man, I grant; but your liberties be not such as which pertaine to the inward or spirituall man, but rather are things more corporall. Persecution trieth a true friend, but enuie cause maketh not a true persecution.

Besides this epistle sent vnto the pope, hee writeth also another letter, sent to the king in Latine: the tenour whereof hee that is disposed to reade, may peruse in our former edition, with the notes adioyned withall.

Besides which epistle to the king in Latine, he sent also one or two more to the said king Henrie the second, much after the like rate and sort: the one thus beginning: *Loqui de Deo, liberæ mentis est & valde quietæ. Inde est quod loquar ad dominum meum, & vtinam ad omnes pacificum*, &c. **Which epistle, for that I would not ouercharge the volume of these histories with to much matter superfluous, I thought heere to omit. The other he sent afterwards, whereof the words be these.**

Another letter of Becket archbishop of Canturburie sent to the king.

TO his lord and friend Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitane, earle of Anjou: Thomas by the same grace, humble minister of the church of Canturburie (sometime his temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and true repentance with amendment. I haue long looked for, that the Lord would looke vpon you, and that you would conuert and repent, departing from your peruerse way; and cut off from you your wicked and peruerse counsellours, by whose instinction, as it is thought, you are fallen into that deepe, whereof the Psalme speaketh, A sinner when he cometh to the depth of mischiefes, is without care or feare. And albeit we haue hitherto quietlie suffered and borne; considering and earnestlie looking if there would anie messenger come that would say; Your soueraigne lord the king, which now a long time hath erred and been deceiued, and led euen to the destruction of the church, through Gods mercie with abundant humilitie doth now againe make speed for the deliuerance of the church, and to make satisfaction and amendment: Yet notwithstanding, we cease not, day by day continually to call vpon almightie God, with most humble deuotion: that, that which we haue long desired for you and by you, we may speedily obtaine with abundant effect. And this is one point: that the care of the church of Canturburie, whereunto God hath presently appointed vs (albeit vnworthie) you being king, doth specially constraine me (in that as yet we are detained in exile) to write vnto your maiestie letters commonitorie, exhortatorie, and of correction. But I would to God they were fully able to correct, lest that I be too great a cloker of your outrages (if there be anie) as indeed there are: for the which we are not a little sorie. I meane specially of them which are done by you in euery place, about the church of God and the ecclesiasticall persons, without any reuerence either of dignitie or person; and lest also that I appeare negligent to the great danger of my soule: for without doubt he beareth the offence of him which doth commit anie offence, who neglecteth to correct that, which another ought to amend. For it is written, Not onely they which doe commit euill, but also they which consent thereunto are counted partakers of the same. For they verily do consent, which when they both might and ought, do not resist, or at the least reproue. For the errour which is not resisted is allowed, and the truth when it is not defended is oppressed: neither doth it lacke a priuie note of societie in him, which ceaseth to withstand a manifest mischiefe. (2) For like as, most noble prince, a small citie doth not minish the prerogatiue of so mightie a kingdome as yours is: so your royall power ought not to oppresse or change the measure of the religious dispensation. For it is prouided alwaies by the lawes, that all iudgements against priests should proceed by the determination of priests. For whatsoeuer bishops they are, albeit that they doe erre as other men doe (not exceeding in any point contrarie to the religion of faith) they (3) ought not, nor can in any case be iudged of the secular power. Truely, it is the part of a good and religious prince to repare the ruinous churches, to build new, to honor the priests, and with great reuerence to defend them, after the example of the godly prince of most happie memorie (4) Constantinus, which said, when a complaint of the clergie was brought to him: You (said he) can be iudged by no secular iudge, which are reserued to the only iudgement of God. And for so much as we do reade that the holy apostles and their successours, appointed by the testimonie of God, commanded that no persecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to enuie those which labour in the field of the Lord: and that the stewards of the eternall king should not be expelled and put out of their seats: who then doubteth, but that the priests of Christ ought to be called the fathers and masters of all other faithfull princes? Is it not a miserable madnesse then, if the sonne should go about to bring the (5) father vnder obedience? or the scholar his master? and by (6) wicked bonds to bring him in subiection, by whom hee ought to beleeue that hee may bee bound and loosed, not onely in earth, but also in heauen? If you bee a good and a catholike king, and will be such a one as we hope, or that we rather desire you should be, (if it be spoken vnder your licence) you are the child of the church, and not the ruler of the church. You ought to learne of the priests, and not to teach them: you ought to (7) follow the priests in ecclesiasticall matters, and not to goe before them, hauing the priuiledge of your power giuen you of God to make publike lawes: that by his benefit you should not be vnthankfull against the dispensation of the heauenly order, and that you should vsurpe nothing, but vse them with a wholesome disposition.

Wherefore, in those things which contrarie vnto that, you haue, through your malicious counsell, rather then by your owne minde, wickedly vsurped; with all humilitie and satisfaction speedily giue place, that the hand of the most high be not stretched out against you, as an arrow against the marke. For the most high hath bended his bow openly to shoote against him, that will not confesse his offences. Be not ashamed (whatsoeuer wicked men say vnto you, or that traytours doe whisper in your eare) to humble your selfe vnder the mightie hand of God. For it is he which exalteth the humble, and throweth downe the proud, which also reuengeth himselfe vpon princes: he is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought not to haue let slip out of your memorie, in what state God did find you: how he hath preferred, honoured, and exalted you: blessed you with children, inlarged your kindome, and established the same in despite of your enemies. In so much that hitherto, in a manner, all men haue said with great admiration, that this is he whom God hath chosen. And how will you reward, or can you reward him for all these things which he hath done vnto you? Will you, at the prouocation and instance of those which are about you, that (8) persecute the church and the ecclesiasticall ministers, and alwaies haue according to their power persecuted them, rendring euill for good, bringing oppressions, tribulations, iniuries, and afflictions vpon the church and churchmen, do the like? Are not these they of whom the Lord speaketh: He that heareth you heareth me, he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verily forsaking all that thou hast, take vp thy crosse, that thou maiest follow thy God our Lord Iesus Christ. Yet will it scarcely be, or not at all, that thou shalt appeare a thankefull recompencer of the benefits receiued at his hand. Search the scriptures of such as are learned, and you shall vnderstand: that (9) Saul, albeit he was the elect of the Lord, perished with his whole house, because he departed from the waies of the Lord.

Ozias also king of Iuda, whose name is spoken of and spread ouer all, through the manifold victories giuen him of God, his heart was so puffed vp to his destruction, because the Lord did helpe and strengthen him in euery place, that he contemning the feare and reuerence of the Lord, would vsurpe vnto himselfe that which was not his office, that is to say, the priesthood, and to offer incense vpon the altar of the Lord, for the which he was stricken with a leprosie, and cast out of the house of the Lord. Many other kings and holy men of great substance, because they haue walked aboue their estate in the maruels of the world, presuming to rebell against God in his ministeries, haue perished: and at the last, they haue found nothing of their substance in their power. Also king Achaz, because he did vsurpe the office of priesthood, was likewise stricken with a leprosie by God.

Oza also, albeit he was not king, yet for so much as he touched the arke and held it, when it would haue fallen by the vnrulinesse of the oxen, which thing pertained not vnto him, but vnto the ministers of the church, hee was stricken by the wrath

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wrath of God and fell downe by the arke. O king, it is a famous prouerbe: that A man forewarned by another mans misfortune, will take the better heed vnto himselfe. For euery man hath his owne businesse in hand, when his neighbours house is on fire.

Dearelie beloued king, God would haue the disposing of those things which pertaine vnto the church, to belong onlie vnto priests, and not vnto the secular power. Do not challenge vnto thy selfe therefore another mans right: neither striue against him, by whom all things are ordained, lest thou seeme to striue against his benefits, of whom thou hast receiued thy power. For by the common (10) lawes, and not by the secular power, and by the bishops and priests, almightie God would haue the clergie of the christian religion to be ordered and ruled. And christian kings ought to submit all their doings vnto ecclesiasticall rulers, and not to prefer themselues: for it is written, that none ought to iudge the bishops but only the church, neither doth it pertaine vnto mans law to giue sentence vpon any such. Christian princes are accustomed to be obedient vnto the statutes and ordinances of the church, and not to preferre their owne power. A prince ought to submit himselfe vnto the bishops, and not to iudge the bishops: for there are two things wherewith the world is chieflie gouerned (that is to say) the sacred authoritie of bishops and roiall power. (11) In the which, the bishops charge is so much the more weightie, in that they shall at the latter iudgement render account euen of the kings themselues. Truely you ought to vnderstand, that you depend vpon their iudgement, and cannot reduce them vnto your owne will: for many bishops haue excommunicated both kings and emperours. And if you require an especiall example thereof, Innocentius the pope did excommunicat Arcadius the emperour, because he did consent that Iohn Chrysostom should be expulsed from his seat: and Saint Ambrose also did excommunicat (12) Theodosius the great emperour for a fault (which seemed not so weightie vnto other priests) and shut him out of the church: who afterwards by condigne satisfaction was absolued.

There are manie other like examples. For Dauid when he had committed adulterie and murther, the prophet Nathan was sent vnto him by God to reproue him, and he was soone corrected. And the king (laying aside his scepter and diadem, and setting apart all princelie maiestie) was not ashamed to humble himselfe before the face of the prophet, to confesse his fault, and to require forgiuenesse for his offence. What will you more? He being stricken with repentance asked mercie, and obtained forgiuenesse. So likewise you (most beloued king and reuerend lord) after the example of this good king Dauid, of whom it is said, I haue found a man after mine owne heart; with a contrite and humble heart turne to the Lord your God, and take hold of repentance for your transgressions. For you are fallen and erred in manie things, which yet I keepe in store still, if (peraduenture) God shall inspire you to say with the prophet: Haue mercie on me ô God, according to thy great mercie, for I haue sinned much against thee, and done ill in thy sight. Thus much I haue thought good to write to you my deare lord at this present, passing other things in silence, til I may see whether my words take place in you, and bring forth fruits worthie of repentance: and that I may heare & reioyce with them that shal bring me word and say: O king, thy son was dead, and is aliue againe, was lost and is found againe. But if you will not heare me, looke where I was wont * before the maiestie of the bodie of Christ to pray for you in abundance of teares and sighes: there in the same place I wil crie against you, and say: Rise vp Lord and iudge my cause, forget not the rebukes and iniuries which the king of England doth to thee and thine: forget not the ignominie of thy church, which thou hast builded in thy blood. Reuenge the blood of thy saints which is spilt: reuenge, ô Lord, the afflictions of thy seruants, of whom there is an infinit number. For the pride of them which hate and persecute thee is gone vp so high, that we are not able to beare them any longer. Whatsoeuer your seruants shall do, all those things shall be required at your hands: for he seemeth to haue done the harme, which hath giuen the cause thereof. Doubtlesse, the Sonne of the most high, except you amend and cease from the oppressing of the church and clergie, and keepe your hand from troubling of them, will come in the rod of his furie, at the voices of such as crie to him, and at the sighes of them that be in bands: when the time shall come for him to iudge the vnrighteousnesse of men in equitie and seueritie of the holy Ghost. For he knoweth how to take awaie the breath of princes, and is terrible among kings of the earth. Your deare and louing grace I wish well to fare. Thus fare ye well againe and euer.

* Note the iudgement of God against this Becket, who was slaine at his masse making the bodie of Christ.

Certaine notes or elenchs vpon this epistle: which by the figures you may find out, *and their places.*

1 The scope of this epistle is this, to proue that bishops and priests ought not to come vnder the couert and controlement of temporall power.

2 This similitude holdeth not. For though the smalnesse of a citie blemisheth not the prerogatiue of a kingdome, yet the euilnesse and rebellion of a citty doth worthily blemish his owne prerogatiue.

3 So saith the popes decree, Dist. 10: but the scripture of God importeth otherwise. Abiathar the priest was deposed of king Salomon, not for any heresie, but for other causes: 3. Reg. 12. Ionathas toke his priesthood of king Alexander: and Simon of Demetrius, 1. Macch. 7. Christ offered tribute to Cesar for him and for Peter. Also Peter saith, Be ye subiect to euery humane creature: and it followeth, whether it be to the king as to the chiefe, &c. Item pope Leo submitted himselfe to Ludouicus the emperour with these words: And if we do any thing incompetently, and do swerue from the path of righteousnesse, we will stand to your reformation, or of them whom you shall send. *Quæst. 2. Hos. 7.*

4 Notwithstanding, the said Constantinus writing to the bishops congregated at Tirus, first chideth them, then commandeth them to resort vnto his presence, to haue their cause iudged and decided. Trip. hist. lib. 3. cap. 7.

5 The father vnder obedience, &c. If fatherhood go by age, I suppose that king Henrie was elder then Becket. If fatherhood consist in authoritie, I iudge the authoritie of a king, to be aboue the authoritie of an archbishop. If the see of Canturburie make the fatherhood, yet had Becket no cause to claime fatherhood ouer the king, seeing the sonne ordained the father (that is) seeing the king made him his archbishop, and not he made him his king.

6 By wicked bonds. All is wicked with the papists, that bringeth them in subiection to their princes.

7 Ecclesiasticall matters be such, as properly belong to doctrine and diuine knowledge, for the institution of the soule, and information of conscience. In which both princes and subiects ought to follow their pastor, so long as they go truly before them without error, or else not. But what maketh this for the lands and liberties of churchmen?

8 Punishment due to malefactors and rebels is not to be called persecution, but due correction.

9 Saul brake the commandement of God and was reiected. Dzias contrarie to the commandement of God toke the office of a priest, and was stricken. Dza against the expresse word of the law put his hand to the arke, and was punished. But what expresse word had king Henrie, why he should not correct and punish rebellious bishops, and wicked priests within his owne realme? wherefore these similitudes accord not. As for Achas, he was not so much punished for taking the priests office, as for spoiling the temple of the Lord, and offering to idols.

10 Common lawes. S. Augustine writing to Boniface, saith thus: Whosoeuer obeieth not the lawes of the emperour, being made for the veritie of God, procureth to himselfe great punishment. For in the time of the prophets, all the kings which did not forbid and subuert all such things as were vsed of the people against the law of God, are rebuked. And such as did withstand them, are commended aboue the rest. August.

11 Isidorus hath these words: Let temporal princes know that they must render account to God for the church, which they haue at the hands of God to gouerne, &c.

12 The case of Arcadius, Theodosius, Dauid, and of this king, as touching this matter, hath no similitude. In them was murther: this king doth nothing but claime that which is his due. And though by the spirituall sword those kings were resisted: yet it agreeth not therefore, that the persons of them which haue the vse of the spirituall sword, are aboue the persons of them which haue the temporall sword.

Besides these letters of the archbishop sent to the king, the pope also in the same cause writeth to the king, beginning after this sort: *Alexander papa ad Henricum regem. Et naturali ratione, & forma iuris dictante, prouidentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuisse, quòd quanto quis ab aliquo maiora suscepisse dignoscitur, tanto ei obnoxior & magis obligatus tenetur*, &c. The whole tenour of the letter as he wrote it to the king I would heere expresse, but for tracting of the time and straitnesse of rome, hauing so many things else in this storie (by the grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the king to shew fauour to Thomas Becket: Where, in the processe of the epistle, it followeth in these words: *Ea propter seueritatem tuam per apostolica scripta rogamus, monemus, & exhortamur in Domino; necnon in remissionem peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis apostolorum autoritate nostra iniungimus, vt memoratum archiepiscopum pro Deo & ecclesia sua, & honore tuo, necnon & totius regni tui, in gratiam & fauorem tuum recipias*, &c. That is: Therefore we do desire, monish, and exhort your honor by these our apostolicall writings, and also inioyne you vpon the remission of your sinnes, in the behalfe of almightie God, and of S. Peter, prince of the apostles, by our authoritie, that you will receiue againe the foresaid archbishop into your fauour and grace, for the honour of God, his church, and of your owne realme, &c. Thus haue you heard the popes intreating letter. Now heere is another letter sent vnto the foresaid king, wherein hee doth menace him, as in the tenour thereof heere followeth.

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Biſhop Alexander, ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, to king Henrie, king of England, health and bleſſing apoſtolicall.

HOw fatherly and gently we haue oft times intreated and exhorted both by leagats and letters your princely honor, to be reconciled again with our reuerend brother Thomas archbiſhop of Canturbury, ſo that he and his may be reſtored againe to their churches and other poſſeſſions to them appertaining; your wiſedome is not ignorant, ſeeing it is notified and ſpread almoſt throughout all chriſtendome. For ſo much therfore, as hitherto we could not preuaile with you, neither moue nor ſtir your mind with faire and gentle words; it lamenteth vs not a little, ſo to be fruſtrat and deceiued of the hope and expectation which we had conceiued of you. Eſpeciallie ſeeing we loue you ſo dearely, as our owne dearely beloued ſonne in the Lord, and vnderſtanding ſo great ieopardie to hang ouer you.

But for ſo much as it is written: Crie out and ceaſe not, lift vp thy voice like a trumpe, and declare to my people their wickednеſſe, and their ſinnes to the houſe of Iacob. Alſo for ſo much as it is in Salomon commanded, that the ſluggiſh perſon ſhould be ſtoned with the dung of oxen: we haue thought good therefore, not to forbeare or ſupport your ſtubbornneſſe anie longer againſt iuſtice and ſaluation. Neither that the mouth of the foreſaid archbiſhop ſhould be ſtopped from henceforth any more: but that he may freely proſecute the charge of his office and dutie, to reuenge with the ſword of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the iniuries both of himſelfe, and of his church committed to his charge.

And heere I haue ſent vnto you two legats, Petrus de ponte Dei, and Bernardus de Corilio, to admoniſh you of the ſame. But if yee will neither by vs be aduertiſed, nor giue eare vnto them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtleſſe) leſt ſuch things as they ſhall declare to you from vs in our behalfe, may happen and fall vpon you. Dated at Beneuent, the ninth day before the kalends of Iune.

To anſwere theſe letters againe, there was another certaine writing drawne out and directed to the pope, made by ſome of the clergie, as it ſeemeth: but not without conſent of the king, as by the title may appeare, inueying and diſproning the miſbehauiour of the archbiſhop. The tenour whereof heere followeth, and beginneth thus.

An anſwere to the pope.

Anſwere to the popes letter.

TIme now requireth more to ſeeke helpe then to make complaints. For ſo it is now, that the holy mother church (our ſinnes deſeruing the ſame) lieth in a dangerous caſe of great decay, which is like to inſue, except the preſent mercie of the Lord ſupport her.

Frederike falſe compared to Pharao, but this was to claw the pope withall.

Such is the wickednеſſe now of ſchiſmatikes, that the father of fathers pope Alexander (for the defence of his faith, and for the loue of righteouſneſſe) is baniſhed out of his countrie: not able to keepe free reſidence in his owne proper ſee, by reaſon of the indurat heart of Frederike the Pharao.

Further and beſides, the church alſo of Canturburie is miſerablie impaired and blemiſhed, as well in the ſpirituall as in the temporall eſtate: much like to the ſhip in the ſea, being deſtitute of her guide, toſſed in the flouds, and wreſtling with the winds, while the paſtor being abſent from his prouince dare not there remaine through the power of the king. Who being ouer wiſe (to the ieopardie of himſelfe, his church, and vs alſo) hath brought & intangled vs likewiſe with himſelfe in the ſame partaking of his puniſhments and labours, not conſidering how we ought to forbeare, and not to reſiſt ſuperiour powers. And alſo ſheweth himſelfe to vs vnkind, which with all our affections beare the burden with him of his afflictions, not ceaſing yet to perſecute vs which ſtand in the ſame condemnation with him. For betwixt him and our ſoueraigne prince, the king of England, aroſe a certaine matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day ſhould be appointed, to haue the controuerſie diſcuſſed by equitie and iuſtice.

The day being come, the king commanded all the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelats of the church to be called in a great ſolemne frequencie: ſo that the greater and more generall this councell was, the more manifeſt the detection of this ſtubborne malice ſhould appeare and be eſpied.

At the day therefore aboue mentioned, this troubler of the realme and of the church, preſenteth himſelfe in the ſight of our catholike king: who not truſting the qualitie and condition of his cauſe, armeth him with the armor of the croſſe, as one which ſhould be brought to the preſence of a tyrant. By reaſon whereof, the kings maieſtie, being ſomewhat aggrieued (yet becauſe he would be deliuered from all ſuſpicion) committeth the matter to the hearing of the biſhops. This done, it reſted in the biſhops to decide and ceaſe this contention, and to ſet agreement betweene them, remouing all occaſion of diſſenſion. Which thing they going about, commeth in this foreſaid archbiſhop, forbidding and commanding, that no man proceed in any ſentence of him before the king.

This being ſignified to the kings hearing, his mind was grieuouſly prouoked therby to anger: whoſe anger yet notwithſtanding had been eaſily aſſwaged, if the other would haue ſubmitted himſelfe, and acknowledged his default. But he adding ſtubbornneſſe to his treſpaſſe, through the quantitie and greatneſſe of his exceſſe, was the author of his owne puniſhment, which now by the law ciuill he ſuſtaineth, and yet ſhameth to craue pardon for his deſert at the kings hand: whoſe anger he feared not to ſtir vp, in ſuch a troubleſome time of the perſecution of the church, greatly againſt the profit of the ſame; augmenting and increaſing thereby the perſecution which now the church lieth vnder. Much better it had bin for him to haue tempered himſelfe with the bridle of moderation, in the higheſt eſtate of his dignity, leſt in exceeding too far, in ſtraining the ſtrict points of things by ouermuch preſumption, peraduenture through his preſumption being not in meane and tolerable things, might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the church would not moue him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honors ought to perſuade him, not to be ſo ſtubborne againſt the king. But heere peraduenture his friend and our aduerſarie will obiect, that his bearing and ſubmitting to the king in this behalfe, were preiudiciall againſt the authoritie and ſee apoſtolicall. As though he did not or might not vnderſtand, that although the dignitie of the church ſhould ſuffer a little detriment in that iudgement: yet he might and ought to haue diſſembled (for the time) to obtaine peace vnto the church. He wil obiect againe, alleaging the name of father, that it ſoundeth like a point of arrogancie, for children to proceed in iudgement of condemnation againſt the father: which thing is not conuenient. But he muſt vnderſtand againe, that it was neceſſary that the obedience and humilitie of the children ſhould temper the pride of the father: leſt afterward, the hatred of the father might redound vpon the children. Wherefore, of theſe premiſſes your fatherhood may vnderſtand, that the action of this our aduerſarie ought to fall downe, as void and of none effect, who only vpon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus againſt vs, hauing no iuſt cauſe nor reaſon to ground vpon.

Becket a ſtubborne treſpaſſer. Ergo no martyr.

And for ſo much as the care and charge of all churches (as ye know) lieth vpon vs, it ſtandeth vs vpon, to prouide concerning the ſtate of the church of Canturburie, by our diligence and circumſpection: ſo that the ſaid church of Canturburie, by the exceſſe of his paſtor, be not driuen to ruine or decay.

¶ By this epiſtle it may appeare to the reader thereof, that Becket (being abſent from England) went about to worke ſome trouble againſt certaine of the clergy and the laity (belike) in excommunicating ſuch as he tooke to be his euill willers.

Now to vnderſtand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicat, this letter, ſent to William biſhop of Norwich, ſhall better declare the matter.

A letter of Becket to the biſhop of Norwich.

A letter of Becket to the biſhop of Norwich.

HE bindeth himſelfe to the penaltie of the crime, whoſoeuer receiuing power and authoritie of God, vſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeueritie, in puniſhing vice: but winking and diſſembling, doth miniſter boldneſſe to wicked doers, maintaining them in their ſinne. For the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as the Scripture ſaith, Thornes and brambles grow in the hands of the idle drunkard. Wherefore, leſt (through our too much ſufferance and diſſembling) the tranſgreſſions of manifeſt euill doers ſhould alſo be laid to our charge, and redound to the deſtruction of the church through our guiltie ſilence; we therefore following the authoritie of the popes commandement, haue laid our ſentence of curſe and excommunication vpon the earle Hugo: commanding you throughout all your dioceſſe publikelie to denounce the ſaid earle as accurſed, ſo that (according to the diſcipline of the church) he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhip of all faithfull people. Alſo, it is not vnknowne to your brotherhood, how long we haue borne with the tranſgreſſions of the biſhop of London; who amongſt other his facts, I would to God were not a great doer and fautour of this ſchiſme, and ſubuerter of the rights and liberties of holie church. Wherefore we, being ſupported with the authoritie of the apoſtolike ſee, haue alſo excommunicated him, beſides alſo the biſhop of Salisburie, becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others likewiſe, vpon diuers and ſundrie cauſes, whoſe names heere follow ſubſcribed: Hugo Bernards ſonne, Rodulph of Brock, Robert of Brock a clerke, Hugo de S. Cleare, and Letardus a clerke of Northfolke, Nigellus of Scacauill, and Richard Chapleine, William of Haſting, and the frier which poſſeſſeth my church of Monchot. Wee therefore charge and command you by the authoritie apoſtolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of ſaluation; and of your order; that ye cauſe theſe openly to be proclamed excommunicat, throughout al your dioceſſe, and to command all the faithfull to auoid their companie. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart bee troubled, nor feare: for wee ſtand ſure through the aſſiſtance of the apoſtolike ſee, God being our borow, againſt the pretenſed ſhifts of the malignant ſort, and againſt all their appellations. Furthermore, all ſuch as haue been ſolemnelie cited of vs, ſhall ſuſtaine the like ſentence of excommunication, if God will, on the Aſcenſion daie: vnleſſe

The biſhop of London excommunicated. This biſhop was excommunicated becauſe he ſet in the Deane of Salisburie without the licence of him, being then beyond the ſeas.

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vnlesse they shall otherwise agree with me. That is, to wit: Geffrey archdeacon of Canturburie, and Robert his vicar, Rice of Wilcester, Richard of Lucie, William Gifford, Adam of Cherings, with such others more: which either at the commandement of the king, or vpon their owne proper temeritie, haue inuaded the goods and possessions either appertaining to vs, or to our clerkes about vs. With these also we do excommunicat all such as be knowne either with aid or counsell, to haue incensed or set forward the proceeding of our king against the liberties of the church, and exiling of the innocents. And such also as be knowne to impeach or let by any maner of way the messengers (sent either from the pope, or from vs) for the necessities of the church. Fare you well againe and euer.

Hitherto hast thou seene (gentle reader) diuers and sundrie letters of Thomas Becket, whereby thou maist collect a sufficient historie of his doings and demeanor, though nothing else were said further of him, concerning his lustie and hautie stomacke, aboue that which beseemed either his degree or cause which he toke in hand. And heere peraduenture I may seeme in the storie of this one man to tarie too long, hauing to write of so many others better then it: yet for the weaker sort, which haue counted him, and yet do count him for a saint, hauing in themselues little vnderstanding to iudge or discerne in the causes of men, I thought to adde this letter more, wherein he complaineth of his king to a forren power; doing what in him did lie, to stir for his owne cause mortall war to the destruction of many. For suppose wrong had been offered him of his prince, was it not enough for him to flie? What cause had he for his owne priuat reuenge, to set potentats in publike discord? Now hauing no iust cause but rather offering iniurie in a false quarell, so to complaine of his prince: what is to be said of this, let euery man iudge which seeth this letter.

An epistle of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie to pope Alexander.

A Mantissimo patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia summo pont. Thomas Cant. ecclesiæ humilis minister, debitam & denotam obedientiam, &c. **In English thus.**

A seditious complaint of Becket to the pope againe his king.

To our most louing father and lord. Alexander by the grace of God bishop: Thomas the humble minister and seruant of the church of Canturburie due and reuerend obedience. Long enough and too long most louing father haue I forborne, still looking after the amendment of the king of England, but no fruit haue I reaped of this my long patience: nay rather, whilest that vnwisely I do thus forbeare, I augment and procure the detriment and diminishing of mine authoritie, as also of the church of God. For oftentimes haue I by deuout and religious messengers inuited him to make condigne satisfaction, as also by my letters (the copies whereof I haue sent you) intimat and pronounced Gods seueritie and vengeance against him, vnlesse he repent and amend. But he (that notwithstanding) groweth from euill to worse, oppressing and conculcating the church and sanctuarie of God: persecuting both me and those which take part with me: in so much that with fearefull threatning words his purpose is to terrifie such, as (for Gods cause and mine owne) seeke any way to relieue and helpe me. He wrote also the letters vnto the abbat of the Cistercian order, that as he fauored the abbasie of that his order (which was in his power said he) he would not accept me into the fellowship thereof, nor do any thing else for me. What should I vse many words? So much hath the rigor and seueritie as well of the king as of his officers, vnder our patience and sufferance shewed it selfe: that if a great number of men, yea and that of the most religious sort, should shew vnto you the matter as it is in deed (and that vpon their oth taken) I partly doubt whether your holines would giue credit vnto them or not. With heauinesse of mind therfore I considering these things, and beholding as well the perill of the king as of our selfe, haue publikely condemned not onlie those pernicious customes: but all those peruersities and wicked doings whereby the church of England is disturbed and brought to confusion: as also the writing whereby they were confirmed: excommunicating generallie as well the obseruers and exactors thereof, as also the inuentors and patrons of the same, with their fauourers, counsellours, and coadiutors whatsoeuer, either of the clergie or laitie: absoluing also our bishops from their oth, whereby they were so strictly inioyned to the obseruation of the same. These are the articles which in that writing I haue principally condemned. First, that it is inhibited to appeale vnto the see apostolicall, for any cause but by the kings licence. That a bishop may not punish any man for periurie, or for breaking of his troth. That a bishop may not excommunicate any man that holdeth of the king *In capite*, or else to interdict either their lands or offices without the kings licence. That clerkes and religious men may be taken from vs to secular iudgement. That the king or any other iudge may heare and decide the causes of the church and tithes. That it shall not be lawfull for any archbishop or bishop to go out of the realme, and to come at the popes call without the kings licence: and diuers others such as these. Namely also I haue excommunicated Iohn of Oxenford, who hath communicated with the schismatike and excommunicat person (Reginald Colonien sis) the which also contrarie to the commandement of the lord pope and ours, hath vsurped the deanrie of the church of Salisburie: and hath (to renew his schisme) taken an oth in the emperours court. Also I haue denounced and excommunicated Richard of Worcester, because he is fallen into the same damnable heresie, and communicated with that famous schismatike of Cullen: deuising and forging all mischiefe possible, with the schismatikes and Flemings to the destruction of the church of God, and especiallie of the church of Rome, by composition made by the king of England and them. Also Richard de Lucie, and Ioceline de Baliol, which haue furthered the fauourers of the kings tyrannie and workers of their heresies. Also Ranulph de Broc, and Hugo de Sancto Claro, and Thomas the sonne of Bernard, which haue vsurped the possessions and goods of the church of Canturburie without our licence and consent. We haue also excommunicated all those, which without our licence do stretch out their hands to the possessions and goods of the church of Canturburie. The king himselfe we haue not yet excommunicated personally, still waiting for his amendment: whom (notwithstanding) we will not defer to excommunicat, vnlesse hee quickely amend and be warned by that he hath done. And therfore that the authoritie of the see apostolike, and the libertie of the church of God, which in these parts are almost vtterly lost, may be by some meanes restored; it is meet and verie necessarie that what wee haue herein done, the same be of your holinesse ratified, and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wish your holinesse long to prosper and flourish.

Godly articles condemned by Becket.

1 2 3 4 5 6

By this epistle he that liketh to vnderstand of the doings and quarels of Becket, may partly iudge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings although in some part may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or blindnesse of zeale, or humane fragilitie: yet in this point, so vilely to complaine of his naturall prince, for the zeale of the pope, he can by no wise be defended. But such was the blindnesse then of the prelats in those daies, who measured and esteemed the dignitie and liberties of Christs church by no other thing, then only by goods and possessions flowing and abounding in the clergie: and thought no greater point of religion to be in the church then to maintaine the same. For the which cause they did most abominable abuse christian discipline and excommunication of the church at that time: as by this foresaid epistle may appeare. And what marueil if the acts and doings of this archbishop seeme now to vs in these daies both fond and strange: seeing the suffragans of his owne church and clergie writing to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their epistle translated out of Latine into English may be seene.

Becket reprehended for complaining of his king.

Excommunication abused in priuat reuenge about lands and possessions.

An effectuall and pithie letter, full of reason and persuasion, sent from all the suffragans of the church of Canturburie to Thomas Becket their archbishop.

Quæ vestro (pater) in longinquo discessu inopinata rei ipsius nouitate turbata sunt: vestra sperabamus humilitate, &c. **In English thus.**

The letters of the bishops to Becket.

Such troubles and perturbations as happened through the strangenesse of your departure out of the realme, wee hoped by your humilitie and prudence should haue been reduced againe (Gods grace working withall) into a peaceable tranquillitie. And it was no little ioy to vs, to heare so of you in those parts where you are conuersant, how humblie you there behaued your selfe, nothing vanting your selfe against your prince and king, and to attempt no risings or wrestlings against his kingdome, but that you bare with much patience the burthen of pouertie, and gaue your selfe to reading and prayer, and to redeeme the losse of your time spent, with fasting, watchings, and teares: and so being occupied with spirituall studies, to tend and rise vp to the perfection of vertue, &c. But now through the secret relation of certaine, wee heare (that wee are sorie of) that you haue sent vnto him a threatning letter, wherein there is no salutatiõ premised. In the which also ye pretend no intreating nor prayers for the obtaining of fauour, neither do vse any friendly manner in declaring what you write, but manacing with much austeritie, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the societie of the church. Which thing if you shall accomplish with like seueritie as in words ye threaten to do, you shall not only put vs out of all hope of any peace, but also put vs in feare of hatred and discord without measure, and without all redresse amongst vs. But wisedome will consider before the end of things, labouring and indeuouring to finish that which shee wiselie beginneth. Therfore your discretion shall do well, diligently to forecast and consider whereto yee tend, what end may insue thereof, and whereabout ye go. Certes we (for our parts) hearing that we doe heare, are discouraged from that we hoped for, which before hauing some good comfort of trãquillitie to come, are cast from hope to despaire: so that while one is drawen thus against another, almost there is no hope nor place left to make intreaty or supplication. Wherfore writing to your fatherhood, we exhort and counsell you by way of charity, that

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you adde not trouble to trouble, and heape iniurie vpon iniurie: but ſo to behaue your ſelfe, that all menacies ſet aſide, yee rather giue your ſelfe to patience and humilitie, and to yeeld your cauſe to the clemencie of God, and to the mercie of your prince: which in ſo doing you ſhall heape coles of charitie vpon the heads of many. Thus charitie ſhall be kindled, and that which menacings cannot do (by Gods helpe and good mens counſell) pitie peraduenture and godlineſſe ſhall obtaine. Better it were to ſuſtaine pouertie with praiſe, then in great promotions to be a common note to al men. It is right well knowne vnto all men, how beneficiall the king hath been vnto you, from what baſeneſſe to what dignitie hee hath aduanced you, and alſo into his owne familiaritie hath ſo much preferred you, that from the north ocean, to the mount Perineus he hath ſubdued all things to your authoritie: in ſo much that they were amongſt all other accounted for men right fortunat, whoſoeuer could find any fauour with you.

And furthermore, leſt that your eſtimation ſhould bee ouermatched by any nobilitie, hee (againſt the mind of his mother, and of his realme) hath placed and ratified you ſubſtantially in eccleſiaſtical dignitie, and aduanced in this honor wherein ye ſtand: truſting through your helpe and counſell to raigne more ſafely and proſperouſly. Now, if he ſhall find diſquietneſſe, wherein hee truſted to haue quietneſſe; what ſhall all men ſay or thinke of you? What recompence or retribution ſhall this be thought to be for ſo many and great benefits taken? Therefore (if it ſhall pleaſe you) yee ſhall do well to fauour and ſpare your fame and eſtimation, and to ouercome your lord and ſoueraigne with humilitie and charitie. Whereunto if our aduertiſement cannot moue you, yet the loue and fidelitie you beare to the biſhop and holy church of Rome ought to incline you thereunto, and not to attempt any ſuch thing, whereby the troubles of the church our mother may increaſe; or whereby her dolour may be augmented in the loſſe of them, whoſe diſobedience now ſhe doth bewaile. For what if it ſo happen through prouocation, that the king (whom all his ſubiects and kingdomes obey) ſhould relinquiſh the pope, which God forbid: and ſhould denie all obedience to him, as he denieth to the king helpe or aid againſt you? what inconuenience would grow thereof? And thinke you, he hath not great inſtigations, ſupplications, gifts, and many faire promiſes ſo to do? Yet he (notwithſtanding) abideth firme hitherto in the rocke, deſpiſing with a valiant mind all that the world can offer. This one thing feareth vs, leſt his mind (whom no worldly offers can aſſaile, no glorie, riches, nor treaſure can ouerturne) onlie through indignation of vnkindneſſe be ſubuerted. Which thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you ſit downe and ſing the ſong of the lamentation of Ieremie, and weepe your bellie full.

Conſider therefore, if it pleaſe you, and foreſee well with your ſelfe, this purpoſe of yours, if it proceed, how hurtfull and perillous it will be: not only to the pope, and to the holy church of Rome, but alſo to your ſelfe moſt eſpecially. But ſome peraduenture about you, of haughtie and high minded ſtoutnes, more ſtout percaſe then wiſe, will not ſuffer you to take this way: but will giue you contrarie counſell, to proue rather and declare what ye are able to do againſt your lord and prince, and to practiſe againſt him and all his, the vttermoſt of your power and authoritie; which power and authoritie of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearefull; and to him that will not amend, terrible. Such counſell as this, ſome peraduenture will whiſper in your eare. But to theſe againe, this we ſay and anſwere for our king, whom notwithſtanding to be without fault we doe not affirme: but yet alwaies, that hee is readie to amend and make ſatisfaction, that we ſpeake confidently and proteſt in his behalfe.

The king appointed for the Lords annointed, prouideth for the peace of his ſubiects all that he is able: and therefore to the intent hee may conſerue this peace in his churches and amongſt his ſubiects committed to him; he willeth and requireth ſuch ordinances due to kings, and exhibited to them before time, alſo to be exhibited to him. Wherein if there hath any contradiction ſprung betwixt him and vs, he being thereupon conuented and admoniſhed from the pope by the reuerend biſhops of London and Hereford, braſt not out into any defiance: but meekely and humblie anſwered, that wherein ſoeuer the church or any eccleſiaſticall perſon can ſhew himſelfe grieued, hee would therein ſtand to the iudgement of the church of his kingdome. Which alſo he is readie no leſſe to performe in deed, thinking nothing more ſweet vnto him then to be admoniſhed of his fault, if he haue offended the Lord, and to reforme the ſame; and not only to reforme and amend his fault, but alſo to ſatisfie it to the vttermoſt, if the law ſhall ſo require him. Wherfore, ſeeing he is ſo willing to recompence & ſatisfie the iudgement of the church in all things appertaining to the church; refuſing no order that ſhall be taken, but in all things ſubmitting his necke to the yoke of Chriſt: with what right, by what canon or reaſon can you interdict him, or vſe excommunication againſt him? It is a thing laudable and a vertue of great commendation in wiſemen, wiſely to goe with iudgement and reaſon, and not to be caried with puffes of haſtie violence. Whereupon this is the only and common petition of vs all, that your fatherly care will diligently prouide for your flocke and ſheepe committed to you, ſo that they miſcarrie not, or runne to anie ruine through any inconſiderat or too much headie counſell in you: but rather through your ſoftneſſe and ſufferance, they may obtaine life, peace and ſecuritie. It doth moue vs all, that we heare of late to be done by you againſt the biſhop of Saliſburie, and the deane of the ſame church, proſperouſly, as ſome men ſuppoſe, againſt whom you haue giuen out the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any queſtion of their crime was; following therein, as ſeemeth, more the heat of haſtineſſe then the path of righteouſneſſe. This is a new order of iudgement, vnheard of yet to this day in our lawes and canons, firſt to condemne a man and after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order leſt we ſhould hereafter attempt to exerciſe in like manner againſt our ſoueraigne and king, or againſt vs and our churches and pariſhes committed to vs, to the detriment of the pope, and the holy church of Rome, and to the no little confuſion of vs all: therefore we lay heere againſt you for our ſelues the remedie of appellation. And as before, openlie in the publike face of the church with liuely voice wee appealed to the pope for certaine perils that might haue happened: ſo now againe in writing we appeale to the ſame, aſſigning the tearme of our appellation the day of the Lords aſcenſion. Moſt humblie and reuerendly beſeeching your goodneſſe, that you, taking a better way with you in this matter, will let your cauſe fall: ſparing herein both the labours and charges, as well of your ſelfe, as ours alſo. And thus we wiſh you right well to fare, reuerend in the Lord.

The commendation of king Henrie the ſecond, for his meekeneſſe and moderation.

The reſcript or anſwere againe of Thomas Becket *to all his ſuffragans, not obeying but confuting* their counſell ſent.

FRaternitatis veſtræ ſcriptum (quod tamen prudentiæ veſtræ communi conſilio non facilè credimus emanaſſe) nuper ex inſperato ſuſcepimus, &c.

Your brotherly letters ſent, albeit not by the whole aſſent of your wiſedomes written, as I ſuppoſe, of late I receiued vpon a ſudden, the contents whereof ſeeme to containe more ſharpneſſe then ſolace. And would to God they proceeded more of ſincere zeale of godlineſſe or affection of charitie, then of diſobedience or froward wilfulneſſe. For charitie ſeeketh not the things that be her owne, but which appertaine to Ieſus Chriſt. It had been your dutie (if there be truth in the goſpell, as moſt vndoubtedly there is) and if you would faithfully haue accompliſhed his buſineſſe, whoſe perſon you repreſent, rather to haue feared him, which can caſt both bodie and ſoule to hell; then him whoſe power extendeth no further then to the bodie, rather to haue obeyed God then man, rather your father then your maſter or lord, after the example of him who was to his father obedient vnto the death, which died for vs; leauing vs example to follow his ſteps. Let vs die therefore with him, and lay downe our liues for the deliuerance of his church out of the yoke of bondage and tribu'ation of the oppreſſor. Which church he hath founded, and whoſe libertie he hath procured with his owne proper blood: leſt if we ſhall do otherwiſe, it may happilie fall vpon vs which is written in the goſpell; Who ſo loueth his owne life more then me, is not worthie of me. This yee ought to know, that if it be right which your captaine commandeth, your dutie requireth to obey his will; if not, ye ought then rather to obey God then men.

Scriptures in words rightly alleaged, but falſlie applied.

One thing I will ſay (if I may be ſo bold to tell it vnto you) I haue now ſuffered and abſtained a long ſpace, waiting if the Lord had giuen you to take a better heart vnto you, which haue turned away cowardly your backes in the day of battell, or if any of you would haue returned againe to ſtand like a wall for the houſe of Iſrael, at leaſt if he had but ſhewed himſelfe in the field, making but the countenance of a warriour againſt them, which ceaſe not daily to infeſt the lambe of God. I waited and none came, I ſuffered and none roſe vp, I held my peace and none would ſpeake, I diſſembled and none would ſtand with me in like ſemblance: wherefore ſeeing I ſee no better towardneſſe in you, this remaineth only, to enter action of complaint againſt you, and to cry againſt mine enemies, Riſe vp O Lord, and iudge my cauſe, reuenge the blood of the church which is waſted and oppreſſed. The pride of them which hate his libertie, riſeth vp euer, neither is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God, brethren beloued, there were in you any mind or affection to defend the libertie of the church! for thee is builded vpon a ſure rocke, that although ſhe be ſhaken, yet ſhe cannot be ouerthrowne. And why then ſeeke ye to confound me? Nay rather your ſelues in me, then me in you? A man which hath taken vpon me all the perill, haue ſuſtained all the rebukes, haue ſuſtained all the iniuries, haue ſuffered alſo for you all, to verie baniſhment.

I denie your minor, M. Becket.

The church of Chriſt cannot be ouerthrowne. Ergo, Becket ought not to be reſiſted.

And ſo it was expedient, one to ſuffer for that church, that thereby it might be releaſed out of ſeruitude. Theſe things diſcuſſe you ſimply with your ſelues and weigh the matter. Attend I ſay diligently in your minds for your parts, that God for his part remouing from your eies all maieſty of rule and imperie, as he is no accepter of perſons, may take from your hearts the veile, that ye may vnderſtand and ſee what ye haue done, what

Seruitude and libertie of the church wrongfully defined. The words of holy Scripture clerkely applied.

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what ye intend to doe, and what ye ought to doe. Tell me which of you all can ſay, I haue taken from him ſince the time of my promotion, either or or aſſe. If I haue defrauded him of any penie, if I haue miſiudged the cauſe of any man wrongfully, or if by the detriment of any perſon I haue ſought mine owne gaine, let him complaine, and I will reſtore him fourefold. And if I haue not offended you, what then is the cauſe that ye thus leaue and forſake me in the cauſe of God? Why bend yee ſo your ſelues againſt me in ſuch a cauſe, that there is none more ſpeciall belonging to the church?

Turne to thee? Nay turne thou to the Lord and thou ſhalt be ſaued.

Brethren ſeeke not to confound your ſelues and the church of God (ſo much as in you is) but turne to me and you ſhall bee ſafe. For the Lord ſaith, I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ſhould conuert and liue. Stand with mee manfully in the war, take your armor and your ſheeld to defend mee. Take the ſword of the word of the mightie God, that we all together may withſtand more valiantlie the malignant enemies, ſuch as go about to take away the ſoule of the church, which is her libertie: without which libertie ſhe hath no power againſt them that ſeeke to incroch to their inheritance the poſſeſſion of Gods ſanctuarie. If ye will heare and follow mee, knowe ye that the Lord will be with you, and with vs all in the defence of the libertie of his church. Otherwiſe if yee will not, the Lord iudge betwixt me and you, and require the confuſion of his church at your hands. Which church, whether the world will or no, ſtandeth firmely in the word of the Lord, whereupon ſhe is builded, and euer ſhall, till the houre come that ſhee ſhall paſſe from this world to the father: for the Lord euer doth ſupport her with his hand.

The ſoule of the church is the libertie of the church, ſaith Becket.

Wherefore to returne to the matter. Brethren remember well with your ſelues (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought vnto, and the church of God alſo while I was in England, at my departing out of England, and after my departure from thence alſo; in what danger it ſtandeth at this preſent day; but eſpecially at that time, when as at Northhampton Chriſt was iudged againe in my perſon, before the iudgement ſeat of the high preſident. Who euer heard the archbiſhop of Canturburie (being troubled for iniuries done to him and to his church, and appealing to the pope of Rome) to be iudged, condemned, appealed, and put to his ſureties, and that of his owne ſuffragans? Where is this law ſeene, or the authoritie (nay rather peruerſitie) of this canon heard of? And why yet ſhame ye not at this your enormitie? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confuſion worke in you repentance, and repentance driue you to due ſatisfaction before God and men? For theſe and ſuch other iniuries done to God and to his church, and to me for Gods cauſe (which with a good conſcience I ought to ſuffer, becauſe that without danger of ſoule I ought not to diſſemble them) I chuſe rather to abſent my ſelfe for a ſeaſon, and to dwell quietlie in the houſe of my Lord, then in the tabernacle of ſinners, vntill the time that (their iniquity being complet) the harts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the ſame ſhall be opened. And theſe iniuries were the cauſe both of my appeale from the king and of my departure from thence, which yee doe terme to bee ſudden. But if yee will ſpeake the truth which ye know, it ought no leſſe then to be ſudden: leſt (being foreknowne) it might haue been preuented and ſtopped. And as God turned the matter, it hapned for the beſt, both for the honor of the king, and better ſafetie of them, which (ſeeking my harme) ſhould haue brought ſlander to the king. If ſuch troubles followed vpon my departing as yee ſay, let them bee imputed to him which gaue cauſe, the fault is in the worker, not in the departer, in him that purſueth, not in him that auoideth iniuries. What would yee more? I preſented my ſelfe to the court, declaring both the cauſes of my comming and of my appeale, declaring alſo the wrongs and iniuries done to mee and to my church, and yet could haue no anſwer: neither was there any that laid any thing againſt mee, before wee came to the king. Thus while wee ſtood waiting in the court, whether any would come againſt me or not, they ſent to my officials: charging them not to obay mee in my temporalties, nor to owe any ſeruice to me or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the court, my church was ſpoiled; we and they about vs depriued of our goods, outlawed both of the clergie and of the laitie, men, women and infants: the goods of the church, that is, the patrimonie of the crucifix, confiſcat, and part of the monie turned to the kings vſe, part to your owne coffers. Brother biſhop of London, if this be true that we heare of you, and that to the vſe of your owne church ye conuert this monie; we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience, that within fortie daies after the ſight of theſe letters, all delay and excuſe ſet aſide, yee reſtore againe within the time aforeſaid, all ſuch goods and parcels as you haue taken away: for it is vnmeet and contrarie to al law, one church to be inriched with the ſpoile of another church. If ye ſtand vpon the authoritie that ſet you a worke, you muſt vnderſtand, that in matters concerning the church goods, hee can giue no lawfull authoritie, which committeth violent iniurie, &c.

Vnbeſeeming words of high preſumption. Chriſt is not iudged in the perſon of any traitor.

What authoritie and what ſcripture giueth this prerogatiue to princes vpon church goods, which you would attribute to them? What? will they lay for them the remedie of appeale? God forbid. It were euill with the church of God, if when the ſacrilegious extortioner hath violentlie inuaded other mens goods (eſpecially the goods of the church) he ſhould after defend him with the title of appeale, &c.

Becket ſeemeth here more skilfull of his maſſe booke then of the booke of holy ſcripture, otherwiſe he might ſee it no new thing in the old law for kings to depriue prieſts, and to place whom they would. Kings in the old law did not intermeddle with the prieſts office in ſome things that were forbidden: but yet kings were officers ouer prieſts to correct them when they did amiſſe. If ye meane of Achas and Oze in the old teſtament, then we denie your minor.

But he leaueth out here the manner of his comming to the court, and the ſtrangeneſſe of his behauior.

Do not brethren ſo confound altogether the right of the church and of the temporall regiment: for theſe two are much different, one borrowing his authoritie of the other. Read the ſcriptures, and yee ſhall find what and how many kings haue periſhed for taking vpon them the prieſtly office. Therefore let your diſcretion prouide, leſt for this your doing, Gods puniſhment light vpon you: which if it come, it will bee hard for you very eaſily to eſcape. Prouide alſo and ſee to your king, whoſe fauour ye preſer before the wealth and profit of the church, leſt it happen (which God forbid) that he doth periſh with all his houſe, after the example of them which for the like crime were plagued. And if ye ceaſe not off from that ye begin, with what conſcience can I diſſemble or forbeare, but muſt needs puniſh you? Let him diſſemble with you who liſt (hauing authoritie ſo to doe, truſte I will not) there ſhall bee no diſſimulation found in mee. And where you write in your letters concerning my promotion, that it was againſt the voice of the whole realme, and that the church did reclaime againſt it; what ſhould I ſay to you, but that yee know right well: The lie which the mouth doth willingly ſpeake, killeth the ſoule? but eſpecially the words of a prieſts mouth ought euer to go with veritie. As touching this matter, I appeale to your owne conſcience, whether the forme of my election ſtood not fully with the conſent of them all to whom the election belonged, hauing alſo the aſſent of the prince by his ſonne, and of them which were ſent thereto. And if there were ſome that repugned the ſame, bee that was troubled and is guiltie, let him ſpeake.

We ſay moreouer, that I was exalted and promoted from a baſe and low degree to this dignitie by him. I grant that I came of no roiall or kinglie bloud: yet notwithſtanding I had rather be in the number of them, whom vertue of mind then of birth maketh noble. Peraduenture I was borne in a poore cottage, of poore parentage; and yet through Gods clemencie, which knoweth how to worke mercie with his ſeruants, & which cheriſheth the humble and lowe things, to confound the high and mightie, in this my poore and low eſtate, before I came to the kings ſeruice, I had abundantlie and wealthilie to liue withall (as ye know) amongſt my neighbours and friends. And Dauid euen from the ſheepfold was taken vp and made a king, Peter of a fiſher was made a prince of the church, who for his bloud being ſhed for the name of Chriſt, deſerued to haue in heauen a crowne, and in earth, name and renowne: would to God wee could do the like! We bee the ſucceſſors of Peter, and not of kings and emperors.

They be the ſucceſſors and ſons of ſaints, not that hold the places of ſaints, but that doe the works of ſaints. Hieroine.

Conſcience made where is none.

And where ye ſeeme to charge me (by inſinuation) with the blot of ingratitude: This I anſwer: There is no offence capitall or infamous, vnleſſe it proceed from the heart and intention. As if a man commit a murther vnwillingly, although he be called a murtherer, yet he is not thereby puniſhable: and ſo, although I owe my duty and ſeruice with reuerence to my king, yet if I haue forborne him as my lord, if I haue warned him and talked with him fatherlie and gently as with a ſonne, and in talking with him could not be heard: if therefore, I ſay, being inforced thereunto, & againſt my will, I do exerciſe vpon him the cenſure of due ſeueritie, in ſo doing I ſuppoſe I make rather with him then againſt him, and rather deſerue at his hand thanks for my correction, then note or ſuſpition of vnkindneſſe or puniſhment for the fact. Sometimes a man againſt his will receiueth a benefit. As when neceſſitie cauſeth a man to be reſtrained from doing that which he ought not: he that doth ſo reſtraine him, though he ſtop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his ſoules health. Another thing that defendeth vs from ingratitude, is our father and patron Chriſt; which in that he is our father, to whom we as children owe obedience, then are we bound as children by neceſſity to obay his commandement, in warning the euill doer, in correcting the diſobedient, and in bridling the obſtinat: which if we doe not, we run into danger to haue his bloud required at our hands. Yee ſet forth likewiſe and ſhew, what loſſe we thereby may ſuſtaine of our temporalties. But yee ſpake no word of the loſſe of our ſoules.

Moreouer, as concerning the departure of the king from the homage of the church of Rome, which in your letters yee ſeeme to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I ſay, that the deuotion or faith of our king ſhould euer ſwarue away from the obedience and reuerence of the church of Rome, for any temporall commoditie or incommoditie: which thing to doe is very damnable in any priuat ſubiect, much more in the prince which draweth many other with him: therefore God forbid, that euer any faithfull man ſhould once thinke ſo hainous a deed. And you according to your diſcretion take heed, leſt the words of your mouth infect any perſon or perſons therein, occaſioning them by your words to ſuch dangerous and damnable matter, like to the golden cup which is called the cup of Babylon, which for the outward gold no man will refuſe to drinke of, but after they haue drunke thereof, they are poiſoned.

If the king had been an adulterer or tyrant againſt the true doctrine or preaching of Chriſt, then might this reaſon ſerue, and God more to be obayed then man. Now where did Becket learne that the king in his temporall right was not to be obayed? Take heed, ye marre al and ye open that doore.

And where yee lay to my charge for the ſuſpending of the reuerend father the biſhop of Saliſburie, and for excommunicating of John deane of the ſame church for a ſchiſmatike (by know-

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This John was called a schismatike, because he tooke part with Reginald archbishop of Cullen and the emperour against Alexander the pope.

knowledge and processe had of the matter) to this I answer: that both these are iustlie and condignlie excommunicat, and if ye vnderstand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of iudgements, yée will say no lesse. For this standeth with good authoritie (as ye know) that in manifest and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requisit. Perpend with your selues diligentlie, what the bishop of Salisburie did concerning the deanerie, after that he was prohibited of the pope and of vs, vnder paine of excommunication: and then shall you better vnderstand (vpon so manifest disobedience) suspension did rightlie follow, as ye read in the decrée of S. Clement, saying: If they doe not obay their prelats, all maner of persons of what order so euer they be, whether they shall be princes of high or low degrée, and all other people, shall not onely bee infamed, but also banished from the kingdome of God, and the fellowship of the faithfull. As concerning John of Oxford, this we say, that excommunication commeth diuers waies. Some are excommunicat by the law denouncing them excommunicat. Some by the sentence of the prelat. Some by communicating with them which are excommunicated. Now he that hath fallen into this damnable heresie, in participating with schismatiks, whom the pope hath excommunicat, he draweth to himselfe the spot and leprosie of like excommunication. Wherefore, séeing he (contrarie to the popes expresse commandement and ours, being charged vnder paine of excommunication to the contrarie) toke vpon him the deanerie of Salisburie, we haue denounced him, and hold him excommunicat, and al his doings we disanull by the authoritie of the eight synod, saying; If any man either priuilie or appertlie shall speake, or communicat with him that is excommunicated, he draweth vnto himselfe the punishment of like excommunication. And now, forsomuch as you brother (bishop of London) which ought to know that saying of Gregorie the seuenth; If any bishop shall consent to the fornication of priests, deacons, &c: within his precinct, for reward, fauor, or petition, or doth not by authoritie of his office correct the vice, let him bee suspended from his office. And againe that saying of pope Leo, which is this: If any bishop shall institute or consecrat such a priest as shall be vnmeet and vnconuenient, if hée scape with the losse of his owne proper dignitie, yet he shall lose the power of instituting any more, &c.

Diuers waies of excommunication.

The councell speaketh of such which be worthily excommunicated.

This Gregorie otherwise called Hildebrand was he that first tooke away priests mariage, condemning all priests for fornicators which had wiues.

Therefore, forsomuch, I say, as you, knowing this, haue double wise offended against the sentence of these canons, wee command you, and in the vertue of obedience inioyne you, that if it be so; within three moneths after the receipt hereof, you will submit and offer your selfe to due correction and satisfaction to the councell of our fellow bishops, for these your so great excesses: lest others through your example run into the like offence, and we shal be constrained to proceed against you with seuerer sentence.

Finallie (in the closing vp of your letter) where ye bring in for your appellation against me, a safegard for you, which rather indéed is an hinderance to you, that we should not proceed against the inuaders of the church goods, nor against the king in like censure, as we haue done against the bishop of Salisburie (as yée say) and his deane. To this I answer: God forbid that we haue, or else should hereafter proceed or doe any thing against the king or his land, or against you or your churches, inordinatly or otherwise then is conuenient. But what if you shall exceed in the same or like transgression, as the bishop of Salisburie hath done? Thinke yée then your appellation shall helpe you from the discipline of our seueritie, that yée shall not be suspended? Marke ye diligentlie whether this bee a lawfull appeale, and what is the forme thereof. We know that euery one that appealeth, either doth it in his owne name, or in the name of another: if in his owne, either it is for some grieuance inferred alreadie, or else for that he feareth after to be inferred against him. Now concerning the first, I am sure there is no grieuance that you can complaine of as yet (God be thanked) that you haue receiued at my hand, for the which you should appeale from me: neither haue you (I trust) any cause speciall against mee so to doe. If ye doe it for feare that is to come, lest I should trouble you and your churches: consider whether this be the feare that ought to fall in constant men, or whether this bee the appeale which ought to suspend or stay our power and authoritie that wee haue vpon you and your churches. It is thought therefore of wise men (and we also iudge no lesse) your appeale to be of no force.

Clements decree.

Diuers waies of excommunication.

Discussing of a true appellation.

The forme of a true appellation.

First, for that it hath not the right forme of a perfect appellation, and also because it is not consonant to reason, and lacketh order and helpe of the law.

Furthermore, if your appellation bee in another mans name, either it is for the king (as most like it is) or for some other. If it be for the king, then you ought first to vnderstand, that appellations are wont to be made to repell, and not to inferr iniurie: or to release such as be oppressed, that they should not be oppressed any more.

Wherefore, if any man shall enter any appellation (not trusting to the suretie of his cause, but to delay the time, that sentence be not giuen vpon him) that appellation is not to be receiued. For what state will there be of the church, if the liberty thereof being taken away, the goods of the church spoiled, the bishops driuen from their places, or at least not receiued with full restitution of their goods, the inuaders and spoilers thereof may defend themselues by appealing, thereby to saue themselues from the penaltie of their desert?

What a ruine of the church wil this be? Sée what ye haue done, and what ye say. Bée you not the vicars of Christ representing him in earth? Is it not your office to correct and bridle ill doers, whereby they may ceale to persecute the church? And is it not inough for them to be fierce and to rage against the church, but that you should take their part, setting your selues against vs, to the destruction of the church? Who euer heard of so monstrous doings? Thus it shall be heard and said of all nations and countries, that the suffragans of the church of Canturburie (which ought to stand with their metropolitan vnto death in defence of the church) now go about by the kings commandement so much as in them doth lie, to suspend his authoritie, lest he should exercise his discipline of correction vpon them that rebell against the church. This one thing I know, that you cannot sustaine two sorts of persons at once, both to be the appeale makers, and to be appealed vp your selues. You be they which haue made the appellation, and you be they against whom the appellation is made. Is there any more churches then one, and the bodie of the same? And how meet were it then, that you being the members of the church should hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, brethren, lest it may be said of vs: These be the priests which haue said, Where is the Lord? and hauing the law do not know the law. Furthermore, this I suppose you (being discréet men) are not ignorant of, that such as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, vnlesse the matter of their appellation either belongeth to themselues, or except speciall commandement force them thereunto, or else vnlesse they take another mans cause vpon them. First, that it belongeth nothing vnto you, it is plaine: for so much as the contrarie rather pertaineth vnto your dutie; that is, to punish and to correct all such as rebel against the church. And if he which subuerteth the liberty of the church, and inuadeth the goods thereof (conuerting them to his owne vse) bee not heard appealing for his owne defence, much lesse is another to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this case neither he can appeale for himselfe, nor yet command you so to do, so neither may you receiue the commandement to appeale for him.

One person cannot both bee the appealemaker and the partie appealed.

Thirdly, as touching the taking of another mans cause or businesse vpon you: to this I say and affirme: that ye ought in no manner of wise so to doe, specially séeing the matter pertaineth to the oppression of the church, and whereupon insueth great damage to the same.

Wherefore, séeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receiue any such commandement, nor yet to take vpon you any such cause as that is, your appeale is neither to be heard, nor standeth with any law. Is this the deuotion and consolation of brotherly loue which you exhibit to your metropolitan, being for you in exile? God forgiue you this clemencie. And how now? Will ye looke for your letters and messengers to be gentlie receiued heere of vs? Neither doe I speake this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours; or that we haue done any thing inordinatly against the person of the king, or against his land, or against the persons of the church, or intend (by Gods mercie) so to doe. And therefore we say briefle and affirme constantlie, that our lord the king cannot complaine of any wrong or iniurie to be done vnto him, if he (being often called vpon by letters and messengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confesse his trespasse, nor yet come to any satisfaction for the same) haue the censure of seueritie by the pope and vs laid vpon him: for no man can say that he vniustlie is intreated, whom the law doth iustlie punish. And briefle to conclude, know you this for certain, that extortioners, inuaders, detainers of the church goods, and subuerters of the liberties thereof, neither haue any authoritie of the law to maintaine them, neither doth their appealing defend them, &c.

Though the popes law will not defend them yet the law of the scripture will and doth.

A briefe censure vpon the former rescript of Becket *to his suffragans, in the page before, with a generall* resolution of the reasons there- *in contained.*

IF the king of England had been an idolater, couetous, an adulterer, an incest, a murtherer, with such like: then the zeale of this archbishop (threatning the king & such as took his part) had deserued praise in this epistle, and the scripture would haue borne him out therin. For these and such causes should bishops prosecute the authoritie of the gospell against all persons. But the matter standing onlie vpon church goods, libertie (or rather licentiousnesse of priests) making of deanes, titles of churches, superioritie, of crowning the king, with such other: to stand so stiffe in these, is not to defend the church; but to rebell against the king. Againe, if the principles which he here groundeth vpon, were true; to wit that the pope were to be obeyed before princes, that the libertie of the church standeth vpon the immunitie of priests exempted from princes lawes, or vpon ample possessions of the church; or that the popes law ought to preuaile

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preuaile in all forren countries, and to bind all princes in their owne dominions, or that the sentence of the pope and his popelings (how or by what affection soeuer it is pronounced) may stand by the vndoubted sentence of God: then all the arguments of this epistle doe proceed and conclude well. But if they stand not ratified vpon Gods word, but tottering vpon mans traditions: then whatsoeuer he inferreth or concludeth thereupon (his assumpt being false) cannot be true, according to the schoole saying: One inconuenience being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow therupō. So in this epistle it hapneth, as is aboue noted; that the maior of this man is true, but the minor is cleane false, and to be denied.

The letter of Matild the empresse and mother of *the king, to Thomas Becket.*

The letter of the empresse to Becket.

MY lord the pope commanded mee, and vpon the forgiuenesse of my sinnes inioyned me, that I should be a mediator and meanes of peace and concord betweene my sonne and you, by reconciling of your selfe to him, whereunto (as you know) you requested mee. Wherefore, the earnester and with more affection (as well for the diuine honor as for holy church) I tooke the enterprise vpon mee. But this by the way I assure you, that the king, his barons, and counsel, taketh it grieuously; that you, whom he intirelie loued, honored, and made chiefest in all his realme, to the intent to haue more comfort and better trust in you, should thus (as the report is) rebel, and stir his people against him. Yea and further, that as much as in you lieth, you went about to disherit him, and depriue him of his crowne. Vpon the occasion whereof, I sent vnto you our trustie and familiar seruant Laurence archdeacon, by whom I pray you that I may vnderstand your mind herein, and good will toward my sonne: and how you meane to behaue your self (if my prayer and petition may bee heard of him in your behalfe) toward his grace. But this one thing I assure you of, that vnlesse it bee through your great humilitie and moderation, euidently in you appearing, you cannot obtaine the fauour of the king. Herein what you meane to doe, I pray you send mee word by your proper letters and messengers.

Anno 1169

But to proceede further in the order of the historie. After these letters sent to and fro, the yeere of our Lord 1169. which was the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of king Henrie the second, the king misdoubting and fearing with himselfe, that the archbishop would proceed (or exceed rather) in his excommunication against his owne person (to preuent the mischiefe) made his appeale to the presence of the pope, requiring to haue certaine legats sent downe from Rome from the popes side, to take vp the matter betweene the archbishop and him; requiring moreouer that they might also be absolued that were interdicted. Whereupon two cardinals, being sent from Alexander the pope with letters to the king, came to Normandie: where they appointed the archbishop to meet them before the king vpon saint Martins day. But the archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his comming till the eight day after, neither would any further goe then to Gisortium, where the two cardinals and the archbishop with other bishops conuenting together, had a certaine intreatie of peace and reconciliation, but came to no conclusion. The contents of which intreatie or action, because it is sufficientlie contained in the cardinals letters, who were called Gulielmus and Otho, written to the pope, it shall require no further labour, but to shew out the words of the letter, where the summe of the whole may appeare. The words of the letter be these.

The copie of the epistle written and sent by *two cardinals to the pope, concerning the matter* of the archbishop Becket.

WIlliam and Otho, cardinals of the church of Rome, to Alexander the pope, &c. Comming to the land of the king of England, we found the controuersie betwixt him and the archbishop of Canturburie more sharpe and vehement then we would. For the king and the greater part of them about him said, that the archbishop had stirred vp the French king grieuouslie against him, and also the earle of Flanders his kinsman (who bare no displeasure to him before) he made his open aduersarie, readie to war against him, as is by diuers euidences most certaine. Thus when we came to Cadomus first to the kings speech, we gaue the letters of your fatherhood to his hands: which after that he had receiued and considered (bringing forth withall other letters receiued from you before, something diuers and altering from these which hee receiued of vs) was moued and stirred with no little indignation, saying: that the archbishop after our departure from you, had receiued of you other contrary letters, by the vertue whereof he was exempted from our iudgement, so that he should not be compelled to answer vs. Moreouer, the said king to vs added and affirmed, and so did the bishops there present, testifying the same, that concerning the old and ancient customs of his progenitors (whereof complaint was made to you) all that for the most part was false and vntrue which was intimat to you; offering further to vs, that if there were any such customs or lawes in his time, that seemed preiudiciall or disagreeable to the statutes of the church, hee would willingly be content to reuoke and disanull the same. Wherupon we with other archbishops, bishops, and abbats of the land, hearing the king so reasonable, labored by all the meanes we might, that the king should not vtterlie breake from vs, but rather should incline to vs to haue the matter brought before vs betwixt him and the forenamed archbishop. By reason whereof, we directed out our owne chapletns with letters vnto him, appointing him both time and place where safelie he might meet with vs in the feast of S. Martine. Neuertheless, he pretending certaine excuses, made his dilatories, driuing off the time from the day of S. Martin to the octaues following, which thing stirred the kings heart more then is to be thought.

A communication betweene Becket and the cardinals.

Thus, although wee offered to the archbishop safe comming, yet when hee refused to meet vs in the borders of the king: we to satisfie his mind, condescended to meet him within the land of the French king, in the place where he himselfe appointed, because there should bee no let in vs whereby to stop his profit. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort him all that wee could, to submit and humble himselfe to his soueraigne and king, who had heaped him with such benefits and dignities: whereby matter might bee giuen vs to further occasion of reconciling them together. Hee being thus moued and exhorted by vs, departed aside to consult with his counsell vpon the matter. At length after counsell taken, hee commeth againe answering in this manner; that hee would submit and humble himselfe to the king, *Saluo honore Dei, & ecclesiæ libertate, salua etiam honestate personæ suæ & possessionibus ecclesiarum: & amplius, sua & suorum in omnibus salua iustitia, &c.* That is: Sauing the honor of God, and libertie of the church, sauing also the honestie of his person, and possessions of churches: and moreouer, sauing the iustice of him and of all his in all things, &c. After which communication had amongst vs, we moued and required him more instantly, that he would come to the specialties, when as yet he had brought nothing in, either which was certaine or particular. Likewise we demanded of him, if hee would in all such things contained and comprehended in our letters, stand and submit himselfe to our letters, so as the king and the bishops before were contented to doe. To the which he answering againe, said: that he had receiued from you a commandement, not to answer before he and all his were restored full to all their possessions; and then he would so proceed in the matter, according as hee should receiue commandement from the see apostolicall.

Becket's addition.

Thus we breaking off communication, seeing that he neither would stand to iudgement, nor come to conformitie, thought to make relation thereof to the king, and so did: declaring that which he had expressed to vs: yet not vttering all, but keeping backe a great part of that which we had heard and seene. Which when the king and his nobles had vnderstanding of, affirmed to vs againe: that hee therein was cleared so much the more, for that the archbishop would not stand to their iudgement, nor abide their triall. After much heauinesse and lamentation of the king, the archbishop, bishops, and abbats of the realme requiring of vs, whether we had any such power by vertue of our commission, to withstand him and proceed against him; and perceiuing that our authoritie would not serue thereunto, and fearing lest the foresaid archbishop, refusing all order of iudgement, would worke againe disquietnesse to some noble personages of the realme; and seeing our authority could not extend so far to helpe them against him (taking a consultation among themselues) agreed together with one assent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the terme of their appeale.

Becket would neither stand to iudgement nor triall.

¶ And this is the epistle of these two cardinals sent to the pope: wherein may sufficiently appeare all the discourse and manner of that assemblie (although particularlie euery thing not expressed) concerning the talke betwixt the cardinals and the archbishop. As when that William (who of the two cardinals was the more eloquent) amongst other communication had, reasoned long with him as concerning the peace of the church: which Becket said he preferred aboue all things. Well then (saith the cardinall) seeing all this contention betweene the king and you, riseth vpon certaine lawes and customs to be abrogat, and that you regard the peace of the church so much: then what say you: Will you renounce your bishoprike, and the king shall renounce his customs: The peace of the church now lieth in your hands, either to retaine or to let goe; what say you: To whom he answereth againe, that the proposition was not like. For I, saith hee, (sauing the honour of my church and my person) cannot renounce my bishoprike. Contrarie, it standeth the king vpon, for his soules health and honour, to renounce these his ordinances and customs. Which thing he thus prooued; because the pope had condemned those customs, and he likewise with the church of Rome had done the same, &c.

Becket louëth better his bishoprike then the peace of the church, for all his gaie talke.

Wecket stirring vp the French king against the king of England.

The

The talke betweene the French king, the king of England, and Becket.

AFter the cardinals were returned, the French king seeing the king of England disquieted and solicitous to haue peace (or at least wise pretending to set an agreement betweene them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French king made himselfe as umpire betweene them. The king of England hearing that the archbishop would commit himselfe to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his presence. Whereupon, many being there present, the archbishop prostrating himselfe at the kings feet, declared vnto him kneeling vpon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension rose betweene them, vnto his owne arbitrement; adding thereto (as he did before) *Saluo honore Dei*: That is; Sauing the honor of God. The king, who (as is said before) being greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffenesse of the man sticking so much to this word *Saluo honore, &c.* was highlie therwith displeased, rebuking him with many grieuous words as a man proud and stubborne, and also charging him with sundry and great benefits bestowed vpon him, as a person vnkind and forgetting what he had so gently done and bestowed vpon him.

Becket commeth in with his old addition, *Saluo honore Dei.*

Becket charged with vnkindnesse.

And speaking to the French king there present: See sir (if it please you, saith the king of England) what soeuer displeaseth this man, that hee saith to bee contrarie to the honour of God. And so by this meanes he will vendicat and challenge to himselfe both that is his and mine also. And yet notwithstanding, for that I will not seeme to do any thing contrarie or preiudiciall to Gods honor, this I offer him: There haue been kings in England before, both of greater and lesse puissance then I am: Likewise there haue been bishops of Canturburie many, both great and holie men: What the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors before him hath done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors before me, let him do the same to me and I am content. They that stood by, hearing these words of the king, cried all with one voice, The king hath debased himselfe enough to the bishop. The archbishop staying a little at this with silence, What (saith the French king to him) my lord archbishop, will you be better then those holy men? will ye be greater then Peter? what stand you doubting? Here now haue you peace and quietnesse put in your owne hands, if ye will take it. To this the archbishop answered againe: Truth it is (saith he) my predecessors before me were much both better and greater then I, and of them euery one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet something they did plucke vp and correct, which seemed aduerse and repugnant against Gods honor. For if they had taken all together away, no such occasion then had been left for any man to raise vp this fire of temptation now against vs, as is here raised to proue vs withall, that we being so proued with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as wee are of their labour and trauell. And though some of them haue been slacke, or exceeded in their dutie doing, in that wee are not bound to follow their example.

The kings offer to Becket both charitable and reasonable.

The words of the French king.

Peter, when he denied Christ, we therfore rebuke him; but when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein wee commend him. And therefore, because hee could not find in his conscience to consent vnto that he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he, by reason therof he lost his life. By such like oppressions the church hath alwaies grown. Our forefathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honor of Christ, therefore they suffered. And shall I, to haue the fauour of one man, suffer the honor of Christ to be suppressed? The nobles standing by (hearing him thus speake) were greatlie grieued with him, noting in him both arrogancie and wilfulnesse, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But speciallie one among the rest was most grieued, who there openlie protested: that seeing the archbishop so refused the counsell and request of both the kingdoms, he was not worthie to haue the helpe of either of them: but as the kingdome of England had reiected, so the realme of France should not receiue him.

This maior if it had been ioyned with a good minor had made a good argument.

Ex Quadrilogio

Alanus Herbertus and certain other of his chapleins that committed to storie the doings of Becket, doe record (whether truly or no I cannot say) that the French king sending for him, as one much sorrowing and lamenting the words that he had spoken, at the comming of Becket did prostrat himselfe at his feet, confessing his fault, in giuing counsell to him in such a cause (pertaining to the honor of God) to relent therein and to yeeld to the pleasure of man: wherefore declaring his repentance, hee desired to be absolued thereof. So that after this, the French king and Becket were great friends together, insomuch that king Henrie sending to the king to intreat him, and desire him that he would not support nor maintaine his enemy within his realme, the French king vtterly denied the kings request, taking part rather with the archbishop then with him.

Besides these quarels and grudges betwixt the king and the archbishop aboue mentioned, there followed yet moreouer another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited betweene the king and Becket, the king of England returning againe from Normandie into England (which was the yeere of our Lord 1170, and the sixteenth yeere of his raigne) about Midsummer, kept his court of parliament at Westminster, in the which parliament he (through the assent both of the clergie, and the lords temporall) caused his sonne Henrie to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the hands of Robert archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of other bishops ministring to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joseline of Salisburie, Hugo of Durelme, and Walter of Rochester. By reason wherof Becket of Canturburie being there neither mentioned nor called for, tooke no little displeasure; and so did Ludouike the French king, hearing that Margaret his daughter was not also crowned with her husband: whereupon he gathering a great armie, forthwith marched into Normandie. But the matter was soone compassed by the king of England, who sending his son vnto him in Normandie, intreated there and concluded peace with him, promising that his sonne should be crowned againe, and then his daughter to be crowned also. But the archbishop not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent vnto the pope, complaining of these foure bishops, especiallie of the archbishop of Yorke, who durst be so bold in his absence and without his knowledge or his licence, to intermeddle to crowne the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his iurisdiction. At the instance of whom the pope sent downe the sentence of excommunication against the bishop of London. The other three bishops with the archbishop of Yorke he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for auoiding prolixitie, I here omit.

Anno 1170

The bishop of London excommunicated, with foure other bishops suspended.

Besides these foresaid bishops excommunicated, diuers other clerks also of the court he cited to appeare before him, by vertue of his large commission which hee gat from the pope, to whom they were bound to obay, by reason of their benefices. And some he commanded in vertue of obedience to appeare, in paine of forfetting their orders and benefices. Of which when neither sort would appeare, he cursed them openlie. And also some lay men of the court and the kings familiars, some as intruders, and violent withholders of church goods, hee accursed: as Richard Lucie, and Joseline Balliol, and Rafe Brocke which tooke bels & goods that belonged to the church of Canturburie, and Hugh Sentcleare, and Thomas the sonne of Barnard, and all that should hereafter take any church goods without his consent, so that almost all the court was accursed either by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the archbishop of Yorke with the foresaid bishops resorted to the king with a grieuous complaint, declaring how miserablie their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandement. The king hearing this, was highly moued, as no maruell was. But what remedie? The time of the ruine of the pope was not yet come; and what prince then might withstand the iniurious violence of that Romish potestat?

The cause of the kings wrath against Becket.

In the meane season the French king for his part, his clergie and courtiers slacke no occasion to incite and sollicit Alexander the pope against the king of England to excommunicat him also: seeking thereby and thinking to haue some vantage against the realme. Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more readie to apply some agreement of reconciliation. At length came downe from the pope two legats (the archbishop of Rothomage and the bishop of Nauern) with direction and full commission either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the popes censures out of the church. The king vnderstanding himselfe to be in greater straits then he could auoid (at length through the mediation of the French king and of other prelats and great princes) was content to yeeld to peace & reconciliation with the archbishop, whom he receiued both to his fauour, and also permitted and granted him free returne to his church again. Concerning his possessions and lands of the church of Canturburie, although Becket made great labour therefore, yet the king (being then in Normandie) would not grant him before he should repaire to England, to see how he would there agree with his subiects.

Thus peace after a sort concluded betweene the king and him, the archbishop after six yeers of his banishment, returned to England, where he was right ioyfully receiued of the church of Canturburie, albeit of Henrie the young king he was not so greatlie welcommed. In so much that comming vp to London to the king, he was returned backe to Canturburie, and there bid to keepe his house. Roger Houeden maketh mention in his chronicle, that the archbishop (vpon Christmas day) did excommunicat Robert de Broke for cutting off the taile of a certaine horse of his the day before. In the meane time the foure bishops before mentioned, whom the archbishop had excommunicat, sent to him, humblie desiring to be released of their censure. To whom when the archbishop would not grant clearely and simplie without cautels and exceptions, they went ouer to the king, declaring vnto him and complaining of their miserable state and vncourteous handling of the archbishop. Whereupon the king conceiued great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward the partie. In so much that he lamented oft and sundrie times to them about him, that (among so many that he had done for) there was none that would reuenge him of his enemie. By occasion of which words, certaine that were about

Becket returneth out of banishment.

Ex Rogero Houedene.

The words of the king which were the cause of Beckets death.

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about the king (to the number of foure) hearing him thus to complaine and lament, addressed themselues in great heat of hast to satisfie the grieued mind and quarell of their prince: who within foure daies after the said Christmasse day (sayling ouer into England, and hauing a forward and a prosperous wind in their iournie, being in the deepe of winter) came to Canturburie, where Becket was commanded to keepe. After certaine aduisements and consultations had among themselues, they prealed at length into the palace where the archbishop was sitting with his companie about him: first to assay him with words, to see whether he would relent to the kings mind, and come to some conformitie. They brought to him (said they) commandement from the king, which whether he had rather openlie there in presence, or secretly to be declared to him, they bad him chuse. Then the companie being bid to auoid, as he sat alone, they said, You are commanded from the king beyond the sea, to repaire to the king heere his sonne, and to doe your dutie to him, swearing to him your fidelitie for your baronage and other things, and to amend those things wherein you haue trespassed against him. Whereupon the archbishop denying to sweare, and perceiuing their intent, called in his companie againe, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the bishops which were excommunicat for the coronation of the king, whom they commanded in the kings name hee should absolue and set free againe. The archbishop answered, that hee neither suspended nor excommunicated them, but the pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieued them, they should resort to the pope, hee had nothing to do with the matter.

If the papists will needs measure the successe of things by seasons and weather, then must they by that reason condemne the cause of Becket, his aduersaries hauing such forwardnesse of weather in doing their feat.

The talke betweene the foure souldiers and Thomas Becket.

Then said Reginald one of the foure; Although you in your owne person did not excommunicat them, yet through your instigation it was done. To whom the archbishop said againe; And if the pope (said he) tendring the iniuries done vnto mee & my church, wrought this reuenge for me, I confesse it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (said they) it appeareth wel by your owne words, that it pleaseth you right well (in contempt & contumelie of the kings maiestie) to sequester his bishops from their ministerie, who at the commandement of the king did seruice in the coronation of his sonne. And seeing you haue so presumed thus to stand against the exaltation of this our soueraigne, our new king, it seemeth likely that you aspired to take his crowne from him, & to be exalted king your selfe. I aspire not (said he) to the crowne and name of the king, but rather if I had foure crownes (to giue him more) I would set them all vpon him, such good will I doe beare him, that only his father the king excepted, there is none, whose honor I more tender and loue. And as concerning the sequestring of those bishops, this I giue you to vnderstand, that nothing was done in that behalfe without the knowledge & assent of the king himselfe. To whom when I had made my complaint, at the feast of Marie Magdalen, of the wrong and iniurie done to me and my church therein; he gaue me his good leaue to obtaine at the popes hand such remedie as I could, promising moreouer his helpe to mee in the same. What is this, quoth they, that thou saiest? Makest thou the king a traitor, and a betrayer of the king his owne sonne? that when hee had commanded the bishops to crowne his sonne, hee would giue thée leaue afterward to suspend them for so doing? Certes it had been better for you not to haue accused so the king of this proditio. The archbishop said to Reginald, that he was there present at that time, and heard it himselfe. But that he denied, & swore it was not so. And thinke you (say they) that wee the kings subiects will or ought to suffer this? And so approching nearer him, said he had spoken inough against his owne head: whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatning words. Then said the archbishop, I haue since my comming ouer sustained many iniuries and rebukes, concerning both my selfe, my men, my cattell, my wines, and all other goods: notwithstanding, the king (writing ouer to his sonne) required him that I should liue in safetie and peace, and now, beside all others, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reginald answering againe, said: If there be any ý worketh you any iniurie otherwise then right is, the law is open; why doe you not complaine? To whom, said Becket, should I complaine? To the young king, said they. Then said Becket, I haue complained inough if that would helpe, & haue sought for remedie at the kings hands, so long as I could bee suffered to come to his speech: but now seeing that I am stopt from that, neither can find redresse of so great vexations and iniuries as I haue and doe daily sustaine, nor can haue the benefit of the law or reason; such right and law as an archbishop may haue that will I exercise, and let for no man. At these words one of them bursting out in exclamation, cried, Hee threatneth, hee threatneth. What? will he interdict the whole realme and vs al together? Nay that he shal not, saith another, he hath interdicted too many already. And drawing more neere to him, they protested and denounced him to haue spoken words to the ieopardie of his owne head. And so departing in great furie, and many high words, rushed out of the doores; who by the way returning to the monks, charged them in the kings name to keep him forth comming, that he should not escape away. What, quoth the archbishop, think ye I will flée away? Nay, neither for the king, nor any man aliue, will I stir one foot from you. No, say they, thou shalt not auoid, though thou wouldest. And so they departing with many words, the archbishop followeth them out of the chamber doore, crying after them, Heere, heere, heere shall you find me; laying his hand vpon his crowne.

The stout heart of Becket.

The names of these foure souldiers aboue mentioned were these, the first Reginald Bereson, the second Hugh Morteuill, the third William Thracie, and the fourth Richard Brito; who going to harnesse themselues, returned the same day againe: but finding the hall doore of the palace of Canturburie shut against them, they went to an inward backe doore leading into the orchard, there brake they vp a windowe and opened the doore, and so issued into the place. The monks (being about euensong time) had got the archbishop into the church; who being perswaded by them, caused his crosse to be borne before him, & so through the cloister, by a doore which was broken vp for him, proceeded into the quire. The harnesse men following after, at length came to the church doore, which doore the monks would haue shut against them: but as the storie saith, the archbishop would not suffer them. So they approching into the church, and the archbishop meeting them vpon the staires, there was slaine, euery one of the foure souldiers striking him with his sword into the head; who afterward flying into the north, at length with much ado obtaining their pardon of the pope by the kings procurement, as some stories record, went to Jerusalem.

Anno 1171

The death of Thomas Becket.

¶ Thus you haue heard the life and death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be iudged, let his owne acts and facts declare. And albeit the scripture ought to bee onlie the rule to vs to iudge all things by, yet if any shall require further testimonie, partlie to satisfie their minds therein, yee shall heare the iudgements of certaine men, in yeeres and times almost as ancient as himselfe, what they write & affirme of him.

What is to be thought or iudged of Thomas Becket.

And first to begin with the testimonie of one of his owne religion, and also not far (as it appeareth) from his owne time, who writing of his martyrdome and miracles, thus testifieth of the iudgement and sentence of diuers concerning his promotion and behauiour. The chronicle being written in Latine, and hauing the name of the author cut out, thus beginneth: *Quoniam verò multi, &c.* And in the first booke and eight chapter it followeth in this maner: *Nonnullis tamen idcirco promotionem eius, visum est minùs canonicā, quòd ad eam magis operata est regis instātia, quā cleri vel populi vota. Præsumptionis quoque vel indiscretionis fuisse notatum est, quòd qui remum tenere vix idoneus videbatur, primum gubernaculi locum suscepit, &c.* Et mox: *Magis etiam secularia tum sapiens, tum sanctum tantæ dignitatis fastigium non horrens tenuisse, sed vltroneus ascendisse creditus. Aliter Dei amicus Moses, &c.* With much more as in Latine insueth, which for the English reader heere followeth translated. Diuers notwithstanding there be, which as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to be canonicall. For that it was wrought rather by the instance of the king (thinking him to bee a man readie and inclinable to his vtilitie) then by the assent either of the clergie or of the people. Further it is noted in him for a point of presumption, and lacke of discretion, for that he being scarse worthie to take the ore in hand and play the boteswane, would take vpon him to sit at ý helme, and guide the ship: namely in that church, where the couent being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to haue their prelat taken out of the same profession. Where as he, scant bearing the habit of a clerke, and going in his changes and soft apparell, is more conuersant among the delicat rufflers in the court, sauoring rather of worldly things, not refusing moreouer without any dread, to clime vp to the high preferment of such an holie dignitie, but rather willinglie of his owne accord to aspire it. Moses we read did otherwise, who being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the message, and said: Who am I Lord, that I should go to Pharao, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt? And againe, I pray thee (saith he) O Lord, I am nothing eloquent, send him whom thou wilt send. Likewise Ieremias also being sent of the Lord to prophesie against Ierusalem, was abashed to take the office vpon him, answering againe with much dread of heart; A, a, a, Lord, I cannot vtter my mind, for I am a child.

What is to be thought, whether Thomas Becket died a saint or not.

The promotion of Becket iudged not canonicall.

Becket charged with presumption and lacke of discretion.

Ambition noted in Becket, in not refusing but taking his promotion.

After like manner we read of the saints of the new testament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their bishoprikes and functions of the church by meere forcement and compulsion rather of others then by their owne wils. So was blessed Gregorie after his flight & going away, brought backe againe, and placed in the see and chaire of Rome. Likewise S. Ambrose sore against his mind, who also of purpose accusing & confessing his owne defects, because he would be repealed: yet by the commandement of Valentinian the emperour was inforced to take the burthen vpon him, which he could by no wise shake off. S. Martin in like sort vnknowing of any such matter, was circumuented by a certaine godly traine and wile of the citizens, before hee could be brought to his consecration, which hee did not so much take, as he was thrust into it with much pensiuenesse and sorrow of heart. By these and such other examples this chancellor likewise should haue rather excused himselfe as vnworthie and vnmeet for that rome, shewing

Bishops against their wils thrust into their bishoprikes.

ing himselfe more willing to refuse then to take it. To the which this archbishop is iudged to doe cleane contrary, &c. Hæc ex chronico, cui titulus, De passione & miraculis beati Thomæ.

And although scarslie any testimony is to be taken of that age (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition) yet let vs heare what Neuburgensis an ancient historiographer saith, who in the daies of the sonne of this king Henrie the second, prosecuting his historie vnto king Richard the first, hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket: *Sanè cùm plerique soleant in his quos amat & laudant affectu quodam propensiori, sed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur, approbare: planè ego in viro illo venerabili ea quæ ita ab ipso acta sunt, quũ nulla exindè proueniret vtilitas sed feruor tantum accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noscuntur, laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licèt ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut in beatissimo apostolorũ principe, quòd gentes suo exemplo iudaizare coegit: in quo eum doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licèt eum constet laudabili hoc pietate fecisse, &c.* That is in English.

Ex chronico Neuburgensis.

Acta Becketi improbata.

Wheras many be wont, in them whom they loue or praise (iudging them more by affection then prudence) to allow and approoue whatsoeuer they do, yet for me to iudge vpon this reuerend man, verely I thinke not his doings and acts to be praise worthie, or to be allowed; forsomuch as thereof came no vtilitie but onely the anger and stirring vp of the king: whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefes (although the thing that he did, might proceed of a certaine laudable zeale:) like as in the blessed prince of the apostles, in that he taught the gentils by his example to play the Iewes, Paul the doctour of the gentils did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection, &c.

And in the same author, in another place it followeth to the like effect, in these words: *Litteras has in Angliam ad suspensionem episcoporum præmissas ipse sequebatur, zelo iustitiæ feruidus; verùm an plenè secundum scientiã nouit Deus. Nostræ enim paruitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temerè iudicare. Puto enim quòd in molli adhuc teneráque regis concordia minus prouidè egisset, & ea quæ sine fidei christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis & compensatione pacis dissimulanda dixisset, iuxta illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est. Itáque, quòd à venerabili pontifice tunc actum est, nec laudandum esse iudico, nec vituperare præsumo: sed dico, si vel modicè in huiusmodi a sancto viro per zeli immoderatiorem impetũ est excessum, hoc ipsum est sacræ, quæ consecuta noscitur, igne passionis excoctũ. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt a nobis, qui nos illis longè impares esse cognoscimus, vt ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: sed ea tantùm, in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis fiant, esse imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciũt, sed sapienter & cautè debent laudari, vt sua Deo prærogatiua seruetur, in cuius vtique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunq; laudare conetur, &c.* That is in English.

The letters which were sent before for the suspending of the bishops, he pursued with burning zeale of iustice; but whether according to knowledge God knoweth it. It is not for my rude and slender wit to iudge of the doings of such a person. But yet this I suppose: that he did not behaue himselfe so circumspectlie as he ought (considering the time;) and that the concord betweene him and the king as yet was but soft and tender. Who for the consideration of the time, and for the recompence of peace, might haue forborne or dissembled such things, which without any perill of christian religion might be tolerat well enough, according to the propheticall saying: A wise man in his time will keepe silence, because the time will not serue him. Wherefore, as the doings of that reuerend prelat I iudge in that behalfe not to be commended, so neither doe I presume to discommend them. But this I say, that if that holy man through immoderat violence of zeale, did exceed in a part therein, the same was excocted againe and purged by the fire of his suffring, which afterward insued. And so far holie men are to be loued or praised of vs, which know our selues much inferior to their vertues; that in such things wherein they haue been men, and also knowne to bee men, therein wee neither hold with them nor commend them: but onely such things wherin without al danger or scruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to say, that they are to be imitated in all that they doe? and therefore are not to be esteemed and praised in all things generallie whatsoeuer they doe, but consideratelie and with aduisement, wherein they deserue praise, so that the onelie prerogatiue in this behalfe be reserued to God, in whose praise no man can exceed, how feruent soeuer hee bee in his praising, &c.

And heare yet more what the said author writeth in the same cause of the kings wrath and Beckets faults: *Plusquam centum homicidia à clericis commissa sub Henrico secũdo dicuntur. In quibus plectendis rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed huius immoderationis regiæ, nostri temporis episcopos tantum respicit culpa, quantum ab eis processit & causa. Cùm enim sacri præcipiunt canones, clericos non solùm facinorosos & grauioribus irretitos criminibus, verùm etiam leuiorũ criminum reos degradari, & tot millia talium, tanquã innumeras inter pauca grana paleas ecclesia Anglicana contineat, tamẽ quàm paucos a multis retrò annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio priuari. Nempe episcopi dum defendendis magis clericorũ libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quàm eorum vitijs corrigẽdis resecandisque inuigilant; arbitrantur obsequiũ se præstare Deo & ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos pro officij debito canonicæ vigore censuræ coercere debeant, cõtrà publicam tueantur disciplinã. Vndè clerici, qui in sortem Domini vocati, tanquã stellæ in firmamento cœli positæ, vita & verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes pro impunitate agendi quodcũque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, neq; Deum, cuius iudicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reuerentur, cùm & episcopalis circa eos solicitudo sit languida, & seculari eos iurisdictione sacri eximat ordinis prærogatiua.* In English.

More then an hundred murthers are said to be committed by the clergie vnder king Henrie the second: in punishing of whom the king was somewhat too vehement. But the fault, saith he, of this immoderat dealing of the king resteth most in the bishops of our time, forsomuch as the cause thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commanded by the canon law (concerning the spiritual men of the clergy) that not onely such as bee notorious, but such as be spotted with lighter crimes should be degraded, whereof haue wee so many thousands and whole swarmes of such now in England, as innumerable chaffe among the little good graine; and yet how few do we see these many yeeres in England depriued of their office? For why? the bishops while they labour more to maintaine the liberties and dignities of churchmen, then to correct their vices, thinke they do God and the church great seruice, if they rescue and defend the enormities of the churchmen against publik discipline, whom they ought rather to punish by the vertue of the censure ecclesiasticall. Whereupon the churchmen, such as be sorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like stars to shine in earth by word and example, taking licence and libertie to doe what they lust, neither reuerence God (whose iudgement seemeth to tarrie) neither men set in authoritie: when as both the bishops are slacke in their charge doing, and also the prerogatiue of their order exempteth them from the secular iurisdiction, &c. And thus much out of Neuburgensis.

To this matter also pertaine the words of Cesarius the monke in his eight booke of dialogues and sixty nunth chapter, about the eight and fortie yeere after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the yeere of God 1220. whose words in sum come to this effect: *Quæstio Parisiis inter magistros ventilata fuit, vtrum damnatus an saluatus esset ille Thomas. Dixerat Rogerius tunc Normanus, fuisse illum morte ac damnatione dignum, quòd contumax esset in Dei ministrum regem. Protulit contrà Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, quòd signa saluationis & magnæ sanctitatis essent eius miracula: & quòd martyrium probasset ecclesiæ causa, pro qua mortem subierat, &c.* In English.

Ex Cesario monacho lib. 8. dialo. cap. 69.

Whether Thomas Becket be saued or damned.

There was a question mooued among the masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saued or damned. To this question answereth Roger a Norman, that hee was worthie death and damnation, for that he was so obstinat against Gods minister his king. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Parisian disputed, saying and affirming, that his miracles were great signes and tokens of saluation, and also of great holinesse in that man: affirming moreouer, that the cause of the church did allow and confirme his martyrdome, for the which church he died, &c.

If God in these latter daies giueth no miracles to glorifie his owne sonne: much lesse will he giue miracles to glorifie Thomas Becket.

And thus haue ye the iudgement and censure of the whole of Paris touching this question, for the sanctity of Thomas Becket. In which iudgement for so much as the greatest argument resteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death; let vs therefore pause a little vpon the same, to trie and examin these his miracles. In the triall whereof we shall find one of these two to be true, that either if they were true, that they were wrought not by God, but by a contrarie spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giueth vs warning in his gospell, saying; Whose comming shall be with lying signes and wonders, to deceiue if it were possible the elect, Matth. 24. or else wee shall find that no such were euer wrought at all, but fained and forged of idle monks and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their churches, & profit of their pouches, which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no lesse may appeare by the miracles themselues, set forth by one of his owne monks, and of his owne time, who in fiue solemne books hath comprehended all the reuelations, vertues and miracles of the archbishop, the which books (as yet remaining in the hands of William Stephanson citizen of London) I haue seene and perused, wherein is contained the whole sum of all his miracles, to the number of 270. being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vaine, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not onelie they deserue no credit, (altogether sauoring of meere forgerie) but also for very shame will abash an honest pen to write of them. First, if miracles serue for necessitie and for infidels, what cause or necessitie was there (in a christian realme hauing the word of God) for God to worke such miracles after his death, who neuer wrought any in all his life? Then to consider the end of these miracles, whither doe they tend, but only to bring men to Canturbury, with their vowes and offrings to inrich the couent?

Liber de miraculis b. Thomæ, autore monacho quodam Cantuar.

Miracles of Becket considered.

Beside the number of these miracles, which be said to be so many that they lose their owne credit; what disease is there belonging

longing to man or woman, in the curing whereof some miracle hath not been wrought by this δαιμόνιον; as feuers, fistula, the gout, toothach, palsie, consumption, falling sicknesse, leprosie, headach, broken armes, maimed legs, swelling throtes, the raising vp of the dead which haue been two daies departed, with infinite others. And as all these haue been healed (for the most part) by one kind of salue (as a certaine Panacea) which was, with the water onely of Canturburie, like as a cunning smith which would open with one key all maner of locks; so againe in reading of the storie of these miracles ye shall find the matter so conueied, that the power of this dead saint was neuer twice shewed on any one disease, but euery diuers disease to haue a diuers miracle.

Aqua Cantuariensis.

To recite in order all these prodigious reuelations and fantasticall miracles, fallie imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, were nothing else but to write a legend of lies, and to occupie the people with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming monks and cloisterers, that haue nothing else to maintaine that religion withall: I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vaine and lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angrie saint (three daies after his death) appeared by vision at the altar in his pontificalibus, commanding the quire not to sing, but to say this office of his masse: Exurge, quare obdormis Domine, &c. Which vision the author himselfe of the booke doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in an other vision the said archbishop should say, that his blood did crie out of the earth to God, more then the blood of iust Abel. Item, in another vision it was shewed a monke of Lewis, how S. Thomas had his place in heauen appointed with the apostles, aboue Stephan, Laurence, Vincent, and all the other martyrs. Whereof this cause is rendred, for that S. Stephan, Laurence, and such others, suffered onely for their owne cause, but this Thomas suffred for the vniuersall church. Item, how it was shewed to a certaine yong man (Dunus by name) twelue yeares before the death of this Becket, that among the apostles and martyrs in heauen there was a vacant place left for a certaine priest, as he said, of England, which was credible supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certaine knights sonne being two daies dead, was reuiued againe so sone as he had the water of Canturbury put in his mouth, and had by his parents foure pieces of siluer bended, to be offered in Canturburie in the childs behalfe. All these, I say, with such other like to omit (the number whereof commeth to an infinite varietie) onely this one storie or an other that followeth shall suffice to expresse the vanitie & impudent forgery of all the rest.

Singing at the masse forbidden by Thomas Becket after his death.

A blasphemous lie.

Becket aboue the martyrs in heauen.

A place prepared in heauen for Becket twelue yeares before his death.

In the fourth booke of this fabulous author, and in the third chapter, a miracle is there contained of a certaine countriman of Bedfordshire in kings Wellon, whose name was Eilwardus, which Eilwardus in his drunkennes bursting into another mans house which was his debter, tooke out of his house a great whetstone, & a paire of hedging gloues. The other partie seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation (by the counsell of the towneclerke) entred an action of felonie against him for other things besides, as for stealing his wimble, his axe, his net, and other clothes. Whereupon Eilwardus being had to the gaole of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the same, was iudged to haue both his eyes put out, and also those members cut off which nature with secret shame hath couered. Which punishment by the malice of his aduersarie being executed vpon him, hee lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canturburie. Which done (saith ỳ miracle) there appeared one to him by night, in white apparell, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our ladie, and holy S. Thomas. In conclusion, the miracle thus fell out: The nert day at euening the man rubbing his eye lids, began to feele his eyes to be restored againe: first in a little, after in a greater measure, so that one was of a gray colour, the other was of blacke; and here was one miracle rung. After this followed an other miracle also vpon the same person: for going but the space of foure miles, when his eyes were restored, hee chanced (in like maner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediately on the same his Pendenda (to vse the words of my storie) were to him restored, Principio parua quidem valdè, sed in maius proficientia, which he permitted euery one to feele that would, and shamed not to denie. In so much that hee comming vp to S. Thomas, first at London was receiued with ioy of the bishop of Durham, who then sending to the burgers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, receiued from them againe letters testimoniall, wherein the cittizens there (saith this fabulous festiuall) confirmed first to the bishop, then to the conuent of Canturbury, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one miracle (gentle reader) so shameles and impudent, I thought here to expresse, that by this one thou mightest iudge of all the residue of all his miracles (and by the residue therof mightst iudge moreouer of all the filthie wickednesse of all these lying monks and cloisterers, which count it a light sport so impudentlie to deceiue the simple soules of Christs church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherfore (as I said) if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket standeth vpon no other thing but vpon his miracles, what credit is to be giuen thereto: and vpon what a

An impudent and a lying miracle.

Ex historia monachi Cant. de miraculis b. Thomæ.

A blasphemous vision.

A false and impudent miracle.

weake ground his shrine so long hath stood, by this may easilie be seene. Furthermore, an other fable as notable as this, and no lesse worthie of the whetstone, we reade in the storie of Geruasius: That Thomas Becket appearing to a certaine priest, named Thomas, declared to him that hee had so brought to passe, that all the names of the monks of the church of Canturburie with the names of the priests and clerks, and with the families belonging to that citie and church of Canturburie, were written in the booke of life. Ex Geruas. fol. 6.

But whatsoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, or howsoeuer the testimony of the schole of Paris, or of these ancient times went with him or against him: certaine it is, that this antheme or collect lately collected and primered in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of him to whom all praise only and honor is due, where it is said:

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,
Fac nos Christe scandere, quò Thomas ascendit. That is:
For the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Grant vs (Christ) to clime, where Thomas did ascend.

The blasphemous anthem of Thomas Becket.

Wherein is a double lie contained: first, that hee died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his bloud could purchase heauen. Which thing neither Paul nor any of the apostles durst euer challenge to themselues: for if any mans blood could bring vs to heauen, then the blood of Christ was shed in vaine.

And thus much touching the testimonie or censure of certaine ancient times concerning the cause of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whose historie I haue stood now the longer (exceeding peraduenture in ouermuch prolixitie) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, & duely weighed on euery part, mens minds (thereby long deceiued by ignorance) might come vnto the more perfect certainetie of ỳ truth thecof, & therby to iudge more surely what is to be receiued, and what to bee refused. Where by the way is to bee noted out of the testimonie of Rob. Crikeladensis, which in him I find: that the peeres & nobles of this land neere about the king, gaue out in strait charge vpon paine of death and confiscating of all their goods, no man to be so hardie to name Tomas Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of his miracles, &c: Ex Crikeladensi.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearing the popes wrath and curse to be laid vpon him (whereunto Ludouike ỳ French king also helped what he could to set the matter forward) sent to Rome the archbishop of Rothomage, with certaine other bishops and archdeacons vnto the pope with his excuse; which the pope would in no wise heare. And after other messengers being sent (whom some of the cardinals receiued) it was shewed to them that on Good friday (being then neere at hand) the pope of custome was vsed to assoile or to curse, and that it was noised how the king of England with his bishops should be cursed and his land interdicted, and that they should be put in prison. After this, certaine of the cardinals shewed the pope, that the messengers had power to sweare to the pope that the king should obey his punishment and penance: which was taken both for the king and the archbishop of Yorke. So that in the same day the pope cursed the deed doers with such as were of their consent, either that aided or harboured them. Concerning these deed doers it is touched briefly before how they fled vnto Yorkeshire lying in Gnaresborough, who after hauing in penance to go in their linnen clothes barefoot (in fasting and prayer) to Jerusalem, by reason of this hard penance are said to die in few yeares after.

The king sendeth to Rome.

Ex libro annotationum historicarum manuscripto I. Skeny.

The penance of the foure knights.

The kings ambassadors lying, as is said, in Rome, could find no grace nor fauor a long time at the popes hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two cardinals should be sent downe to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to Beckets death. The king perceiuing what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the pope and comming downe of the cardinals would tend: in the meane time addressed himselfe with a great power to enter into Ireland, giuing in charge and commandement, as Houeden writeth, that no bringer of any briefe or letter should come ouer into England or passe out of the realme (of what degree or condition soeuer hee were) without speciall licence and assurance, to bring nothing that should bee preiudiciall to the realme.

Houedend.

This order being set and ordained, the king with 400 great ships taketh his iourney to Ireland, where he subdued in short time the whole land vnto him, which at that time was gouerned vnder diuers kings to the number of fiue: of whom foure submitted themselues vnto the said king Henrie, onely the fift, who was the king of Conacta, denied to bee subdued, keeping him in woods and marishes.

Ireland first subdued to England.

In the meane season while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two cardinals that were sent from the pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normandie. Vnto whom the king the nert yeere following resorted about the moneth of October, in the yeare 1172. But before (during the time of the kings being in Ireland) the bishop of London, and Joscline bishop of Salisbury had sent to Rome and procured their absolution from the pope. The king returning out of Ireland by Wales into England, & from thence to Normandy, there made

Anno 1172

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his purgation before the popes legats, as touching the death of the foresaid Becket, to the which he sware hee was neither aiding or consenting, but onely that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his knights would not auenge him against the said Thomas; for the which cause this penance was inioyned him vnder his oth.

The kings penance for the death of Becket.

First, that hee should send so much into the holy land, as would find two hundred knights or souldiers for the defence of that land.

Also that from Christmas day next following he should set forth his owne person to fight for the holy land, the space of three yeares together, vnlesse he should bee otherwise dispensed withall by the pope.

Item, that if he would make his iourney into Spaine (as his present necessitie did require) there he to fight against the Saracens, and as long time as hee should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his iourney toward Jerusalem.

Item, that he should not hinder nor cause to be hindred by him any appellations made to the pope of Rome.

Item, that neither hee nor his sonne should depart or dissever from pope Alexander, or from his catholike successors, so long as they should recount him or his sonne for kings catholike.

Item, that the goods and possession taken from the church of Canturburie should be restored againe (fully and amplie) as they stood the yere before Thomas Becket departed the realm, and that free libertie should be granted to all such as were outlawed for Beckets cause to returne againe.

Item, that the foresaid customs and decrees by him established against the church, should be extinct and repealed (such only except that concerned his owne person, &c.) besides other secret fastings and almes inioyned him.

All these former conditions the king with his son did both agree vnto, debasing himselfe in such sort of submission before the two cardinals: by the occasion whereof, the cardinall toke no little glorie, vsing this verse of the psalme; *Qui respicit terram, & facit eam tremere; qui tangit montes & fumigant:* That is: Which loketh vpon the earth, and maketh it to tremble; which toucheth the hils, and they smoke, &c. Moreouer, it is mentioned in histories of the said king, that a little after William king of Scots with his armie had made a rode into the realme, he returning out of Normandie into England, came first to Canturburie, who by the way (so soone as hee came to the sight of Beckets church) lighting off his horse and putting off his shoes went barefot to his tombe, whose steps were found bloody through the roughnesse of the stones. And not only that, but also receiued further penance by euery monke of the cloister certaine discipline of a rod. By which so great deiection of the king (if it were true) thou maiest see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those daies. If it were pretensed (as might so bee in time of war, to get the hearts of the people) yet maiest thou learned reader see what slauerie kings and princes were brought into at that time vnder the popes clergie. The same yeare (as Houeden writeth) which was 1174, the whole citie of Canturburie was almost all consumed with fire, and the said minster church cleane burnt.

Ex Quadrilogo.

King Henrie the second goeth on pilgrimage with bloodie steps to Thomas Beckets tombe.

Ex Rogero Houedeno, Quadrilogo, & alijs.

Anno 1174

The citie of Canturburie almost consumed with fire.

The next yeare insuing, which was 1175, a conuocation of bishops was holden at Westminster by Richard archbishop of Canturburie. In which conuenticle all the bishops and abbats of the prouince of Canturburie and of Yorke being present, determined (as it had done a little before in the daies of king Henrie the first, Anno 1113.) about the obedience that Yorke should do to Canturburie: that is, whether the archbishop of Yorke might beare his crosse in the diocesse of Canturburie or not, wherof some thing was touched before in the former processe of this historie. Also about the bishoprike of Lincolne, of Chichester, of Worcester, and of Herford, whether these churches were vnder the iurisdiction of the see of Yorke or not, &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controuersie betweene these two sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the bishop of Rome.

Ex Houedeno, parte 1. continuatæ historiæ.

Anno 1175

Controuersie betweene the see of Canturburie and the see of Yorke. Archbishop of Yorke appealed the archbishop of Canturburie to the bishop of Rome.

In these and such like causes, how much better had it been if the supremacie had remained more neere in the kings hands at home, whereby not only much labor and trauell had been saued, but also the great and wastful expenses bestowed at Rome might with much more fruit and thanke haue been conuerted to their cures and flocks committed vnto them, and also percase their cause no lesse indifferently heard, at least more speedilie might haue been decided. But to the purpose againe. In this controuersie diuers of the bishop of Yorks clergie, such as were of Glocester, belonging to the church of S. Oswald, were excommunicate by the archbishop of Canturburie, because they being summoned, refused to appeare before him, &c. At length the same yere, which was 1175, there was a cardinal sent down from Rome by the kings procurement, who studied to set a peace betweene the two archbishops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the meanes of the king) at Winchester, that as touching the church of S. Oswald at Glocester, the archbishop of Canturburie should cease off his claime therof, molesting the see of Yorke no more therein: also should absolue againe the clerks thereof whom hee had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the crosse and all other matters, it was referred to the archbishop of Rothomage, and of other bishops in France: so that for fiue yeares a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should haue a full determination of their cause.

The clerks of S. Oswald in Glocester excommunicated.

Agreement betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and of Yorke.

The next yeare following, the foresaid king Henrie the second (diuiding the realme of England into six parts) ordeined vpon euery part three iustices of assise. The circuit or limitation of which iustices was thus disposed. The first vpon Northfolke, Suffolke, Cantebridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire. Two vpon Lincolneshire, Notinghamshire, Darbishire, Stamfordshire, Warwikeshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire. Three vpon Kent, Surrey, Southamptonshire, Southsex, Barkeshire, Oxfordshire. Foure vpon Herefordshire, Glocestershire, Worcestershire, Salopshire. Fiue vpon Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, Deuonshire, Cornewall. Six vpon Euerikeshire, Richmondshire, Lancaster, Copland, Westmerland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

Anno 1176

Iustices of assise diuided into six circuits.

In the which yeare also Richard archbishop of Canturburie made three archdeacons in his diocesse, whereas before there was but one. About which time also it was granted by the king to the popes legat, that a clerke should not bee called before a temporall iudge, except for offence in the forrest, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

Ex epitome Matth. Paris. & aliarum historiarum.

Item, that no archbishoprike, bishoprike, or abbey should remaine in the kings hands ouer one yeare without great cause. It chanced the same yeare that this was done, there was at Canturburie one elected to be abbat in the house of S. Austin named Albert, who made great labor and sute vnto the archbishop that hee would come to his church, and there consecrate him abbat of S. Austins. To whom the archbishop sent word againe, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other should repaire to the metropolitan church of Canturburie, there to receiue his consecration. Wherupon (controuersie rising betweene them) the foresaid new elect appealed vp to the audience of the pope, and so laboured vp himselfe to Rome. Where he so handled the matter (by what meanes I cannot tell, vnlesse with his golden bottell, wherewith he quenched the popes thirstie soule, for abbats neuer trauell lightly without fat purses to Rome) that with short dispatch hee procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger bishop of Worcester, signifying to him, that he had giuen in charge and commandement to the archbishop of Canturburie (in the behalfe of his deare sonne Albert) that hee should consecrate him within his owne monasterie: which monasterie properly and soly without mediation belonged to the iurisdiction of Rome, and so likewise should doe to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing further hee said, if the archbishop would refuse to doe, within the terme appointed, that then he the foresaid bishop of Worcester should (by the authoritie committed vnto him) execute the same, all maner of appellation or other decree whatsoeuer should come, notwithstanding. This letter being obtained, the abbat that would be, returneth home, supposing with himselfe all things to be sure. The archbishop vnderstanding the cause, and seeing himselfe so straitly charged, and yet loth to yeeld and stoope to the abbat, toke to him policie where authoritie would not serue: and both to saue himselfe, and yet to disappoint the abbat, he watcheth a time when the abbat was about businesse of his house. And comming the same time to the monasterie, as hee was commanded to doe, with all things appointed, that to such a businesse appertained, called for the abbat, pretending no lesse but to giue him his consecration. The abbat being called for, was not at home: the archbishop faining himselfe not a little grieued at his labor and god will so lost, departed; as one in whom no readie diligence was lacking, if in case that the abbat had been at home. Whereupon the abbat being thus disappointed, was faine to fill his siluer flagons afresh, and make a new course to Rome to his father the pope, of whom hee receiued his consecration, and so came home againe, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much money peraduenture as he went withall.

A friuolous contention betweene the archbishop and the abbat of Canturburie. Where was here the precept of the gospell: He that will be greatest amongst you, let him be an vnderling to others?

The tenor of the popes letter to the bishop of Worcester.

We haue declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this pope Alexander the third, how hee had brought the emperors head vnder his foot in S. Marks church at Venice: at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made betweene the pope and the said Frederike the emperor. Which pacification Rogerus Houedenus, and Gualterus Gisbergensis, referre to this time, being the yeare of our Lord 1177, bringing in two seuerall letters sent from the said pope to Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and to Roger archbishop of Yorke, and Hugh bishop of Dureme. Out of the which letters, so much as serueth to our purpose, I haue taken and here inserted.

Houedenus, Gisbergensis,

Anno 1177

The letter of pope Alexander, sent to Roger archbishop of Yorke, and to the bishop of Dureme.

ALexander seruant of the seruants of God, to his reuerend brethren Roger archbishop of Yorke, and Hugh bishop of Dureme greeting, and apostolicall blessing. The obsequie and seruice of your kind deuotion, which hitherto you are knowne to

to haue giuen both deuoutly and laudablie to vs and to the church, requireth that we should describe to you as to our special friends, the prosperous successe of the church, and to let you know as spirituall children of the church what hath happened to the same. For meet it is, conuenient, and also honest, that you whom we haue had so firme and sure in our deuotion, should now be cherished and made ioyous in the prosperitie of vs and of the church. **And about the end of the epistle it followeth thus:**

A meeke emperor and a proud pope.

The next day following, which was the feast of S. Iames (the said emperor so requesting) we came to the foresaid church of S. Marke, there to celebrate our solemne masse; where (as we were comming in the way) the said emperor met vs without the church, and placing vs againe on his right hand, hee brought vs so into the said church. After the masse was done placing vs againe on his right hand, hee brought vs to the church dore. And moreouer, when we should take our palfrie, hee held our stirrup, exhibiting to vs such honor and reuerence as his progenitors were wont to exhibit to our predecessors. Wherefore these shal be to incite your diligence and studie towards vs, that you reioyce with vs and the church in these our prosperous successes, and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other deuout children of the church: that such as be touched with the zeale of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and reioyce also in the Lord for the great working of peace which hee hath giuen. Giuen at Venice in the deepe riuer, the six and twentith of Iulie.

The emperor holdeth the popes stirrup.

This yere the contention reuiued againe spoken of a little before, betweene the two archbishops of Yorke and Canturburie, the occasion whereof was this: The maner and practise of the pope is, when he beginneth to lacke money, he sendeth some limitting cardinall abrode to fetch his haruest in. So there came this yeare into England (as lightly few yeers were without them) a certaine cardinall from Rome, called Hugo, or as Houedenus nameth him, Hugezim, who would needs keepe a councell at Westminster. To this councell resorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of bishops, abbats, priors, doctors, and such others of the clergie. As euery one was there placed in his order, and after his degrée, first commeth the archbishop of Yorke named Roger, who (thinking to preuent the other archbishop) came something sooner, and straightway placed himselfe on the right hand of the cardinall. Richard the archbishop of Canturbury following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken vp, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the archbishop of Yorke, as one preiudiciall to his see. So while the one would not rise, and the other part not sit downe, rose no small contention betweene them two. The archbishop of Canturburie claimed the vpper seat by the preheminence of his church. Contrarie, the archbishop of Yorke alleaged for him the old decrée of Gregorie, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken betweene the two metropolitans of Canturburie and Yorke, that which of them two should bee first in election, hee should haue the preheminence in dignitie, to goe before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed so warme in words, that at last they turned to hote blowes. How strong the archbishop of Yorke was in reason and argument I cannot tell, but the archbishop of Canturburie was stronger at the armes end: whose seruants being more in number (like valiant men) not suffering their master to take such a foile, so preuailed against Yorke (sitting on the right hand of the cardinall) that they pluckt him downe from the hand to the foot of the cardinal vpon the ground, treading and trampling vpon him with their feet, that maruell it was hee escaped with life. His calule, chimer, and rochet were all to bee rent and torne from his backe. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serue, no praying could bee heard, such clamor and tumult was there in the house among them, much like to the tumult which Virgil describeth.

Contention betweene two archbishops who should sit on the right hand of the cardinall.

Ac veluti in magno populo, cùm sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sæuítque animis ignobile vulgus,
Iamque faces & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.

Now as the first part of this description doth well agrée, so some peraduenture will looke againe, that according to the latter part also of the same, my lord cardinall with sagenesse and grauitie (after the maner of the old Romans standing vp) should haue ceased and allaied the disturbance, according to that which followeth in the poet:

Tum pietate grauem meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexêre, silent, arrectisque auribus astant:
Ille regit mentes dictis, & pectora mulcet, &c.

But what did the noble Roman cardinal? Like a prety man of his hands (but a better man of his feet) standing vp in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broile, committed himselfe to flight, and (as Houedenus writeth) Abscondit se à facie illorum. The next day after, the archbishop of Yorke bringeth to the cardinall his rochet, to beare witnesse what iniurie and violence he had sustained, appealing and citing vp the archbishop of Canturburie with certaine of his men to the bishop of Rome. And thus the holy councell (the same day it was begun) brake vp and was dissolued.

Under the reigne of this king Henrie the second, the dominion and crowne of England extended so far as hath not béene in this realme before him, whom histories record to possesse vnder his rule and iurisdiction: first, Scotland, to whom William king of Scots, with all the lords temporall and spirituall did homage both for them and for their successors (the seale whereof remaineth in the kings treasurie) as also Ireland, England, Normandie, Aquitan, Gaunt, &c. to the mountaines of Pirenete, which be in the vttermost part of the great ocean in the Brittish sée, being also protector of France, to whom Philip the French king yéelded both himselfe and his realme wholly to his gouernance, in the yeare of our Lord 1181. Moreouer, he was offered also to be the king of Ierusalem by the patriarch and maister of the hospitall there: who then being distressed by the Soldan, brought him the keyes of their citie desiring his aide against the infidels: which offer he then refused, alleaging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his sonnes, which might happen in his absence.

The large dominion of king Henrie the second.

Homage of Scotland in paine of interdiction.

King Henrie the second protector of France.

King Henrie chosen king of Ierusalem and refused it.

¶ And here the old histories find a great fault with the king for his refusall, declaring that to bee the cause of Gods plagues, which after insued vpon him by his children, as the patriarch (in his oration, being offended with the king) prophesied should so happen to him for the same cause. Which storie if it be true, it may be a lesson to good princes, not to denie their necessarie helpe to their distressed neighbors, especially the cause appertaining vnto God.

Aid not to be denied to our neighbours, the cause being godly.

The wisdome, discretion, manhood, and riches of this prince was so spread and renowned from all quarters, that messages came fro Emmanuel emperor of Constantinople, Frederike emperor of Rome, and William archbishop of Treuers in Almaine, the duke of Saxon, and from the earle of Flanders, and also from the French king (vpon determination of great questions and strifes) to aske counsell and determination thereof of this king Henrie, as of one most wise and schoolemaster of all wisedome and iustice, to haue solution of their questions and doubts. Moreouer, Alphonsus king of Castile, and Sancius king of Nauerne, being in strife for certaine castles and other possessions, submitted them (of their frée accord) and by their oth to abide the award of this king Henrie, who made award and pleased them both: whereby it is to bee presupposed that this king, to whom other princes did so resort, as to their arbiter and deciser, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious liuing. Wherefore it may séeme the acts of this prince not to be so vicious as some monkish writers doe describe.

Ex Polychron.
Ex Giraldo Cambrensi.

Among many other things in this king memorable, this one is to be noted (follow it who can) that he reigning fiue and thirtie yeares, and hauing such wars with his enemies, yet neuer vpon his subiects put any tribute or tax, nor yet vpon the spiritualtie, first fruits and appropriations of benefices. Belike they were not knowne, or else not vsed. And yet his treasure after his death (weighed by king Richard his sonne) amounted to aboue nine hundred thousand pounds, besides iewels, pretious stones, and houshold furniture. Of the which substance eleuen thousand pounds came to him by the death of Roger archbishop of Yorke, who had procured a bull of the pope, that if any priest died within his prouince without testament, then he should haue all his goods. And shortly after the archbishop died, and the king had all his goods, which extended (as is said) to eleuen thousand pounds besides plate, in the yeare of our Lord God 1181.

The treasure of king Henrie the second.

A couetous archbishop.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortall world so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloud of incumbrance and aduersitie: so it happened to this king, that among his other princely successors, this incommoditie followed him withall, that his sonnes rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the French king against their father. First, at the coronation of Henrie his sonne, whom the father ioyned with him as king, he being both father and king, tooke vpon him (that notwithstanding) as but a steward, and set downe the first dish as sewer vnto his sonne, renouncing the name of a king. At what time the foresaid archbishop of Yorke, sitting on the right hand of the yong king, said: Sir, yee haue great cause this day to ioy, for there is no prince in the world that hath such an officer this day, &c. And the yong king disdaining his words, said: My father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a king and a quéenes sonne, and so is not hee: and not onely this, but after he also persecuted his father; and so in his youth when he had raigned but a few yeares, died; teaching vs what is the price and reward of breaking the iust commandement of God.

Pride destroyeth all.

After him likewise Richard his sonne (who was called Richard cœur de lion) rebelled against his father, and also John his yongest sonne did not much degenerate from the steps of his brethren. Insomuch that this foresaid Richard (like an vnkind child, persecuting and taking part against his father) brought him to such distresse of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an ague, and within foure daies departed, after he had reigned fiue and thirtie yeares: whose corps as it was caried to be buried, Richard his sonne comming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to weepe,

King Henrie the second persecuted by his sonnes.

The death of king Henrie the second.

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How the king being dead, bled at the comming of his son.

the blod brast incontinent out of the nose of the king at the comming of his sonne; giuing thereby a certaine demonstration how he was the onely author of his death.

After the death and reigne of which king, his children after him (worthilie rewarded for their vnnaturalnesse against their father) lacking the succesle which their father had, lost all beyond the sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reigne of Henrie the second, and the death of Thomas Becket; whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the daies of pope Alexander the third, which pope blurping the keyes of ecclesiasticall regiment one and twentie yeares (or as Gisburnensis writeth, three and twentie yeares) gouerned the church with much tumult: striuing and contending with Frederike the emperor, not shaming like a most proud Lucifer to tread with his foot vpon the necke of the said emperor, as is aboue described.

This pope among many other his acts had certaine councels (as is partly before touched) some in France, some at Rome in Lateran; by whom it was decreed, that no archbishop should receiue the pall, vnlesse he should first sweare. Concerning the solemnitie of which pall, for the order and maner of giuing and taking the same with obedience to the pope, as it is contained in their owne words: I thought it good to set it forth vnto thee, that thou maiest well consider and vnderstand their doings therein.

{Anno 1179}

The forme and maner how and by what words the *pope is wont to giue the pall vnto the archbishop.*

Giuing of the pall.

AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beatæ Mariæ virginis, & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & domini nostri N. papæ, & sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, necnon N. ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem pontificalis officij, vt vtaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in priuilegijs tibi ab apostolica sede concessis.

That is in English.

To the honor of almightie God, and of blessed Marie the virgin, and of blessed S. Peter and Paul, and of our lord pope N. and of the holy church of Rome, and also of the church of N. committed to your charge, we giue to you the pall taken from the body of S. Peter, as a fulnesse of the office pontificall, which you may weare within your owne church vpon certaine daies, which bee expressed in the priuiledges of the said church, granted by the see apostolike.

Notes vpon the same.

¶ To the honor, &c. With what confidence durst the pope couple the honor of almightie God, and the honor of Mary, of S. Peter, and of the pope, and of the Romish church all together, if he had not been a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himselfe not only with such saints, but also euen with him which is God alone, to be blessed for euer?

Taken from the bodie, &c. If S. Peters bodie be not all consumed, let him shew it if he can. If he cannot shew it, how then is this pall taken from the bodie of S. Peter? Or if he meane it to be of S. Peters owne wearing, then belike S. Peter had a goodly wardrope of palls, when euery archbishop in all christendome receiueth from the pope a diuers pall.

As a fulnesse of the office, &c. Rather he might say, the fulnesse of his owne purse, when as archbishops paid so sweetly for it. Insomuch that Iacobus the archbishop of Mentz, as is aboue touched a little before in the councell of Basil, where the price was wont to be but a thousand florens, could not obtaine it without six and twentie thousand florens.

Ex libro grauaminum nationis Germanicæ.

Vpon certaine daies, &c. This difference there was betweene the pope and other archbishops: for the pope might were the pall at all times and in all places at his pleasure. Archbishops might not weare it but vpon certaine daies, and in their church onely within their prouince. Moreouer this pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three months, without which pall he is not to be named archbishop, but may be deposed, hauing it not after three moneths: and the same pall must also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is giuen, some priuiledge must be giuen withall, or the old renued.

In like maner proceedeth the oth of euery bishop *swearing obedience to the pope, in like words* as followeth.

The solemne oth of bishops made to the pope.

EGO N. episcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ eccleſiæ, & domino meo D. N. papæ, suisque successoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, seu auxilio, consensu, vel facto, vt vitam perdant, aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium verò quod mihi credituri sunt, per se aut per nuncium, seu literas eorum, me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum saluo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo & redeundo honorificè tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adiuuabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis triennijs visitabo, aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absoluar licentia. Possessiones verò ad mensam mei episcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de nouo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Rom. pontifice: sic me Deus adiuuet, & sancta Dei euangelia.

Saluo meo ord. this was the clause that made Becket to be banished and to be slaine.

That is in english.

I N. bishop of N. from this houre henceforth, will be faithfull and obedient to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy apostolike church of Roune, and to my lord N. the pope. I shall bee in no counsell, nor helpe either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any euill taking. The counsell which they shall commit to me either by themselues or by messenger, or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I shall vtter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacie of Rome, and the regalities of S. Peter, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saued) against all persons. The legat of the apostolike see both in going and comming I shall honourablie intreate and helpe in all necessities. Being called to a synod I shall be readie to come, vnlesse I bee let by some lawfull and canonicall impeachment. The palace of the apostles euery third yeare I shall visit either by my selfe or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the see apostolike. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishoprike, I shall neither sell, nor giue, nor lay to morgage, nor lease out, or remoue away by any maner of meanes without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome: so God helpe me and the holy gospels of God.

And how he got those bishops then periured, which at the death of D. Marie, set and let out a great part of their possessions from their successors?

A note vpon the same.

¶ Hereby thou hast by the way (gentle reader) to note and consider, among other things which here may bee vnderstood, that since the time the oth began to be laid and thrust vpon bishops, all generall councels began to lose their libertie. For how could any freedome remaine for men to speake their knowledge in redresse of things, being by their oth so bound to the pope to speake nothing but on his side, to maintaine the papacie and the church of Rome in all times and places? Coniecture by thy selfe (christian reader) what is more hereby to bee considered.

BEsides this it was also decreed in the said councell at Rome of 310 bishops by pope Alexander, that no man should haue any spirituall promotion, except hee were of lawfull age, and borne in wedlocke. That no parish church should be void aboue six moneths. That none within orders should meddle with temporall businesse. That priests should haue but one benefice, and that the bishop should be charged to find the priest a liuing till he be promoted.

That open vsurers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the church-yard.

That nothing should be taken for ministring sacraments, or burying.

Item, that euery cathedrall church should haue a master to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the same.

The vow of chastitie laid vpon priests.

In this councell the vow of chastitie was obtruded and laid vpon priests. Thomas Becket also and Bernard were canonized for saints.

During the reigne and time of this king Henry the second, the citie of Norwich was destroyed and burnt by the men of Flanders. Also the towne of Leicester. Nottingham walled and the burgesses slaine by the earle of Ferrers. The towne of Warwicke destroyed by the Scots. The king of Scots was taken in war by Englishmen in the yeer of our Lord 1174. The towne of Huntington taken and burned. The towne of Canturburie by casualtie of fire burnt with all the churches, specially with the Trinitie church where Becket was worshipped, An. eod. The yeare of our Lord 1170. William king of Scots with Dauid his brother and all the barons of the realme did homage to the king of England. Ireland made subiect to England. Decreed in a councell in Normandie, that no boyes or children should possesse any benefice. A councell of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirtie articles concluded, An. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Tho. Becket, the king of England meeting him by the way, An. 1184. After the death of Richard archbishop of Canturburie, who followed after Tho. Becket, succeeded Baldwinus, who of a Cistercian monke being made a bishop, is said neuer to eate flesh in his life. To whom a certaine poore woman, bare & leane, meeting him in ꝑ streét, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he neuer did eate flesh. Which thing when he had affirmed to bee true: Nay (saith she) that is false, for you haue eaten my flesh vnto the bone: for I had but one cow wherewith I was sustained, & that haue your deanes taken from me. True, true, said the bishop, and thou shalt haue another cow as good as that, &c: Iornalens.

Baldwinus archbishop of Canturburie.

Moreouer, in the reigne of the said king Henrie, about the yeare of our Lord 1178, I find in the storie of Roger Houeden and others, that in the citie of Tholouse was a great multitude of men and women, whom the popes commissioners, to wit, Peter cardinall of saint Chrysogon, and the popes legat, with

with the archbishops of Narbon and Biturtensis, Reginald bishop of Bathe, John bishop of Pictauia, Henrie abbat Clarevallensis, &c. did persecute and condemne for heretiks; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abiure. Concerning whose articles and opinions I haue no firme ground to make any certaine relation, for so much as I see the papists many times so false in their quarelling accusations, vntruely collecting mens sayings, not as they ment, and meaning not as they said: but wresting and deprauing simple mens assertions after such a subtill sort as they lust themselues to take them. But this I find, how one of the said commissioners or inquisitors (Henrie the abbat) in a certaine letter of his wrote thus of them: Nam & panem sanctum vitæ æternæ sacerdotis ministerio in verbo Domini consecratum non esse corpus Domini, nouo dogmate contendebat asserere. That is: after a new opinion hee affirmed, that the holy bread of eternall life, consecrated by the ministerie of the priest, was not the body of the Lord, &c.

Waldenses seu pauperes de Lugduno, Leoniste, Insabbatati.

In the time of this Alexander sprang vp the doctrine and name of them which were then called Pauperes de Lugduno, which of one Waldus a chiefe senator in Lions, were named Waldenses; Item Leonistæ & Insabbatati: about the yeare of our Lord 1109. or (as Laziardus writeth) An. 1170.

Foure arch pillers of proud papistrie.

Not long before this time (as is expressed aboue) rose vp Gratianus master of the decrees, and Petrus Lombardus master of the sentences, both archpillers of al papistrie; after whom followed also two as euill, or worse then they, Franciscus and Dominicus, maintaining blind hypocrisie no lesse then the other maintained proud prelacie. As these laboured one way by superstition and worldly aduancement to corrupt the sincerity of christian religion: so it pleased Christ the contrarie way labouring against these, to raise vp therefore the said Waldensians, against the pride and hypocrisie of the others.

Thus we neuer see any great corruption in the church, but that some sparkle of the true and cleare light of the gospell yet by Gods prouidence doth remaine, whatsoeuer doctor Augustinus, Reinerius, Syluius, Cranzius, with others in their popish histories do write of them (defaming them through misreport) and accusing them to magistrats, as disobedient to orders, rebels to the catholike church, and contemners of the virgin Mary: yet they that carie iudgement indifferent, rather trusting truth then wauering with times, in weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise: that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church. And yet I suppose not contrarie, but as they did with the articles of Wickliffe and Hus, so the papists did in like maner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise then they were ment.

The historie of the Waldenses, concerning their originall and doctrine, with their persecutions.

The historie of Waldenses or Albingenses.

THe first originall of these Waldenses came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no lesse calling in the citie of Lions: the occasion whereof is declared of diuers writers thus to come: About the yeare of our Lord 1160, it chanced that diuers of the best and chiefest heads of the citie of Lions, talking and walking in a certaine place after their old accustomed maner, especially in the summer time, conferred and consulted togither vpon matters either to passe ouer time, or to debate things to be done. Amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking vpon) to fall downe by sudden death. In the number of whom this foresaid Waldus there being amongst them was one, who beholding the matter more earnestly then the other, and terrified with so heauie an example, being (as is said) a rich man, and Gods holy spirit working withall, was stricken with a deepe and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration with a carefull studie to reforme his former life. In so much that first hee began to minister large almes of his goods to such as needed. Secondly, to instruct himselfe and his familie with the true knowledge of Gods word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion, to repentance and vertuous amendment of life. Whereby partly through his large giuing to the poore, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him, whom when he did see readie and diligent to learne, began to giue out to them certaine rudiments of the scripture, which he had translated himselfe into the French tongue: for as he was a man wealthie in riches, so he was also not vnlearned.

Although Laziardus, Volateranus, with others, note him vtterly vnlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him: by others that haue seene his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and translate the bookes of scripture, and also did collect the doctors mind vpon the same.

The true nature of antichrist, neither himselfe to further the word, nor suffer other men to do it.

But what soeuer he was (lettered or vnlettered) the bishops and prelats seeing him so to intermeddle with scriptures, and to haue such resort about him, albeit it was but in his owne house vnder priuate conference, could not abide, either that the scriptures should be declared of any other, neither would they take the paines to declare it themselues. So being moued with great malice against the man, threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leaue so to doe. Waldus seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred vp vpon no iust nor godly cause, neglecting the threatnings and frettings of the wicked, said that God must be obeyed more then man. To be briefe, the more diligent hee was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceneile increased. In so much that when they did see their excommunication to be despised and would not serue, they ceased not with prison, with sword and banishment to persecute, till at length they had driuen both Waldus and all the fauourers of his true preaching out of the citie.

Whereupon came first their name, that they were called Waldenses, or Pauperes de Lugduno, not because they would haue all things common amongst them, or that they professing any wilfull pouertie, would imitate to liue as the apostles did (as Syluius did falsly belie them) but because they being thrust out both of countrie and goods, were compelled to liue poorely whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christs gospell, against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I find in order and in number to be these.

The articles of Waldenses.

SOlis sacris literis credendum esse in ijs, quæ ad salutem, &c. That is; Only the holy scripture is to be beleeued in matters pertaining to saluation, and no mans writing, or man beside.

2 All things to be contained in holy scripture necessarie to saluation, and nothing to be admitted in religion, but what onely is commanded in the word of God.

3 To be one alonely mediator, other saints in no wise to be made mediators, or to be inuocated.

4 To bee no purgatorie, but that all men either by Christ are iustified to life, or without Christ to bee condemned: and besides these two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5 That all masses, namely such as be sung for the dead, to be wicked, and to be abrogate.

6 All mens traditions to be reiected, at least not to be reputed as necessarie to saluation, and therefore this singing and superfluous chanting in the chancell to be left: constrained and prefixed fasts bound to daies and times, difference of meates, such varietie of degrees and orders of priests, friers, monks, and nuns, superfluous holy daies, so many sundrie benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vowes, peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, to be abolished.

7 The supremacie of the pope vsurping aboue all churches, and especially aboue all politike realmes and gouernments, or for him to occupie or vsurpe ỹ iurisdiction of both the swords, to be denied, neither that any degree is to be receiued in the church, but onely priests, deacons and bishops.

8 The communion vnder both kinds to be necessary to all people, according to the institution of Christ.

9 Item, the church of Rome to be the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse: and the pope to bee the fountaine of all error, and the very antichrist.

10 The popes pardons and indulgences they reiect.

11 The marriage of priests, and of ecclesiasticall persons, to be godly and also necessarie in the church.

12 Such as heare the word of God, and haue a right faith, to be the right church of Christ. And to this church the keyes of the church to be giuen, to driue away wolues, and to institute true pastors, to preach the word, and to minister the sacraments.

These be the most principall articles of the Waldenses, albeit some there be, that ad more to them: some againe diuide the same into more parts; but these bee the principall to which the rest be reduced.

** This article seemeth to be giuen vp of them in Bohemia long after, for indulgences came not in before Bonifacius the eight.*

The same Waldenses at length exiled, were dispersed in diuers and sundrie places, of whom many remained long in Bohemia, which writing to their king Uladislaus, to purge themselues against the slanderous accusations of one doctor Aukin, gaue vp their confession with an apologie of their christian profession: defending with strong and learned arguments the same which now is receiued in most reformed churches, both concerning grace, faith, charitie, hope, repentance, and workes of mercie. As for purgatorie, they say that Thomas Aquinas is the author thereof.

Thomas Aquinas first finder of Purgatorie. Ex Orthuino Gratio.

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be shewed and worshipped; for a memorial, not for a sacrifice; to serue for the present ministration and not for reseruation; to be receiued at the table, not to be caried out of the doores: according to the ancient vse of the primitiue church, when they vsed to communicate sitting. And this they proue both by an old chronicle called Chronica gestorum, as also by ancient Origen vpon the third booke of Moses, bringing in his words, which be these, proouing that this sacramentall bread ought not to be reserued: *Quicunque hunc panem cœnæ Christi, secunda vel tertia die sumpserit, non benedicitur anima eius, sed inquinabitur. Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes, &c.* i. Whosoeuer receiueth this bread of ỹ supper

Chronica gestorum. Origen. super tertium librum Mosis.

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The sacramentall bread ought not to be kept or reserued.

of Christ vpon the second or third day after, his soule shall not be blessed, but polluted. Therefore the Gabaonits because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was inioyned them to carie wood and water, &c.

Part of the disputation betweene doctor Austin and the Waldenses.

Doctor Austin (of whom mention is made before) disputing against them about this matter of the holy Eucharist, vrgeth them with this interrogation; whether it be the same Christ (present in the sacrament) which is present at the right hand of the father? If it be not the same Christ, how is it true in the scripture, Vna fides, vnus Dominus noster Iesus Christus, One faith, one Lord Iesus Christ? If it be the same Christ, then how is hee not to bee honoured and worshipped here as well as there?

Dilemma, That is, a captious question in conferring on both sides an inconuenience.

The answere of the Waldenses.

To this the Waldenses answere againe, and grant that Christ is one, and the same with his naturall bodie in the sacrament, which he is at the right hand of his father, but not after the same existence of his body. For the existence of his bodie in heauen is not personall and locall, to bee apprehended by the faith and spirit of men. In the sacrament the existence of his bodie is not personall or locall, to bee apprehended or receiued of our bodies, after a personall or corporall maner, but after a sacramentall maner; that is, where our bodies receiue the signe, and our spirit the thing signified. Moreouer, in heauen the existence of his bodie is dimensiue, and complet with the full proportion and quantitie of the same body wherewith hee ascended. Here the existence of his complete body with the full proportion, measure, and stature therof, doth not, neither can stand in the sacrament. Briefly, the existence of his body in heauen is naturall, not sacramentall: that is, to be seene, and not remembred. Here it is sacramentall, not naturall: that is, to be remembred, not to be seene.

What it is to receiue after a sacramentall maner.

Naturall. Sacramentall.

An other *Dilemma* against transubstantiation.

That answere being made to the captious proposition of D. Austin, the Waldenses (retorting the like interrogation to him againe) demand of him to answere them in the like obiection: whether it be all one Christ substantially and naturally, which sitteth in heauen, and which is vnder the formes of bread and wine, and in the receiuers of the sacrament? If hee grant to them they bid him say, seeing Christ is as well in the sacrament as in heauen, and as well in the receiuer as in the sacrament, and all one Christ in substance and nature; why then is not the same Christ as well in the breast of the receiuer to bee worshipped, as vnder the formes of bread and wine in the sacrament: seeing he is there after a more perfect maner in man, then in the sacrament: for in the sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the sacraments sake, but for the mans cause. In man he is not for the sacraments cause, but for his owne, and that not for a season, but for euer, as it is written: Qui manducat hunc panem viuet in æternum, that is: Hee that eateth this bread shall liue for euer, &c.

Moreouer and besides, seeing transubstantiation is the going of one substance into an other; they question againe with him, whether the formes of bread and wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Iesus: that is, both into his body, soule, and diuinitie, or not into the whole Christ? If he grant the whole; then say they, that is impossible (concerning the diuinitie) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the creator. If he say the bread is changed into the body and soule of Christ, not to his diuinitie, then he separateth the natures in Christ. If he say into the body alone and not the soule, then hee separateth the natures of the true manhood, &c: and so cannot bee the same Christ that was betrayed for vs, for that hee had both body and soule. To conclude, to what part soeuer hee would answere, this doctrine of transubstantiation cannot bee defended without great inconuenience of all sides.

Æneas Syluius Bohemica historia de Waldensium dogmatibus.

Euer and besides, Æneas Syluius writing of their doctrine and assertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them then they taught or ment) reporteth them after this maner, wich I thought here to set out as it is in the Latine.

Romanum præsulem reliquis episcopis parem esse. Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem. In English.

The bishop of Rome to be equall with other bishops. Amongst priests to be no difference of degree. No priest to be reputed for any dignitie of his order, but for the worthinesse of his life.

The soules of men departed, either to enter into paine euerlasting, or euerlasting ioy. No fire of purgatorie to bee found. To pray for the dead to be vaine, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests.

The images of God (as of the trinitie and of saints) to bee abolished. The hallowing of water and palmes to bee a meere ridicle. The religion of begging friers to bee found out by the diuell. That priests should not incroch riches in this world, but rather follow pouerty, being content with their tithes, and mens deuotion. The preaching of the word to be free to al men called thereunto.

That no deadly sinne is to be tollerated, for what soeuer respect of a greater commoditie to insue thereupon. The confirmation which bishops exercise with oyle, and extreme vnction, are not to be counted amongst the sacraments of the church. Auricular confession to be but a toy; to suffice for euery man to confesse himselfe in his chamber to God. Baptisme ought to be ministred onely with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oyle. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The maiesty of God not to be restrained more within the wals of temples, monasteries and chapels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place then in another.

The temple of the Lord, that is, the proper habitation wherein God most properly dwelleth and worketh. That is, the very place maketh not the ministration of holy things either more or lesse holy.

Priests apparell, ornaments of the high altar, vestiments, corporaces, chalices, patins, and other church plate, to serue in no stead. For the difference & respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the priest doth consecrate, or doth minister to them which doe require. To be sufficient to vse onely the sacramentall words without all other superfluous ceremonies.

The suffrages of saints reigning with Christ in heauen, to be craued in vaine, being not able to helpe vs. In saying or singing the houres and matins of the day, the time to bee but lost. A man ought to cease from his labor no day, but only vpon the sunday.

The feasts and festiuals of saints ought to be reiected. Item, such fasts as be coacted and inioyned by the church, haue no merit in them.

These assertions of the Waldenses being thus articuled out by Eneas Syluius, I thought to giue them abrode in English as they are in Latine: to the intent that as they are the lesse to be doubted, being set out of a popes pen; so wee may the better know both them hereby what they were, and also vnderstand how this doctrine now preached and taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost 400 yeares agoe. And as I haue spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine; no now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conuersation, as wee find it registred in a certaine old written booke of inquisition.

Ex inquisitorio quodam libello.

De moribus & consuetudine Waldensium.

Modus autem Waldensium talis est, &c. The whole processe commeth to this effect in English. The maner of the Waldenses is this, They kneeling vpon their knees, leaning to some banke or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirtie or fortie times Pater noster. And this they doe euery day with great reuerence, being amongst themselues, and such as be of their owne religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after; likewise before supper and after, also what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certaine other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they vse no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Aue Maria, and the creed, which they affirme not to be put in for any praier by Christ, but onely by the church of Rome. Albeit they haue and vse the seuen articles of faith concerning the diuinitie, and seuen articles concerning the humanity, and the ten commandements, and seuen works of mercy, which they haue compiled togither in a compendious booke, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselues ready to answere any man for their faith.

Their maner of grace before meat.

Before they goe to meat they haue their grace, Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster. Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their owne tongue; God which blessed the fiue barlie loues and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, blesse this table and that is set vpon it, or shall be set vpon it. In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, Amen. And likewise againe when they rise from meate, the senior giueth thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse: Blessing, and worship, and wisedome, and thanksgiuing, honor, vertue, and strength to God alone for euer and euer, Amen. And addeth moreouer, God reward them in their bosomes, and bee beneficiall to all them that be beneficiall to vs, and blesse vs. And the God which hath giuen vs corporall feeding, grant vs his spirituall life, and God be with vs, and wee alwaies with him. To which they answere againe, Amen. And thus saying grace, they hold their hands vpward, loking vp to heauen. After their meate and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselues, conferring togither vpon their doctrine, &c.

Their grace after meat.

Reinerius an old inquisitor against Waldenses.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painefull, that Reinerius a writer about their time (an extreme enimie against them) in a long processe, wherein hee describeth their doctrine and teaching; testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the partie, that a certaine heretike (saith he) onely to turne a certaine person away from our faith, and to bring him to his (in the night and in the winter time) swam ouer the riuer called Ibis, to come to him and to teach him. Moreouer, so perfect they were then in the scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith, he did heare and see a man of the countrie vnlettred, which could recite ouer the whole booke of Job word by word, without booke, with diuers others which had the whole new testament perfectly by heart.

Plus videtur locus in laicos, quam sacerdotes.

And although some of them rather merily then vnskilfully expounded the words of 1. Ioan. Sui non receperunt eum, Swine did not receiue him; yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily

mightily preuaile, in so much that Reinerius hath these words; Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni & examinationi sæpe interfui, & computatæ sunt 40 ecclesiæ, quæ hæresi infectæ fuerunt, ac in vna parœcia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum scholæ, &c. That is, There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue often beene at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbred fortie churches infected with their heresie, in so much that in one parish of Cammach, were ten open scholes of them, &c. Hæc ille.

The power and multitude of Waldenses.

And the said Reinerus, when he hath said all he can in depraising and impugning them, yet is driuen to confesse this of them, where he doth distinct their sect from other sects, and hath these words: Hæc verò Leonistarum secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eò quòd coram hominibus iustè viuant, & bene omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in symbolo continentur; solam Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant, & oderunt. That is; This sect of Leonists hath a great shew of holinesse, in that both they liue iustly before men, and beleeue all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the creed; onely they doe blaspheme the Romish church and hate it, &c.

Waldenses in all other points sound, but only for holding against the church of Rome. *Ex Orthuino Gratio.*

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions. After they were driuen out of Lions, they were scattered into diuers and sundry places (the prouidence of God so disposing) that the sound of their doctrine might bee heard abrode in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia, many did flee into their prouinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places, &c. But as the crosse commonly followeth the veritie and sincere preaching of Gods word, so neither could these be suffered to liue in rest. There are yet to be seene the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquensis, and Albanensis, deuised amongst themselues, and yet remaine in writing, for the abolishing and extirping of these Waldenses, written aboue three hundred yeres ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

The crosse commonly followeth the word.

Waldenses persecuted more then 300 yeres ago by antichrist.

Besides, there was a whole councell kept in Tholouse about three hundred fifty and fiue yeres before, and all against these Waldenses, the which also were condemned in another councell at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised vp against them in France by these foure archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings, whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these; Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorum Waldensium ignoret à longe retrò annis factam, tam famosam, tam publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expensis & sudoribus fidelium insecutam, & tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solenniter damnatorum, publicéq; punitorum tam fortiter sigillatam? &c. That is, Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenses the heretikes, done and past so many yeres ago, so famous, so publike, followed vpon with so great labors, expences, and trauell of the faithfull, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished? Whereby wee may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before (euen 300 yeres) began to rage against these Waldenses. In Bohemia likewise after that, the same called by the name of Thaborits (as Syluius recorderh) suffered no little trouble. But neuer persecution was stirred vp against them, or any other people more terrible, then was in these latter yeres in France by the French king, in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred forty fiue, which lamentable story is described in Sleidan, and hereafter, in the procesle of his book, as we come to the order of yeres, shall bee set forth (by the grace of Christ) more at large. In the which persecution is declared in one towne Cabriera, to bee slaine by the captaine of Sathan Minerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of women or children of any age, of whom forty women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a barne, and the windowes kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a caue not far from the towne Mullium, to the number of fiue and twenty persons, with smoke and fire were the same time destroied. At Merindolum the same tyrant (seeing all the rest were fled away) finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an oliue tree, and to be destroied with torments most cruelly: with much other persecution, as may appeare hereafter, in the historie translated out of Sleidane into English.

Antichrist with whom he first began his persecution.

An horrible murther of Christs holy martyrs.

Minerius an horrible persecutor.

But to returne againe to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that, Reinerius aboue mentioned speaketh of one in the towne of Cheron, a glouer, which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old monument of procesle, wherein appeareth foure hundred forty and three, brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and one.

A glouer suffered martyrdom in Cheron.

443 brought to examination.

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and the lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses: who, as is declared, first began about the time of this king Henry the second of that name.

Other incidences happening in the raigne of this Henry the second.

Incidences in the raigne of king Henry the second.

COncerning the first origin of the Waldenses, springing in y daies of this king, is sufficiently hitherto declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time, to story also such other incidences as chanced vnder the raigne of the said king, not vnworthy to be obserued, keeping the order of the time so neere as we may, and as authors doe giue vnto vs.

Becket a diuorcer of marriages.

Mary, the daughter of king Stephan, being the abbesse of Ramsele, was maried in this kings daies to Matthew earle of Bullen, which marriage Thomas Becket did worke against, and did dissolue; by reason whereof he procured himselfe great displeasure with the said earle, &c. An. 1161. Ex chronico bibliothecæ Carienſis.

Two children crucified by the Iewes.

The same yere a certaine child was crucified of the Iewes in the towne of Glocester, An. 1161. Iornalens. After the same maner the wicked Iewes had crucified another child before in the citie of Norwich, in the daies of king Stephan, in the yere of our Lord 1145.

A collection was gathered through all England & France, two pence of euery pound, for the succour of the east christians against the Turkes, in the yere of our Lord 1167. Ex eodem.

Babylon vtterly destroied.

Babylon was taken and destroied, and neuer since repaired, by Almaricus king of Hierusalem, An. 1170. Ex vetusto manuscripto exemplari historiæ Carienſis.

In the yere 1173, almost all England was diseased with the cough. Ex vetusto chron. acephalo. About which yere also, William king of Scots was taken in battell and imprisoned in England.

The holy crosse taken with the city of Hierusalem by the Saracens.

Great warre happened in Palestina, wherein the citie of Jerusalem with the crosse and king of the citie, and others of the temple, was taken of the Saracens, and most part of the christians there either slaine or taken. Cruell murther and slaughter there was vsed by the Turke, who caused all the chiefe of the christians to bee brought forth, and beheaded before his face. In so much, that pope Urbanus the third for sorrow died, and Gregory the eighth, next pope after him, lined not two moneths. Then in the daies of pope Clement the third, newes and sorrow growing daily for the losse of Palestina and destruction of the christians, king Henry of England, & Philip the French king, the duke of Burgundy, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Campania, with diuers other christian princes with a generall consent, vpon Saint Georges day, tooke the marke of the crosse vpon them, promising togither to take their voyage into the holy land. At which time, the stories say the king of England receiued first the red crosse, the French king tooke the white crosse, the earle of Flanders tooke the Greene crosse, and so likewise other princes diuersly diuers colours, thereby to be discerned euery one by his proper crosse. But king Henry (after the three yeres were expired, in which he promised to performe his voyage) sent to the pope for further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three monasteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the church of Waltham he thrust out the secular priests, and set in monks for them. Secondly, he repaired againe and brought in the nuns of Amesbury, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the pope, An. 1173.

A voyage against the Turks.

How the difference of the crosses first came in among christian princes.

The kings promises fulfilled to the pope.

The king of Scots did his homage and allegiance to the king of England and to his sonne, and to his chiefe lords, promising that all the earles and barons of Scotland should doe the like with their posterity. Item all the bishops and abbats of the church of Scotland, promised subiection and submission to the archbishop of Yorke, in the yere of our Lord 1175. Nicol. Triuet.

King of Scots doing homage to the king of England.

The church of Scotland ordered by the church of York.

The cuſtome was in this realme, that if any had killed any clerke or priest, he was not to be punished with the temporall sword, but onely excommunicated and sent to Rome for the popes grace and absolution. Which cuſtome in the daies of this king began first to bee altered by the procurement of Richard archbishop of Canturbury, in the yeer of our Lord 1176. Triuet.

Murtherers could not be punished by the popes decrees.

London bridge first began to be made of stone by one Peter, priest of Colechurch, in the yere 1176. Ex chron. cuius initium: In diebus sanctissimi regis Edouardi, &c. Ex Biblioth. Carienſi.

London bridge of stone.

Saint William of Paris was slaine of the Iewes on Maundy thursday, wherefore the Iewes were burned, and he counted a saint, An. 1177.

S. William of Paris.

Ireland subdued to the crowne of England by this king: An. 1177. Ex varijs chron.

Ireland subdued to England.

Vnder the raigne of the said king Henry, about the fiue and twentith yere of his raigne, Ludouicus the French king, by the vision of Thomas Becket appearing vnto him in his dreame, and promising to him the recouery of his sonne, if hee would resort vnto him at Canturbury, made his iourny into England to visit Saint Thomas at Canturbury with Philip earle of Flanders: where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other pretious Iewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yerely to

Pilgrimage to Canturbury sprang by a lying vision.

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to be giuen to the couent of the church of Canturbury, notwithstanding the said Philip in his returne from England, taking his iourny to Paris to visit S. Denis, in the same his pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a palsie, and was benummed of the right side of his body, An. 1178. Iornalensis & alij.

A iust reward for an idolatrous voyage.

Stephanus episcopus Redomensis was wont to make many rimes and gaudish prose to delight the eares of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verse was sounded in his eare: *Desine ludere temerè, nitere properè surgere de pulvere*: An. 1178. Nic. Triuet.

Albingenses denied transubstantiation in the sacrament of Christs body and bloud, about the citie of Tholouse; also that matrimony was not a sacrament, &c: in the yeere of our Lord 1178. Ibidem.

Transubstantiation gainsaid.

King Henry separated himselfe from his wife Eleonor, and held her many yeeres in prison, as some thinke for the loue of Rosamund. Which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred all his sonnes vp to war against him, and to worke him much sorrow, in the yeere 1179. Nic. Triuet. Notwithstanding the said Eleonor was shortly after reconciled to him.

Queen Eleonor imprisoned.

Saint Fridelwide was translated vnto Oxford, in the yeere 1179.

In the yeere 1180, there came to the councell of pope Alexander one Pisanus Burgundio, a man very cunning both in Greeke and Latine, which brought and presented to the councell the homilies of Chrysostome vpon the Gospell of S. Iohn, translated out of Greeke into Latine, and said that he translated likewise a great part of his exposition vpon Genesis; saying moreouer, that the said Chrysostome had made expositions in Greeke vpon the whole old testament and also the new, in the yeere 1180.

Expositions made by Chrysostome both of the old and new Testament.

The monks of Charterhouse first entred into this land, in the yeere 1180.

The Charterhouse monks.

In the yeere 1181, Richard Pech bishop of Couentry, before his death renounced his bishopricke, and became a canon in the church of S. Thomas by Stafford. Ex chronico peruetusto, cui initium, In diebus sanctiss. regis, &c.

The bishop of Couentry voluntarily renounceth his bishopricke.

About the latter time of this king Henry, one Hugo, whom men were wont to call S. Hugh of Lincolne, borne in Burgundy, and prior of the monks of Charterhouse, was preferred by the king to the bishopricke of Lincolne, who after his death is said to do great miracles, and therefore was counted a saint: An. 1186. Flores hist.

S. Hugh of Lincolne.

Baldwinus archbishop of Canturbury, began the building of his new house and church of Lambeth, but by the letters of Clement the third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof: An. 1187. Triuet.

Lambeth first begun to be built.

I do finde likewise in the foresaid written chronicle remaining in the hands of one William Carie citizen of London, that this forenamed king Henry the second, gaue to the court and church of Rome for the death of T. Becket, forty thousand marks of siluer, and fiue thousand marks of gold, in the yeere of our Lord 1187.

K. Henries gift to the church of Rome for the death of Becket.

Mention was made a little aboue of Almarike king of Hierusalem, which destroied Babylon, so that it was neuer after to this day restored, but lieth waste and desolat; wherein was fulfilled that, which in the prophets in so many places was threatned to Babylon before. This Almarike had a sonne named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla. Baldwin from the beginning of his raigne was a leper, and had the falling sicknesse, being not able for feeblenesse of body (although valiant in heart and stomacke) to satisfie that function.

A worthy story of Sibylla and Guido, in Ierusalem.

Sibylla his sister was first married to one Willermus, marquesse of mount Ferrat, by whom she had a son called also Baldwinus. After him, she was married to another husband, named Guido de Lizimaco earle of Ioppe and of Ascalon. Vpon this befell, that the foresaid Baldwin the leper, sonne of Almaricus, being thus feeble and infirme, as is said, called his nobles togither, with his mother & the patriarke, declaring to them his inability, and by the consents of them committed the vnder-gouernement of the citie vnto Guido the husband of Sibylla his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not luckie in the gouernement thereof; the office was translated to another named Raimundus earle of Tripolis. In the meane time, the Soldan with his Saracens mightily preuailed against the christians, and ouerran the country of Palestina, in which meane time, Baldwin the king departed. Whereby the kingdome fell next to Baldwinus, the sonne of Sibylla by her first husband Willermus; the which Baldwinus being but fiue yeeres old, was put to the custody of Raimundus aforesaid. Who also in his minority, before he came to his crowne, died: whereby the next succession by descent fel to Sibylla the wife of Guido aboue mentioned. To whom the peeres and nobles ioining togither in counsell, offred vnto the said Sibylla, as to the lawfull heire to the crowne, to be their queene, with this condition, that she should sequester from her by solemn diuorcement the foresaid Guido her husband; but she refused the kingdome offered to her on that condition, till at last the magistrats with the nobles in generall, granted vnto her, and by their oths confirmed the same, that whomsoeuer shee would chuse to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king. Also Guido her husband with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her, that the kingdom not for his sake, or for his priuat losse, might be destitute of gouernment. At length shee with teares consenting to their intreaty, was contented, and solemnly was crowned their queene, who after the maner again receiued their fidelity by their oth. Whereupon Guido without all hope both of wife and kingdome, departed home quietly to his owne. This done, the queene assembling her states and prelats togither, entred talke with them about the chusing of the king, according to that which they had promised and sworne vnto her, and to obey him as their king, whom she would name to be her husband. Thus, whilest they were all in great expectation, waiting euery man whom she would nominat; the queene with a loud voice said to Guido that stood amongst them: Guido my lord, I chuse thee for my husband, and yeelding my selfe and my kingdome vnto you, openly I protest you to be the king. At these words all the assembly being amazed, wondred that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men. And worthy was she no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular vertue, both of faithfull chastitie and high prudence: so tempering the matter, that both she obtained to her husband the kingdome, and retained to her selfe againe her husband, whom she so faithfully loued: An. 1186. Ex historia manuscripta, cui initium, Rex Pictorum; ex bibliotheca Carensi mutuata.

A worthy example in Guido of a true subiect to the common wealth.

A singular example of prudence in a princesse, and fidelity in a wife.

As I haue hitherto described the publike acts of king Henry, so now I meane to touch something of his priuat conditions. He was of meane stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chiualry, fearefull of the mutability and chance of warre, more lamenting the death of his souldiers dead, then louing them aliue; none more courteous and liberall for the obtaining of his purpose; in peace & tranquillity none more rough, stubborne against the stubborne, sometimes mercifull to those whom he had banquished, strict to his houshold seruants, but liberall to strangers; publikely of publike things liberall, sparing of his owne, whom once hee tooke a displeasure against, hardly or neuer would he receiue againe to fauor, somewhat lauish of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise, a louer of his ease, but an oppressor of his nobilitie, a seuere reuenger and furtherer of iustice, variable of word, and craftie in his talke, an open adulterer, a nourisher of discord amongst his children: moreouer, the papists bearing him (for Thomas Becket's quarrell, and such like, as may be gathered) no good will, terme him to be an aduersary of the faith, the mall and beetle of the church.

Also in the chronicle intituled Scala mundi, I finde of him, that he followeth the steps, manners, and conditions of Henry the first his grandfather, in euery point. He preserued firme peace, and executed strict iustice through all his dominions. He loued maruellous well his forrests: and againe, those that were transgressors either to his crowne or person, he most seuerely punished.

Moreouer, in a certaine history intituled De regibus Angliæ, I find that this king was sundry times admonished to reforme and amend his life, and first by one that was an old man in the castell of Cardik in Wales, at that time of the yeere called Dominica in albis, the eighth day after Easter: where also after that he had heard masse, and was going to take his horse, there stood a certaine man by him, somewhat yellowish (his haire being rounded, leane and ill fauored) hauing on a white cote, and being barefoot, loked vpon the king, and spake on this wise: God old king: (that done, thus he proceedeth:) the king saluteth you and his blessed mother, Iohn Baptist, and Peter, straitly charging you, that vpon the sundaies throughout all your dominions there be no buying and selling or other seruile businesse (those only except which appertaine to the preparation of meat and drinke: which thing if thou shalt obserue, whatsoeuer thou takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to passe. Then spake the king in French vnto the knight that held his horse by the bridle; Aske of this churle whether he dreamed this or not. And in the meane while that the knight should haue interpreted the kings words and message, he spake before and said; Whether this be a dreame or not, marke well what day this is, for vnlesse that thou do these things and amend thy life, such newes shalt thou heare within these twelue months, that will make thee lament and mourne till thy dying day. And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight; and within one yeere nert after, Henry, Gaufrid, and Richard his sonnes, forsoke him their father, and tooke part with the French king. The king of Scots, the earle of Chester, and earle of Leicester, made an insurrection against the king. Many other premonitions were giuen also to the king, but all these did he little esteeme. The second which did admonish him, was a certaine Irishman, giuing him certaine secret signes. And thirdly, a certaine knight of Findesleie, named Philip de Easterbie, sailing with him ouer into France, declared vnto the king in Normandy seuen articles, which he should amend. Which thing if he would doe, hee should raigne seuen yeeres most honorably, and should take the holy crosse from his enemies: or else he, in the fourth yeere should die in a great ignominie. The three first things were these, which he at his coronation sware

The king admonished to amend his life.

Sunday to be free from buying and selling.

The second and third admonition vnto the king to reforme his life.

A worthy example of a true wife to her husband.

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sware to obserue, that is, to defend the church, to maintain good lawes, and to condemne no man to death without iudgement. The fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was to doing iustice without reward; the sixth was of ministers and officers wages and stipends; the seuenth was of expelling the Iewes, leauing them some mony to depart withall. But the king not amending his life, there rose vp against him three strong enemies; that is to say, his three sons with the French king. But after that, the king forsooth had gone on pilgrimage to the martyrs tombe barefoot, William king of Scots, and the earles of Chester and Leicester were taken at Alnewike.

The kings victory was falsly imputed to the cause of his pilgrimage.

In the fiue and thirtith yeere of his raigne, being in the castell of Chiuen in Normandy, he died; at whose death those that were present were so greedy of the spoile, that they left the body of the king naked, and not so much could be found as a cloth to couer it, till that a page comming in, and seeing the king so ignominiously to lie, threw his cloke vpon his nether parts: wherin, saith the author, was verified the surname which from his youth he bare, being called Henry Court mantill.

The death of K. Henry the second.

King Richard.

{Anno 1189} King Richard crowned.

IN this yeere of the Lord aboue recited, which was 1189, king Richard the eldest sonne of Henry the second succeeding his father, entred his crowne; at which time pope Clement sat at Rome, succeeding after Gregory, which died a little before with sorrow for the losse of the holy crosse.

The kings restraint, that no Iew should enter the palace nor church during his coronation.

During the time of whose coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the king the day before his coronation, and by publike edict commanded both the Iewes and their wiues not to presume either to enter the church, or else his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation amongst his nobles and barons, yet (whilest the king was at dinner) the chiefraine of the Iewes, with diuers other of his Iewish affinity and superstitious sect, against the king his prohibition, together with other preasle, entred the court gates. Whereat a christian man being offended, stroke one of them with his hand or fist, and bad him stand further from the court gate, as the king had giuen in commandement: whose example others also following, being displeased against the Iewes, offered them the like contumely. Others also, supposing that the king had so commanded indeed, as vsing the authority of the king, fell vpon all the Iewes that stood by without the court gate. And first they beat them with their fists, but afterwards they take vp stones and such other things as they could get, and threw at them, and beat them therewith: and thus driuing them from the court gates, some of them they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

A Iew through feare was baptised.

There was amongst this number of the Iewes, one which was called the blessed Iew of Yorke, which was so sore wounded and beaten with the rest, that for feare of his life, he said he would become a christian, and was indeed of William the prior of the church of S. Mary of Yorke baptised, whereby he escaped the perill of death he was in, and the persecutors hands. In the meane while, there was a great rumor spread throughout all the citie of London, that the king had commanded to destroy all the Iewes. Whereupon as well the citizens as innumerable people more, being assembled to see the kings coronation, armed themselues and came together. The Iewes thus being for the most part slaine, the rest fled into their houses, where for a time, through the strong and sure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they destroied therein.

The Iewes in London slaine, and their houses set on fire.

These things being declared to the king, whilest he with his nobles and barons were at dinner, he sendeth immediatly Ranulph de Glanuile, the lord high steward of England, with diuers other noble men to accompany him, that they might stay and refraine these so bold enterprises of the Londoners: but all was in vaine: for in this so great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the nobility said, or else any whit reuerenced their personages, but rather with sterne lokes and threatning words aduised them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they with good deliberation thinking it the best so to doe, departed, the tumult and insurrection continuing till the next day. At which time also the king sending certaine of his officers into the citie, gaue them in commandement to apprehend and present some such as were the chiefest of the malefactors: of the which, three were condemned to be hanged, and so were; the one, for that he had robbed a christians house in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the houses, to the great danger of the citie. After this, the king sent for him that from a Iew was conuerted to christianity, and in the presence of those that saw where hee was baptised, the king asked him whether he was become a christian or not: He answering the king, said, No: but to the intent he might scape death, he promised to do what soeuer the christias would haue him. Then the king asked the archbishop of Canturbury (other archbishops and bishops being present) what were best to be done with him: who vnaduisedly answering, said: If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the diuell: and so reuolted he againe to Iudaisme.

The small regard of nobility had in tumults and insurrections.

A new christian reuolteth to an old Iew.

An vnaduised answer of an archbishop.

Then the king sent his writs to the shiriffes of euery country, to inquire for the authors and stirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was then the hatred of Englishmen against the Iewes, that as soone as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country againe, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the yeere which the Iewes tooke to be their iubile, was to them a yeere of confusion: in so much, as in the cite of Yorke, the Iewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine castell for their preseruation, and afterward not willing to restore it vnto the christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be vanquished, first they offered much mony for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the counsell of an old Iew amongst them, euery one with a sharpe rasor cut anothers throte, whereby a thousand and fiue hundred of them were at that present destroied. Neither was this plague of theirs vndeserued; for euery yeere commonly their custome was to get some christian mans child from the parents, and on Goodfriday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex chron. Westm.

Ex chron. Westm. cui initium, Acneas cum Ascanio &c.

A miserable and deserued destruction of the Iewes.

King Richard after the death of his father comming vnto remembrance of himselfe, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king about Easter next ensuing, to take his voiage with him for the recouery of Christ his patrimony, which they called the holy land. Whereupon the said king Richard immediatly after his coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourny, set to sale diuers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then bishop of Winchester bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergraue and Welenge. The abbat of Bury bought another for a thousand marks, called Middlesay. Hugh Pusaz bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, or Sedberga with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: hee bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest, Lo (said hee) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had professed before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England. Muer and besides, the king set out all that he had to sale, woods, castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. ordaining also diuers new bishops, & not without some aduantage (as appeared) to his purse, fayning moreouer his old seale to be lost, that they which had lands to hold, might be driuen to renew their writings againe by the new seale, whereby great substance of mony was gained.

{Anno 1189}

The couetous greedinesse of bishops noted in buying great lordships.

Sleights to get mony.

Aboue all this, by the commandement of pope Clement the third, a tenth also was exacted of the whole realme, in such sort, as the christians should make to the king 70000 pounds, the Iewes 60000: Ex Geru. fol. 134. King Richard after his coronation, sent certaine earles and barons vnto Philip the French king in the time of his parliament at S. Denis, desiring him to remember his promise made for the recouery of Christ his holy patrimony out of the Saracens hands. Vnto whom he sent word againe in the moneth of Nouember, certifying him how he had bound himselfe by solemne oth, depositing vpon the euangelists, that he the next yeere following about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe towards that iourny, requiring him likewise not to faile but to be ready at the terme aboue limitted, appointing also the place where both the kings should meete together.

A tenth gathered through all England.

King Philip and king Richard conclude to trauell to the holy land.

The next yeere then ensued, which was 1190, in the beginning of which yeere, vpon Twelfe euen, fell a foule northerne brawle, which turned well neere to a fray, betweene the archbishop new elected of the church of Yorke, and his company on the one side, and Henry deane of the said church with his catholike partakers on the other side, vpon occasion as followeth: Gaufridus or Geffry, sonne to king Henry the second, and brother to king Richard, whom the king had elected a little before to the archbishoprick of Yorke, vpon the euen of Epiphany, which we call Twelfe day, was disposed to heare euensong with all solemnity in the cathedrall church, hauing with him Hamon the chanter, with diuers other canons of the church. Who tarying something long, belike in adorning and attiring himselfe, in the meane while Henry the deane and Bucardus the treasuror, disdaining to tarry his comming, with a bold courage lustily began their holy euensong, with singing their psalmes, rusling of descant, and merry piping of organs. Thus this catholike euensong with as much deuotion begun, as to Gods high seruice proceeding, was now almost halfe compleat, when as at length (they being in the midst of their mirth) commeth in the new elect with his traine and gardeuians, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be so bold, not waiting for him, to begin Gods seruice, and so eftsones commanded the quier to stay and hold their peace. The chanter likewise by vertue of his office commandeth the same,

{Anno 1190}

A northerne brawle in the cathedrall church of Yorke, betweene the new archbishop and the deane.

Henry deane of Yorke and Bucard begin seruice, not tarying for their archbishop.

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The deane and treasurer would not cease euensong at the archbishops commandement.

same. But the deane and treasuror on the other side willed them to proceed; and so they sung on and would not stint. Thus the one halfe crying against the other, the whole quire was in a roze, their singing was turned to scolding, their chanting to chiding; and if in stead of the organs they had had a drum, I doubt they would haue solefaed by the eares together.

The archbishop beginneth euensong againe being halfe done before.

At last, through the authority of the archbishop and of the chanter, the quier began to surcease and giue silence. Then the new elect not contented with that had been sung before, with certaine of the quier began the euensong new againe. The treasuror vpon the same, caused by vertue of his office the candles to be put out: whereby the euensong hauing no power further to proceed, was stopped forthwith. For like as without the light and beames of the Sun there is nothing but darknes in all the world, euen so you must vnderstand the popes church can see to doe nothing without candle light, albeit the Sun doe shine neuer so cleere and bright. This being so, the archbishop thus disappointed on euery side of his purpose, made a greeuous plaint, declaring to the clergy and to the people, what the deane and treasuror had done, and so vpon the same suspended both them and the church from all diuine seruice, till they should make to him due satisfaction for their trespasse.

The treasurer putteth out the candles at euensong.

The popes church can doe nothing without candle light.

The deane and church of Yorke suspended by the archbishop from diuine seruice.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany, when all the people of the citie were assembled in the cathedrall church, as their maner was, namely in such feasts, deuoutly to heare diuine seruice (as they call it) of the church, there was also present the archbishop, & the chanter, with the residue of the clergy, looking when the deane and treasuror would come and submit themselues, making satisfaction for their crime. But they still continuing in their stoutnesse, refused so to doe, exclaiming and vttering contemptuous words against the archbishop and his partakers. Which when the people heard, they in a great rage would haue fallen vpon them: but the archbishop would not suffer that. The deane then and his fellowes perceiuing the stir of the people, for feare, like pretie men were faine to flee, some to the tombe of S. William of Yorke, some ran vnto the deans house, and there shrowded themselues, whom the archbishop then accursed. And so for that day the people returned home without any seruice. Ex veteri chronico manuscripto, cui initium, Anno gratiæ millesimo, &c.

The stoutnesse of the deane and treasurer, in not submitting themselues to the archbishop.

The people incensed against the deane of Yorke and his canons.

Ex chron. anonymo, cui initium: Anno gratiæ.

After this, king Richard preparing to set all things in an order before his going, committed the whole gouernment of the realme principally to William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and to Hugh bishop of Durham, whom he ordained to be the cheefe iustice of all England in his absence; the one to haue the custody of the tower, with the ouersight of all other parts of the land on this side of Humber: the other (which was the bishop of Durham) to haue charge vpon all other his dominions beyond Humber, sending moreouer vnto pope Clement in the behalfe of the foresaid William bishop of Ely, to be made the popes legat through all England and Scotland; which also was obtained. Thus the bishop being aduanced in high authority, to furnish the king towards his setting forth, prouideth out of euery citie in England two palfreies, and two sumpters, and also out of euery abby one palfrey and one sumpter.

King Richard prepareth towards his iournie.

William bishop of Ely the kings chancelor, and Hugh bishop of Durham made chiefe ouerseers of the realme in the kings absence.

William bishop of Ely made the popes legat in England and Scotland.

These things and other thus set in a stay, the king according to his former appointment, about the time of Easter, sailed into France, where the French king and he conferring together, because they could not make ready at that time of Easter, concluded to take a longer day, proroging their voyage till after Midsummer. In which meane time, the king occupying himselfe in redressing & stablishing such things as further were to be ordered, there determined that Gaufridus and John his brethren, should not enter into England in three yeeres after his departure; neuertheless hee released that bond afterward to his brother John. Then he appointed the captaines and constables ouer his nauie, and set lawes to be obserued in his iournie vpon the seas; but especially his care was to make vnitie and concord betweene parties that were at variance, and to set them together at one. At which time the long contention began also to be appeased, which so many yeers had continued betweene Baldwinus archbishop of Canturbury, and his monks of Christs church: the discourse whereof, although it be somwhat tedious to be set forth at large, being enough to make a whole tragedy; yet to the intent this age now present may see what great conflicts and disquietnesse, vpon what little trifles haue been stirred vp, what little peace and vnity hath bin not only in this church, but commonly in all other churches vnder the popes catholike regiment, I thought it labor not ill bestowed, somewhat to intermeddle in opening to the eies of the reader the consideration of this matter. Wherin first is to be vnderstood, that the archbishops of Canturbury, commonly being set vp by the pope, especially since the time of the conquest, haue put the kings of this land to much sorrow and trouble, as appeared by William Rufus and Lanfranke, and also Anselme; by Henry the first and Anselme, king Stephan and Theobald, Henry the second and Becket, &c. For which the kings of this land haue vsed the more care and circumspection, to haue such archbishops placed in the sea, as either should stand with them, or at the least should not be against them.

Captaines and constables of the kings nauie appointed.

The long contention betwixt Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury and the monks of Christs church.

Archbishops of Canturbury commonly were wont to worke the kings of England much sorrow.

Kings of England euer carefull about the chusing of the archbishop, and wherefore.

Ex chron. Geruas.

Now to the purpose of our matter intended. First, after Lanfrancus, who was archbishop twenty yeeres, the sea standing vacant fiue yeeres, succeeded Anselmus, and sat seuenteen yeeres; after whom the sea standing vacant foure yeeres, succeeded Radulphus and continued nine yeeres: then followed William, who sat twelue yeeres, and died in the yeere 1137: after whom came Theobaldus in the time of king Stephan. This Theobaldus being no great fauorer of the monkish generation, fell out with Jeremias prior of the house of Canturbury for certains causes betweene them, for which the archbishop taking stomacke against the prior, would lay the sentence of interdiction against him. The prior seeing that, to saue himselfe, made his appeale to pope Innocent. The archbishop prouoked the more by that, deposed him from the priorship, & placed one Walter in his roome. Jeremias notwithstanding making his complaint and appeale to Rome, obtained letters from the pope to Henry bishop of Winchester being the popes legat, by the vertue whereof, he against the heart of the archbishop was restored, and Walter displaced. Neuertheless, the said Jeremy, not willing there to cõtinue with displeasure of the archbishop, shortly after of his owne accord renounced his priory, and Walter againe was receiued in his stead. Not long after this followed the generall councell of Rhemes, in the yeere 1140. To the which councell Theobald contrary to the commandement of the king would needs resort, to shew his obedience to the pope. Wherefore at his returning home againe, the king tooke such displeasure with him, that within a while after the archbishop was driuen to auoid the realme, and flie into France, where he by censure of interdiction, suspended diuers churches and religious houses which refused to come to the councell; and also hearing how the king had seized vpon all his goods, he interdicted likewise all the kings lands, what soeuer belonged to the crowne: so that the king in conclusion was faine to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the yeere 1148. Ex Geruasio.

Dijs, as some reckon.

Jeremy the prior of Canturbury appeaseth to pope Innocent.

Jeremy the prior deposed by the archbishop.

Jeremy restored to his place againe by the pope.

Concilium Rhemense. an. 1140.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1151, after the death of Hugh abbat of S. Aultens in Canturbury, Siluester was elected by the couent to be their abbat in the raigne of king Stephan. Which Siluester when he came vnto Theobald the archbishop to make his profession of subiection vnto him, and to receiue of him consecration; the archbishop was contented, so that the abbat would come to Christs church in Canturbury, and there make his profession. But to this Siluester in no case would grant to take his consecration there, but else in any other church, wheresoeuer the archbishop would, he was contented. Whereunto when the archbishop in no wise would agree, Siluester making a great bag of mony, went to Rome, where he obtained of the pope for mony (for what cannot mony doe at Rome?) letters that the archbishops should consecrat the abbat in his owne church of S. Aultsen, and also not exact of him any profession of canonicall subiection. Whereupon the archbishop was compelled against his will to come to the abbats church, and there at the popes commandement to consecrat him simply, and without any further profession to be required.

A friuolous strife betwen Theobald archbishop, and Siluester abbat of saint Aultens about the place, in what church the abbat should take his consecration.

Siluester goeth vp to Rome.

Then Walter prior of Christs church in Canturbury seeing that, and perceiuing how preiudiciall and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and maiesty of their church, through counsell of his brother went thither: and notwithstanding the doores were straitly watched and kept; yet by meanes he at last got in. And as he saw the archbishop attired in his pontificalibus, ready to minister consecration to the abbat, he stepped straight to the archbishop, & eftsones appealeth him to Rome, for the great iniury wrought against the church of Canturbury; forbidding him in the name of him to whom he appealed, not to proceed any further. And so this holy consecration was for ỳ present time staid. For the which Siluester with a new purse of mony was faine to trauell and trot againe to Rome, where he complaining of the archbishop, and accusing him of contempt of the pope, in not executing the commandement sent downe, obtaineth againe new letters with more effectuall charge to the foresaid archbishop, that hee without any profession, simply should giue to Siluester his consecration in his owne church, Omni occasione & appellatione remota, All maner of stay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithstanding. And so in conclusion, the abbat contrary to whatsoeuer the archbishop and all the monks of Canturbury would doe, was in his owne church made abbat, and had the victory for that time. Notwithstanding, the archbishop left not the matter so, but within fiue yeers after obtained of pope Adrian, that Siluester should make profession of his obedience to the archbishop, and so did. Ex Geruas.

The monks of Christs church striue against the monks of S. Aultsen in Canturbury for the honor of their house.

Walter prior of Christs church appealeth the archbishop vnto Rome.

Siluester trudgeth againe to Rome.

Siluester consecrated abbat in his owne church, whether the archbishop would or not.

In few yeeres after this, died king Stephan, An. 1154, and after him Theobald the archbishop, An. 1159, after he had sat three and twenty yeeres: after whom through the instant procurement of king Henry the second, was placed Thomas Becket, the kings chancellor, An. 1162, of whose sturdy rebellion against the king, because sufficient hath been said before, it shall not need to make a double labor now about the same.

After the death of Becket, much ado there was betweene king Henry and Odo prior of Canturbury about the election of a new archbishop. For the king seeing the realme so oftentimes incumbred by those popish archbishops, and fearing lest the

the monks of Canturbury should elect such another as would follow the steps of Thomas Becket, most humbly with cap in hand and curteſie of knee, desired Odo the prior, that at his requeſt, and for contentation of his mind, such a one might be elected whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certaine bishop, which was a good simple man after the kings liking) but the prior dissemblingly answering the king againe, that he neither could nor would without the consent of his couent giue promise to any man: in fine, contrary to the kings so humble requeſt, agreed to the election of another, which was the prior of Douer, called Richard, An. 1173, who continued in that sea eleuen yeeres.

Odo prior of Canturbury.

Richard prior of Douer eleted archbishop of Canturbury, An. 1173.

And here was renewed againe the like variance betweene this archbishop and Roger abbat of the Auſten monks in Canturbury, as was before mentioned betweene Theobaldus and Siluester. For when the said Roger after his election to be abbat, must needs take his consecration at the archbishops hand, neither would the archbishop grant it vnto him, vnleſſe hee made profession of obedience, according to the ancient custome of his predeceſſors: then Roger consulting with his monks, first denied so to doe, but at length was contented, so it might not be done in the archbishops church, but in any other church where he would, vnderwriting this clause withall, Saluis vtriuſque eccleſiæ priuilegijs: that is, Sauing the priuileges of both churches. To this the archbishop said againe; first that he should make his due and canonicall profession, and that hee should not come to him with writing or vnderwriting, but should say in his heart, Salue ſancta parens, or Salue feſta dies, not Saluis priuilegijs, or any such like thing. Whereunto when the Auſten monks in no case would consent, nor the archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction: Roger the abbat was faine to post to Rome, and there to bring the archbishop in hatred in the court of Rome, made his abby tributary to pope Alexander.

Another frinolous contention betweene Richard archbishop, and Roger abbat of the Auſten monks in Canturbury about profeſſion of obedience.

Roger abbat of S. Auſtens, maketh his house tributary to pope Alexander, An. 1177.

The pope well contented with this, not only granteth the abbat his desire, but also in contumely of the archbishop, dubbeth the abbat with all such ornaments as to a prelat appertained; and so in the yeere 1178, sent home the abbat triumphantly with his ring and miter, and other ensignes of victory, with letters also to the archbishop, inioyning him immediatly vpon the sight thereof to consecrat the abbat in his owne church, and without making any profession. Although with these letters the archbishop was shrewdly pressed, yet notwithstanding his stout heart would not stoope for this, but laid his appeale against the same, and so the consecration for that time was suſpended.

Roger the abbat returneth home with triumph.

Appellation of the archbishop.

Then Roger for his more defence, getting the kings letters, trauelled vp the second time to Rome, where grieuously he complained to pope Alexander of the archbishop. At the same time a generall councell was summoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard the foresaid archbishop was also loked for amongſt other bishops to be present. Who then came as far as Paris; but being there, durſt approch no further, and so retired home againe. Whereupon the pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the abbat with his owne consecration, and inuested him with all pompe and glory; howbeit prouiding before that the said consecration should redound to no preiudice againſt the liberties of the mother church of Canturbury, and so vpon the same wrote to the archbishop his letters of certificat, with this additiõ annexed, Saluo iure & dignitate Cant. eccleſiæ: that is to say, Sauing the liberties and dignitie of the church of Canturbury, &c.

Concilium Lateranum ſub Alexandro papa.

Roger abbat of saint Auſten trauelleth vp again to Rome.

Roger abbat consecrated at Rome by the pope.

After the councel ended, Roger the abbat returneth home, although with an empty purſe, yet full of victory and triumph. The archbishop againe thinking to worke some greeuance to the Auſten monks, had procured in this meane time letters from pope Alexander vnto the bishop of Durham, and abbat of saint Albons, that they should cauſe the said Roger abbat of the Auſten monks, to shew vnto the archbishop all the old priuileges of his house; which indeed being shewed, ſeemed to be raced & new written, with buls of lead, not after the maner nor ſtile of that age, nor pretending any such antiquity as should ſeeme to reach from the time of Auſten, but rather newly counterfet.

The house of the Auſten monks in Canturbury not able to shew for them any deeds or writings of antiquity.

All this notwithſtanding, the abbat bearing him bold vpon the popes fauor, ceaſed not still to diſquiet and ouercrow the archbishop by all waies he could, in exempting all his prieſts and lay men belonging to his iuriſdiction, from the archbishops obedience, forbidding also that none of his should come to his chapters or synods, nor to feare any sentence of his curſe or excommunication. Whereupon the archbishop about the moneth of November the same yeere, sailing ouer to Normandy where the king was, thought to take his iourny to the pope to complaine of the abbat: but being staied by the king, was not suffered to paſſe any further, the king laboring what he could, to bring them to agreement. Neuertheleſſe the pope and his Romans (saith my story) Aurum & argentum magis quàm iuſtitiam ſitientes, ſeditiones inter eos & litigia commouebant: that is, Carting more for gold and siluer, then for iuſtice, ſtill ſtirred coles of ſedition and debate betweene them. Ex hiſtoria Geruaſij.

Ex hiſt. Geruaſij. Richard the archbishop going towards Rome to complaine of the abbat, was staied by the king.

A catholike practiſe of the Romiſh court to set men together at variance that they might get their mony.

The next yeere after this ensuing, which was the yeere of our Lord 1184, died Richard the archbishop aforesaid, in the eight and thirtith yeere of king Henry the second. After whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new archbishop, betweene the king and monks of Canturbury. And now to enter here into the story of Baldwin aboue mentioned: firſt the king sent to the monks, that they should consider with themselues about the election of their archbishop, and to be ready againſt the time that hee would send for them to the court. Vpon this the couent gladly assembling together, agreed in themselues vpon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer; yet naming foure more, that if the king would refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practiſe in the monks was, firſt to keepe the election onely in their owne hands, as much as they could. And secondly, ruer to giue the election either to some prior or monke of their owne house, or to some abbat or bishop, which sometimes had been of their company. Whereby, as much inconuenience and blind superſtition was hyed in the church of England; so the same diſliked both the king and the bishops not a little.

Trouble in chuſing the archbishop of Canturbury after the death of Richard.

Monks of Canturbury sent for by king Henry the second about chuſing of their archbishop.

Monks of Canturbury partiall in chuſing their archbishop.

As this paſſed on, the king when he saw his time, willed the monks of Canturbury to bee cited or sent for, to vnderſtand what they had concluded in their election. Whereupon the monks sent vp their prior called Alanus, with certaine other monks to Reading, where the king then lay, about the moneth of Auguſt. Who at firſt were courteously entertained; but after the king had intelligence whom they had nominated & elected, they were sent home againe with cold chéere, the king willing them to pray better, and to aduiſe more earneſtly vpon the matter amongſt themselues. Alanus the prior with his fellowes thus departed, who comming home, in concluſion, so concluded amongſt themselues, that they would remit no iot of their liberties to the king, without the popes consent and knowledge. The king vnderſtanding hereof, sent his ambaſſadors likewise to the pope, for the fortifying of his cauſe, being in the meane time greeuously offended with the prior, saying, that hee was proud, and would make archbishop whom he liſted, and would be the second pope in England, &c.

Monks of Canturbury againe sent for to the king about their election.

Alanus prior of Canturbury.

The king offended with the prior and monks of Canturbury.

The ſtubbornneſſe of the monks againſt the king.

Not long after this, as these letters were sent vp to Rome, the king sent for Alanus the prior, and more of the monks to come to him; whom he intreated, deſiring them in gentle ſpeech, that they would shew so much gentlenes and fauor to him being their lord and king, as becommeth his friends and subiects to do, as to conferre with the bishops of the realme about this matter, and to take some better counſell, so as might redound to Gods glory, his honor, and wealth of the publike ſtate: with other like words to the same effect.

The king ſendeth to Rome againſt the monks.

The kings gentle words to the monks.

To whom when the prior had answered againe with thanks and due reuerence, according to the kings requeſt, the bishops and monks went to conferre together about the matter. And firſt, the bishops maruelled why the monkes should exclude them out of the election, ſeeing they were profeſſed and ſuffragans to the said church of Canturbury: Neither is there any prince, quoth the bishop of Bathe, that will refuſe our counſell. There be some councels, said the monks, whereat you may be called: but as touching the doing of this election, it pertaineth not vnto you, further then to publiſh onely & denounce the party whom we haue chosen. The bishop of London then asked, if they had already made any election. No election, said the prior, as yet, but onely wee haue denominate the perſons. Then haue ye proceeded further, quoth he, then ye ought, hauing commandement from the pope, not to proceed without vs. And with that was brought forth the popes letter, commanding that within forty daies the bishops of England and the prior, and couent of Canturbury should elect an able and fit perſon to their archbishop. About the scanning of these letters was much adoe. The bishops said, they were firſt named, and therefore ought to haue moſt intereſt in this election. The monks said againe, that they also were not excluded, and required to haue a tranſcript of the letter, whereof much doubt was made.

Bishops of England claim to haue intereſt in the election of the archbishop of Canturbury.

The popes letter, commanding the bishops of the realme with the prior and couent, to chuſe the archbishop.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the king comming betweene them both, called away the bishops from the monks, ſuppoſing by ſeparating one from the other, to draw both parties to his ſentence. But that would not be, for the monks ſtiffly ſtanding to their liberties, would loſe no preheminence of their church, ſtill alleaging how by the ancient priuileges of the church of Canturbury, the couent ſhould chuſe their paſtor and bishop, and the prior to publiſh and denounce the perſon. The bishops againe replied, that it was their right to appoint their archbishop and metropolitan, which were bishops and ſuffragans, and namely the bishop of London also being deane of the said church of Canturbury. The king then as vmpire betweene them, yet fauoring rather the ſide of the bishops, deſired them to agree together in peace. When that would not preuaile, hee ſet the lord Steward, and other noble men to intreat the prior to draw to some agreement: at leaſt to be contented with this forme of election, which was, that the bishop of London or some other bishops should declare the election in these words:

The king ſeparateth the biſhops from the monks.

The monks will loſe no preheminence of their church.

We biſhops, and the prior and couent of Chriſts Church in Canturbury, with the aſſent of our lord the king, doe chuſe ſuch

The forme of election of the archbishop set betweene the bishops and the monks of Canturbury.

such a person to be archbishop, &c. Or else thus; that the prior should pronounce forth the election in these words, saying: The bishops of England, and I prior, and the couent of Canturburie, with the assent of our lord and king, doe chuse such a person, &c.

The bishops & monks could not agree about the forme of election.

Upon this, the prior said hee would conuent with his couent. Who with much adoo were content to grant to the kings desire; but afterward being required to put downe the same in writing, that they refused to doe: yet notwithstanding relented at last to the king. But when the bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow bishops, so the matter for that time staid;

The election of the archbishop deferred to the moneth of December, An. 1184.

and the king sending home the monks againe to their house in peace, deferred that businesse to a further day, which was til the first day of December; commanding the prior with his fellowes the same day not to faile, but to be at London about the chusing of the archbishop.

As the day prefixed came, the prior with his companie were also present, who giuing attendance all that day and the next day also following, so were driuen off till the third day after. At length the lord Steward, with other nobles of the realme, were sent vnto them from the king, to declare, that whereas the king before had diuided the bishops from the monkes, that they both might haue their election by themselues, after the forme of a bill which was put downe in writing: now the mind of the king was, that the monks taking another way, should ioyne with the bishops, and so hauing the matter in talke together, should proceed iointly in the election.

The kings message to the monks of Canturbury to agree and ioine with the bishops.

Against this, many things were alleaged by the prior and his mates, complaining much vpon the bishops, which said that the bishops had euer holden with the kings against the liberties of their church and archbishops. As first they stood against Anselme for king William; then against Theobald for king Stephan; after that, against Thomas Becket for king Henry; and after him, did supplant the election of Richard their archbishop; and now againe went about to practise and worke against this their election present, &c. At last the prior with his fellowes concluding, desired they might speake with the king himselfe. Who eftsoones comming vnto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and goe talke with the bishops about the election, promising that whom they agreed vpon, he also would grant his assent vnto the same. To whom when the prior againe had obiected the writings that before were made: Truth it is (said the king) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will goe against the counsell of my realme; and therefore agree, said he, with my bishops and abbats, and remember that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

The kings words to the monks of Canturbury.

Upon this the prior with his monks, seeing no other remedie, went to the bishops to confer, according to the king his request, about the election, who then were willed by the bishops to nominat whom they would, and the bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the prior with his complices had named three after their chusing, the bishops said they would nominat but one; and so did, which was the bishop of Worcester, willing the prior to go home, and to cõfer with his couent about the same. To whom shortly after, the bishops sent certaine priests to signifie to the couent, that they according to the popes letters, should repaire to the bishops concerning the election of the archbishop; also to declare moreouer to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men: but he whom they had nominated was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The monks maruelling hereat, sent two monks with the archdeacon of Canturbury to the king.

The monks of Canturbury compelled against their wils to ioine with the bishops touching the election of the archbishop.

This done, immediatly after the returne of the priests, the bishops caused all the bels of the city to be rung, and Te Deum to be sung for the archbishop new elect. Whereof when the two monks brought tidings to the couent at Canturbury what was done at London, they were all in a maruellous dumpe. The king hearing this, & perceiuing the stiffnes of the monks, in al hast sent messengers to Canturbury with gentle words, to will the prior to come to the king, and certifie him of the purpose of his monks. Vnto whom the prior eftsoones being come, declareth in the name of the whole couent, that in no case he nor the monks would euer while the world stood, agree to that election of the bishops, vnlesse the king in his owne person would come to Canturbury, and there openly before the whole couent, protest by his owne mouth the foresaid election to be nought and void, and so returning to London againe, openly likewise before the clergy and the people would repudiat and reiect the same: and furthermore, that the partie also elected, should openly in the same place protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function vpon him, vnlesse he entred by the consent of the prior and couent of Canturbury: and all this to be done in the same place where the bishops had made their election before: and so peraduenture (said they) at the kings so earnest sute and request, they would gratifie his will, and ratifie the said election with the voices of their consent. To make the story short, after great hold betweene the secular clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the kings indignation against the prior, and the swounding of the prior before the king, at length the king to take vp the matter, and to saue the priors life, was faine to performe in his owne person all those conditions aboue prescribed by the monks. Ex Geruas. fol. 100.

Bishops of the realme make their election of the archbishop without the monks of Canturbury.

Conditions prescribed to the king by the monks of Canturbury, for the ratification of the archbishop made by the bishops.

Baldwin bishop of Worcester elected archbishop of Canturbury, An. 1184.

And thus haue ye heard the tragicall election of the bishop of Worcester, named Baldwin, made archbishop of Canturbury. Now what a troublesome time the said Baldwin had with the monks in gouerning the church of Canturbury, here followeth likewise not vnworthy to be considered.

The troubles betweene Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury, and the monks of the same Church.

IN the first yeere the archbishop shewed himselfe friendly and louing to the monks, the next yeere following he began to appeare somewhat rough vnto them. The maner then was of the house of Christs church towards the time of the Natiuity and of Easter, to receiue certaine presents or gifts of their farmers or tenants, which the cellarer should take and lay vp. Those presents the archbishop began first to intercept from the monks, and to bestow them vpon his secular clerks. After this he tooke three churches or benefices (which the monks claimed as proper to themselues) and placed in them three of his chaplens. After this, hee incroacheth to his hands certaine tenements, reuenewes, and victuals, belonging before to the monks (as they said) and committed the custody thereof to certaine of his own clerks and houshold seruants.

The great trouble and contention betweene Baldwin archbishop and the monks of Canturbury.

The monks which had borne so much with the archbishop before, seeing this, could forbeare him no longer, but needs would make their appeale against him. The archbishop not much regarding that, wared therby more fierce against them, in so much that such farmes and tenements as he before had let alone, now he receiued to his own occupying, with many other grieuances wherewith hee greatly vexed the monks, so that three abbats were faine to come and reconcile the archbishop and the monks: which reconciliation was this, that the monks should let fall their appeale, and the archbishop should restore againe to them their farmes and tenements. But as touching the benefices and the presents, the archbishop still kept them in his hands for a further triall of their obedience and patience. Neuertheless, some there were of the ancient monks, which in no case would giue ouer the foresaid appeale, before the archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

The monks of Canturbury appeale to the pope against their archbishop.

Reconciliation betweene the archbishop and the monks, which did not long hold.

After this agreement, such as it was, betweene the monks and him, the archbishop soone after sent vp to Rome one of his chaplens (vnto whom he had giuen one of the benefices afore mentioned) partly for confirmation of his benefice, partly also to obtaine licence for the archbishop to build a church, which he intented to erect of secular priests neere vnto the town of Canturbury. Which being obtained of the pope, the archbishop not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to war fierce against the monks, not onely in taking from them their churches and oblations, but also in aggrauating the whole state of their house, which he intended either to subuert, or greatly to diminish to plucke downe the pride & stubbornes of the monks. Wherefore taking with him certaine other bishops (whom he knew bare no good will to that monkish generation) he went to the king, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemne church in the honor of S. Thomas of Canturbury, of secular priests or canons; and therefore desired of the king to haue his fauorable licence to the same. The king right well perceiuing the purpose of the archbishop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the stifnecked monks, was the more willing to giue assent, if he were not also the chiefe worker of that matter himselfe.

The archbishop sendeth to the pope.

The archbishop goeth about to plucke downe the pride of the monks of Canturbury.

Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury about to build a new church on the north side of Canturbury.

The intent of the archbishop in planting of that new church, was to found there diuers prebends, & to make both the king and euery bishop being his suffragans, prebendaries thereof, so that euery one of them should confer one prebendship to the same foundation, minding there to consecrat bishops, to make his chrismatory, to celebrat his synods, and to administer all other things belonging vnto the function of his sea, and the same to be called Hakington church. The monks not ignorant how the archbishop priuily intended the desolation and subuersion of their house and liberties, consulting vpon the matter, determined at length among themselues to appeale to the sea of Rome, namely for these three causes against the archbishop: First, for spoiling them of their gifts and oblations: secondly, for depriuing them of their churches and benefices: and thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular canons, to the derogation and ouerthrow of their religious order, giuing admonition to the archbishop before by their monks sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the archbishop answered, that the foundation which hee went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honor of their house. Who answered againe, that it was, & could not otherwise be, but to their subuersion. And what should let me then (said the archbishop) but I may build in mine owne ground what I will? No (said they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you haue by right are ours, for

The purpose of the archbishop in building his new church at Canturbury.

Hakington church.

The monks of Canturbury make their appeale against Baldwin their archbishop.

Three causes alleaged against the archbishop by the monks.

The monks of Canturbury claime all the goods of the archbishop to be their owne.

for so much as you haue them not of your selfe, but of the church and for the churches cause. All which things haue ben giuen neither to you, nor to the archbishops, but vnto the church of Christ: and therefore (said they) all such as apperteine vnto vs inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our church we submit vnder the popes protection: and now here make our appeale to the see apostolike, assigning also the terme when to prosecute the same.

The monks put themselues and their house in the popes protection.

Appellation against the archbishop.

The archbishop receiuing this appellation, and saying that he would answere to the same either by himselfe, or by his sonsall, so within three daies after, which was the sixteenth of December, he came to Canturburie: where the monks vnderstanding how he was in mind to place new secular priests in the church of S. Stephan, where the monks had serued before, came to the church to stop the proceeding of the archbishop by way of appeale. Whereof the archbishop hauing warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the monks againe being sent by Honorius the prior into the church, charged the archbishop in the name of almightie God, and by vertue of their appeale made to the apostolike see, to forcease those his doings, forbidding also the parson of the church in no wise to suffer those secular clerks to bee admitted into the church. All which yet notwithstanding the archbishop proceedeth in his businesse. And first placing in his clerks hee suspendeth the prior from his administration. Then he adiureth the porters of the gate vpon their oth to let none of the monks passe out of the house without his licence. The monks likewise he commanded by vertue of obedience, not to stray any where abrode without his leaue. And furthermore, one of the foresaid monks, which serued the appeale against him, hee vterly banished from that couent. Vpon this, the day next following, Honorius the prior trusting (saith the storie) on God, and S. Thomas, toke his way to Rome, sent in commission by the couent, to prosecute the appeale against the archbishop.

Businesse betweene the monks and the archbishop for placing secular clerks in the church of S. Steyhans in Canturburie.

The prior of Canturburie suspended.

In this meane season a new iar began betweene the said archbishop and the monks, about their rents and reuenues, which the archbishop would haue committed to the receiuing and keeping of three monks; but the supprior Geffrey, with the couent, in no ease would suffer that: whereabout there was a foule stir. The archbishop craning the aid of the king, first had three bishops sent downe to him, of Couentrie, Norwich and Worcester. Who being instant with the monks to submit their cause into the kings hands, like as the archbishop had done, they vtterly refused it; especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the apostolicall see. The king seeing no other remedie came himselfe with the archbishop into the chapter house, where hee commanded first the doores to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. Amongst whom were two bishops, to wit, of Norwich, and Durham, and one Petrus Blesensis a learned man (whose epistles be yet extant in libraries) a chiefe worker in this matter against the monks. Then was called in Geffrey the supprior, with a few other monks whom he brought with him. The king then first talking with the archbishop, and his companie, and afterwards with the monks, laboured to intreate them that they would let fall their appeale, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the bishops, concerning the cause which was betweene the archbishop and them in trauerse.

An other garboile betweene the monks of Canturburie and their archbishop.

The king commeth into the chapter of Canturburie.

Petrus Blesens. a great doer against the monks.

The king intreateth peace betweene the monks and the archbishop.

To this the monks answered, that these were good words, but serued not for that time, for so much as their cause was alreadie translated to the court of Rome, and now was presently in hearing before the popes holinesse: and therefore they could not, ne would do that iniurie to their lord pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter vnto the iudgement of any other. Then was it required of the monks, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the prior would consent thereto; vpon this intent, that if the prior consented and the monks not, then should they run in contempt and disobedience: or if the monks would consent, and the prior not, then should the prior be excluded the realme. The wilie monks being not vnprouided of this subtiltie, made their answere, that seeing they had sent their prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honestie to giue any determinate consent, without the knowledge and before the returne of the said prior, vnlesse the archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfullie wrested from them. When the king could get no other answere of the monks, neither could mone the archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, vnlesse they would confesse and knowledge their fault, hee so parting from them passed ouer into France.

The monks denie to put their matter from the pope to the kings hearing.

The monks excuse to the king.

Not long after this came a messenger from Rome, bringing letters from pope Urban to the archbishop, wherein the pope considering and tendering (as hee said) the enorme greeuances done against the monks, straitly inioined and commanded him, within ten daies after the receiuing thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the prior and others of the said couent, and also to retract and restore againe to the monks whatsoeuer he plucked from them since the time of their appeale first made. Who in case hee should denie, or forslacke the doing hereof, commission was giuen to three abbats, of Battell, of Feuersham, and of S. Aulkins, with ample authoritie to performe the same, &c. The archbishop receiuing these letters brought to him by a monke of the foresaid house, first made his excuse, that the pope was misinformed. But the monks not contented with that excuse, when they would needs know what answere he would make to the popes Nuncio: his answere was, that he had yet ten daies giuen him of the pope. In which meane time the archbishop went to London, and there in the church of S. Paul consecrated his holy oyle and creame (making one of the popes seuen sacraments) which was grieuouslie taken in the church of Canturburie. At last the ten daies being ended, when the archbishop refused to accomplish that was in the popes letter inioyned him, the three abbats aforesaid to execute the popes commandement, came at their day assigned, to Canturburie, and there assoiled all such as the archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified pope Urban by letters what they had done.

The first letter of pope Urban sent to Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury.

The answere of the archbishop to the popes letter.

The archbishop maketh his oyle and creame at London.

Three abbats assoile the monks of their suspension.

The archbishop hearing this, within foure dayes after sent two of his clerks, which appealed the three abbats aforesaid vp to Rome, and hee himselfe in the meane time prepared busilie for the building vp of his church, sending to all churches in England, vpon releasement of their sinnes, to conser vnto the same: and to make the more haste, for lacke of free stone hee made vp his building with timber, and such other stuffe as hee could get.

The archbishop appealeth vp the three abbats to Rome.

The archbishops new church made of wood.

The prior Honorius all this while remained still at the court of Rome, giuing attendance vpon the pope, who hauing intelligence of the archbishops doings, procured another letter of pope Urban to the whole clergie of England, straitly inioyning them, that none should conser to the new fraternitie of Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie. To these letters the archbishop shewed such reuerence, that where before hee had planted his chapell of wood and boords, now hee prouided the same to be builded of lime and stone.

A letter of pope Urban against the archbishop.

By this time Petrus Blesensis, with other messengers of the archbishop, seeing Honorius the prior to be gone from the court of France, resorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credit from the king, from the archbishop, and also from other bishops of the realme: but the pope reading onely the kings letters and the archbishops, the residue he cast into a windowe by, saying hee would reade them at further leisure. Then the pope giuing audience in his consistorie to heare their cause: first came in Petrus Blesensis with the agents of the archbishop, exhibiting their letters and propounding their requests to the pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the monks to the archbishop, wherein they had iniuried him. Item, that the things which had beene granted before to the prior in that court, might bee called in againe. Thirdly, that the archbishop might haue licence to proceed in building his colledge of canons, &c. After this was called in M. Pilleus, the atturney for the monks of Canturburie. Who alleging many great things against the archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the popes precepts, required that hee should make restitution to the monks for his iniuries done to them: and also that his new foundation of secular canons, tending to the ouerthrow of the conuentuall church of Canturburie, should bee vtterly raced and throwne downe to the ground. Thus betweene these parties pleating & repleating one against the other, much hard hold there was, but in conclusion for all the kings letters, and for all that the archbishop and bishops could doe, the matter went on the monks side. So that there was no remedie, but the pope would needs haue the archbishops new bulding come downe, and the monks to be restored againe to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three abbats aforesaid, to wit, of Battell, of Feuersham, of S. Aulkins in Canturburie, and to Geffrey supprior of Canturburie.

The pope sendeth a letter of pope Urban to Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury.

The popes holdeth on the monks side against the king, the archbishop, and the bishops of the realme.

Letters of the king, the archbishop and of other bishops to the pope.

M. Pilleus atturney in the popes court for the monks of Canturburie.

Petrus Blesensis agent for the archbishop of Canturburie.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Glanuile lord steward of England writing to the said abbat of Battell, and to the supprior and couent of Canturburie, commandeth them in the kings name, and vpon their oth and fealtie giuen vnto him, that they nor any of them doe proceed in this controuersie betweene the monks and the archbishop of Canturburie, before they come and talke with him, there to know further of the kings pleasure: and furthermore charging the couent of Canturburie not to enter further in any examinations as concerning the archbishops matters, and also citing the supprior of the said house, to appeare before him at London, at the feast of S. James the same yeare, which was 1187. Notwithstanding hee excusing himselfe by sicknesse, sent two monks in his stead, and so kept himselfe at home. To whom commandement was giuen, that the monks of Canturburie within fifteene daies should saile ouer to Normandie to the king, and there to shew the tenor and euidences of their priuiledges: and also that such stewards and bailiffes whom they had placed in their farmes and lordships, contrarie to the will of the archbishop, should be remoued. And likewise the three abbats in the kings name were commanded, in no wise to execute the popes commandement against the archbishop. Not long after this the archbishop toke shipping at Douer, and went ouer to the king, where hee ordeined three principall officers ouer the monks of Christs church; the sacrist, the cellarer, and the chamberlaine, contrarie to the

The popes executors commanded by R. Glanuile in the kings name not to proceed against the archbishop.

Monks of Canturburie commanded to shew their priuiledges to the king.

Certaine officers put in the house of Christs church against the monks will.

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Another appellation of the monks against the archbishop.

full of the couent, with other grieuances more, whereby the monks were not a little offended; so that vpon the same they made a new appellation to the pope. Whereupon pope Urban, by the setting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come againe to the court, wrote to him another letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

The tenor of pope Vrbans letters to Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie.

VRbanus episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, Baldwino Cantuar. archiepiscopo & apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem, &c.

The copie of pope Vrbans letter to the archbishop of Canturburie.

In that we haue borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and haue not proceeded in such grieuous maner against you, as wee might, although being thereto greatly prouoked: the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would haue relented from the oppression of the conuentuall church of Canturburie committed vnto you; if not for our reuerence, which you seeme to haue contemned more then became you, yet at least for feare of Gods iudgement. For well wee hoped, our conscience persuading vs to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignitie in the church of England, you would haue been an example to others of obedience and reuerence to be giuen to the see apostolike, of all ecclesiasticall persons. Wherefore at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to aduance and honor you as wee haue done few others besides, thinking no lesse, but that we had found a faithfull friend of the church, for our honour. Wherein we perceiue now (which maketh vs not a little to maruell) our expectation greatly deceiued. And whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we find a persecutor against vs in our members.

Note how the popes stand all vpon their honor.

The popes expectation deceiued in the archbishop of Canturburie.

The pope expostulateth with Baldwin for contempt of his see.

For whereas we sundrie times haue written to you in the behalfe of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not to vex or disturbe their liberties, at least for reuerence of vs: you not onely in this, but in other things more (as commonly is reported of you in all places) setting at light our letters and appellations made vnto the apostolicall see, what you haue wrought against them after their so manifold appellations laid vnto vs, and our inhibitions againe vnto you, we are ashamed to vtter. But reuolue and consider in your mind, if ye haue well done, and aduise in your owne conscience what you haue done. We for our part, because we may ne ought not with deafe eares to passe ouer the clamors of the brethren, and such contempt of the apostolike see, although our biddings and warnings giuen to you seeme to be all in vaine: yet notwithstanding we send our mandates againe vnto your brotherhood, in these apostolicall writings, districtly and in vertue of obedience commanding you, that whether you bee present in your church, or absent; all that notwithstanding, whatsoeuer you haue done in building of your chapell (which you to the destruction of the monasterie of Canturburie haue erected) after the time of their appeale made to vs, or our inhibition sent to you, you faile not of your proper costs and charges to demolish, vndoing againe, and making voide, whatsoeuer ye haue begun and innouated concerning the institution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said chapell: accounting moreouer and reputing the place where the chapell was, to bee accursed and prophane: and also that all such whosoeuer haue celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appeare before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those monks, whom you haue presumed to remoue from their office or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeale made, you shall restore and assoile againe, rendering also and restoring all such farmes, manors, tenements, and oblations, as you after their appeale made, haue inueagled from them; and finally, that you innouate nothing touching the state of that monasterie, during the time of this controuersie depending before vs. Giuing you to vnderstand, that in case you shall continue in your stubbornesse and rebellion vpon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirtie daies after the receiuing hereof, wee shall appoint others to execute the same; inioyning also your suffragans, that as you shall shew your selfe disobedient and rebelling to vs, so they all shall refuse likewise to giue any obedience or reuerence vnto you, &c.

The archbishop commanded by the pope to throw downe the building of his new church, of his owne costs and charges.

The archbishop commanded to restore and assoile the monks whom he did deprime and excommunicate.

The archbishop threatned by the pope.

Giuen at Ferraria, 5. non. Octob.

The pope writeth to the abbats, and also to the king.

Another letter besides this the pope also sent to the three abbats aforesaid for the correction of these enormities. Likewise an other letter was sent to king Henrie the second, wherein the poe inioyneth and requireth him vpon remission of his sinnes, not to dissemble and beare with the archbishop in his oppression of his monks, but to helpe those things to bee amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

Pope Vrban dieth. Baldwinus king of Jerusalem with many nobles taken of the Saracens, and the citie won.

These pontificall letters were written An. 1187: the third day of October, & in the nineteenth day after, the same moneth, the said pope Vrban died. In the which yeare, and about the which moneth, Baldwin king of Jerusalem was taken with many noble men of Soldan the Saracen: and Jerusalem lost, after that it had been in the possession of the christians, and so continued the space of eightie eight yeres, and eightie daies, from the time that Godfridus Bolonius did first win it from the infidels.

The king and archbishop glad to agree with the monks. The monks got the vpper hand ouer the archbishop.

After the receiuing of those letters of pope Vrban aboue specified, both the king and archbishop, with all the bishops of the realme were maruellouslie quailed, glad now to please, and speake faire to the monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the king now and archbishop so submisse; but the monks on the other side were as brag and vocant, being fully assured that all now was their owne. In the narration of which historie (as it is set in Geruasius at large) this we haue to note by the way, in what feare and thraldome kings in those daies were vnder the pope, who could not be maisters ouer their owne subiects, but that euery pild monke, or pelting prior, vpon vertue of their appeale to the court of Rome, and making their house tributarie to the pope, was able not onely to match, but to giue checkemate vnto the best king christened, as not in this story onely may appeare.

The miserable subiection of kings vnder the pope to be noted.

It followeth then in the storie of these monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their ioy and iollity, suddenly commeth newes of the death of pope Vrban their great Calipha, and also how that Gregory the eight was placed in his roome, who was a speciall friend and fauourer of the archbishop; which as it did greatly incourage the king and the archbishop, so the monks on the other side were as much discomforted, so that now all was turned vpside downe. For whereas the king and the archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the monks, and to seeke their fauour: now were the monks on the contrarie side faine to crouch to the king, and glad to haue a good countenance; who then resorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirme and grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was answered againe by the king, that seeing the archbishop had granted to them their sacrist, their chamberlaine, and their cellerar, they should haue no more restored of him; neither would he suffer the liberties and priuiledges of the archbishop to bee impaired or take any wrong. And touching the new chapell of S. Thomas (said hee) whereabout ye striue so long, with the canonships and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receiue into my hands, so that none shall haue any thing to doe therein but my selfe, &c. In like maner of the archbishop such an other like answere they receiued, and of bishops little better. So the monks sent away with a flea in their eare, went home againe out of Normandie to their cell.

Calipha is the high priest of the Saracens sitting in Damascus, vnto whom all the Soldans were subiect, as our princes now are to the pope.

The kings answere to the monks of Canturburie.

Now the archbishop hauing the monks where as he would, wrought them much grieuance; but that continued not verie long. For within two moneths after, and lesse, died pope Gregorie the eight, about the sixteenth day of December following. After whom succeeded pope Clement the third, who following the steps of Vrban bent all his power with the monks against the archbishop, sending diuers precepts and mandats in the nert yeare following, which was the yeare 1188: with an imperious letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the monks, and to throw downe his new chapell. Whereupon the archbishop made his appeale and minded to go to Rome, but was called backe of the king being readie to saile ouer. In the which yeare Honorius the prior died at Rome of the plague, which was some helpe and comfort to the archbishop, for whom the archbishop made Roger Norris prior, against the wils of the couent. After this, about the latter end of the same yeare, pope Clement sent downe his legat called Radulphus a cardinall, to Canturburie with another letter more sharpely written to the same effect vnto the archbishop. Ex hist. Gerual.

Pope Gregorie the eight dieth. Pope Clement the third.

Pope Clements letters to the archbishop.

Honorius prior of Canturburie died at Rome.

The second letter of pope Clement to the archbishop.

Furthermore, in the yeare next after, which was 1189: he wrote also the third letter to him. In the which yeare also died king Henrie the second, after whom succeeded king Richard his sonne, who ioyning likewise with the archbishop, tooke his part strongly against the said monks. At last, after much adoe on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning diuers of the monks, king Richard preparing his voyage towards Jerusalem, and studying first to set peace betweene them, consulted and agreed with the bishops and abbats about a finall concord in this matter, betweene the archbishop and monkes of Canturburie; which at length on both parts was made, vpon these conuentions as follow.

K. Henrie the seconds death.

King Richard the first ioyned with the archbishop.

Agreement betweene the archbishop and monks of Canturburie vpon what conditions.

1 First, that Roger Norris should bee deposed, whom the archbishop had made prior against their wils: whom the king then at the request of the archbishop promoted to bee abbat of Eusham. 2 Item, that the archbishop should plucke downe his chapell, which he builded in the suburbs of Canturburie, against the minds of the monks. 3 Item, that the foresaid monks should make profession of their obedience and subiection to the archbishop, as they had done to his other predecessors before him. 4 Item, as touching all other complaints and iniuries (except onely the chapell, and deposition of Roger Norris the prior) the monks should stand to the arbitrement of the king, of the archbishop, and the prelats. 5 Item, that the monks kneeling downe before the king in the chapter house, should aske the archbishop forgiuenesse. Which being done, they

Ex libr. anonymo, & ex hist. Gervasij monachi Cantuarien sis.

they went all togither to the church, and sang Te Deum for this reformation of peace. Ex veteri chronico manuscripto, & ex Gervasio.

The next day after the archbishop comming into the chapter, restored to the couent their manors and farmes againe: also discharged the prior which he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made betweene the archbishop and the couent, then the archbishop going about to dissolue the building of his new church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therfore making exchange of lands with the bishop and monks of Rochester, purchased of them their ground in Lambeth, An. 1191. Which done, hee came to his clerks whom he had placed to be canons in his new college of Hakington, and also willed them to remoue all their goods and furniture to Lambeth ouer against Westminster, where hee erected for them another church, and there placed the said canons. About which colledge of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said monks of Canturburie, in the time of Hubert the archbishop in the reigne of the said king Richard, and in the yeare of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the deposing of Roger Norris prior of Canturburie aforesaid, Baldwin the archbishop inforced to grant them another prior by the assent of the king and of the couent, assigned Osbernus to bee their prior, who had taken part before with the archbishop; but the monks not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin the archbishop remoued him againe.

Archbishop of Canturburie purchaseth of the bishop of Rochester land in Lambeth to build his house vpon.

Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie buildeth his house at Lambeth.

And thus haue you the tedious discourse of this catholike tragedie, betweene the monks of Canturburie and their archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsall: notwithstanding, this I thought to giue the reader to see of purpose, first to shew forth vnto the world the stout sturdinesse of this monkish generation, who professing profound humilitie in their cote, what little humilitie they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancie in their conuersation, and what hypocrisie in their religion, this one example among a thousand others may giue some experience. Secondly, that the posteritie now may see, how little kings could then doe in their owne realmes for the pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appeare to all readers, what strife and debate, what dissension and diuision, what little vnitie and concord hath alwaies followed the popes catholike church, wheresoeuer the corrupt religion and vsurped ambition of the pope preuailed. For, not to speake onely of this monkish house of Canturburie, what church cathedrall, collegiat, or conuentuall; what see, church, monasterie or chapell was vnder all the popes gouernment, but euer there happened some variance, either betweene the king and the archbishop. as betweene king William and Lanfranke, king Henrie the first and Anselme, king Stephan & Richard, king Henrie the second and Becket, king John and Stephan Langton, king Henrie the third and Boniface, &c: or else betweene archbishop and archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the crosse, for sitting on the right hand of the popes legat, &c: or else betweene archbishops and their suffragans, or betweene archbishops and their couents, or betweene bishops and monks, betweene deane and chapter, betweene monks and secular priests, monks of one sort against another, friers of one order against another, students against friers, townesmen against scholars, &c: As for example: What discord was betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and Richard archbishop of Yorke, betweene Lanctrancus and archbishop Thomas, betweene Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and Silvester abbat of S. Aultins, betweene Walter of Ophitis church and Silvester abbat aforesaid, betweene William archbishop of Canturburie, and Jeremias prior of Canturburie, Anno 1144. betweene the monks of Canturburie and Odo their prior for translating the relikes of Dunstan, betweene king Stephan and Roger bishop of Salisburie, the bishop of Lincolne and Roger bishop of Elie his sonne, Anno 1138. betweene pope Innocent and Anacletus the space of seuen yeares, the cardinals for money (saith Gervasius) sometime holding with the one, sometime with the other; at last the election was determined by a sore battell betweene Lotharius emperor and Rogerius duke of Apulia, Anno 1137. also betweene pope Innocent the fourth and Frederike emperor the second, betweene king Henrie the third and William Kale bishop of Winchester, when the king bad the gates of Winchester towne to be shut against him, An. 1250. betweene Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, and canons of S. Paul; item betweene the said Boniface and monks of S. Bartholomew, who sat there in harnesse in his visitation, Anno 1256. betweene the abbat of Westminster and monks of the same house, Anno 1251. Item, betweene the foresaid William Kale bishop of Winchester and Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, for a priest of the hospitall in Southworke, Anno 1252. betweene the said Boniface and canons of Lincolne after the death of Robert Grosthead, for giuing of prebends, Anno 1253. betweene the monks of Couentrie and canons of Lichfield, for chusing their bishop in the time of king Henrie the third:

Three things to be obserued in this storie of Canturburie monks aboue rehearsed.

Hypocrisie in monkerie.

Kings made slaues vnder the pope.

No concord nor vnitie in popish churches.

Examples proouing what discord and how little vnitie is in the popes church.

Ex Matth. Paris.

And what should I speake of the discord, which cost so much money betweene Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, and the monks of Rochester, for chusing Richard Wando to bee their bishop, An. 1328. betweene Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolne and canons of the same house, for which both hee and they were driuen to trauell to Rome, An. 1244. betweene Gilbert bishop of Rochester, delegat to archbishop Baldwin, and Robert the popes legat for sitting on the right hand of the legat in his councell at Westminster, An. 1190. betweene the abbat of Bardenie and the said Grosthead about the visitation of their abbey, An. 1243. item betweene the couent of Canturburie and the said Robert bishop of Lincolne, Anno 1243: betweene Hugo bishop of Durham and Hubert bishop of Sarum and Geffreie archbishop of Yorke, Anno 1189: betweene William bishop of Elie the kings chancellor and the canons of Yorke, for not receiuing him with procession, Anno 1190: betweene the abbat of Westminster and his couent of blacks monks, whom king Henrie the third had much adoe to still and agree, Anno 1249. item betweene the foresaid bishop of Lincolne and the abbat of Westminster; likewise betweene Nicolas bishop of Durham and John abbat of S. Albons, Anno 1246: also betweene Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and the monks there for the house of Lambeth, An. 1146: And what a stir was betweene the preaching friers and the gray friers mentioned in Matthew Paris for superioritie, An. 1243: Also betweene the said grey friers, and the prelats and doctors of Paris about nine conclusions, condemned of the prelats to be erroneous:

No vnitie in the popes church.

Conclusions of the friers condemned for erroneous by the prelats of Paris.

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 167.

1 Concerning the diuine essence, that it cannot be seene of the angels or men glorified.

2 Concerning the essence of the holy Ghost.

3 Touching the procéding of ỹ holy Ghost, as he is loue.

4 Whether men glorified shall be In cœlo empyreo, or In cœlo crystallino.

5 That the euill angell at his first creation was euill and neuer good.

6 That there haue been many verities from the beginning which were not of God.

7 That an angell in one instant may be in diuers places.

8 That the euill angell neuer had wherby he might stand, no more had Adam in his state of innocencie.

9 That he which hath Meliora naturalia, ỹ is to say, More perfect strength of nature working in him, shall haue more full measure of necessitie to obteine grace and glorie. To the which article the prelats answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming that grace and glorie shall bee giuen according to that God hath elected and predestinate, &c. Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 167.

Contention betweene friers about the conception of our ladie.

In like maner betweene the said Dominike friers, and the gray friers, what a brall and tumult was about the conception of our ladie, whether she was without originall sin conceiued or not, in the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth and king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of our Lord 1509. Adde moreouer to these the 24 hainous schismes, & not so few, which happened betweene pope and pope in the church & see of Rome. But what doe I stand to recite the diuisions and dissensions of the popes church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the sea: For what church, chapter, or couent was in all that religion, which either had not some variance with themselues or with others: Upon which continuall strife & variance among them, the readers hereof may iudge of them and their religion as pleaseth them: in the meane time, my iudgement is this: that where such dissension dwelleth, there dwelleth not the spirit of Christ.

Continuall variance in the popes church.

Anno 1190

These things thus discoursed touching the tragicall dissension betweene Baldwin the archbishop, and the monks of Canturburie; now let vs proceed, by the Lords assistance, in continuing of our storie. After king Richard had thus, as is declared, set the monks and the archbishop in some agreement, and had composed such things as were to bee redressed within the realme, he aduanced forward his iourney, and came vnto Turon, to meet with Philip the French king: and so after that went to Vizeliace, where the French king and he ioyning togither, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured themselues by solemne oth, swearing fidelitie one vnto the other; the forme of whose oth was this: That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him of life, members, and worldly honour, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French king should aid the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as hee would himselfe defend his owne citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aid the French king in defending his land and dominions, no otherwise then hee would defend his owne citie of Rone, if it were besieged, &c. But how slenderly this oth did hold betweene these two kings, and by whose chiefe occasion first it fell asunder, the sequell of the historie (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

King Richard taketh his iourney toward the land of Jerusalem.

The oth and fidelitie betweene Philip the second French king, and king Richard the first, going to the holy land.

Furthermore, touching the lawes and ordinances appointed by this king Richard for his nauie, the forme thereof was this:

Discipline and orders set by king Richard for malefactors.

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1 That whosoe killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwne into the sea.

2 And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and bee buried with him in the earth.

3 He that shall be convicted by lawfull witnesse to drawe out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.

4 Also, he that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5 Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reuiling or cursing one an other, for so oftentimes as he hath so reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6 Item, a theefe, or felon that hath stolne, being lawfully convicted, shall haue his head shorne, and boiling pich powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe strowed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowne; and so the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast vp, &c.

The French king and king Richard come to Lions.

These things thus set in a readinesse, king Richard sending his navie by the Spanish seas, and by the straits of Jubaltarie betweene Spaine and Africa, to meet him at Marsilia, he himselfe went (as is said) to Vizeliace, to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the floud Rhodanus for presse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned. By reason whereof the two kings for the cumbrances of their traines, were constrained to dessever themselues for the time of their iourney, appointing both to meet together in Sicilia, and so Philip the French king toke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained eight daies, appointing there his navie to meet him. From thence crossing ouer to Genua, where the French king was, hee passed forward by the coast of Italie, and entred into Tyber not far from Rome, where meeting with Ottomannus the cardinall and bishop of Hostia, hee did complaine greatly of the filthie simonie of the pope and the popes court, for receiuing seuen hundred markes for consecrating the bishop Cenomanensis: also a thousand and fiue hundred markes of William the bishop of Elie for his office legantine: and likewise an infinite summe of money of the bishop of Burdeaur, for acquitting him when he should bee deposed for a certaine crime laid to his charge by his clergie, &c.

King Richard commeth to Marsilia.

King Richard complaineth of the filthie simonie of the popes court.

King Richard departeth from Marsilia.

The seuenth day of August, in the yeare aforesaid, king Richard departed out of Marsilia, after he had there waited seuen daies for his navie, which came not, and so hiring twentie gallies, and ten great barkes, to ship ouer his men, sailed by the sea coast of Italie, and came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, partly by the sea passing to Salernum, he came to Calabria, where after that hee had heard his ships were arriued at Messana in Sicilia, hee made the more speed; and so the three and twentith of September sent to Messana, with such a noise of trumpets and shalms, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and all others that did heare and behold the sight.

The kings ships arriue at Messana.

The comming of king Richard to Messana.

The French king lodged in Messana.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the sixteenth day of the same moneth of September, and had taken vp the palace of Tancredus king of Sicilia for his lodging. To whom king Richard after his arriuall oftsones resorted, and when the two kings had communed togither, immediately the same day the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile toward the land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the hauen, the wind arising contrarie against him, returned him backe againe to Messana.

The French king driuen backe againe by the wind to Messana.

King Richard obtaineth his sister Joane queen sometime of Sicilia to be sent vnto him.

King Richard getteth the monasterie of Griffons.

Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the citie) after he had resorted againe, and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicilia for deliuerance of Joane his sister (who had ben sometimes queen of Sicilia) and had obtained hir to bee sent vnto him, the last day of September passed ouer the floud of Delfar, and there getting a strong hold called de la Bagmare, or le Bamre, and placing therein his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned home againe to Messana. The second of October king Richard wan an other certaine strong hold called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the riuer of Delfar, betweene Messana and Calabria, from whence the monks being expulsed, hee reposed there all his store and prouision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

Discord betweene the citizens of Messana, and the English armie.

The king could not stay the rage of the people.

The citizens of Messana, seeing that the king of England had won the castle and iland in de la Bagmare, and also the monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting lest the king would extend his power further to inuade their citie, and if hee could all the whole ile of Sicilia, began to stirre against the kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and keepe their wals against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, in so much that the king riding among them with his staffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not allwage their fiercenesse: such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messana. The king seeing the furie of the people to bee such as he could not stay them, toke bote, and went to the palace of king Tancred to talke of the matter with the French king. In which time the matter was so taken vp by the wise handling of the ancient of the citie, that both parties laying downe their armour went home in peace.

The fourth day of the said moneth of October came to king Richard the archbishop of Messana, with two other archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other earles, barons, and bishops, for intreatance of peace. Who as they were togither consulting, and had almost concluded vpon the peace, the citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went vp vpon the mountaines, some with open force inuaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Bzun an English captaine. The noise whereof comming to the eares of the king, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them; and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselues; who then with certaine of his souldiers making vp to the top of a mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaine, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings seruants pursued within the citie, of whom fiue valiant souldiers, and twentie of the kings seruants were slaine, the French king looking vpon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrarie vnto his oth and league before made with the king of England. For the said French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely and without harme, to and fro, and might well haue ealed the kings partie, more then hee, if it had so liked him.

Communication about peace among the kings.

A skirmish betweene the citizens of Messana and the Englishmen.

The French king a bearer with straungers against the Englishmen.

This being knowne to the English host, how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuals and other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themselues in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set vp their flags with the English armes vpon the wals. Which when the French king did see, hee was mightily offended, requiring the king of England, that the armes of France might also bee set vp and ioyned with his: But king Richard to that would in no case agree. Notwithstanding, to satisfie his mind, hee was well contented to take downe his armes, and commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitalaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicilia and hee should agree togither vpon conditions.

Englishmen win the citie of Messana in Sicilia.

English armes set vp at Messana.

These things being done, the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the same moneth of October, that peace among the kings was concluded. In which peace first king Richard and Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made concerning their mutuall aid and societie during all the time of that peregrination. Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicilia aforesaid with this condition, that the daughter of Tancred (in case king Richard should die without issue) should marrie to Arthur duke of Britaine the kings nephue and next heire to his crowne, &c: whereof a formall chart was drawen and letters sent thereof to pope Clement, being dated the ninth day of November.

The league renued betweene king Richard and the French king.

Peace concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicilia.

In this meane time as these two kings of France and England were thus wintring at Messana, Frederike emperor first of that name (the same on whose necke pope Alexander did tread in the church of Uenice, saying the verse of the psal. Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, &c: whereof read before) and his sonne Conradus, with a mightie armie of Almans and others, were comming vp likewise toward the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Achon: where by the way the good emperour through a great mischance falling off his horse into a riuer called Salef, was therein drowned. After whose decease Conradus his sonne taking the gouernment of his armie, came to the siege of Achon, in which siege also hee died. Vpon whose comming such a dearth followed in the campe which lasted two moneths, that a lose of bread, which before their comming was sold for one pennie, was afterward sold for three pounds: by reason whereof many christian souldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the princes there had to feed vpon was horse flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good bishops there were in the campe, namely Hubert bishop of Salisburie, with certaine other good bishops, who making a generall collection through the whole campe for the poore, made such a prouision, that in this penurie of all things, yet no man was so destitute and needie, but somewhat he had for his relefe, till within a few daies after by the mercifull prouidence of God (who is the feeder of all creatures) ships came vnto them with abundance of corne, wine, and oyle.

Frederike the first emperor with his son Conrad come vp toward the siege of Achon.

Frederike the emperor drowned in a riuer going to the siege of Achon.

A miserable famine in the siege of Achon.

Gods prouidence in time of need.

The siege of this towne of Achon indured a long season, which as it was mightily oppugned by the christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, specially by the helpe of wild fire, which the Latins call Græcum ignem, so that great slaughter there was on both sides. During the time of which siege, many noble personages & also bishops died, among whom was

The siege of Achon.

Ignis Græcus, much vsed of the Saracens.

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was Conradus the emperors sonne, Radulph earle of Fougiers, the earle of Pericio, Robert earle of Leicester, Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, with foure archbishops, and diuers other bishops, abbats, earles, and also barons to the number of foure and thirtie, and not so few. All this while king Richard and king Philip of France, still kept at Messana in Sicilia, from the moneth of September till Aprill, for lacke (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessitie of repairing their ships. In which meane time king Richard hearing of Joachim abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the spirit of prophecie, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom hee and his bishops had much conference about the comming and time of antichrist. This Joachim belike in his booke and reuelations vttered some things against the see and pride of Rome: for the which he was lesse fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemie to their see, and so by pope Innocent the third was condemned with his bookes for an heretike, in his idolatrous generall councell of Lateran, An. 1815, as ye may read in Antoninus.

King Richard conferreth with Joachim abbat about the comming of antichrist.

Abbas Joachim condemned in the councell of Lateran, by Innocent the third.

After this Henricus king of Almans, sonne of Frederike the emperor hearing of the decease of his father, standing now to be emperor, first restoreth to Henrie duke of Saronie, and to others, what soeuer his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent vnto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirme the lawes and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would grant him their assent to bee emperor. Whereupon pope Clement by aduice of the Romans assigned him the tearme of Easter in the next yeare insuing for his coronation. But before the Easter came, pope Clement died, after he had sit three yeares, and about foure moneths: after whom succeeded Celestinus the third; of whom more hereafter, God willing.

Henricus sonne of Frederike standeth to the emperor.

Pope Clement dieth. Celestinus the third pope.

{Anno 1191}

The time thus passing ouer in the moneth of February, the next yeare following, which was of the Lord 1191, king Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meet his mother Elenor, and Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius king of Nauar, whom he was purposed to marrie. Who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, there found the kings ships, wherein they sailed to Messana. In this meane space king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall vnto all men. To the French king first hee gaue diuers ships: vpon others likewise hee bestowed rich rewards, and of his goods and treasure hee distributed largely vnto his souldiers and seruants about him. Of whom it was reported that hee distributed more in one moneth, then euer any of his predecessors did in a whole yeare: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauor, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profit, as the sequell afterward proued.

The bountifull liberalitie of king Richard.

To proceed then in the progresse of king Richard, it followeth: In the first day of the moneth of March, he leauing the citie of Messana, where the French king was, went to Cathmensium, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicilia then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three daies and three nights. On the fourth day when hee should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and precious silks, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will. For the which king Richard againe gaue him a rich sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancredus would not so let him part, but needs would giue him foure great ships, and fifteene gallies: and furthermore, hee himselfe would needs accompanie him the space of two daies iourney to a place called Tauernium.

King Richard goeth from Messana, and commeth to Cathmensium.

The honorable entertainment of king Richard by Tancredus.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French king a little before had sent vnto him by the duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the king of England was a false traitor, and would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, hee with all his power would assist him, and ioyne with him to the destruction of him and all his armie, &c. To whom Richard the king protested againe, that he was no traitor, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begun betweene them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could hee beleeue, that the French king, beeing his good lord and his sworne companeuer in that voyage, would vtter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, hee bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was readie to trie with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters and musing not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that king Richard departed, the French king commeth to Tauernium to speake with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messana againe.

Philip the French king traiterously seeketh the destruction of king Richard by secret letters sent to the king of Sicilia.

A faithfull part of Tancredus king of Sicilia towards king Richard.

From that same time king Richard moued in stomacke against king Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as hee before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marueling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders, what words hee had sent to the king of Sicilia: and for the testimony thereof the letters were shewed which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicilia. Which when the French king vnderstood, first hee held his peace, as guiltie in his conscience, not knowing well what to answere. At length returning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him, and therefore hee forged these lies (said hee) vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would boide to marrie with Alice his sister, according as hee had promised: adding moreouer, that if hee would so doe, and would not marrie the said Alice his sister, according to his oth, but would marrie an other, hee would be an enimie to him and his, while hee liued.

The first occasion of discord betweene the French king and king Richard.

King Richard charged by the French king with falsehood.

The French king quarrelleth with king Richard about marrying his sister.

To this king Richard said againe, that hee could by no meanes marrie that woman, for so much as his father had carnall copulation with hir, and also had by hir a sonne: for proofe whereof hee had there presently to bring forth diuers and sundrie witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him. In conclusion, through counsell and persuasion of diuers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquit king Richard from his bond of marrying his sister; and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeare for the space of fiue yeares, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall in this place to bee deciphered. Thus peace being betweene them concluded, the eight and twentith day of the said moneth of March, the French king lanching out of the hauen of Messana, on the two and twentith day after in Easter weeke came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

Causes alleaged why king Richard could not marrie with the French kings sister.

Agreement betweene the two kings, with the conditions touching the same.

The French king commeth to Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Messana, (king Richard with his armie yet remaining behind) arriued queen Elenor the kings mother, bringing with hir Bernegera the king of Nauars daughter to bee espoused to king Richard. Which done, Elenor leauing Bernegera behind hir, departed, taking hir iourney toward Rome, to intreate the pope for Gaufridus hir other sonne aboue mentioned, to bee consecrated in the archbishoprike of Yorke, being before elected by the procurement of king Richard his brother, as ye heard. In which meane time, as queen Elenor was trauelling toward Rome, pope Clement aboue mentioned died about the sixth day of Aprill, in whose rome succeeded pope Celestinus the third. Who the next day after his consecration came from Lateran to S. Peters church, where in the way meeteth him Henricus the emperor, and Constantia his wife, with a great rout of armed souldiers: but the Romans making fast their gates would not suffer them to enter their citie. Then pope Celestine standing vpon the staires before the church dore of S. Peter, receiued an oth of the said Henricus king of the Almans (his armie waiting without) that hee should defend the church of God and all the liberties thereof, and maintaine iustice; also to restore againe the patrimonie of S. Peter full and whole, whatsoeuer hath been diminished thereof; and finally, that he should surrender to the church of Rome againe the citie of Tusculanum, &c. Upon these conditions and grants, then the pope tooke him to the church and there anointed him for emperor, and his wife for empresse, who there sitting in his chaire pontificall, held the crowne of gold betweene his feet, and so the emperor bowing downe his head to the popes feet, receiued the crowne, and in like maner the empresse also. The crowne thus beeing set vpon the emperors head, the pope eftsoones with his foot strooke it off againe from his head vnto the ground, declaring thereby that he had power to depose him againe, in case he so deserued. Then the cardinals taking vp the crowne, set it vpon his head againe. Ex veteri chronicho manuscripto anonymo, de gestis Richardi regis, cui initium: Anno gratiæ, &c. Item ex alio vetustatis chronicho manuscripto, cui initium: Aeneas cum Ascanio, &c.

Pope Celestinus the third.

Conditions required of Henricus king of Almans, before he should be made emperor by the pope.

The pope of Rome in the full top of his pride.

Pope Celestine croweth Henricus the emperor with his feet.

The pope striketh off the emperors crowne with his foot.

King Richard moueth from Messana to Achon.

Not long after the departure of king Philip from Messana, which was in the moneth of March, king Richard in Aprill following, about the twentith day of the said moneth, sailing from the hauen of Messana with an hundred and fiftie great ships, and three and fiftie great gallies well manned & appointed, tooke iourney towards Achon; who being vpon the seas on Good friday, about the ninth houre rose a mightie southwind with a tempest, which disseuered and scattered all his naule, some to one place, and some to an other. The king with a few ships was driuen to the ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes cast at anchor. The ship that carried the kings sister queen of Sicilia, and Bernegera the king of Nauars daughter, with two other ships were driuen to the ile of Cyprus. The king making great mone for the ship of his sister, and Bernegera his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was ouerblown, sent forth his gallies diligently to search the rest of his naule dispersed, but especially for the ship wherin his sister was, and the maiden

King Richard ouertaken with a tempest on the seas going to Achon.

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whom he should marrie, who at length were found safe and merrie at the port of Limizem in the ile of Cyprus. Notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same hauen, were drowned, with diuers of the kings seruants and men of worship, amongst whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings vicechancellor, who was found hauing the kings seale hanging about his necke. The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the emperor of the Grikkons) who toke and imprisoned all Englishmen which by shipwracke were cast vpon his land: also inueigled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coasts, neither would suffer the ship wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

Isakius king of Cyprus a cruell enemie to Englishmen.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, hee in his great wrath gathering his gallies and ships togither, boarded the land of Cyprus, where hee first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how hee with his Englishmen, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driuen vpon his bounds; and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse, to let goe such prisoners of his which he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them which were drowned, as be deteined in his hands, to bee imployed for the behoofe of their soules &c. And this the king once, twice, and thrice, desired of the emperor. But he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that hee would neither let the captiues goe, nor render the goods of them which were drowned, &c.

King Richard maketh suit to the king of Cyprus for his souldiers in captiuitie.

The disdainefull and proud answere of Isakius to king Richard.

When king Richard heard this, how little the emperor Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force, eftsoones giueth commandement through all his host, to put themselues in armour and to follow him, to reuenge such iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to mistrust but the Lord would stand with them, and giue them the full victorie. The emperor in the meane time with his people stood warding the sea coasts, where the Englishmen should arriue, with swords, bils, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boords, stooles, and chests before them in stead of a wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all vnexpert, and vnskilfull in the feats of war. Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen thus winning the land vpon them, so fiercely prossed vpon the Grikkons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the emperor was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and diuers he toke aliue, and had gone neere also to haue had the emperor, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoile and great victorie returning to the port towne of Limizem, which the townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle, and victuals.

King Richard exhorteth his men to fight against Isakius.

King Richard setteth vpon Isakius king of Cyprus.

The battell betweene the emperor of Cyprus and king Richard.

Isakius emperor of the Grikkons put to flight.

The towne of Limizem taken by king Richard.

The same day after the victorie got, Joane the kings sister, and Bernegera the maiden, entered the port and towne of Limizem, with fiftie great ships, and foureteene galliots, so that all the whole nauie there meeting togither, were two hundred fiftie foure tall ships, and aboue threescore galliots. Then Isakius the emperor seeing no way for him to escape by the sea, the same night pitched his tents fiue miles off from the English armie, swearing that the third day after hee would sure giue battell to king Richard. But hee preuenting him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should bee, setteth vpon the tents of the Grikkons early, they being vnwares and asleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, in so much that the emperor was faine naked to run away, leauing his tents and pauillions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the imperiall standard, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was couered and wrought all with gold. King Richard then returning with victorie and triumph to his sister, and Bernegera, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the twelfth day of the same moneth, married the said Bernegera daughter of Rancon king of Nauar, in the ile of Cyprus, at Limizem.

The king of Cyprus againe put to flight.

King Richard marrieth Bernegera daughter of the king of Nauar in the ile of Cyprus.

The king of Cyprus being on king Richard beseeging the land of Cyprus round about with ships and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the subiects of the land were constrained to yeeld themselues to the king, and at length the daughter also of the emperour, and at last the emperor himselfe, whom king Richard caused to bee kept in fetters of siluer and gold, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

King of Cyprus againe submitteth himselfe, and is kept in golden fetters.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof hee committed vnto Radulph sonne of Godfrey lord chamberlaine, being then the first day of June; vpon the fifth of the said moneth, king Richard departed from the ile of Cyprus with his ships and gallies towards the siege of Achon, and on the next morrow came vnto Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was constrained by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of June, crossing the seas he met with a great barke fraught with souldiers and men of war, to the number of one thousand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flag with the French armes, were indeed Saracens, secretly sent with wild fire and certaine barrels of vnknowne serpents, to the defence of the towne of Achon. Which king Richard at length perceiuing, eftsoones set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned, and some taken aliue. Which being once knowne in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort vnto them, so it was a great helpe vnto the christians for winning the citie. The next day after, which was the seuenth of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had been long besieged of the christians; after whose comming it was not long, but the pagans within the citie seeing their wals to be vndermined, and towers ouerthrowne, were driuen by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie vnto the two kings. Another great helpe to the christians in winning the citie was this: In the said citie of Achon where was a secret christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege there vsed at sundrie times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein hee disclosed vnto the christians from time to time the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and by what way they should worke, and what to beware: and alwaies his letters began thus, In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen. By reason whereof, the christians were much aduantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heauinesse vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, or when the citie was got they could euer vnderstand who he was. Ex chronico manuscripto, de gestis Richardi.

King Richard taketh his iourney to Achon.

A thousand and fiue hundred Saracens sent to the rescue of Achon, vanquished on the sea by king Richard.

The citie of Achon yeelded to the christians.

An honest part of a secret christian in the citie of Achon.

To make of a long siege a short narration, vpon the twelfth day of Julie in the yeare aforesaid, the princes and captaines of the pagans vpon agreement resorted vnto the tent of the templaries, to common with the two kings touching peace and giuing vp of their citie; the forme of which peace was thus: That the kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was within, and fiue hundred captiues of the christians should bee restored vnto them, which were in Achon; also the holy crosse should bee to them rendred, and a thousand christian captiues, with two hundred horsmen, whosoeuer they themselues would chuse out of all them which were in the power of Saladine; ouer and besides they should giue to the kings two hundred thousand Bisants, so that they themselues would remaine as pledges in the kings hands for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies these foresaid couenants were not accomplished, they would abide the kings mercie touching life and limme. These couenants being agreed vpon, the kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the citie, to close them vp in towers vnder strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and streets, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would bee baptised and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the pagans, which for feare of death pretended to bee baptised; but afterward so soone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the kings, that none of them should bee baptised against their wils.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the kings and the princes of Achon.

Couenants made in giuing vp the citie of Achon.

Religion would be taught and not coacted.

The king of Cyprus breaketh conditions with king Richard.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Julie, king Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon, diuided betweene them all things therein conteined, as well the people as gold and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in diuiding the spoile, were so good caruers vnto themselues, that many knights and barrons with other souldiers, who had there sustained the whole trauell two yeares togither, about the siege, seeing the kings to take all vnto themselues, and their part to bee but little, retracted themselues without the vttermost trench, and there after consultation had togither, sent word to the kings that they would leaue and forsake them, vnlesse they were made partakers also of the gaines for the which they had so long trauelled. To whom answere was sent againe by the kings, that their wils should bee satisfied. Howbeit because

The two kings diuide the citie of Achon, with all the spoile thereof betweene themselues.

Commonly seene, who so taketh most paines, their part to bee the least.

Many of the christian souldiers for need were constrained to depart from Achon.

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cause of long deferring of their promise, many constrained by pouerty, departed from them.

King Richard requireth of the French king to remaine three yeeres with his army, but he would not.

The twentith day of July king Richard speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies would bind themselues by oth to remaine there still in the land of Hierusalem the space of three yéeres, for the winning & recouering againe of those countries. But he would sweare (he said) no such oth: and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entreth into the citie of Achon, and placed there himselfe in the kings palace, the French king remaining in the houses of the templaries, where he continued till the end of the month. So about ỳ beginning of the month of August, Philip the French king, after that he & king Richard had made agréement betweén Guido and Conradus the marques, about the kingdom of Hierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard and all the princes of the christian army with great intreaty desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came; and on the third of August from Tyrus departed, leauing his halfe part of the city of Achon in the hands of the foresaid Conradus marques. After whose departure the pagans refused to kéepe their couenants made, who neither would restore the holy crosse nor the mony, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would chop off the heads of such captiues of the christians, which were in their hands. Shortly after this, the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the times limitted for beheading of the captiues to be proroged: but the king refused to take his gifts, and to grant his request. Whereupon the Saladine caused all the christian captiues within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eightéenth day of August. Which albeit king Richard vnderstood, yet would not hee preuent the time afore limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentith of August. Upon which day hee caused the prisoners of the Saracens, openly in the sight of the Saladines army to lose their heads: the number of whom came to 2500, saue only that certaine of the principall of them he reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy crosse, and certaine others of the christian captiues.

Christian captiues slaine by the Saladine.

The Saracen captiues slaine by K. Richard.

After this, king Richard purposed to beséege the citie of Ioppe, where, by the way betweéne Achon and Ioppe, néere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rearward: but through Gods mercifull grace, in the same battell the kings warriors acquitted them so well, that the Saladine was put to flight (whom the christians pursued the space of three miles) and lost the same day many of his nobles and captaines in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion forty yéeres before: and but one christian captaine, called James Auernus, in that conflict was ouerthrowne. From thence, king Richard proceéding further, went to Ioppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming. Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance, neither durst the Saracen prince incounter after that with king Richard. Of all which his atchieuances the said king Richard sent his letters of certificat as well into England, as also to the abbat of Clara Valle in France, well hoping that he (God willing) should bee able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

The Saladine put to flight.

A noble victory by Gods power gotten by king Richard against the Saracens.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

A briefe story of William bishop of Ely the kings chancellor.

The story of William the proud bishop of Elie.

And now to leaue king Richard a while in the field, let vs make a step into England, and looke a little what is done at home while the king was abrode, and so returne to the king againe. Yée heard before how king Richard at his setting forth, committed the gouernment of the realme to Hugo bishop of Durham, and to William bishop of Ely; so that to the bishop of Durham was committed the kéeping of the castell of Windsor. The other, which was the bishop of Ely, had the kéeping of the tower of London, about which hee caused a great ditch with a rampire to be cast, which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to these two bishops the king also assigned foure other chiefe iustices, which iointly with them should haue the hearing and ouersight of all causes, as well to the clergy as the laitie appertaining: to wit, Hugh Bardolfe, William Marshall, Geffrey Peterson, and William Bruer. But the bishop of Ely was the principall, or at least he that tooke most vpon him, who both was the kings chancellor, and bought with his mony to be the popes legat through England, Ireland and Scotland, as is before specified. Touching the excessiue pride and pompe of which bishop, his ruffilings outragious, and fall most shamefull, it would make a long tragedy to discourse the whole circumstances at full: onely to demonstrate certaine specialties thereof for our present purpose, it may suffice.

Vt inste iudicarent clerum & populum, verba hist.

Foure chiefe iustices with two bishops appointed ouerseers of the realme in the kings absence.

First, this William called Longchampe, being thus aduanced by the king to be his high chancellor, and chiefe iustice of the realme, and also the popes legat, to shew abrode the authority of his legatship, began to suspend the canons, clerks, and vicars of the church of S. Peter in Yorke, because they receiued him not with procession: vnder which inderdition hee held them, till they were faine at last both canons, clerks and vicars to fall downe at his foot, causing all their bels to be let downe out of the steeple. After this commeth Hugo bishop of Durham, whom the king sent home out of Normandy with his letters, who meeting with the foresaid William bishop of Ely in the towne of Ely, shewed him the kings letters, wherein was granted to him the kéeping of Windsor castell, & to be the kings iustice frō the riuer of Humber, to the borders of Scotland. To the which letters the chancellor answered, that the kings commandement should be done, and so brought him with him to Sulwell, where he tooke him and kept him fast, till he was forced at last to surrender to him the castell of Windsor, and other things which the king had committed to his custody; and moreouer was constrained to leaue with the said chancellor, Henry de Puteaco his own sonne, and Gilbert Leie for pledges and hostages of his fidelity, to be true to the king and the realme. And thus the bishop of Durham being set at libertie, went to his towne of Houeden, where after he had made his abode a few daies, commeth thither Osbert Longchampe the chancellors brother, and William Stutuill, with a great company of armed men sent by the chancellor to apprehend him. But the said bishop of Durham putting in sureties not to depart that towne without licence of the king and of the chancellor, there still remained till hee got letters to be sent to the king, signifying how he was vsed. Whereupon the king writing his letters from Marsilia to the bishop of Ely, set the said bishop of Durham frée, and confirmed to him all the possessions and grants that he before had giuen him.

William Longchampe bishop of Ely, lord chancellor and the popes legat.

The church and bels of Yorke suspended, because the lord legat was not set in with procession.

Bishop of Ely getteth the castell of Windsor from the bishop of Durham.

Hugo bishop of Durham vexed by William bishop of Ely.

It is almost incredible to thinke how intemperatly this bishop and chancellor misused himselfe, after the kings departure into Syria, in excesse of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressions of the kings subiects. First his fellow iustices whom the king ioined with him for gouernment of the realme, he vtterly reiected and refused to heare their counsell, reputing none to be equall with him in all the realme. Neither was he contented with the authority of a prelat, but plaied both king and priest in the realme. All castels, lordships, abbies, churches, and all other appropriations belonging to the right of the king, he claimed to himselfe. And by vertue of his legatship when he came to any bishops house, abby, priory, or any other religious house, he brought with him such a superfluity of men, horses, dogs, and hawkes, that the house was worse for it three yéeres after. For commonly he rode neuer vnder 1500 horses, of chaplens, priests, and other seruing men waiting vpon him. From the clergy and laity he tooke away their churches, their bowsons, their liuings and lands, to bestow vpon his nephewes and other waiting chaplens to serue his vain glory, or els conuerted them to his own vse, to maintaine his pompe and vanity. In getting and gathering of treasures hee had no measure, in misspending the same he kept no order. And that no vice should be wanting where such auarice taketh root, the mony which he wrongfully got, he committed to the banke to be increased by vsury. What wantonnesse and lasciuiousnesse was vsed in that so riotous life, the stories doe shame to declare it. All ruffianly runnagates, idle bellies, and light persons whersoeuer hee went, hanged vpon his court. To increase the vaine iollity of this rotall prelat, there was lacking no kind of musical instruments and melodious noise, to refresh belike his wearied senses, too much beaten and macerated with continuall labor and study of hunting, hawking, and gaming; of preaching and reading I should haue said.

The excessiue pride and enormities of William bishop of Elie.

Bishop of Ely neuer rode vnder 1500 horse.

His vanity.

His vsury.

His riotous and delicat life.

Briefly, this foresaid prelat, bearing the authority both of the king and of the pope, kept such a stir in England, that the whole realme was at his becke with cap and knée crouching to him; neither durst any man rich or poore displease him, yea none in all the realme so noble or worshipfull, but was glad to please him, accounting themselues happy if they might stand in his fauor. At his table all noblemens children did serue and wait vpon him, with whom hee coupled in mariages his néeces and kinswomen. And when any that stood waiting before him durst once cast vp his eies, or did not demurely looke downeward vpō the ground, he had a staffe in his hand with a prickle wherewith he vsed to pricke them; learning belike by the carter his father, which vsed at the plough or cart to driue his oxen. Furthermore, as kings vse to haue their gard about them, so he because he would not also be vngarded, refusing men of the English nation, had his waiters and warders most of Frenchmen and Flemmings.

The bishop of Elie plaieth both king and priest.

William bishop of Ely garded with Frenchmen and Flemmings.

It happened after this, in the yéere 1191, that a great discord rose betweén John earle of Morton the kings brother, with other states of the realme, and the said William bishop of Ely; so that vniuersally they al wrote ouer to the king concerning the misgouernment and enormities of the said bishop. Who vnderstanding of the case, sent from Messana into England, Walter archbishop of Rone, & William Marshall earle, vnto the bishop of Ely with letters, commanding him that in all his doings he should associat vnto him the said archbishop of Rone, William Marshall, Geffrey Peterson, William Bruer,

Anno 1191

A generall complaint to the king of William bishop of Elie.

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Bruer, and Hugo Bardolfe aboue mentioned. Who when they came into England, durst not deliuer their letters, dreading the displeasure of the chancellor; for he despised all the commandements of the king, nor would suffer any fellow to ioine with him in his kingdome.

Another dissension betweene Iohn the kings brother, and William bishop of Ely.

Hitherto haue you heard of the glorious vanity of this lordly legat and chancellor of the realme: now yee shall heare of his shamefull fall, after his shamelesse exaltation. For shortly after this followeth another breach betweene the said earle Iohn the kings brother and him, about the besieging of the castell of Lincolne. Concerning the which castell the said Iohn sent him word, that vnlesse he raised his siege the sooner from thence, he would send him away by force of sword. The bishop either not able to make his party good, or not daring to resist, thought best to fall to some composition with the earle, and so did. In which composition, he was contented against his will, by mediation of diuers bishops and others, to make surrender not only of the castell of Lincolne, but also of Nottingham, of Tickhill, Wallingford, and many more, which were then committed to the custody of sundry men of worship and honour. And thus was that controuersie agreed, wherein the bishop of Ely began a little to be cut shorter.

Another broile betweene the chancellor and Geffery archbishop of Yorke the kings brother.

It followed then not long after in the same yeere, that another like businesse began to kindle betweene Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke the kings brother, and the foresaid glorious bishop of Ely vpon this occasion. Ye heard before how the king at his setting out, left order that earle Iohn and Geffrey his brethren should not enter into the realme the space of three yeers after his departure (howbeit his brother Iohn was shortly after released of that bond:) and also after that, how king Richard being at Messana, sent his mother Elenor to the pope for his brother Geffrey (elected before to the sea of Yorke) to be consecrated archbishop. Whereupon the said Geffrey being consecrated through licence of pope Celestine, by the archbishop of Turon, the said Geffrey eftsones after his consecration deferred no time, but would needs come into England. Whereof the bishop of Ely hauing intelligence, sent him word being at Willand in Flanders, not to presume to aduenture into the realme, contrary to his oth made to king Richard before; commanding moreouer, that if he came, he should be apprehended. All which notwithstanding, the archbishop letted not for all that, but needs would repaire to his sea, and so arriued at Douer in the month of September, where the chancellors men stood on the sea side to apprehend him; but he by changing his apparel, & swiftnes of his horse, escaped their hands, & came to the monks house of Douer. But the chancellors men whom he sent to take him, beset the church of the monks round about; so that in no wise he could auoid their hands.

The cruell handling of Geffrey archbishop of Yorke, by the bishop of Ely the popes legat and chancellor of England.

To make the story short: As the archbishop on a day, when he had said masse, was standing at the altar with his garments yet about him, the rude souldiers hauing little good maners, & lesse deuotion, spared not boldly to rush into the church, and there laid hands vpon the archbishop as hee stood; tooke him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and mire, and (as we vse to say) through thicke and thin, and so committed him to Matthew Clerke their constable to be kept: whereat the people greatly disdained, seeing him that was a kings sonne, and the brother of a king so to be intreated. The hearing whereof, when it came to the eares of earle Iohn his brother, hee being not a little offended therewith, sent to know of the chancellor, whether this was his doing or not. To whom when the chancellor sent answer againe, and stoutly confessed the fact to be his; then the earle sent commandement that his brother should be deliuered, and so he was. Who then comming to Lond̄, made his complaint to the earle his brother, and to other nobles of the realm, of the iniuries done to him by the chancellor. Whereupon the earle sent for the said chancellor, and appointed a day peremptory for him to appeare before the whole body of the counsell, to make answere to such iniuries as he had done, both to the archbishop of Yorke, and also to the bishop of Durham aboue mentioned. But the chancellor driuing off the time with delaies, would neither come nor send. Then the earle with the bishops about him, made their iourny towards London, to haue the matter there handled in great audience.

Geffrey archbishop of Yorke deliuered out of prison by commandement of earle Iohn his brother.

A skirmish betweene the seruants of the bishop of Ely, and the seruants of earle Iohn.

The chancellor seeing that, withdrew himselfe from Windsor to the city of London, where by the way it happened that the seruants of the earle and of the chancellor meeting, did skirmish togither. In which fray one of the earles family was slain; but yet his men had the better, and the chancellor with his men were put to flight, and so fled to the tower, where they did hide themselues. The next day after (which was about the twelfth day of October) earle Iohn the kings brother, and the archbishop of Rone, with all the bishops, earles and barons, and citizens of London assembled togither in Pauls church; where many and great accusations were laid against the said chancellor; so that in fine it was agreed in that assembly, that the said chancellor should be deposed, and in his place was substituted the archbishop of Rone, according to the tenor of the kings letters sent from Messana; which was, that certaine other persons should bee associated with the chancellor for the gouernement of the realme; by whose counsell if he would not be directed, the archbishop of Rone should be set in his place, and he to be deposed. The third day after this, the chancellor firmely promised not to depart out of the realme before hee had deliuered out of his hands all such castels, the keeping whereof he committed to certaine forreners and strangers: and for assurance thereof, he gaue his two brethren and chamberlain for pledges, and so went to Canturbury, where he said he would take the crosse of a pilgrim, and leaue the crosse of his legatship.

The bishop of Ely resigneth his castels.

Now when he was come to the castell of Douer, and there had remained a few daies, contrary to his promise made, his purpose was to take ship, and to passe ouer the seas. And because he durst not doe it openly, he deuised a new kind of disguising, decking himselfe in the apparel of a woman, and so as goodly as he was, went to the sea side in his womans weed, hauing in his hand a metyard, and on his arme a peece of linnen cloth. And thus as he was sitting vpon a rocke waiting for his ship to come and conuey him ouer, a certaine fisherman espying him, and supposing him to be an harlot, came to him, and so with strugling with him, found him as hee was indeed to be a man in likenes of a woman: whereat he wondered and began to make an outcry vpon him. But the bishops seruants being not far off, came running and stilled him as well as they could.

The bishop of Ely clotheth himselfe in womans apparell.

A fisherman taketh the bishop of Ely to be a woman.

The fisherman then going to the next village, and there belike declaring what he had seene, to try out the matter further, came out certaine women, who seeing the linnen cloth hanging at his arme, began to question with him of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it: but to this he would answer neuer a word, but smiled vpon them. Whereat they musing with themselues, and whispering one with another, at last with their hands were so bold as to plucke downe his mufler, and there by his beard new shauen found him indeed to be a man, and so with a loud exclamation, raised the village vpon him, and would haue fallen vpon him with stones. Then came running a great multitude both of men and women, who wondering at him as birds are wont at an owle, laid hands vpon him, and pluckt him downe to the ground, haling and drawing him by the sleeues and collar of his gowne through stones and rocks, whereby he was shrewdly hurt. His seruants once or twice made out to rescue their old maister, or new mistris, but could not for the preasse of the people, who beating him with their fists, and spitting at him, drew him thorow the whole towne, and so with shame enough at length laid him in a darke cellar in stead of a prison, at whom all the country about wondered and cried out. In conclusion, earle Iohn hearing thereof, within eight daies after sent word, that they should deliuer him and let him goe.

The bishop of Ely is put in womans apparell found to be a man.

Baited of women by the sea side.

Cast into a darke cellar in stead of a prison.

Set at liberty by Iohn earle of Morton.

The bishop then set at libertie, sailed ouer as he could to Flanders, where he had but cold welcomming: from thence he went to Paris, where he gaue Mauricius their bishop three score marks of siluer to be receiued in with procession, & so he was. Then returned he into Normandie. But the archbishop of Rone there gaue commandement ẏ the church doores should be locked, and no seruice said so long as he there remained. The bishop seeing that, directed his letters and messengers to pope Celestine, and also to king Richard into Syria, signifying to them how Iohn the earle of Morton and his complices had handled him, and expulsed him out of the realme, requiring that he might be restored againe to that was taken from him, and also offering himselfe to be tried by the law for that he had done; so that if the king should dislike in any thing that he had done, he was readie to satisfie the kings contentation in all things wherein iustlie he could be charged.

The bishop of Ely giueth threescore marks to be receiued with procession.

The bishop of Ely complaineth to the king and the pope.

Vpon this pope Celestine inflamed with an apostolicall zeale in the behalfe of the said bishop of Ely his legat, wrote a sharp and thundering letter to the archbishops, bishops, and prelats of England, commanding them by his authoritie apostolicall, that for so much as the iniuries done to his legat, did redound to the contumelie of the whole mother church of Rome, they should not faile therefore, but with seuere censures of the church, that is, with booke, bell, & candle, proceed as well against the said Iohn earle of Morton, as also all other who so euer had, or should attempt any violence or iniurie against the said his legat bishop of Ely, with no lesse seueritie then if the said iniurie should be offered to the person of the pope himselfe, or any other of his brethren the cardinals, &c.

The letter of pope Celestine in the behalfe of the bishop of Ely his legat.

The bishop of Ely bold vpon the popes fauour.

The bishop of Ely hauing intelligence, sent him word being at Willand in Flanders, not to presume to aduenture into the realme, contrary to his oth made to king Richard before; commanding moreouer, that if he came, he should be apprehended.

The bishop of Ely the popes legat and chancellor of England.

The nobles assembled in counsel against the bishop of Ely.

The bishop of Ely chancellor of the realme & legat deposed.

The bishop of Ely complaineth to the king and the pope.

The bishop of Ely bold vpon the popes fauour.

The names of many which stood against the bishop of Ely, appointed to be excommunicate.

The bishop of Ely the popes legat and chancellor of England.

The bishop of Ely chancellor of the realme & legat deposed.

The bishop of Ely clotheth himselfe in womans apparell.

The bishop of Ely in womans apparell found to be a man.

The bishop of Ely resigneth his castels.

Another dissension betweene Iohn the kings brother, and William bishop of Ely.

Another broile betweene the chancellor and Geffery archbishop of Yorke the kings brother.

A fisherman taketh the bishop of Ely to be a woman.

Baited of women by the sea side.

Cast into a darke cellar in stead of a prison.

Set at liberty by Iohn earle of Morton.

The bishop of Ely giueth threescore marks to be receiued with procession.

The bishop of Ely complaineth to the king and the pope.

The letter of pope Celestine in the behalfe of the bishop of Ely his legat.

The bishop of Ely bold vpon the popes fauour.

The names of many which stood against the bishop of Ely, appointed to be excommunicate.

The nobles assembled in counsel against the bishop of Ely.

The bishop of Ely chancellor of the realme & legat deposed.

Geffrey archbishop of Yorke deliuered out of prison by commandement of earle Iohn his brother.

A skirmish betweene the seruants of the bishop of Ely, and the seruants of earle Iohn.

The cruell handling of Geffrey archbishop of Yorke, by the bishop of Ely the popes legat and chancellor of England.

Another dissension betweene Iohn the kings brother, and William bishop of Ely.

Another broile betweene the chancellor and Geffery archbishop of Yorke the kings brother.

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said

ſaid biſhop his chancellor. In like ſort the ſaid chancellor alſo complaining of them, wrote his letters to the king, ſignifying how earle John his brother went about to vſurpe his kingdome, and would alſo ſhortly ſet the crowne vpon his owne head, vnleſſe he made the more ſpéed homeward. The king then was buſie in repulſing the Saladine, and prepared to lay ſiege againſt Hieruſalem, and got Sclauonia, with diuers other townes from the Saracens, which was in the yéere 1192, hauing diuers conflicts in the meane ſpace with the Saladine, & euer put him to the worſe. As the king was thus preparing to lay his ſiege againſt Hieruſalem, the Saladine glad to fall to ſome cõpoſition with ỹ king, ſent vnto him, that if he would reſtore to him againe Sclauonia in as good ſtate as it was when he toke it, he would grant to him & to all chriſtians in the land of Hieruſalem truce for three yéeres, and offered himſelfe thereunto to be ſworne. The king ſéeing the duke of Burgundie and the Frenchmen to ſhrinke from him, and his own men to decay, and alſo his money and health to diminiſh, but eſpecially for that he vnderſtood by the biſhop of Elie his chancellor, the French king to ſet vp John his brother to poſſeſſe his kingdome, being counſelled thereto by the Templaries, toke the truce offered of the Saracens, & ſo began to draw homeward.

The biſhop of Elie complaineth to the king of the earle of Morton his brother.

Anno 1192

In this meane while much grudge and ſtrife increaſed more and more betwéene the biſhop of Elie and the archbiſhop of Rone aboue ſpecified, inſomuch that the archbiſhop being excommunicate, ſent vp his clerks to pope Celeſtine to complaine of the biſhop: but the pope euer ſtood in his purgation. At laſt he ſent two of his cardinals, to wit, Octomannus biſhop of Oſtia, and Iordanus De foſſa noua, to breake the ſtrife betwéene the biſhop of Elie, and the archbiſhop of Rone.

Strife betwéen the biſhop of Elie and the archbiſhop of Rone.

Pope Celeſtine ſtandeth in excuſe of the biſhop of Elie.

After this, king Richard being taken, and in the cuſtodie of Henry the emperor, the biſhop of Elie reſorting to him, was ſent by him into England to Elenor his mother, and other nobles. Who then returning into England againe, not as chancellor, nor as legat (as he ſaid) but as a ſimple plaine biſhop, ſo by that meanes was receiued. Ex Matth. Pariſ. Et ex alijs incerti nominis manuſcriptis codicibus.

The biſhop of Elie with the kings letters commeth againe into England.

But of this vaineglorious prelat inough and too much. Now to returne again to Richard: concerning whoſe worthie acts done abrode in getting of Cyprus, Achon and Ptolemaida, in pacifying Ioppe, &c. partlie is ſpoken of before. Many other valiant & famous acts were by him and the French king atchieued, and more ſhould haue béen, had not thoſe two kings falling into diſcord diſcouered themſelues: by reaſon whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within ſhort ſpace. Who being returned againe eſtſones inuaded the country of Normandy, exciting alſo John the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of England in his brothers abſence. Who then made league (vpon the ſame) with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yéere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for three yéeres. And not long after king Richard the next ſpring following returned alſo. Who in his returne driuen by diſtreſſe of weather about the parts of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Limpold duke of the ſame country, and ſo ſold to the emperor for 60000 marks, who for no ſmall ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king theſe letters following.

What diſcord doth.

The French king returneth from Paleſtina.

Anno 1193

King Richard returneth from Paleſtina.

The letter of the emperor to Philip the French king concerning the taking of king Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo Philippo, illuſtri Francorũ regi ſalutem, & ſinceræ dilectionis affectũ. Quoniam imperatoria celſitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam lætiorem eſſici, de vniuerſis quibus omnipotentia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos & Romanũ imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentiũ declarare duximus, quòd inimicus imperij noſtri & turbator regni tui rex Angliæ, quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reuerſurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui ſua in qua ipſe erat, induceret eum in partes Hiſtriæ, ad locũ qui eſt inter Aquileiam & Venetias. Vbi rex Dei permiſſione paſſus naufragiũ, cum paucis euaſit. Quidam itaq; fidelis noſter comes Mainardus de Gooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quòd in terra erat, & conſiderato diligentius qualem nominatus rex in terra promiſſionis proditionem & traditionem, & proditionis ſuæ cumulũ exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipſo autem rege in fugam conuerſo, ceperunt de ſuis octo milites. Poſtmodum proceſſit rex ad Burgũ in archiepiſcopatu Salſeburgenſi, qui vocatur Friſorum, vbi Fredericus de Beteſow, rege cum tribus tantũ verſus Auſtriam properante, noctu ſex milites de ſuis cepit. Dilectus autem conſanguineus noſter Limpoldus dux Auſtriæ, obſeruatà ſtrata, ſæpe dictum regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo deſecta captiuauit. Cùm itaq; in noſtra nunc habeatur poteſtate, & ipſe ſemper tua moleſtauit & turbationis operam præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curauimus, ſcientes eà dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. calendas Ianuar.

King Richard thus being traiterouſly taken and ſold to the emperour by the duke of Auſtrige for 60000 marks, was there kept in cuſtody a yéere and three months. In ſome ſtories it is affirmed, that king Richard returning out of Aſia, came to Italy with proſperous wind, where he deſired of the pope to bee abſolued from an oth made againſt his will, and could not obtain it. And ſo ſetting out from thence towards England, paſſing by the country of Conradus the marques, whoſe death (he being ſlaine a little before) was falſly imputed by the French king to the king of England, and there traiterouſly was taken, as is before ſaid, by Limpoldus duke of Auſtrige. Albeit in another ſtory I find the matter more credible ſet forth, which ſaith thus; That king Richard ſlew the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at cheſſe in the French kings court. And Limpoldus taking his aduantage, was more cruell againſt him, and deliuered him, as is ſaid, to the emperor, in whoſe cuſtody he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yéere and three months. During the which time of the kings indurance, the French king in the meane ſeaſon ſtirred war in Normandy. And earle John the kings brother made ſtir and inuaded England; but the barons and biſhops of the land mightily withſtood him, and beſieged him in the caſtell of Windſor, where they toke from him all the caſtels and munitions which before he had got. Thus the earle ſéeing no hope to preuaile in England, and ſuſpecting the deliuerance of the king his brother, made into France, and kept with the French king: at length it was agréed & concluded with the emperor, that king Richard ſhould be releaſed for an hundred thouſand pounds, of the which mony part ſhould remaine to the duke of Auſtrige, the reſt ſhould be the emperors. The ſum of which mony was here gathered and made in England of chalices, croſſes, ſhrines, candleſticks, and other church plate, alſo with publike contribution of frieries, abbies, and other ſubiects of the realme. Whereof part was preſently paid, and for the reſidue remaining hoſtages and pledges were taken, which was about the fifth yéere of his raigne. And then it was obtained of the pope, that prieſts might celebrat with chalices of latin and tin, and ſo was granted and continued long after, which mine author in his chronicle intituled Eulogium, doth teſtifie himſelfe to haue ſéene. At what time this foreſaid mony was paid, and the hoſtages giuen for the ranſome of this king. I haue an old ſtory that ſaith, how the foreſaid duke of Auſtrige ſhortly after was plagued by God with fiue ſundry plagues: firſt, with burning of his chiefe townes: ſecondly, with the drowning of ten thouſand of his men in a great flood, happening no man could tell how: thirdly, by turning all the eares of his corne-field into wormes: fourthly, by taking away almoſt all the nobles of his land by death: fifthly, by breaking his owne leg falling from his horſe, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died vpon the ſame: who then is ſaid at his death to forgiue king Richard fiftie thouſand marks, and ſent home the hoſtages that were with him. Ex varijs chron. The book intituled Eulogium before mentioned, declareth thus; that the ſaid Limpoldus duke of Auſtrige fell in diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome, and died excommunicat the next yéere after, being the yéere one thouſand one hundred ninety ſix.

Confederacy of the French king and earle John againſt K. Richard.

Earle John beſieged at Windſor.

Anno 1195

Ex chronico cuiuſdam Eulogiũ.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the duke of Auſtrige.

Thus the ſaid king Richard being ranſomed, as hath been declared, from the couetous captiuity of the emperor, was reſtored againe, and made his repaire into England. At whoſe returne, earle John his brother reſorting vnto him with humble ſubmiſſion, deſired to be pardoned of his tranſgreſſions. To whom king Richard anſwering againe; Would God (ſaith he) this your treſpaſſe as it dieth with me in obliuion, ſo it may remaine with you in remembrance, and ſo gently forgaue him. And after he had again recouered his holds and caſtles, cauſed himſelfe to be crowned againe. Which done, he made his power againſt the French king, and draue him out of Normandy. After that, he turned his voiage againſt the Welſhmen, and ſubdued them.

Anno 1196

The anſwer of King Richard to his brother.

The next yéere following, which was the yéere 1197, Philip the French king brake the truce made betwéene him and king Richard, whereupon the king was compelled to ſaile ouer againe to Normandy to withſtand the malice of his enemie. About which time, my ſtory recordeth of one called of ſome Fulco; ſome ſay he was the archbiſhop of Rone called Gualter. This Fulco being then in England, and comming to the kings preſence, ſaid vnto him with great courage and boldneſſe, Thou haſt, O mighty king, three daughters very vicious and of euil diſpoſition; take good héed of them, and betimes prouide for them good huſbands, leſt by vntimely beſtowing of the ſame, thou ſhalt not onely incur great hurt and damage, but alſo vtter ruine and deſtruction to thy ſelfe. To whom the king in a rage ſaid; Thou lying and mocking hypocrit, thou knoweſt not where thou art, or what thou ſaieſt: I thinke thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I haue neuer a daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou open lier get thée out of our preſence. To whom Fulco anſwered, No, and like your grace, I lie not, but ſay truth: for you haue three daughters which continually frequent your court, and wholly poſſeſſe your perſon, and ſuch three whores and naughty packs as neuer the like hath been heard of: I meane, miſchieuous pride, greedy couetouſneſſe, and filthy luxurity; and therfore againe I ſay, O king, beware of them, and out of hand prouide mar-

Anno 1197

Three daughters of the king noted.

riages

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riages for them, lest in not so doing, thou vtterly vndo both thy selfe and all the whole realme.

The which his words the King toke in good part, with correction of himselfe, and confession of the same. Whereupon incontinently hee called his lords and barons before him, vnto whom hee declared the communing and monition of Fulco, who had willed him to beware of his three daughters, pride, auarice, and luxurity, with counsell out of hand to marry them, lest further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole realme; whose good counsell (my lords) I intend to follow, not doubting of all your consents thereunto. Wherefore here before you all, I giue my daughter swelling pride to wife vnto the proud Templars; my greedy daughter auarice to the couetous order of the Cistercian monks; and last of all, my filthy daughter luxurity to the riotous prelats of the church, whom I thinke to be very meete men for her; and so seuerally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our realme are not to bee found for them. And thus much concerning Fulco.

Not long after this, it befell that a certaine noble personage (lord of Lemonice in little Britaine, Widomarus by name) found a great substance of treasure both of gold and siluer hid in the ground, whereof a great part he sent to King Richard, as chiefe lord and prince ouer the whole country. Which the King refused, saying; he would either haue all, or none, for that he was the principal chiefetain ouer the land. But the finder would not condiscend to that. Wherefore the King laid siege to a castell of his called Galuz, thinking the treasure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the castell, seeing themselues not sufficient to withstand the King, offered to him the castell, desiring to depart with life and armor. To this the King would in no wise grant, but bid them to reenter the castell againe, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It so befell, that as the king with the duke of Brabant went about the castel, viewing the places thereof, a souldior within, named Bertandus Cordoun, stroke the King with an arrow in the arme, whereupon the yron remaining and festering in the wound, the King within nine daies after died; who because he was not content with the halfe of the treasure that another man found, lost all his own treasure that he had. The King being thus wounded, caused the man that stroke him to be brought vnto him, and asked the cause of him why he so wounded him: Who answered him againe (as the story saith) that he thought to kill rather then to be killed: and what punishment soeuer he should sustaine, he was content, so that he might kill him which had before killed his father and brethren. The King hearing his words, freely forgaue him, and caused an hundred shillings to be giuen him. Albeit (as the story addeth) after the death of the King, the duke of Brabant, after great torments, caused him to bee hanged. Ex historia regis Richardi secundi, cui initium, De patre istius Bruti, &c. The story of Gisburne saith, that the killer of King Richard comming to the French King, thinking to haue a great reward, was commanded to be drawne asunder with horses, and his quarters to be hanged vp.

He that all would haue, shall all forgoe.

Couetous greedinesse plagued.

The death of King Richard the first.

King Richard forgiueth him that killed him.

Ex bibliotheca Carienſi.

Ex Gualtero Hemingford monacho Giſburnenſi.

Another story affirmeth, and Gisburne partly doth testifie the same, that a little before the death of king Richard, three abbats of the order Cistercian came to him, to whom he was confessed. And when he saw them somewhat stay at his absolution, had these words: that he did willingly commit his body to the earth to be eaten of wormes, and his soule to the fire of purgatory, there to be tormented till the iudgement, in the hope of God his mercy. Ex Iornalenſ. Gisburn. & alijs.

Maine feare of purgatory.

Ex Iornal. Giſburnenſi, & alijs.

About the raigne of this King, the said Iornalensis maketh mention of Roger archbishop of Yorke, which put out of his church the monks, and placed for them secular priests, saying, that he would rather wish ecclesiasticall benefices to be giuen to wanton priests, then to abominable monks; and that Thurstinus did sinne neuer worse in all his life, then in building that house for monks, &c. Another story I haue which saith, that this was the bishop not of Yorke, but of Couentry.

Monks put out and secular priests receiued.

The King not long after departed without issue, and John his brother raigned after him: in whom, although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he farre from that deserning, for the which hee hath been so ill reported of diuers writers: who being led more with affection of popery, then with true iudgement and due consideration, depraued his doings more then the sincere truth of the history will beare them. Concerning which history, after so many writers, we thought also to bestow a little labor, although in this matter we cannot be so long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

King Iohn.

King John.

AFter the death of King Richard, called Coeur de lion, raigned his brother John earle of Morton. Afterward the archbishop put the crowne on his head, and sware him to defend the church, and to maintaine the same in her good lawes, and to destroy the ill. And except he thought not in his mind to doe this, the archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. And on S. John Baptists day next following, King John sailed into Normandy and came to Rone, where he was royally receiued, and truce concluded betweene him and the French King for a time. And thither came to him the earle of Flanders, and all other lords of France that were of King Richards band and friendship, and were sworne vnto him.

Not long after this, Philip the French King made Arthur knight, and toke his homage for Normandy, Britaine, and all other his possessions beyond the sea, and promised him helpe against King John. After this, King John and the French King talked togither with their lords about one houres space, and the French King asked so much land for himselfe and knight Arthur, that King John would grant him none; and so departed in wrath.

Arthur of Britaine.

A communication betwen the king of England and the French king.

The same yeere a legat came into France, and commanded the King in paine of interdiction to deliuer one Peter out of prison, that was elect to a bishoprick, and thereupon he was deliuered.

And after that the legat came into England, and commanded King John vnder paine of interdiction, to deliuer the archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner two yeeres; which the king denied to do, till he had paid him six thousand marks, because he toke him in harnesse in a field against him, and sware him vpon his deliuerance, that hee should neuer weare harnesse against any christian man.

This time diuorce was made betweén King John and his wife, daughter of the earle of Glocester, because they were in the third degree of kinred. And after, by the counsell of the French King, King John wedded Isabel, daughter of the earle of Angulla: and then Arthur of Britaine did homage to King John for Britaine and others.

Marriage in the third degree forbidden by the pope.

Anno 1200

At this time fell strife betwéen King John and Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke for diuers causes: first, because he would not suffer & permit the shiriffe of Yorke in such affaires as hee had to do for the King within his diocesse: secondly, because he did also excõmunicat the said shiriffe: thirdly, because he would not saile with him into Normandy, to make the marriage betweén Lewis the French Kings sonne, and his néece, &c.

After this, in the yéere of our Lord 1202, Philip the French King (in a communication betwéen King John and him) required that the said king John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Pictauia which he had beyond the sea, vnto Arthur his Nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would war against him, and so did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following the French King with the said Arthur set vpon certain of his townes and castels in Normandie, and put him to much disquietnesse. But he (the Lord so prouiding, which is the giuer of all victory) had such repulse at the Englishmens hands, that they pursuing the Frenchmen in their flight, did so follow them to their hold, and so inforced vpon them, that not only they took the said Arthur prisoner with many other of the Frenchmen, but also gaue such an ouerthrow to the rest, that none was there left to beare tidings home. This Arthur was nephew to King John, and son to Geffrey which was the elder son to John. For King Henry the second (to make the matter more euident) had eight children, one William, which died in his childhood: the second, Henry, which died also his father being yet aliue: the third Geffrey earle of Britaine, which likewise deceased in his fathers daies, leauing behind him two children, Arthur and Eleonora: the fourth, Richard Coeur de lion King: the fift John now raigning, and three other daughters besides. The same Arthur being thus taken in war, was brought before the King at the castell of Falesie in Normandy, who being exhorted with many gentle words to leaue the French king, and to incline to his vncle, answered againe stoutly and with great indignation, requiring the kingdome of England with all the other dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the lawfull heire of the crowne. By reason whereof, he (prouoking the Kings displeasure against him) was sent to the tower of Rone, where at length (whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other priuy hand, or by what chance else, it is not yet agréed vpon in stories) hee finished his life. By occasion whereof, the foresaid King John was had after in great suspition, whether iustly or vniustly, the Lord knoweth.

Anno 1202

Nat. Paretti in vita Ioannis regis.

Arthur.

Anno 1203

The yéere following, historiographers write, that King John for lacke of rescue, lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French King.

Normandy lost, and gotten by the French men.

After these losses, came other troubles vpon him, with other as great or more great enemies (that is, with the pope and his popelings) by occasion of chusing of the archbishop of Canturbury, as in this history following by Christ his grace is to be declared.

The yéere of our Lord 1205, about the month of July, Hubert the archbishop of Canturbury deceased: whose decease after it was in Canturbury to the monks knowne, and afore his body was yet committed to the earth; the younger sort of the monks there gathered themselues togither at midnight, and elected their superior Reignold, & without the kings licence, or yet knowledge priuily placed him in the metropolitical seat, singing Te Deũ at midnight. And because the king should not make their election void, they charged him by vertue of his oth

Anno 1205

Striuing for the election of the archbishop of Canturbury.

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oth to keepe all ſecret by the way, and to ſhew nothing what was done before he came to the pope: but he cõtrary to his oth, ſo ſone as he came into Flanders opened al abrode all the matter, and vttered their counſell: whereupon the monks being not a little grieued with him, ſent him priuily vnto the court of Rome out of hand. The next day the elder monks ſent to the king, deſiring him of his gracious licence canonically to chuſe their archbiſhop. The king moſt gently and fauourably granted their petition, requiring them inſtantly, and deſiring that for his ſake they would ſhew fauor to John Gray, then biſhop of Norwich, as they did indeed, erecting him into that ſea of their high primacy. Moreouer, becauſe the authority of kings and princes was then but ſmall in their owne dominion, without the popes conſent and confirmation to the ſame: hee ſent alſo to Rome of his owne charges to haue the foreſaid election ratified by the pope. The ſuffragans of Canturbury then (being not a little offended at theſe two elections) ſent ſpeedily to Rome to haue them both ſtopped, for that they had not been of counſell with them. And hereupon at the laſt grew a moſt prodigious tumult.

✻ In this yeere the clergy grew ſo vnruly, that they neglected their charge, and thereby incenſed the kings diſpleaſure ſo ſore againſt them, that he toke order about the goods of ſuch as in that caſe were faulty: as ſhall appeare more manifeſtly by that which followeth.

A letter of king Iohn touching the lands and *goods of ſuch clerks as refuſe to celebrat* diuine ſeruice.

R *Ex omnibus de epiſcopatu Lincolniæ clericis & laicis ſalutem. Sciatis quòd à die lunæ proximè ante Floridum paſchatis commiſimus, &c.* In Engliſh.

Turris Lond. Some thinke that Floridum paſchatis is Palmeſunday: but Eaſter is rather thought to be meant thereby, ſith the Spaniards at this day call the ſame Florida.

The king to all clerks and lay people within the biſhoprick of Lincolne, greeting. Know ye that from monday next before the feaſt of Eaſter, we haue committed to William of Cornehill archdeacon of Huntington, & to Ioſeline of Canuil all the lands and goods of the abbats and priors, and of all the religious perſons, and alſo of all clerks within the biſhopricke of Lincolne, which will not from that time celebrat diuine ſeruice. And we command you, that from thence you aſsiſt them as our bailiffes, and belieue them in thoſe things which they ſhall tell you priuatly on our behalfe. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Clarendon the eighteenth day of March, in the ninth yeere of our raigne.

The like was written to all within the biſhopricke of Ely. So that hereby we ſee the diſſolutenes and wilfulnes of thoſe popiſh churchmen, whom conſcience of diſcharging their duty did ſo little moue, as that they thought vpon nothing leſſe; ſith the king was driuen to vſe ſuch auſterity and ſharpnes againſt them. But to proceed in this troubleſome election: you ſhall vnderſtand, that the next yeere after, the ſuffragans of the prouince of Canturbury on the one ſide, and the monks of Canturbury on the other ſide, came afore the pope with their brawling matter. Firſt the monks preſenting Reginald their ſuperior, deſired that their election might be confirmed. The ſuffragans likewiſe complained that the monks would preſume to chuſe the archbiſhop without their conſent, and therefore deſired by diuers reaſons the firſt election to be of none effect. The pope deciding the matter betweene both, pronounced with the monks, charging the ſuffragans and biſhops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the monks alone. The monks of Canturbury now hauing the whole election in their owne hands, fell alſo at ſquare among themſelues, the younger ſort with the elder. The yonger ſort which had choſen Reginald their ſuperior, would that election to ſtand. The elder ſort of the monks replied againe, ſaying: That the firſt election was done by ſtealth, and by night, and by the younger part; alſo without the counſell of other monks. Ouer and beſides, it was done without the kings licence or appointment, and without the due ſolemnity thereunto belonging.

{Anno 1206} Prelats of the church had then mony enough belike, that they could keepe play at Rome againſt their prince, which thing cauſed the princes after to ſeek ſuch means to cut them ſhort.

{Anno 1207}

Diſſenſion amongſt the monks of Canturbury about the election of the archbiſhop.

And as concerning our election (ſaid they) it was done in the cleere light of the day, by which it had authority in preſence of our liege lord the king, and his counſell being willing to the ſame.

This allegation thus proponed, the ſuffragans procter or man of law ſtood forth, and proued the former election to be good, and this latter to be void and of no value, after this ſort. Whether the firſt election (ſaith he) were iuſt or vniuſt, ye ought firſt by the law to haue condemned it afore ye ſhould haue preſumed to the ſecond; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your latter doing no election at al, and the firſt therefore is rather to be ratified then yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both ſides, with many friuolous allegations a long time, and could not agree vpon one perſon, pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commanding them to chuſe Stephan Langton, then cardinall of S. Chryſogon for their archbiſhop. The monks then anſwered, that they durſt not ſo doe without conſent of their king, and for that it was preiudiciall to their ancient liberties. The pope by and by (ſaith the text) as one in a furie, taking the words out of their mouthes, ſaid thus vnto them: We will ye to know, that we haue full power and authority ouer the church of Canturbury; neither are we wont to tary the conſent of princes: therfore we command you in paine of our great curſe, that ye chuſe him only whom we haue appointed.

The pride and tyranny of the pope.

The monks at theſe words abaſhed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet conſented they all in one, and thereupon ſang Te Deum. Only doctor Helias Brantfield withdrew himſelfe from that election, whom the king had ſent for the admiſſion of the biſhop of Norwich.

Thus was Stephan Langton (in the high church of Vterbie, by the popes hand) made archbiſhop of Canturbury. Stephan Langton made archbiſhop of Canturbury.

✻ This election thus paſt with the popes grace & fauor, the ſaid Stephan had in England, amongſt others that ſolicited his cauſe to the king, a brother named Maſter Simon Langton, who in tract of time alſo became archbiſhop of Yorke, as appeareth in the courſe of this ſtory, in the raigne of Henry the third, An. 1228. In this behalfe the king ſeemed tractable, ſo he might haue his ſouereignty entire. Againſt the which, becauſe the ſaid Stephan had vowed to oppoſe himſelfe, and the king miſliking of ſuch demeanor, he ſent abrode his letters certificatory about the realme, therein giuing intimation to all people of proud Stephan Langtons contumacie: the forme of the ſaid letters followeth.

Letters certificatory of king Iohn, touching the contumacie of Stephan Langton archbiſhop of Canturbury by the popes election.

R *Ex omnibus hominibus, &c. Sciatis quòd magiſter Simon de Langton venit ad nos apud Winton die Mercurij proximè ante mediam quadrageſimæ, &c.* Turris Lond. In Engliſh.

The king to all men, &c. Know ye that Maſter Simon Langton came to vs at Wincheſter, on the wedneſday next before midlent, and in preſence of our biſhops beſought vs that wee would receiue his brother Maſter Stephan Langton to be archbiſhop of Canturbury. And when we ſpake vnto him touching the reſeruation & ſauing of our dignity vnto vs, he told vs that he would do no ſuch thing for vs, vnleſſe we would wholly relie our ſelues vpõ his courteſie and gentlenes. This therefore we command, that you know euill and wrong to be done vnto vs in this behalfe: and we charge you, that you belieue thoſe things which Reginald of Cornhill ſhall tel you on our part, touching the foreſaid deed betweene vs and the biſhops aboue named, &c. Witneſſe the king at Wincheſter the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth yeere of his raigne.

Now, albeit the king toke indignation at this proceeding in the election of Stephan, yet from thenceforth (ſaith Matthew Paris) the pope could do no leſſe but mightily defend him from all veration and danger, conſidering that hee was his owne deare darling, and a child of his owne creation.

Furthermore, vpon this occaſion king John conceiued an exceeding diſpleaſure againſt the clergy and monks of Canturbury (as he had good cauſe) they doing ſo many euils againſt his princely prerogatiue. Without his licence they elected their archbiſhop, and put by the biſhop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They walked a great part of his treaſure for the wars, and to bring all to the diuell they made Stephan Langton their high metropolitan, whom he toke for a grieuous enemy to the whole realme, being alwaies ſo familiar with the French king. Wherfore in his anger he baniſhed them out of the land, to the number of threeſcore and foure, for this their contumacie and contempt of his regall power.

The king doth expoſtulat with the pope for conſecrating Stephan Langton archbiſhop of Canturbury.

The monks of Canturbury thus being expulſed, the king forthwith ſendeth meſſengers to the pope with his letters, wherein he doth charply and expreſly expoſtulat with the pope. Firſt, for that ſo vncurteouſly he repulſed the election of the biſhop of Norwich, and ſet vp one Stephan Langton, a man vnknowne to him, and brought vp amongſt his enemies a long time in the kingdome of France, conſecrating him archbiſhop of Canturbury, and letting the other goe. Alſo (which is more) it redoundeth to the ſubuerſion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crowne: for notwithſtanding his conſent paſt (being before of the monks not made priuie, which ſhould ſo haue done) yet he rathly preſumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot maruell (he ſaith) enough, that neither the ſaid pope nor the court of Rome doth conſider and reuolue with themſelues, how neceſſary his loue and fauor hath been alwaies hitherto to the ſea of Rome, and that they conſider not what great profit and reuenewes haue proceeded hitherto to them out of the realme of England: the like whereof hath not been receiued out of any other country beſides on this ſide the Alps. He addeth moreouer and ſaith, that for his liberties he will ſtand (if need be) vnto death, neither can he be ſo remoued and ſhaken off from the election of the biſhop of Norwich, which he ſeeth to be ſo commodious to him and profitable. Finally, hee thus concludeth, ſaying: that in caſe in this his requeſt he be not heard, he will ſo prouide by the ſeas, that there ſhall be no ſuch gadding and courſing any more ouer to Rome, ſuffering the riches of the land no more to be tranſported ouer, whereby he ſhould be himſelfe the leſſe able to reſiſt his enemies. And ſeeing he hath of his owne at home,

archby-

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archbishops, bishops, and other prelats of the church (both of Englishmen and of others) sufficiently prouided and instructed in all kind of knowledge: therefore he shall not need greatly to seeke for iudgement and iustice further abrode.

When these came to the popes intelligence, he directeth letters againe to the king in this forme.

The popes letters answering king John.

INnocentius pope, seruant of the seruants of God, to our welbeloued sonne in Christ the king of England, health, and apostolicall blessing. Whereas we haue written to you heretofore, exhorting and intreating you after an humble, diligent, & gentle sort (concerning the Church of Canturbury) you haue written to vs againe after a threatning sort and vpbraiding manner: both spitefully and also frowardly. And whereas we more and aboue that our right and duty required, haue borne and giuen to you: you againe for your part haue giuen to vs not so much as by right & duty you are bound to do. And though your deuotion, as you say, hath bin to vs very necessary, yet consider againe that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in such like cases haue not shewed at any time the like honour to any prince as we haue vnto you, you againe haue so much derogated our honor, as no prince else hath presumed to doe besides you alone, pretending certaine friuolous causes & occasions I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephan Langton, cardinall of S. Chrysogono, chosen by the monks of Canturbury, for that the said Stephan (as you say) hath been conuersant and brought vp amongst your enemies, and his person to you vnknown. But you know what is the prouerbe of Salomon: The net is cast, but in vaine in the sight of the flying birds, &c.

It is pitie but this pope should be honoured of kings & princes.

A pitifull case that a king cannot constitute an archbishop within his own realme, whom he most liketh.

With much other matter in the same epistle, wherein he falleth into the commendation of Stephan Langton his cardinall, declaring how learned he was in the liberall arts; and in diuinity, insomuch that he was prebendated at Paris; also come of an honest stocke, and an Englishman borne, and not vnknowne to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreouer in the said letter, how the messengers of the king had specified to him another cause; which was, for that the monks of Canturbury which had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreouer in the said letter, how the said messengers of the king, intreated in the kings behalfe, that forsomuch as the popes letters (wherein the king was commanded to send his procters to Rome for the same matter) came not to the kings hand, neither did the monks direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent: therfore the pope considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the kings honor, that the monks of Canturbury should not proceed without the kings assent therein. And forsomuch as that hath not bin done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be giuen, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, that he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his letters and messengers once or twice to the king for the same purpose, although he said it was not the maner of the sea apostolike (who had the fulnesse of power ouer the church of Canturbury) to wait for princes consents in such elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting vp his letter, he thus concludeth in these words.

And therefore seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tary for the kings fauour or consent any more therin, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the canonicall ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct vs, that is, (that all impediments and delaies set aside) so to prouide that the church of Canturbury be not any longer destitute of her pastor. Wherefore be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephan Langton hath orderly & concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, vpō a person meet for the same; therefore we will not for no mans pleasure, neither may we without danger of fame and of conscience defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Wherefore my welbeloued sonne, seeing we haue had respect to your honour, aboue that our right and duty required: study to honor vs so much as your duty requireth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserue fauor, both at Gods hand and ours; lest that by doing the contrary, you bring your selfe into such a pecke of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarse rid your selfe of againe. For this know for a certaine, in the end it must needs fall out, that he shal haue the better, vnto whō euery knee (of heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures) doth bow, whose turne I serue in earth, though I be vnworthy. Therefore settle not your selfe to obey their perswasions, which alwaies desire your vnquietnesse, whereby they may fish the better in the water whē it is troubled; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which vndoubtedly shall turne to your praise, glory, and honor. For it should not be much for your safetie in this cause to resist God and the church, in whose quarrel that blessed martyr and glorious bishop Thomas hath of late shed his bloud, especially seeing your father and your brother of famous memory, then kings of England, did giue ouer those three wicked customes into the hands of the legats of the sea apostolike. But if you yeeld your selfe humbly into our hands, wee will looke that you and yours shall bee sufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may arise hereupon to you ward. Giuen at Lateran the tenth yeere of our popedome.

Note the proceedings of this ambitious pope.

Tho. Becket be meaneth.

Princes must be subiect to the pope.

Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the glorious letter of the proud pope; I beseech thee marke it well. Now to the story.

After this letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandement sent into England vnto certaine bishops there, requiring them by authority apostolicall, that if the said king would not receiue the said prior of Canturbury, and his monks, then they should interdict him throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof, foure bishops were appointed by the vsurped power of the popes buls: namely, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, and Giles bishop of Hereford. Which said foure bishops went vnto the king, and shewed their commission from the pope as is aforesaid, willing him to consent thereto, &c. But the said king refused the same, and would by no meanes grant to their request. Whereupon they departing from his grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our lady, and pronounced the said general interdiction throughout all England, so that the church doores were shut vp with keies, and other fastenings, and with wals, &c.

Foure bishops appointed to interdict the realme.

England interdicted by the pope.

Now when the king heard of this, he began to be moued against them, and tooke all the possessions of the foure bishops into his hands, appointing certaine men to keep the liuings of the clergy throughout the realme, and that they should inioy no part thereof. Which being done, the bishops (seeing the same) cursed all them that kept, or should meddle with church goods, against the will of them that ought them: and vnderstanding for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doings, they went ouer sea to the bishop of Canturbury, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the same, willed them againe to returne to Canturbury, and he would come thither to them, or else send certaine persons thither in his stead that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the bishops heard this, they returned againe to England, to Canturbury, which tidings came shortly to the king that they were come againe thither. And because he might not himselfe trauell to them, he sent thither bishops, earles and abbats to intreat them, that the archbishop Stephan, whom he had chosen, might be admitted; promising the prior and all the monks of Canturbury in his behalfe, that he should neuer take any thing of the church goods against the will of them that owe them; but would make amends to them of whom hee had taken any such goods, and that the church should haue all her franchises in as ample maner as in S. Edwards time the Confessor it had.

Discipline of the church abused for priuat reuenge.

When the forme of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a paire of indentures, which the foresaid foure bishops to the one part thereof set their seales, and the other part the said bishops, earles, & abbats caried to shew the king. When the king saw the order thereof, he liked it well; sauing he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the foure bishops againe that they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one word. Then the king sent word to the archbishop by the foure bishops, that hee should come to Canturbury to speake with him, and for his safe conduct to come and go againe at his will, he sent his iustices as pledges, Gilbert Petteuin, William de la Bereuar, and John Letfitz. Which thing thus done, the archbishop Stephan came to Canturbury, and the king (hearing thereof) came to Chilham: from whence he sent his treasurer the bishop of Winchester to him, to haue him put out of the indentures the clause of restitution aforesaid: who denying to alter any word of the same, moued the king in such sort, that immediatly it was proclaimed throughout England at the kings comandement, that all those that had any church liuings, and went ouer sea, should come againe into England by a certaine day, or else lose their liuings for euer more. And further in that proclamation, hee charged all shiriffes within the realme, to inquire if any bishops, abbats, priors, or any other churchman (from that day forward) receiued any commandement that came from the pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him: and also that they should take into their hands for the kings vse, all the church lands that were giuen to any man through the archbishop Stephan, or by the priors of Canturbury from the time of the election of the archbishop: and further charged that al the woods that were the archbishops, should be cut downe and sold.

The inconsiderate stoutnesse of the prelats against the king.

Stephan Langton stout against his king.

The king moued against the archbishop Langton.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had thus done, being moued therby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two legats (the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant) to warne him in the popes name that he should cease his doings to the holy church, and amend the wrong hee had done to the archbishop of Canturbury, to the priors and the monks of Canturbury, and to all the clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the goods againe that hee had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the king by name: and to doe this, the pope tooke them his letters in buls patent. These two legats comming into England, resorted to

Two legats sent from the pope.

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Restitution required of the king.

to the king to Northhampton, where he held his parlament, and saluting him, said they came from the pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy church. And first, said they, we admonish you in the popes behalfe, that ye make full restitution of the goods and of the lands that ye haue rauished holy church of: and that ye receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie into his dignitie, and the prior of Canturburie and his monks; and that ye yéld againe vnto the archbishop all his lands and rents without any withholding. And sir, yet moreouer that ye shall make such restitution to them, as the church shall thinke sufficient.

Then answered the king: As touching the prior and his monkes of Canturburie, all that ye haue said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would ordaine; but as touching the archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart. Let the archbishop leaue his bishoprike, and if the pope then shall intreat for him, peraduenture I may like to giue him some other bishoprike in England: and vpon this condition I will receiue and admit him.

Then said Pandulph vnto the king; Holy church was wont neuer to disgrade archbishop without cause reasonable: but euer she was wont to correct princes that were disobedient to her.

What? How now (quoth the king) threaten ye me? Nay, said Pandulph, but ye haue now openly told vs as it standeth in your heart: and now we will tell you what is the popes will, and thus it standeth: He hath wholy interdicted and cursed you, for the wrongs you haue done vnto the holy church and vnto the clergie. And for so much as yée will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment, you shall vnderstand, that from this time forward the sentences vpon you giuen haue force and strength. And all those that with you haue communed before this time, whether that they be earles, barons, or knights (or any other what soeuer they be) we assoile them safely from their sinnes vnto this day. And from this time forwards (of what condition soeuer they be) we accurse them openly: and specially by this our sentence that we do commune with you. And we assoile moreouer earles, barons, knights, and all other manner of men of their homages, seruices, and fealties that they should do vnto you. And this thing to confirme, we giue plaine power vnto the bishop of Winchester, and to the bishop of Norwich, and the same power we giue against Scotland vnto the bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury: and in Wales we giue the same power to the bishops of Saint Dauid and of Landaffe, and of S. Asse.

Sentence of the popes curse pronounces against the king.

The pope author of rebellion and disobedience of subiects towards their prince.

Also sir king (quoth Pandulph) all the kings, princes, and the great dukes christened, haue laboured to the pope to haue licence to crosse themselues, and to warre against thée, as vpon Gods enemie, and winne thy land, and to make king whom it pleaseth the pope. And we héere now assoile all those of their sinnes, that will rise against thée héere in thine owne land.

Then the king hearing this, answered: What shame may ye do more to me then this?

Pandulph againe: We say to you in Verbo Dei, that neither you nor any heire that you haue, after this day shall bee crowned. So the king said; By him that is almightie God, if I had knowne of this thing before ye came into this land, and that ye had brought me such newes, I should haue made you tarrie out these twelue moneths.

Like master, like man.

Then answered Pandulph; Full well we thought, at our first comming, that ye would haue béen obedient to God and to holy church, and haue fulfilled the popes commandement, which we haue shewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye say, that if ye had will the cause of our comming, ye would haue made vs tarrie out a whole yeare: who might as well say, that yée would haue taken a whole yeares respit without the popes leaue: but for to suffer what death that ye can ordaine, we shall not spare to tell you all the popes message and will that he gaue vs in charge.

In another chronicle I find the words betwéene the king and Pandulph something otherwise described, as though the king should first threaten him with hanging if he had foreknowne of his comming. To whom Pandulph againe should answere, that he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the churches right. Whereupon the king being mightily intensed, departed. The king the same time being at Northhampton willed the shiriffes and baliffes to bring forth all the prisoners there, that such as had deserued should be put to death: to the intent (as some thinke) to make Pandulphus afraid. Among whom was a certaine clerke, who for counterfeiting the kings coine, was also condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered; and moreouer, by the king was commanded (thereby to anger Pandulphus the more, as may be thought) to be hanged vp highest aboue the rest. Pandulphus hearing thereof, notwithstanding he somewhat began to feare lest he should be hanged himselfe, yet with such courage as he had, he went to the church to set out booke, bell, and candle, charging that no man vnder paine of accursing, should lay hands vpon the clerke. Upon this the king and the cardinall departed in no little anger. And Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the pope and the cardinals what had béen done.

Pandulph woxe afraid then hurt.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbats, and clerkes of England to come and repaire vnto Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This councell began the first day of October. In the which councel it was decreed by the pope and his assembly, that John king of England should be accursed with all such as held with him, euery day so long as that councell endured. Albeit this was not yet granted, that the people should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blod. But afterwards the said pope Innocent, séeing that king John by no means would stoope vnder his subiection, nor vnder the rule of his popish see, he sent vnto the French king, vpon remission of all his sins, and of all that went with him, that he should take with him all the power he might, and so to inuade the realme of England to destroy king John.

The popes great curse.

This occasion giuen, pope Innocent yet once againe commanded in paine of his great curse, that no man should obey king John, neither yet keepe company with him: he forbad all persons to eat and drinke with him, to talke with him, to commune or counsell with him; yea, his owne familiar houshold to do him any kind of seruice, either at bed or at bord, in church, hall or stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them, which after such sort fled from him (by the ordinance of God) of diuers and sundrie diseases the same yeare died. And betwéene both nations (English and French) fell that yeare great amitie; but secret, subtill, and false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the pope content only with this, but moreouer the said pope Innocent gaue sentence definitiue (by counsell of his cardinals) that king John should be put from his seat regall and deposed, and another put in his Rome. And to the speedie execution thereof he appointed the French king Philip, promising to giue him full remission of all his sins, and the cleare possession of all the realme of England, to him and his heires, if he did either kill him or expell him.

The iust punishment of God vpon disobedient subiects.

The pope found a murtherer.

The next yeare the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England; being well manned with bishops, monkes, prelats, and priests, and their seruants to maintaine the same: bragging of the letters which they had receiued from the great men there. But behold the worke of God; the English nauie tooke three hundred of the French kings ships well loden with wheat, wine, meale, flesh, armour, and such other like, meet for the war: and one hundred they burnt within the hauen, taking the spoiles with them. In the meane time the priests within England had prouided them a certain false counterfeit prophet called Peter Wakefield of Pomfret; who was an idle gadder about, and a prating merchant. This Peter they made to prophecy lies, rumoring his prophecies abroad, to bring the king out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the commons of the realme, that Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a child betwéene the priests hands, once at Pomfret, another time at Pomfret; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying: Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the bishops; and bid the people amend their naughty liuing. Being rapt also in spirit (they said) he beheld the ioyes of heauen, and sorrowes of hell. For scant were there three (saith the chronicle) among a thousand that liued christianly. This counterfet soothsaier prophesied of king John, that he should raigne no longer then the Ascension day, within the yeare of our Lord 1213, which was the fourteenth from his coronation; and this (he said) he had by reuelation. Then was it of him demanded whether he should be slaine or expelled, or should of himselfe giue ouer the crowne? He answered, that he could not tell. But of this he was sure (he said) that neither he, nor any of his stocke or linage should raigne, that day once finished. The king hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoffe thereof. Truly (saith he) it is but an idiot knaue, and such a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the kings displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gat him abroad and prated thereof at large (as he was a verie idle vagabond) and vsed to tattle and talke more then enough; so that they which loued the king, caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be throwne into prison, the king not knowing thereof.

Peter the false prophet.

The false prophet found a lier.

Anon after, the fame of this phantasticall prophet went all the realme ouer, and his name was knowne euery where (as foolishnesse is much regarded of people, where wisedome is not in place) specially because he was then imprisoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wondrings were the wantoner, their practising the foolisher, their busie talkes and other idle occupyings the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old gossips tales went abroad, new tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew vpon lies: so that euerie day new slanders were raised on the king, and not one of them true; rumors arose, blasphemies were spread, the enemies reioyced, and treasons by the priests were maintained, and what likewise was surmised, or other subtiltie practised, all was then fathered vpon this foolish prophet. As, Thus saith Peter Wakefield, Thus hath he prophesied, and This shall come to passe: yea many times when he thought nothing lesse. When the Ascension day was come, which was prophesied of before, king John commanded his regall tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his

The false prophet proued a lier by K. John.

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noble counsell and men of honor, in the greatest solemnitie that euer he did afore, solacing himselfe with musicall instruments and songs, most in sight amongst his trustie friends. When that day was past in all prosperitie and mirth, his enemies being confounded, turned all to an allegoricall vnderstanding, to make the prophecie good, and said; He is no longer king, for the pope raigneth, and not he: yet raigned he still and his sonne after him, to proue that prophet a lier. Then was the king by his counsell persuaded that this false prophet had troubled all the realme, peruerted the hearts of the people, and raised the commons against him. For his words went ouer the sea by the helpe of his prelats, and came to the French kings eare, and gaue vnto him a great incouragement to inuade the land, he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most foully deceiued, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such darke drowsie dreames of hypocrites. The king therefore commanded that he should be drawne and hanged like a traytor.

The false prophet hanged.

After that the popish prelats, monkes, canons, priests, &c. saw this their craftie iugling by their fained prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harme thereby; to helpe the matter more forward, they began to trauell and practise with pope Innocent of the one side, and also with the French king on the other side, besides subtill treasons which they wrought within the realme, and by their confessions in the eare, whereby they both blinded the nobilitie and commons.

King John submitteth himselfe to the pope.

The king thus compassed about on euery side with enemies, and fearing the sequell thereof, knowing the conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the pope (in all that euer he might) as also by Philip the French king by his procurement: and moreouer his owne people, specially his lords and barons being rebelliously incited against him, as by the popes curses and interdictions against such as toke his part, and by his absolutions and dispensations with all those that would rebell against him, commanding them to detaine from him such homage, seruice, duties, debts, and all other allegeance that godly subiects owe and are bound to yeeld and giue to their liege lord and prince. All which things considered, the king in the thirteenth yeare of his raigne, for that the French king began to make sharpe inuasion vpon him within his owne realme, sent speedie ambassadors to the pope (as to the fountaine of all this his mischiefe pretensed) to worke and intreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promising to do what soeuer the pope should will him, and command him in the reformation of himselfe, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy church, and to make due satisfaction therefore vnto all men that could complaine.

King John intreateth for peace with the pope.

Then sent the pope againe into England his legat Pandulph with other ambassadors: the king also at Canturburie (by letters, as it should seeme, certified from his owne ambassadors) waited their comming. Where the thirteenth day of May the king receiued them, making vnto them an oth, that of and for all things wherein he stood accursed, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Vnto whom also all the lords and barons of England (so many as there were with the king attending the legats comming) sware in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish in euery thing the oth which he had taken, that then they would cause him to hold and confirme the same whether he would or not (or by strength) to vse the authors words.

King John submitteth himselfe and resigneth his crowne.

Then submitted the king himselfe vnto the court of Rome, and to the pope, and resigning gaue vp his dominions and realmes of England and Ireland from him and from his heirs for euermore that should come of him. With this condition, that the king and his heires should take againe these two dominions of the pope to farme, paying yearely therefore to the court of Rome 1000 markes of siluer. Then toke the king the crowne from his head, kneeling vpon his knees in the presence of all his lords and barons of England, to Pandulph the popes chiefe legat, saying in this wise; Here I resigne vp the crowne of the realme of England to the popes hands, Innocent the third, and put me wholly in his mercie and ordinance. Then toke Pandulph the crowne of king John, and kept it fiue daies as a possession and seizon-taking of these two realmes of England and Ireland; confirming also all things promised by his charter obligatorie as followeth.

The copie of the letter obligatorie that king Iohn made to the pope, concerning the yeelding vp of the *crowne and the realme of England into the popes* hands, for a certaine summe of money yearely *to be paid.*

The maught or instrument obligatory, wherein K. John resigneth his kingdome to the popes hand. Christ was offered a kingdome and would none of it, but the pope doth not refuse it.

TO all christian people throughout the world dwelling, Iohn by the grace of God king of England, greeting. To your vniuersitie knowne be it, that for so much as wee haue grieued and offended God and our mother church of Rome, and for so much as we haue need of the mercie of our Lord Iesus Christ: and we may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make to God and to holy church (but if it were our owne body) as with our realms of England and of Ireland, then by the grace of the holy Ghost we desire for to meeke vs for the loue of him, that meeked him to the death vpon the crosse. And through counsell of the nobles, earles, and barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the Apostles S. Peter and Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, and to our holy father pope Innocent the third, and to all the popes that come after him, all the realme, patronages of churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and helpe and health of our kings soules, and of all christian soules. So that from this time afterward, we will receiue and hold of our mother church of Rome as in farme, doing fealtie to our holy father the pope, Innocent the third, and to all the popes that come after him, in the maner aboue said. And in the presence of the wiseman Pandulph the popes soothdeacon, we make liege homage, as it were in the popes presence and we before him were, and that he himselfe should haue done all manner of things aboue said, and thereto we bind vs, and all that come after vs, and our heires for euermore, without any gain-saying to the pope, and eke the ward of the church vacant. And in token of this thing euer for to last, we will, confirme, and ordaine, that he be our special renter of the foresaid realmes (sauing S. Peter pence) in all things. To the mother church of Rome paying by a yeare 1000 marks of siluer at two times of the yeare for all maner customes that we should do for the said realmes: that is to say, at Michaelmas and at Easter, that is, for England 700 markes, and 300 marks for Ireland: sauing to vs and to our heires, our iustices and our other franchises. And all these things that before been said, we will that it be firme and stable without end: and to that obligation, we and all our successors, and our heires in this manner, been bound, that if we or any of our heires through any presumption fall in any point againe these things aboue said (and hee been warned and will not right amend him) he shall then leese the foresaid realmes for euermore: and this charter of obligation and our warrant for euermore be firme and stable without gain-saying. We shall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother church of Rome, and to thee Innocent the third, and to all that commen after thee, and the realmes of England and of Ireland we shall mainteine truelich in all maner points, against al maner mē by our power through Gods helpe.

Upon this obligation the king was discharged the second day of July, from that tyrannicall interdiction, vnder which he continued six yeares and three months. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath been declared) to giue ouer both his crowne and scepter to that antichrist of Rome for the space of fiue daies, and as his client, vassall, feudary, and tenant to receiue it againe of him at the hands of another cardinall, being bound obligatorie, both for himselfe and for his successors to pay yearely (for a knowledge thereof) 1000 markes for England and Ireland. Then came they thither from all parts of the realme, so many as had their consciences wounded for obeying their liege king, as blind idiots, and there they were absolued, euery one of his owne bishop, except the spirituall fathers, and ecclesiasticall souldiers, for they were compelled to seeke to Rome, as captiues reserued to the popes owne fatherhood. In this new ruffling the king easily granted, that abbats, deanes, and curats should be elected freely euerie where, so that the lawes of the realme were truly obserued. But against that were the bishops, alleaging their canonicall decrees and rules synodall, determining the king therein to haue nothing to do, but only to giue his consent after they had once elected. But among this shauen rabble, some there were which consented not to this wicked error: a sort also there were of the prelats at that time, which were not pleased that the lands interdiction should cease, till the king had paid all that which their clergie in all quarters of the realme had demanded, without reason: yea, what euery saucie sir John for his part demanded, euen to the very breaking of their hedges, the stealing of their apples, and their other occasionall damages, which grew to an incredible summe, and impossible to be answered. Such was the outragious cruell noise of that mischieuous progenie antichrist, against their naturall king.

The vnreasonable displeasure of the clergie against their naturall prince.

Notwithstanding that which is vttered afore, concerning the bitter malice of the clergie against their prince, yet did the popes legat and cardinall Nicolaus Tusculanus much fauour his doings, and allow of his procéedings. Wherefore they reported of him that he was exceeding partiall, and regarded not their matters ecclesiasticall, as he should haue done. For leauing the account of their restitutions, hée went with the kings officers, as the kings pleasure was, to the cathedrall minsters, abbeyes, priories, deanries and great churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent alwaies he appointed two, one for the king, another for the parties. But vpon him only whom the king nominated, he compelled most commonly the election to passe: which vexed them wonderfully. Vpon this therefore they raised a new conspiracie against the kings person by helpe of their bishops, seditious prelats, and such noble men as they had drawne to their parties. Wée beheld (saith Houeden) about the same time many noble houses and assemblies diuided in many places. The fathers and the aged men stood vpon the kings part, but the yonger sort contrarie. And some there were that for the loue of their kindred, and in other sundrie respects forsoke the king againe. Yea the fame went that time, saith he, that they were confederated with Alexander the

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the Scotish king and Leolin the prince of Wales to worke him an vtter mischiefe. A councell at Oxford the archbishop called; whereat some would not tarrie, considering the confusion thereof: the other sort hauing verie obstinat hearts, reuiled the king most spitefully behind his backe, and said that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and frantike clamours so much preuailed in those daies, that it grew to a grieuous tumult, and a most perillous commotion.

{Anno 1215} In the yeare of our Lord 1215, as witnesseth Paulus Aemilius and other histories, pope Innocent the third held a generall synod at Rome, called the councell Lateran. The chiefe causes of that councell were these: In the daies of this Innocent, heresie (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh sinne) began to rise vp verie high, and to spread forth his branches abroad, by reason whereof many princes were excommunicated, as Otho the emperour, John the king of England, Peter king of Aragon, Raimund the earle of Tholouse, Aquitania, Sataloni, and such other like, as is aforesaid. So that it could be no otherwise, saith Houeden, but with the sharpe are of the Gospell (so called the pope his excommunications) they ought of necessitie to haue been cut off from the church. Therefore was this councell prouided, proclamed, and prelats from all nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefes which he then went about, hee caused it by his legats and cardinals (verie craftie merchants) to bee noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to haue the church vniuersally reformed, and the holie land from the Turkes hands recouered. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequell thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to subdue all princes, and to make himselfe rich and wealthie. For there he made this antichristian act, and established it by publike decree, that the pope should haue from thenceforth the correction of all christian princes, and that no emperor should be admitted, except he were sworne before, and were also crowned of him. Hee ordained moreouer, that whosoeuer he were that should speake euill of the pope, hee should be punished in hell with eternall damnation: Conradus, Vrspergensis, Hieronymus, Marius. He prouided confession to helpe these matters, he allowed their bread a pix to couer him, and a bell when he goeth abroad, and made the masse equall with Christs Gospell.

The councell of Lateran holden by pope Innocent.

The pope to haue iurisdiction of all churches.

Ioannes Scotus.

In this councell was first inuented and brought in transubstantiation, of which Ioannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth booke, writing in these words: The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easilie and more plainly without transubstantiation. But the church did chuse this sense, which is more hard; being moued thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the sacraments, men ought to hold as the holy church of Rome holdeth, &c. And in the same place maketh mention of Innocentius the third.

Transubstantiation first brought in.

Moreouer, in the said councell was established and ratified the wretched and impious act, compelling priests to abiure lawfull matrimonie. Whereupon these meeters or verses were made the same time against him which heere follow vnder written.

Non est Innocentius, imò nocens verè,
Qui, quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere:
Et quod olim inuenis voluit habere,
Modò vetus pontifex studet prohibere.
Zacharias habuit prolem & vxorem,
Per verum quem genuit adeptus honorem;
Baptizauit etenim mundi saluatorem:
Pereat qui teneat nouum hunc errorem.
Paulus cœlos rapitur ad superiores,
Vbi multas didicit res secretiores;
Ad nos tandem rediens instruensque mores,
Suas, inquit, habeant quilibet vxores.
Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor esse melius & magis decorum,
Quisque suam habeat & non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum fœminas, filias, & neptes,
Violare nefas est, quare nil deceptes:
Verè tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,
Diem vt sic vltimum tutius expectes.

Marriage of priests forbidden by pope Innocent.

Nocent, not Innocent he is, that seeketh to deface,
By word the thing, that he by deed hath taught men to imbrace;
Which being now a bishop old, doth studie to destroy
The thing, which he a yong man once did couet to inioy.
Priest Zacharie both had a wife, and had a child also,
By meane of whom there did to him great praise & honor grow;
For he did baptise him which was the sauer of mankind:
Ill him befall that holdeth this new error in his mind.
Into the higher heauens good Paul was lifted from below,
And many secret hidden things he learned there to know;
Return'd at length from thence to vs, and teaching rules of life,
He said, Let each man haue his owne and only wedded wife.
For this and other documents of them that learned be,
Much better and more comely eke it seemeth vnto me,
That ech should haue his own alone; & not his neighbors wife,
Least with his neighbour he doe fall in hate and wrathfull strife.
Thy neighbours daughters or their wiues, or neeces to defile,
Vnlawfull is, therefore beware do not thy selfe begile.
Haue thou thine owne true wedded wife, delite in her alway,
With safer mind that thou maist looke to see the latter day.

Now let vs returne to king John againe, and marke how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his maiesties will. In the foresaid councell of Lateran, and the same yeare, was Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie excommunicated of pope Innocent, with all those bishops, prelats, priests, barons, and commons, which had been of counsell with him in the former rebellion. And when the said archbishop had made instant suite, of him to be absolued, anon he made him this answere with great indignation: Brother mine, I sweare by saint Peter thou shalt not so soone at my hand obtaine the benefit of absolution: for why? thou hast not only done harme to the king of England, but also thou hast in a great many of things iniured the church of Rome heere, and therefore thou shalt tarie my leasure. The archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the church, and commanded to say no masse at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiasticall office, because he would not at time conuenient execute the popes curse vpon the rebellious barons. With them the said pope had been so deepely offended and angred a little before, that the great charter of the liberties of England (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroied, by sentence definitiue condemning it for euer; and by and by thereupon cursed all the other rebels, with booke, bell, and candle. The greater captaines of them (with the citizens of London) for that allay were pronounced excommunicat by name, and remained still interdicted. They appealed then to the councell generall.

Stephan Langton suspended out of the church.

In the same yeare 1215, were those great men also summoned to appeare at Rome in that generall synod: which would not consent to their kings expulsion, nor yet tyrannicall deposing. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the archbishop of Canturburie and others, and required by oth to subscribe vnto the same: yet could they not of their conscience doe it, because he had humbled himselfe, and also granted to keepe peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miserablie then diuided into two factions through malice of the clergie, so strifes increased in the land euery where. Yet were there of the lords and gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the king and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side (not a little suspecting the state that they were in) fled speedily to the French king Philip: desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest son Ludouike, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tarriance. They besought him moreouer, that he would send with him a strong and mightie power, as were able to subdue him vtterly, that they might (they said) be deliuered of such a wicked tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked papists gaue their christian gouernour, appointed to them of God: whom they ought to haue obeyed, though he had been euill, euen for verie conscience sake: Rom. 13. And as certeine of the lords and barons were busie to chuse the said Ludouike for their king, the pope sent thither one Gualo the cardinall of S. Martin to stay those rash and cruell attempts; charging the French king vpon his allegeance, that he with all power possible should fauour, maintaine, and defend king John of England, his feudarie or tenant. The French king thereto made answere, as one not content with that arrogant precept; The realme of England, said he, was neuer yet any part of S. Peters patrimonie, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter. Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtaine it for his sonne by treason of the barons.

The discord betweene the nobles and the king.

Gualo cardinall sent into England.

No prince or potentat (said Philip the French king) may pledge or giue away his kingdome, which is (beside the realme) the gouernment of his whole common wealth, without the lawfull consent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the pope shall introduce or set vp such a president in christiantie, he shall at his pleasure bring all christian kings, and their kingdomes to nought. I like not this example in these daies begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of king John of England: though he be my vtter aduersarie, yet I much lament that hee hath so indamaged his realme, and hath brought that noble ground and queene of prouinces vnder miserable tribute. The chiefe lords and men of his nobilitie standing by, when hee vttered these words (being as it were in a furie) cried with one voice: By the blood of God, in whom we trust to be saued, we will sticke in this article to the losing of our heads. Let the king of England do therein what him liketh: no king may put his land vnder tribute, and so make his nobilitie captiue seruants. With that came in Ludouike the kings eldest sonne, and so said vnto them all there present: I beseech you, let not my purposed iourney: the barons of England haue elected me for their lord and king, and I will not surelie lose my right, but I will fight for it euen to the verie death, yea so long as heart shall stirre within my brest: and I doubt not

The French king and his sonne reasoning about England.

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not but I shall well obtaine it, for I haue friends among them. His father the king stood still as if he had been in a dumpe, and answered neuer a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter. Belike hee mistrusted something therein, as hee might well enough, for all was procured by the priests, that they might liue licentiously in all wealth and freedome from the kings yoke.

Prelats and priests conspiring against the king.

About the same time were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the bishops, priests, and monkes, throughout all the realme, that the king knew not where to become or find trustie friends; he was then compelled by the vncertaintie of his subiects to trauell from place to place, but not without a great armie of men, loking euery day when his barons and their confederats would cruelly set vpon him. At last he came to Douer, and there loked for aid from other quarters, which loued him better then did his owne people. And thither to him resorted from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on the one side, and from Guian, Gascoine, and Poitiers on the other side, and from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report then went, that the pope had written vnto those countries, mightily to assist him for diuers considerations: one was, for that he had both submitted himselfe and his dominions vnto his protection; another was, because he had taken vpon him a little before, the liuery of the crosse, to win againe Hierusalem; the third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three moneths he remained in the isle of Wight, abroad in the aire to quiet himselfe for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitarie life among riuers and watermen, whereas he rather counted to die then to liue, being so traytorously handled of his bishops and barons, and not knowing how to be iustly auenged of them. Vpon the Purification day of our ladie therefore, he toke vpon him the crosse or voyage against the Turkes, for recouerie of Hierusalem, moued therto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, then for any other deuotion else. And thus he said to his familiar seruants: Since I submitted my selfe and my lands (England and Ireland) to the church of Rome (sorrow come to it) neuer thing prospered with me, but all hath gone against me.

Anno 1216

In the next yeare after 1216, was Simon Langton chosen archbishop of Yorke; but that election anon after was dissolued, for information was giuen to the pope, that the said Simon was brother to Stephan Langton the archbishop of Canturburie, which had been the occasion of all the tumults which were at that time in England. And the pope had the more hate vnto him, for that he had brought him vp of nought, and did find him at that time so stubborne: wherefore he placed in his brothers place Walter Gray, the bishop of Winchester.

Walter Gray archbishop of Yorke.

In the same yeare Gualo the popes legat renued his great curse vpon Lewis the French kings sonne, for vsurping vpon king John; likewise vpon Simon Langton, and Gernais Hobruge, for prouoking him to the same, and that with a wonderfull solemnitie: for in that doing he made all the bels to be rung, the candles to be light, the doores to be opened, and the booke of excommunications or interdictions publikely to be read, committing them wholly to the diuell for their contumacie and contempt. He also commanded the bishops and curats to publish it abroad ouer all the whole realme, to the terrour of all his subiects. The said Simon and Gernais laughed him to scorne, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, saying, that for the iust title of Ludouike, they had appealed to the generall councell at Rome.

Gualo the popes legat.

Radul. Niger. cap. 43. 44.

The magistrates of London and citizens of the same did likewise vilipend and disdainfullie mocke all that the pope had there commanded and done. And in spight both of him and his legat, they kept companie with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at church, shewing themselues thereby as open contemners both of him and his lawes. Ludouike at London taking himselfe for king, constituted Simon Langton for his high chancellour, and Gernais Hobruge for his chiefe preacher; by whose daily preachings, as well the barons and the citizens themselues being both excommunicated, caused all the church doores to be opened, and the seruice to be sung, and the said Ludouike was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was Pandulphus (then cardinall) collecting the Peter pence, an old pillage of the pope, taking great paines therein. And for his great labours in those the affaires of holy church, and for other great miracles besides, he was then made bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

The popes curse laught to scorne.

Pandulphus the popes collector made bishop of Norwich.

It chanced about this time, that the vicount of Melun (a verie noble man of the realme of France, which came thither with the prince Ludouike) to fall deadly sicke at London, and also moued in conscience to call certaine of the English barons vnto him, such as were there appointed to the custodie of that citie, said vnto them: I lament your sorrowfull case, and pitie with my heart the destruction that is comming towards you and your countrie. The dangerous snares which are prepared for your vtter confusion are hidden from you, you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince Ludouike hath sworne a great oth, and sixteene of his earles and noble men are of counsell with him, that if he obtaine the crowne of England, hee will banish all them from seruice, and depriue them of lands and goods, as manie as hee findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traytors to his noble person. And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercie of God, that I was one of them which was sworne to the same. I haue great conscience thereof, and therefore I giue you this warning. I pitie poore England which hath been so noble a region, that now it is come to so extreame miserie. And when he with teares had lamented it a space, he returned againe vnto them and said: My friends I counsell you earnestly to looke to your selues, and to prouide the remedie in time, lest it come vpon you vnwares. Your king for a season hath kept you vnder, but if Ludouike preuaile, he will put you from all; of two extreame euils chuse the more easie, and keepe that secret which I haue told you of good will. With that he gaue ouer and departed this life.

The prince of Wales and the barons of England conspire against king John.

When this was once noised among the barons, they were in great heauinesse, for they saw themselues betrapped euerie way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that feare which then came vpon the barons. They were extreamely hated of the pope and his legats, and euery weeke came vpon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their lands and houses, corne and cattell, wiues and children: so that some of them were driuen to such need, that they were inforced to seeke preyes and booties for sustaining their miserable liues. For loke whatsoeuer prince Ludouike obtained by his wars, either territories or castles, he gaue them all to his Frenchmen in spight of their heads, and said that they were but traytours, like as they had warning afore, which grieued them worst of all. At the last they perceiuing that they in seeking to auoid one mischiefe, were readie to fall into another much worse: they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselues wholly with all humilitie vnto the mercie of their late soueraigne and naturall liege lord king John. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their liues for the treason afore committed; manie of the friends of them which were of most credit with him, made suite for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great suite made for them. I heere omit his recouerie of Rochester castle and citie, with many other dangerous aduentures against the foresaid Ludouike, both at London, Yorke, Lincolne, Winchester, Norwich, and other places else, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I returne to my matter againe.

Into Suffolke and Norffolke he consequently iourneyed, with a very strong armie of men, and there with great mischiefe he afflicted them, because they had giuen place and were sworne to his enemies. After that, he destroyed the abbeyes of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence into Lincolneshire.

The great prouidence of God for the helpe of England.

In this yeare, about the seuenteenth day of Julie, died pope Innocent the third, and was buried in a citie called Perusium in Italie: whereas he had trauelled to make a peace betweene the Genouaies and Pises, for his owne commoditie and aduantage. After him anon succeeded one Cintius, otherwise called Honorius tertius, a man of very great age: yet liued he in the papacie ten yeares and an halfe, and more. When this was once knowne in England, greatly reioyced all they which were king Johns enemies, specially the priests; yet had they small cause, as will appeare hereafter. They noised it all the realme ouer, that this new pope would set a new order, and not rule all things as the other pope did; thinking thereby that he would haue done all things to their commoditie: but they found it otherwise. For he made all them which were excommunicat, to pay double and treble, ere they could be restored againe to their former liuings.

Pope Innocent the third dieth.

And in the selfe same yeare, as king John was come to Swinstead abbey, not far from Lincolne, he rested there two daies: where (as most writers testifie) he was most trayterouslie poysoned by a monke of that abbey, of the sect of the Cistercians or S. Bernards brethren, called Simon of Swinstead. As concerning the noble personage of this prince, this witnesse giueth Roger Houeden therein: Princeps quidem magnus erat, sed minùs fœlix, atque vt Marius vtramque fortunam expertus. Doubtlesse (saith he) king John was a mightie prince, but not so fortunat as many were; not altogether vnlike to Marius the noble Roman, he tasted of fortune both waies, bountifull in mercie; in warres sometime he wan, sometime againe he lost. Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, sed proditionis causa suorum deprædator, plus aduenis quàm suis confidens. Hee was also verie bounteous and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their daily treasons sake) hee was a great oppressor, so that he trusted more to forreners then to them.

King John poysoned by a monke.

Mat. Paris. Radul Niger. cap. 47.

Ex chronico cuiusdam Eulogium.

Among other diuers and sundrie conditions belonging to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: for that being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subiect to, he regarded

regarded not the popish masse, as in certaine chronicles writing of him may be collected: for so I find testified of him by Matth. Parisien. that the king vpon a time in his hunting, comming where a verie fat stag was cut vp and opened (or how the hunters learne it I cannot tell) the king beholding the fatnesse and the liking of the stag: See, saith hee, how easily and happily he hath liued, and yet for all that he neuer heard anie masse.

Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

The saying of king John deriding the masse.

It is recorded and found in the chronicle of William Caxton called Fructus temporum, and in the seuenth booke. The foresaid monke Simon being much offended with certaine talke that the king had at his table, concerning Ludouike the French kings sonne, (which then had entred and vsurped vpon him) did cast in his wicked heart how he most speedily might bring him to his end. And first of all he counselled with his abbat, shewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alleaged for himselfe the prophecie of Caiphas, Joh. 11. saying; It is better that one man die, then all the people should perish. I am well contented (saith he) to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may vtterly destroy this tyrant. With that the abbat did weepe for gladnesse, and much commended his feruent zeale, as he toke it. The monke then being absolued of his abbat for doing this act (aforehand) went secretly into a garden vpon the backeside, and finding there a most venemous tode, he so pricked him and prelled him with his penknife, that he made him vomit all the poyson that was within him. This done, he conueyed it into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he laid thus to the king: If it shall like your princely maiestie, heere is such a cup of wine as ye neuer dranke a better before in all your life time, I trust this wassaill shall make all England glad: and with that he dranke a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The monke anon after went to the farmarie, and there died (his guts gushing out of his bellie) and had continually from thencefoorth three monkes to sing masse for his soule, confirmed by their generall chapter. What became after that of king John, ye shall know right well in the processe following. I would ye did marke well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries, how vertuously they obey their kings, whom God hath appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions and masses.

Ex Caxtono lib. 7.

Wo be to you that call good euill, and euill good.

Simon the monke absolued of his abbat for poisoning his king.

The monke dieth of his owne poison.

The king within a short space after (feeling great griefe in his bodie) asked for Simon the monke; and answere was made that he was departed this life. Then God haue mercie vpon me (said he) I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should thereof be glad; he ment now I perceiue then of his owne generation. With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to Slaford castle, and from thence to Newarke on Trent, and there within lesse then three daies he died. Vpon his death bed he much repented his former life, & forgaue all them with a pitifull heart that had done him iniurie, desiring that his elder son Henrie might be admonished by his example, and to learne by his misfortunes to be natural, fauourable, gentle, and louing to his naturall people. When his bodie was imbalmed and spiced (as the maner is of kings) his bowels or intrals were buried at Croxton abbey, which was of the sect of Premonstratenses or canons of S. Norbert. His hired souldiers both Englishmen and strangers were still about him, and followed his corps triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the cathedrall church of Worcester, and there honorablie was he buried by Silvester the bishop, betwixt S. Oswald and S. Wolstan, two bishops of that church. Hee died in the yeare of our Lord 1216, the nineteenth day of October, after he had raigned in such calamitie, by the subtill conueiance of his clergie, eighteene yeares and fiue moneths and odde daies. Now so soone as king John was dead and buried (as is said before) the princes, lords and barons, so many as were of his part (as well of strangers as of them that were borne heere) by counsell of the legat Gualo, gathered themselues together, and all with one consent proclaimed Henrie his sonne for their king. Of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The death of king John.

A prince to be louing to his subiects.

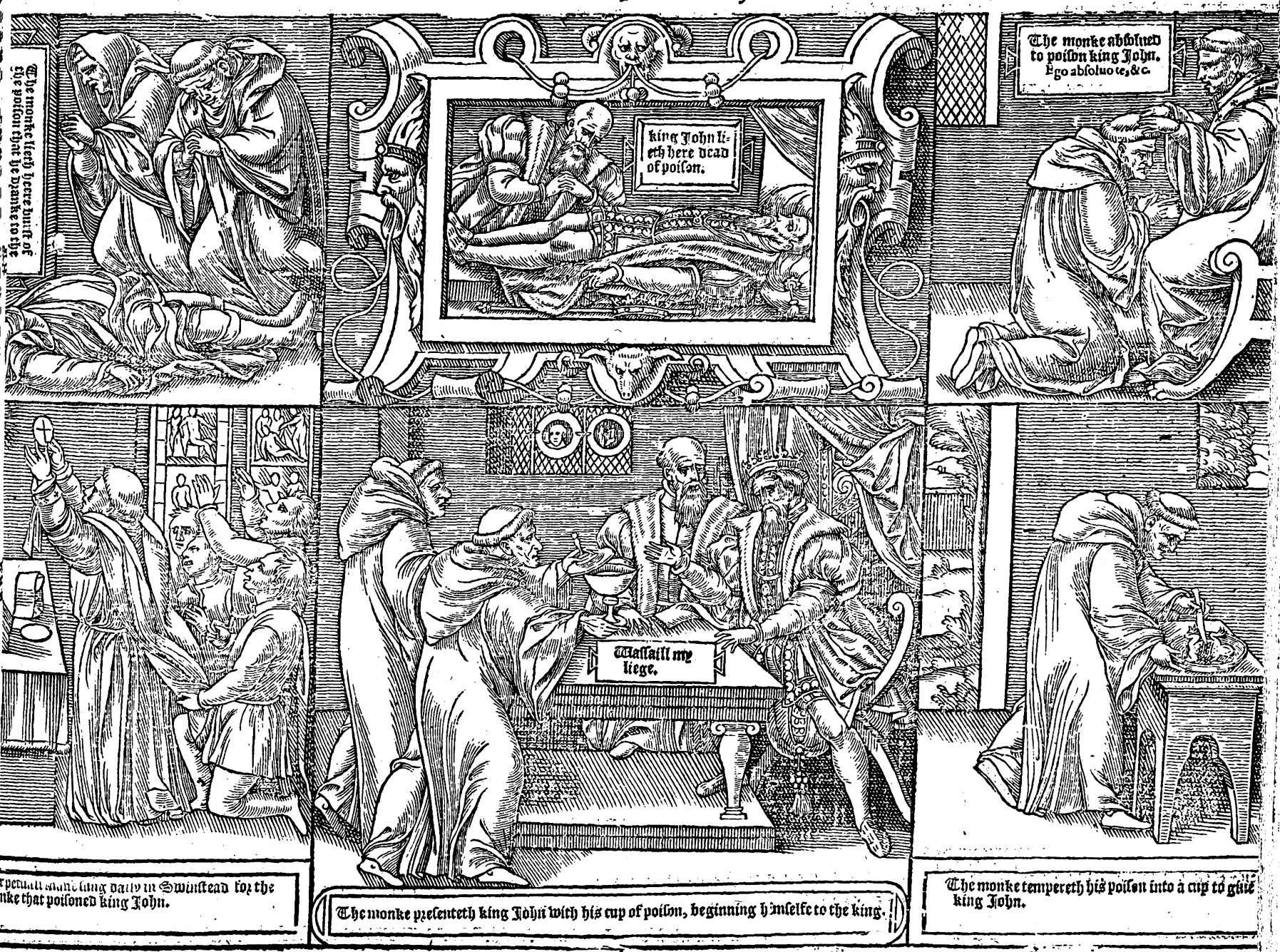
King John buried at Worcester.

Anno 1216

Many opinions are among the chroniclers of the death of king John. Some of them do write that he died of sorrow and heauinesse of heart, as Polydorus: some of surfetting in the night, as Radulphus Niger: some of a bloodie flix, as Roger

The death of king John.

The description of the poisoning of king Iohn by a monke of *Swinstead abbey in Lincolnshire.*



perpetuall mainteining daily in Swinstead for the monke that poisoned king John.

The monke presenteth king John with his cup of poison, beginning himselfe to the king.

The monke tempereth his poison into a cup to giue king Iohn.

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Houeden, some of a burning ague, some of a cold sweat, some of eating apples, some of eating peares, some plums, &c.

Thus you see what varietie is among the writers concerning the death of this king John. Of which writers, although the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the monke aboue named, yet Matthew Paris (something differing from the others) writeth thus concerning his death, that he going from Lin to Lincolnshire, and there hearing of the losse of his cariage and of his treasures vpon the washes, fell in great heauinesse of mind, in so much that he fell thereby into a feruent feuer, being at the abbey of Swinsted. This ague he also increased through euill surfetting and naughtie diet, by eating peaches and drinking of new ciser, or as we call it sider. Thus being sicke, he was caried from thence to the castle of Laford, and from thence to the castle of Newarke, where calling for Henrie his sonne, gaue to him the succession of his crowne and kingdome, writing to all his lords and nobles to receiue him for their king, and shortly after vpon S. Lucies euen departed this life, being buried at Worcester, &c.

Matth. Paris in vita Ioannis regis.

Another description of king Johns death. *Ex hist. Gualt. Hemingford. Gisburnensi.*

In Gisburne I find otherwise, who dissenting from others, saith; that he was poysoned with a dish of peares, which the monke had prepared for the king therwith to poison him. Who asking the king whether he would taste of his fruit, and being bid to bring them in: according to the kings bidding, so did. At the bringing in whereof (saith the storie) the pretious stones about the king began to sweat, in so much that the king misdoubting some poison, demanded of the monke what he had brought. He said, of his fruit, and that verie good, the best that euer he did taste. Eat, said the king. And he toke one of the peares which he did know, and did eat. Also being bid to take another, did eate likewise sauorlie, and so likewise the third. Then the king refraining no longer, toke one of the poisoned peares, and was therewith poisoned, as is before, &c.

The first maior of London.

In the raigne of this king John, the citizens of London first obtained of the king to chuse yerely a maior. In whose time also the bridge of London was first builded of stone, which before was of wood. Rastall.

King Henrie the third.

King Henrie the third.

After this king John had raigned (as some say) seuentéene yeares, or as some say, though falsely, nineteene yeares, was (as is aboue said) poisoned and died. This king left behind him foure sons, and three daughters, first Henrie, second Richard, and he was earle of Cornwall, third William of Valentia, fourth Guido Disenate: he had also another son who afterward was made bishop. Of his daughters first was Isabell, maried afterward to Frederike the emperour; the second named Elenor, maried to William earle marshall; the third to Mountfort the earle of Leicester, &c. Another storie saith that he had but two daughters, Isabell and Elenor, or as another calleth her Ione, which was after quéene of Scotland. Ex chronico vetusto Angliæ.

The issue of king John.

This king John being deceased, which had many enemies both of earles, barons, and especially of the popish clergie, Henrie his eldest sonne was then of the age of nine yeares, at what time the most of the lords of England did adhere to Ludouike or Lewis the French kings son, whom they had sent for before in displeasure of king John to be their king, and had sworne to him their allegeance. Then William earle marshall a noble man, and of great authoritie, and a graue and sound counsellor, friendly & quietly called vnto him diuers earles and barons, and taking this Henrie the yong prince, son of king John, setteth him before them, vsing these words. Behold (saith he) right honorable and well beloued, although we haue * persecuted the father of this yong prince for his euill demeanor, and worthilie; yet this yong child whom heere ye see before you, as he is in yeares tender, so is he pure and innocent from these his fathers doings: wherefore in as much as euery man is charged only with the burthen of his owne workes and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conscience to pardon this yong and tender prince, and take compassion of his age as ye see. And now for so much as he is the kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our soueraigne and king, and successor of this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king and gouernour, and let vs remoue from vs this Lewis the French kings sonne, and suppresse his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation, and the yoke of our seruitude let vs cast off from our shoulders. To these words spake and answered the earle of Glocester; And by what reason or right (said he) can we so do, seeing we haue called him hither, and haue sworne to him our fealtie?

An example of a worthie and faithfull counsellour.

The oration of the earle marshall for yong king Henrie.

* Truely said, that you persecuted him, for persecutors ye were of a true man and your owne naturall king. But well might England crie out of your blind guides and setters on.

Whereunto the earle marshall inferred againe and said: God right and reason we haue, and ought of duty to do no lesse, for that he contrarie to our mind and calling hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to preferr him to be our chiefetaine and gouernour; but he eftsones surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised vs: and if we shall so suffer him, he will subuert and ouerthrow both vs and our nation, and so shall we remaine a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts of all the world.

At these words all they, as inspired from aboue, cried all together with one voice, Be it so, he shall be our king. And so the day was appointed for his coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude. This coronation was kept, not at Westminster, forsomuch as Westminster the same time was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Glocester, the safest place (as was thought) at that time in the realme, An. 1216, by Swalo the popes legat, through counsell of all the lords and barons that held with his father king John, to wit, the bishop of Winchester, bishop of Bathe, bishop of Chester, & bishop of Worcester, the earle Radulph of Chester, William earle marshall, William earle of Penbroke, William Tren earle of Feres, William de Brues, Serle or Samarike de Val baron. These were at the crowning of the king at Glocester. Many other lords and barons there were, which as yet held with Lewis the French kings sonne, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediatly after the crowning of this king he held his councell at Brikstow at S. Martins feast, where were assembled eleuen bishops of England and Wales, with diuers earles and barons and knights of England, all which did sweare fealtie to the king. After which homage thus done to the king, the legat Swalo interdicted Wales, because they held with the foresaid Lewis, and also the barons and all others as many as gaue helpe or counsell to Lewis, or any other that moued or stirred any war against King Henrie the new king, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Lewis did not cease, but first laid siege to the castle of Douer fiftéene daies. When he could not preuaile there, he toke the castle of Berkhamsted, and also the castle of Hertford, doing much harme in the countries, in spoiling & robbing the people where they went: by reason wherof the lords and commons which held with the King, assembled themselues together to driue Lewis and his men out of the land. But some of the barons with the Frenchmen in the mean season went to Lincolne and toke the citie, and held it to the vse of Lewis. Which being knowne, eftsones a great power of the Kings part made thither, as earle Ranulph of Chester, William earle marshall, and William de la Brues earle of Feres, with many other lords, and gaue battell vnto Lewis and his partie, so that in conclusion Lewis lost the field, and of his side were slaine the earle of Parchis, Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, Henrie de la Bohun earle of Hertford, and sir Robert le Fitzwater, with diuers others more. Whereupon Lewis for succor fled to London, causing the gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succour out of France. Which as soone as the king had knowledge of, immediatly sent to the maior and burgesse of the citie, willing them to render them and their citie to him as their chiefe lord and king, promising to grant to them againe all their franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirme the same by his great charter and seale. In this meane time on Bartholomew euen, Eustace a French lord accompanied with many other lords and nobles of France, came with a great power, to the number of 100 ships to aid and assist the said Lewis, who before they arriued, were encountred vpon the seas by Richard, King Johns bastard sonne, who hauing no more but eighteene ships to keep the cinque ports, set eagerly vpon them, and through Gods grace ouercame them, where presently he smote off the head of Eustace: the rest of the French lords to the number of ten, hee brought with him to the land, where he imprisoned them in the castle of Douer, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunke their ships in the sea, only fiftéene ships (saith some of my stories) escaped away. Ludouike or Lewis hearing this losse of his ships and men, and misdoubting his owne life for the great mischiefe he had done to the realme, sought means by Swalo and the archbishop of Canturburie, and by other lords, to be at accord with the King. With whom at length it was so concluded and agréed, that for his costs and expenses, he to haue a thousand pounds of siluer giuen. Parisiensis speaketh of fiftéene thousand markes (which he borrowed of the Londoners) that he should depart the realme neuer to returne into England againe, neither he nor none of his.

Lincolne taken by Lewis.

{Anno 1217}

This Eustace some say he was a Spaniard.

A noble victorie by Gods grace giuen to king Johns sonne.

Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

This done and vpon the same, he with all the other barons that toke his part was assoiled of Swalo the legat. And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Lewis toke his leaue, and being brought honorablie to the sea with the bishop of Canturburie and other bishops, earles and barons, returned home into France.

Lewis the French kings sonne driuen out of England.

And heere, saith Gisburne, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the French king father of Lewis. At what time the said Lewis was in England, his father the French king demanded of his messengers comming into France, where his sonne was. And they said at Stamford. And he asking againe whether he had got the castle of Douer? And they said, no. Then the father swearing by the arme of S. James: My sonne (quoth he) hath not one foot in England, as afterward well proued true. Ex Gisburn.

The answere of the French king concerning his sonne Lewis.

But the chiefest helpe that repelled Lewis and the French men out of the realme, and that most preferred king Johns sonne to the crowne, was the singular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confession

confession of a certaine gentleman of the French host (as Florilegus doth testifie) who lying sore sicke at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience for danger of his soules health, openly to confesse and vtter to the barons of England, what was the purpose of the Frenchmen to doe; who were conspired and sworne together among themselues, with a priuie compaction, that so soone as they subdued the land, they should thrust all the chiefe and nobles thereof into perpetuall exile out of the realme, whereout they should neuer returne againe. This comming to the eares of the barons, as is said, gaue them to consider more with themselues, whereby many of them were the more willing to leaue Lewis, and applie to their naturall king and prince. Which no lesse may also bee an admonition to all times and ages for Englishmen to take heed, not to admit or to place forren rulers into the realme, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselues.

An admonition to Englishmen not to admit forren rulers into the realme.

After the happie departure of this Lewis and his Frenchmen out of the land, wherby the state of this realme long vered before, was now somwhat more quieted; immediatly Swalo the legat looking to his haruest, directeth forth inquisitors through euery shire, to search out all such bishops, abbats, priors, canons, and secular priests, of what order or degree soeuer they were, that with any succour or counsell did either helpe, or els consented to Lewis. For all these were exempted out of the charter of pardon and absolution made before, betweene the king and Lewis. By reason whereof no small gaine grew to the pope and the cardinall; for all such were either put out of their liuings and sent vp to the pope; or else were faine to fine sweetly for them. Among whom (besides a great number of other clerks, both religious and lecular) was Hugo bishop of Lincolne, who for the recouerie of his bishoprike, disbursed 1000. marks to the pope, and 100. marks to the foresaid Swalo the legat, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a faire crop of that which he did neuer sow. Ex Mat. Paris, &c.

It is a bad wind that bloweth no man profit.

Monie comming vnto the pope and cardinall.

Hugo bishop of Lincolne redeemeth his bishoprike for 1000. marks. *Ex Math. Paris in vita reg. Henr. 3.*

About this season, or not much before, died pope Innocent the third, in the nineteenth yeere of his popedome, to whose custodie, Fredericus the nephue of Frederike Barbarossa, being yet young was committed by the empresse his mother, of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next succeeded pope Honorius the third, who writing to young king Henry in a special letter, exhorteth him to the loue of vertue, and to the feare of God, namely to be circumspect with what familiars and resort he acquainted himself; but principally aboue all others monisheth him to reuerence the church which is the spouse of Christ, and to honor the ministers thereof, in whom Christ himselfe (saith hee) is both honored or despised. And this seemeth the chiefest article of that his writting to him.

Pope Innocent the third.

Pope Honorius the third.

The effect of the letter of pope Honorius the third to king Henrie the third. *Ex Parisiens.*

Of this pope Honorius, Abbas Vrspergensis (who liued in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peraduenture then credible, which is this. Honorius being priest in Rome (whose name was then Centius) and procurator to Iacinthus a cardinall: so it befell, that his master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and procure monie for him against his iournie into Spaine: for pope Clement then intended to send the said Iacinthus his legat into Spaine. As this Centius was walking by himselfe all sad and sollicitous to speed his masters message, commeth to him a certaine aged and reuerend father, and asketh him what cause he had to walke so heauie and carefull. To whom he answered againe, and signified the occasion of his businesse that then he had to do. Then the old father said to him: Go and returne home againe, for thy master (saith he) shall not at this time go to Spaine. How so (quoth the other) how is that true? As true (saith he) as it is certaine that the pope shall die, and thy said master shal be pope after him. Centius thinking that to be vnlikely, said he could not beleeue that to be true. To whom the other inferreth again; So know this (said hee) to be as certaine, as it is true that the citie of Hierusalem this day is taken of the Saracens, and shal not be recouered againe from them, before the time of thy papacie. And thus speaking (saith Vrsperg.) he vaded suddenly away. Ex Abbate Vrsperg. All which (saith the said author) came afterwards to passe, and were testified of the same Honorius being pope afterward in his publike sermons at Rome. All which I grant may be, and yet notwithstanding this fabulous narration may be a peece of the popes old practises, subtillie inuented to driue men forth to Hierusalem to fight, &c. Again, after Honorius (when he had gouerned ten yeeres) followed Gregorius the ninth, which two popes were in the time of this king Henrie the third, and of Frederike the emperor, of whom we mind (Christ willing) further to touch, after that we shall haue prosecuted more concerning the historie of king Henrie and matters of England.

A strange tale of pope Honorius, if it be true.

Ex Abbate Vrsperg. in chronico.

After that it so pleased the mercifull prouidence of almightie God, to worke this great mercie vpon the stocke of king John (which notwithstanding the vnkind prelats with their false prophets had declared before, that neuer none should succeed in the throne after that king) and also vnto the whole commonwealth of the realme, in deliuering them from the dangerous seruice of Ludouike and the foresaid Frenchmen. After their departure, the next yeere following, An. 1218. which was the third of this kings raigne, the archbishop, S. Langton, and the bishops, earles & barons resorted to London vnto the king at Michaelmas next following, and there held a great parlement; wherein were confirmed and granted by the king al the franchises which were made and giuen by king John his father at Ronemedow, and them he confirmed & ratified by his charter, which long time after (saith mine author) vnto his daies did continue, and were holden in England. For the which cause, by the nobles and commons was giuen and granted againe vnto the king two shillings for euery plow land through England. And Hubert Burgh was made chiefe iustice of England, of whose troubles more is to be said hereafter. And this was the third yeere of king Henrie, and the fiftith yeere after the death of Thomas Becket: wherefore the said Becket the same yeere next following was taken vp and shrined for a new saint made of an old rebell. Thither came such resort of people of England and of France, that the countrie of Kent was not sufficient to sustaine them. Ex historia D. Scales. About the same time Isabell the kings mother was married to the earle of March. And William Marshall the good earle died, which was the gouernor of the king and the realme, not without great lamentation of the people of England. Then was the king committed to the gouernment of Peter bishop of Winchester. This noble earle left behind him fiue sonnes, and fiue daughters.

Anno 1218

King Henrie confirmed the liberties granted by king John.

Two shillings of euery plow land granted to king Henry.

Thomas Becket shrined.

Ex historia D. Scales.

William Marshall dieth and was buried at the Temple.

The yere next insuing, An. 1219. it was ordained and proclamed through all the land, that all aliens & forreners should depart the realme, and not returne to the same againe, onely such excepted as vsed traffike or trade of merchandize vnder the kings safe conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to bee set forth for this cause, to auoid out of the land Fouks de Brent, Philip de Marks, Egelardus de Ciconia, William earle Albemarle, Robert de Veteri ponte, Brihenne de Insula, Hugo de Bailluell, Roger de Gaugi, with diuers other strangers more, which kept castels & holds of the kings against his will. Of whom the forenamed Fouks was the principall, who fortified & held the castle of Bedford, which he had by the gift of king John, with might and strength against the king and his power, neere the space of three moneths. Moreouer he went about to apprehend the kings iustices at Dunstable; but they being warned thereof, escaped all, except Henrie Braibroke, whom he imprisoned in the said castel. The king hearing thereof, and consulting with his clergie and nobles, made his power against the same. Which after long seege and some slaughter at length he obtained, and hanged almost all that were within, to the number of ninetie and seuen, which was (as Paris writeth) about the seuenth or eight yeere of his raigne. Fouks the same time was in Wales, who hearing of the taking of the castell, conueyed himselfe to the church of Couentrie. At length submitting himselfe to the kings mercie, vpon consideration of his seruice done before to the kings father, was committed to the custodie of Eustace bishop of London, and afterwards being depriued of all his goods, possessions and tenements within the realme, was forced to perpetuall banishment, neuer to returne to England againe.

Anno 1219

Aliens commanded out of England.

Fouks de Brent rebelleth against king Henrie.

Yeere (by the way) I find it noted in Paris, that after this foresaid Fouks had spoiled and raced the church of S. Paul in Bedford, for the building vp of his castle; the abbasse of Helnestue hearing thereof, caused the sword to be taken from the image of S. Paul standing in the church, so long as hee remained vnpunished. Afterward, she hearing him to be committed to the custodie of S. Paul in London, caused the sword to be put into the hands of the image againe. Matth. Parisiens. in vita Henr. 3.

Ex Parisiens.

About this yeere the young king the second time was crowned againe at Westminster, about which time began the new building of our ladie church at Westminster. Shortly after Gualo the legat was called home again to Rome. For the holy father (as Matth. Paris reporteth) being sicke of a spirituall dropsie, thought this Gualo (hauing so large occupying in England) to be able somewhat to cure his disease. And so that legat returned with all his bags well stuffed, leauing Pandulph behind him to supplie that bailiwike of his great grandfather the pope.

Anno 1220

King Henrie crowned the second time at Westminster.

The life and acts of pope Innocentius the third are partlie described before, how he intruded Stephan Langton against the kings will into the archbishoprike of Canturburie, stirring vp also sixtie and foure monks of the same church of Canturburie priuilie to worke against the king. Moreouer how he did excommunicat the said king as a publike enemie of the church, so long as the said king withstood his tyrannicall doings, putting him and his whole kingdome vnder interdiction, for the space of fiue yeeres and three moneths; and at length deposed & depriued him from his scepter, keeping it in his owne hands for fiue daies. How he absolued his subiects from their due obedience and subiection vnto him. How he gaue away his kingdoms and possessions to Lewis the French kings sonne, commanding the said Lewis to spoile him both of lands and life. Wherupon the king (being forsaken of his nobles, prelats and commons) was inforced against his will to submit himselfe, and sware obedience vnto the pope, paying vnto him a yerelie tribute of 1000. marks by yeere, for receiuing his kingdome againe,

Pope Innocentius.

The deeds and decrees of pope Innocent the third.

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againe, whereby both he and his successors after him were vassals afterwards vnto the pope. And these were the apostolicall acts of this holy vicar in the realme of England. Moreouer, he condemned Almericus a worthie learned man and a bishop, for an heretike, for teaching and holding against images. Also he condemned the doctrine of Joachim Abbas (whom we spake of before) for heroticall. This pope brought first into the church the paying of priuat tithes. He ordained the receiuing once a yeere at Easter. Vnto the papall decretals he added the decree, Omnes vtriusque sexus, &c. Also the reseruation of the sacrament, and the going with the bel and light before the sacrament was by him appointed. In the said councell of Lateran he also ordained that the canon of the masse should be receiued with equall authoritie as though it had proceeded from the apostles themselues. He brought in transubstantiation. Looke in the decretals, Titulo 1. De summa Trinit. & fide catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.

Almericus condemned.
Joachim Abbas condemned.
Priuat tithes brought in.
Bel and candel before the sacrament.
Canon of the masse authorised.
Transubstantiation.

Item, the said Innocentius the third ordained that none should marrie in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and so vnder.

Mariage in the third degree forbidden.

The said pope stirred vp Otho against Philip the emperor, because the said Philip was elected emperor against his will; vpon the occasion whereof followed much war and slaughter in Germany. And afterward against the said Otho, whom he had made emperor, hee set vp Frederike king of Cicile, and caused the archbishop of Maience to pronounce him excommunicat in all his titles, and to bee deposed of his empire. For the which cause the princes of Germanie did inuade his bishoprike, spoiling and burning his possessions. The cause why the pope so did accurse and depose him, was, for that the said Otho did take and occupie cities, townes, and castels, which the pope said appertained to him.

The pope setteth kings and emperors together by the eares.
Philip the emperor deposed.
Otho the emperor deposed.

Item, the said pope ordained, that if any prince offended one another, the correction shoul appertaine vnto the pope. In this councell of Lateran were archbishops and primats 61. bishops 400. abbats 12. priors and conuentuals 800. besides other ambassadors, legats, doctors, and lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

The councell of Lateran.

In the historie of Hermanus Mutius, we read how in the yeere of our Lord 1212. in this popes time diuers noble men, and others in the countrie of Alsatia, contrary to the tradition of the Romish popes, did hold that euery day was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly. Also that they did wickedlie, which restrained priests and ministers from their lawful wiues, for the which cause (as is in the foresaid author) by this pope Innocentius the third and his bishops, an hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Martyrs of Alsatia to the number of one hundred burned in one day. *Ex Hermano Mutio.*

Some other historie (as Nauclerus) recordeth also, that at the same time many were in the citie of Millaine of the said doctrine, which vsed to send collects vnto the foresaid saints of Alsatia. Ex Nauclero.

Collects sent from the brethren of Millaine to them of Alsatia.

In the chronicle of Gualter Hemingford, otherwise called Gisburnensis, it is recorded that in the daies of this king John, and pope Innocent, began the two sects and orders of friers, one called the preachers order, or blacke friers of S. Dominike: the other called the minorits of S. Francis. The preachers or blacke friers order began of one Dominike a Spaniard, about the parts of Tholouse, who after he had labored ten yeeres in preaching against the Albingenses, and such other as did hold against the church of Rome, afterward comming vp to the councell of Lateran with Fulco bishop of Tholouse, desired of the foresaid Innocent the third, to haue his order of preaching friers confirmed, which the pope a great while refused to grant: at length he had a dreame, that the church of Lateran was readie to fal. Which when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing therat, commeth in this Dominik, who with his shoulders vnderpropped the church, and so preserued the building thereof from falling, &c. And right well this dreame may seeme verified, for the friers haue been alwaies the chiefe pillers and vpholders of the popes church. Vpon this the pope (waking out of his dreame) called Dominike to him, and granted his petition: and so came vp this wolnish order of the Dominiks. I call it wolnish, for that his mother when she was great with this Dominike, dreamed that shee had in her wombe a woolfe, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dreame, the preachers of that order doe greatlie aduance, and expound to their orders glorie, as well as they can. Neuertheless, howsoeuer they expound it, they can make a woolfe but a woolfe, and this a wolnish ender. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of S. Augustine, as who should say, that Christs rule were not enough to make a christian man. Their profession standeth vpon three principall points, as thus described: *Charitatem habentes, humilitatem seruantes, & paupertatem voluntariam possidentes.* That is: Hauing charitie, holding humilitie, and possessing wilfull pouertie. Their habit and clothing is blacke.

Obseruant friers began.
Dominike.
Friers vpholders of the popes church.

The order of the minors or minorit friers descended from one Francis an Italian of the citie of Assisium. This Assisian asse, whom I suppose was some simple and rude idiot, hearing vpō a time how Christ sent forth his disciples to preach, thought to imitat the same in himselfe and his disciples, and so left off his shooes: he had but one cote, and that of course cloth. In stead of a latchet to his shoe, and of a girdle, hee tooke about him an hempen cord, and so he apparelled his disciples, teaching them to fulfill (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the gospel, to apprehend pouertie, and to walke in the way of holy simplicitie. He left in writing to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called *Regulam euangelicam*, The rule of the gospel. As though the gospell of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all christian men, but it must take his perfection of frantike Francis. And yet for all that great presumption of this Francis, and notwithstanding this his rule, sounding to the derogation of Christs gospell, he was confirmed by this pope Innocent. Yea and such fooles this Francis found abroad, that not onelie hee had followers of his doltish religion (both of the nobles and vnnobles of Rome) but also some there were, which builded mansions for him and his friers. This Francis, as he was superstitious in casting all things from him, as his girdle, girding a cord about him, so in outward chastising of himselfe, so strait he was to his flesh (leauing the ordinarie remedie appointed by God) that in winter season, he couered his bodie with ice and snow. He called pouertie his ladie, he kept nothing ouer night. So desirous he was of martyrdome, that he went to Syria, to the Soldan, which receiued him honorablie. Whereby it may be thought, that (surely) he told not the truth, as S. John Baptist did in Herods house. For truth is seldome welcome in courts and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of him which is no true confessor. I will heere passe ouer the fable, how Christ and his saints did marke him with fiue wounds. These Franciscan or begging friers, although they were all vnder one rule and clothing of S. Francis, yet they be diuided into many sects and orders, some go on treen shoes or pattins, some barefoted, some regular Franciscans or obseruants, some minors or minorits, others bee called Minimi, others of the gospell, others De caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in superstition and hypocrisie. And forsomuch as we haue heere entred into the matter of these two orders of friers, by the occasion hereof, I thought a little by the way to digresse from our storie, in reciting the whole catalogue or rabblement of monks, friers and nuns of all sects, rules and orders, set vp and confirmed by the pope. The names of whom heere in order of the alphabet follow vnder written.

The minorit friers descended from S. Francis.
Diuers sects of Franciscans.

The rabblement of religious orders.

The rabble of all religious orders.

AVgustinians, the first order.		Charterhouse order.	1086	Gerundinensis order.	
Ambrosians two sorts.	490	Cisterciensis order.	1098	Galilei or Galieans.	
Antonies heremits.	324	Crossebearers or crossed friers.	1216		
Austins heremits.	498	Carmelits or white friers.	1212	Heremits.	
Austins obseruants.	490	Clares order.	1225	Helens brethren. Humiliati.	1166
Armenians sect.		Celestines order.	1297	Hospitall brethren.	
Ammonits and Moabits.		Camaldulensis order.	950	Holy ghost order.	
		Crosse starred brethren.			
Basilius order.	384	Constantinopolitanish order.		Ieroms orders two sorts.	1412
Benets order.	524	Crosse bearers.		Iohns heremits.	
Bernardus order.	1120	Chapter monks.		Iustins order.	1432
Barefooted friers.	1222			Iohns order Ioannits.	380
Brigits order.	1370	Duch order.	1216	otherwise knights of the Rhodes.	1308
Beghearts or white spirits.	1399	Dominike blacke friers.	1220	Iniesuati.	1365
Brethren of Hierusalem.	1103			Ieroms heremits.	490
Brethren of S. Iohn De ciuitate blacke Friers.	1220	Franciscans.	1224	Iosephs order.	
Brethren of wilfull pouertie.		Grandmontensis order.	1076	Iacobits sect.	
		Gregorian order.	594	Iames brethren order.	
Cluniacensis order.	913	Georges order.	1407	Iames brethren with the sword.	
Canons of S. Augustine.	1080	Cuilielmits.	1246	Indians order.	

Katharine

Katharine of Senes order.	1455
Keied monks knights of Rhodes.	
Lazarits or Marie Magdalens our ladie brethren.	1034
Lords of Hungarie.	
Minorits which be diuided into: Conuentuals.	
Obseruants.	
Reformat.	
Collectan.	
De Caputio.	
De Euangelio.	
Amedes.	
Clarini and others.	
Minors or Minorits,	1224
Maries seruants.	1304
Monks of mount Oliuet.	1046
Marouinies sect.	
Monorits sect.	
Monachi and *Monachæ.*	
Morbonei and Meresti.	
Menelaish and Iasoniſh sect.	
New canons of S. Austin.	1430
Nestorini.	
Nalheart brethren.	
New order of our ladie.	
Nazaræi.	
Pauls heremits.	345
Præmonstratensis order.	1119
Preacher order, or Black friers.	
Peter the apostles order.	1409
Purgatorie brethren.	
Rechabits.	
Sarrabaits.	
Sambonits.	1199
Scourgers the first sect.	1266
Souldiers of Iesus Christ.	1323
Scopenits, or S. Saluators order.	1367
Specularij or the Glasse order.	
Sepulchers order.	
Sheere order.	
Swerds order.	
Starred monks.	
Starred friers.	
Sclauonie order.	
Scourgers the second sect, called Niniuits.	
Stoole brethren.	
Scotland brethren order.	
Sicarij.	
S. Sophies order.	
Templar lords.	1110
Templar knights.	1120
The vale of Iosaphat his order.	
Vallis vmbrosæ.	1400
Waldensis sect.	
Wentzelaus order.	
Wilhelmer order.	
White monks of mount Oliuet.	1406
Zelotes order.	

Thus haſt thou if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to know what orders and what ſects of religion haue been ſet vp by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, ſo far as we could ſearch them out, not onelie in bookes printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martin Luther: but alſo conferred with another Engliſh booke which came to our hands, containing the ſame like notes of ancient antiquitie, the number of which rabblement of religious perſons came to 101. Now as I haue reckoned vp the names and varieties of theſe prodigious ſects, it commeth to mind conſequently to infer the prophecie of Hildegardis, as well againſt the whole rout of Romiſh prelats, and the fall of that church, as eſpecially againſt the begging friers and ſuch other vnprofitable bellies of the church. This Hildegardis is holden of the papiſts themſelues to be a great prophetiſſe: whoſe prophecie procéedeth in this manner, firſt againſt the prieſts and prelats of the Romiſh church, as followeth.

The prophecie of Hildegardis of the ruine of Rome, *and againſt the Begging friers.*

Hildegardis a nun, and (as many iudged) a prophetiſſe, liued in the yeere 1146. In hir prophecies ſhe doth moſt grieuouſlie reprehend not only the wicked and abominable life of the ſpirituall papiſts, but alſo the contempt of the eccleſiaſticall office, and alſo the horrible deſtruction of the church of Rome. In a certaine place ſhee hath theſe words: And now is the law neglected among the ſpirituall people, which neglect to teach and to doe good things; the maſter likewiſe and the prelats doe ſléepe, deſpiſing iuſtice and laying it aſide. In a certaine viſion the church appeared to her in the ſhape of a woman, complaining that the prieſts had beraied her face with duſt, and rent her cote, &c: and that they did not ſhine ouer the people, neither in doctrine, neither in example of life; but rather contrariewiſe, that they haue driuen the innocent lambe from them. She ſaid moreouer, that all eccleſiaſticall order did euery day become worſe and worſe, and that prieſts did not teach but deſtroy the law of God: and for theſe horrible crimes and impieties, ſhe threatneth and propheſieth vnto them Gods moſt heauie wrath and diſpleaſure, and dolefull punithments. There is no cauſe why the ſpirituall papiſts ſhould flatter themſelues vpon this, that ſhe promiſed againe to the miniſters of the church thoſe good things to follow, like as Ioannes de rupe ſciſſa doth, and other ſuch like prophets: for they ſay it will come to paſſe, that they muſt repent before the times be amended. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane the godly miniſters in the reformed churches, which for the moſt part were of the ſpirituall number, and yet did forſake the diſhoneſt life & thoſe wicked idolatries. Now, whereas the prieſts and monks, that is, the whole rabble and ſpiritualtie do account Hildegard for a true prophetiſſe; now they ought to conſider that by hir they are more ſeuerely accuſed, not as by a woman, but as by God himſelfe. And I pray you, what abomination, impietie, and idolatrie hath béen committed ſince that time by the ſpirituaItie? I will note heere a certaine prophecie of hirs, taken out of the common places of Henrie Token, becauſe we ſée it manifeſtly fulfilled in our time. She prophecieth of the reformation of religion, and ſaith that it ſhall be moſt godly.

A prophecie for the decay of the Romiſh church.

Then ſhall the crowne of apoſtolicall honor be diuided, becauſe there ſhall bee found no religion among the apoſtolicall order, and for that cauſe ſhall they deſpiſe the dignitie of that name, and ſhall ſet ouer them other men and other archbiſhops. In ſo much that the apoſtolike ſée of that time (by the diminution of his honour) ſhall haue ſcarſe Rome, and a few other countries thereabout vnder his crowne. And theſe things ſhall partlie come to paſſe by incurſion of wars, and partly alſo by a common councell and conſent of the ſpirituall & ſecular perſons. Then ſhall iuſtice flouriſh, ſo that in thoſe daies men ſhal honeſtie applie themſelues to the ancient cuſtoms and diſcipline of ancient men, and ſhall obſerue them as ancient men did. The gloſſe agreeth, &c.

These things thus premiſed, now will we come to the prophecie of the foreſaid Hildegard, concerning the foreſaid Begging friers aboue mentioned, reciting hir words, not only as they are printed in a booke, printed of late in Germany; but alſo as my ſelfe haue ſéene and read, agréeing to the ſame booke word for word, and yet haue the ſame to ſhew, written in old parchment leaues, in ſuch ſort as the thing it ſelfe moſt euidently declareth a great iniquitie of time: The words of hir prophecie be theſe.

Hildegardis prophelying of friers and monks.

In thoſe daies ſhall ariſe a ſenſeleſſe people, proud, grædie, without faith, and ſubtill, the which ſhall eat the ſinnes of the people, holding a certaine order of fooliſh deuotion vnder the fained cloke of beggerie, preferring themſelues aboue all others by their fained deuotion, arrogant in vnderſtanding, and pretending holineſſe, walking without ſhamefaſtneſſe or the feare of God, in inuenting many new miſchiefes ſtrong and ſtout. But this order ſhall be accurſed of al wiſe men and faithfull chriſtians. They ſhall ceaſe from all labor, and giue themſelues ouer vnto idleneſſe, chooſing rather to liue through flatterie and begging. Moreouer, they ſhall together ſtudie how they may peruerſlie reſiſt the teachers of the truth, and ſtay them together with the noble men; how to ſeduce and deceiue the nobilitie, for the neceſſitie of their liuing, and pleaſures of this world: for the diuell will graft in them foure principall vices, (that is to ſay) flatterie, enuie, hypocriſie, and ſlander. Flatterie, that they may haue large gifts giuen them. Enuie, when they ſée gifts giuen to others, and not to them. Hypocriſie, that by falſe diſſimulation they may pleaſe men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend themſelues and backebite others, for the praiſe of men, and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo, they ſhall inſtantly preach, but without deuotion or example of the martyrs, and ſhall detract the ſecular princes, taking away the ſacraments of the church from the true paſtors, receiuing almes of the poore, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating themſelues with the common people, hauing familiaritie with women, inſtructing them how they ſhall deceiue their huſbands and friends by their flatterie and deceitfull words, and to rob their huſbands to giue it vnto them, for they will take all theſe ſtolne and euill gotten goods, and ſay; Giue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you: ſo that they being curious to hide other mens faults, do vtterlie forget their owne. And alas, they will receiue all things, of rouers, pickers, ſpoilers, théeues and robbers, of ſacrilegious perſons, vſurers and adulterers, heretiks, ſchiſmatiks, apoſtataes, whores and bauds, of noble men, periurers, merchants, falſe iudges, ſouldiers, tyrants, princes, of ſuch as liue contrarie to the law, and of many peruerſe and wicked men, following the perſwaſion of the diuell, the ſweetneſſe of ſinne, a delicat and tranſitorie life, and fulneſſe; euen vnto eternall damnation.

All theſe things ſhall manifeſtlie appeare in them vnto all people, and they (day by day) ſhall wax more wicked and hard hearted: and when as their wickednеſſe and deceits ſhall be found out, then ſhall their gifts ceaſe, and then ſhall they go about their houſes hungry, and as mad dogs looking down vpon the earth, and drawing in their necks as doues, that they might be ſatiſfied with bread. Then ſhal the people crie out vpon them: Wo be vnto you ye miſerable children of ſorrow, the world hath ſeduced you, & the diuel hath bridled your mouthes, your fleſh is fraile, and your hearts without ſauor, your minds haue been vnſtedfaſt, and your eies delighted in much vanitie and follie, your daintie bellies deſire delicat meats, your feet are ſwift to run vnto miſchiefe. Remember when you were apparantlie bleſſed, yet enuious; poore in ſight, but rich; ſimple to ſée to, but mightie flatterers, vnfaithfull betraiers, peruerſe detracters;

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tracters, holy hypocrits, subuerters of the truth, ouermuch vpright, proud, vnshamefast, vnstedfast teachers, delicat martyrs, confessors for gaine; meeke, but slanderers; religious, but couetous; humble, but proud; pitifull, but hard hearted liars; pleasant flatterers, persecutors, oppressors of ỳ powre, bringing in new sects newly inuented of your selues; mercifull thought, but found wicked, louers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honors, maintainers of mischiefe, robbers of the world, vnsatiable preachers, menpleasers, seducers of women and sowers of discord, of whom Moses the glorious prophet spake very well in his song, A people without counsell or vnderstanding: would to God they did know and vnderstand and foresee the end. You haue builded vp on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall euen as Simon Magus whom God ouerthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you likewise through your false doctrin, naughtines, lies, detractions, and wickednes, are come to ruine. And the people shal say vnto them, Go ye teachers of wickednesse, subuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamit, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which haue fained your selues to follow the life of the apostles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in part: ye sonnes of iniquitie wee will not follow the knowledge of your wales, for pride and presumption hath deceiued you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subuerted your erroneous harts. And when as you would ascend higher then was meet or comely for you (by the iust iudgement of God) you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobrie and shame.

This Hildegardis (whose prophecie we haue mentioned) liued about the yeere of our Lord 1146. as wee read in Chronico Martini.

Crossebearer friers.

About the same time that these Franciscans and Dominike friers began (which are aboue mentioned) sprang vp also the Crosbearers, or Crouched friers, taking their originall and occasion of Innocent the third, which Innocent raised vp an armie (signed with a crosse on their brest) to fight against the

Albingenses.

Albingenses, whom the pope and his sect accounted for heretikes about the parts of Tholouse. What these Albingenses were, it cannot be well gathered by the old popish histories: for if there were any that did hold, teach or maintaine against the pope or his papall pride, or withstand and gainesay his beggerly traditions, rites, and religions, &c: the historicians of that time (for the most part in writing them) doe so depraue and misreport them (suppressing the truth of their articles) that they make them and paint them forth to be worse then Turks and infidels. And that, as I suppose, caused Math. Parisiensis and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (& so I find in some records) that the opinions of the said Albingenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing else but onely against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyrannie of the prelats, denying the popes authoritie to haue ground of the scriptures: neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as images, pardons, purgatorie of the Romish church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous occupyings, &c. Of these Albingenses were slaine (at times) and burned a great multitude by the means of the pope, and Simon Ecclesiasticus, with others more. It seemeth that these Albingenses were chiefly abhorred of the pope, because they set vp a contrarie pope against him about the coasts of Bugarorum: for the which cause the bishop called Portinensis being the popes legat in those quarters, writeth to the archbishop of Rone and other bishops in this wise.

A letter of the bishop Portinensis concerning the Albingenses.

Venerabilibus patribus Dei gratia Rothomagensi archiepiscopo & eius suffraganeis episcopis, salutem in Domino Iesu Christo. Dum pro sponsa veri crucifixi vestrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari singultibus & plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, & quod scimus testificamur. Ille homo perditus qui extollitur super omne quod colitur, aut dicitur Deus, iam habet perfidiæ suæ præambulũ hæresiarcham, quẽ hæretici Albingenses papam suum nominant, habitantem finibus Burgarorum & Croatiæ, & Dalmatiæ, iuxta Hungarorũ nationem. Ad eam confluunt hæretici Albingenses, vt ad eorum consultare spondeat. Etenim de Carcasona oriundus vices illius antipapæ gerens Bartholomæus, hæreticorum episcopus, funestam ei exhibendo reuerentiam, sedem & locum concessit, in villa quæ Porlos appellatur, & seipsum transtulit in partes Tholosanas. Iste Bartholomæus in literarum suarum vndiq; discurrentium tenore, se in primo salutationis alloquio intitulat in hũc modũ: Bartholomæus seruus seruorũ, M. sanctæ fidei salutẽ. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates creat episcopos, & ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius, & per aspersionem sanguinis Iesu Christi, & propensius obsecramus, authoritate domini papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte districtè præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in oct. apostolorum Petri & Pauli proximè futuris, vbi & alij prælati Franciæ, fauente Domino congregabuntur, parati consilium dare in negotio prædicto, & cũ alijs qui ibidem aderunt prouidere super negotio Albingensi. Alioqui inobedientiam vestram domino papæ curabimus significari. Datum apud Plauuium 6. nonas Iulij.

For so much as mention is heere made of these superstitious sects of these friers, and such other beggerlie religions, it might seeme not much impertinent, being moued by the occasion hereof, as I haue done in Hildegardis before: so now to anner also to the same a certaine other ancient treatise compiled by Geffrie Chaucer by the way of a dialogue or questions, moued in the person of a certaine vplandish and simple ploughman of the countrie. Which treatise for the same, the author intituled Jacke Upland, wherein is to be seene and noted to all the world, the blind ignorance and variable discord of these irreligious religions, how rude and vnskilfull they are in matters and principles of our christian institution, as by the contents of this present dialogue appeareth, the words whereof in the same old English wherein first it was set forth in this wise doe proceed. Wherein also thou maiest see, that it is no new thing that their blasphemous doings haue by diuers good men in old time been detected, as there are many and diuers other old books to shew.

The blinde ignorance of friers described.

A treatise of Geffrey Chaucer intituled *Iacke Vpland.*

IJacke Upland make my mone to verie God and to all true in Christ, that antichrist and his disciples (by colour of holinesse) walking and deceiuing Christs church by many false figures, where through (by antichrist and his) many vertues been transposed to vices.

The fruits of antichrist.

But the felliest folke that euer antichrist found, been last brought into the church and in a wonder wise, for they been of diuers sects of antichrist, sowne of diuers countries and kindreds. And all men knowne well, that they be not obedient to bishops, ne leegemen to kings: neither they tillen, ne sowen, weeden, ne repen, wood, corne, ne grasse, neither nothing that man should helpe: but only themselues their lines to sustaine. And these men han all manner power of God as they seein in heauen and in yearth, to sell heauin and hell to whom that them liketh, and these wretches weet neuer where to been themselfs.

Antichrist his hood.

And therefore (frére) if thine order and rules been grounden on Goddis law, tell thou me Jacke Upland, that I aske of thée, and if thou' bee or thinkest to be on Christs side keepe thy paciens.

Patience yoneth master frier.

SAint Paul teacheth, that all our déeds should be doo in charitie, and else it is nought worth, but displeasing to God and harme to our owne soules. And for that freers challenge to bee greatest clerks of the church, and nert following Christ in liuing: men should for charitie ax them some questions, and pray them to ground their answers in reason and holie writ, for else their answer would nought be worth, be it florished neuer so faire: and as me thinke men might skilfully aske thus of a frére.

The frier must answer according to Gods word.

1 ¶ Frére, how many orders be in earth, and which is the perfectest order? Of what order art thou? Who made thine order? What is thy rule? Is there any perfecter rule then Christ himselfe made? If Christs rule bee most perfect, why rulest thou thée not thereafter? Without more why, shall a frére be more punished if he breake the rule that his patron made, then if he breake the hests that God himselfe made?

Friers may better breake Gods law then mans law.

2 Approoueth Christ any more religions then one, that S. James speaketh of? If he approoueth no more, why hast thou left his rule and takest another? Why is a frére apostata that leueth his order and taketh another sect, sith there is but one religion of Christ?

There is but one religion.

3 Why be ye wedded faster to your habits then a man is to his wife? For a man may leaue his wife for a yéere or two as manie men done: and if you leaue your habit a quarter of a yéere, ye should be holden apostatas.

The frier more bound to his habit then the man to his wife.

4 Maketh your habit you men of religion or no? If it doo, then euer as it weareth, your religion weareth, and after that your habit is better, your religion is better, and when yee haue liggen it beside, then lig ye your religion beside you, and bin apostatas: why bie ye you so pretious cloths? sith no man séeketh such but for vainegloríe, as S. Grégorie saith.

If the habit make the frier religious, as his habit weareth, so doth his religion.

What betokeneth your great hood, your scaplerie, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5 Why vse ye all one colour, more then other christian men doo? What betokeneth that ye been clothed all in one manner clothing?

If ye say, it betokeneth loue and charitie, certes then yee be ofte hypocrits, when any of you hateth another, and in that that ye woll be said holy by your clothing.

Holinesse of all hypocrits consisteth in clothing and outward appearance.

Why may not a frére weare clothing of another sect of freers, sith holinesse stondeth not in the cloths?

6 Why hold ye silence in one house more then another, sith men ought ouer all to speake the good and leaue the euill?

Why eat you flesh in one house more then in another, if your rule & your order be perfect, and the patron that made it?

7 Why get ye your dispensations to haue it more easie? Certes, either it seemeth that ye be vnperfect, or he that made it so hard, that ye may not hold it. And siker, if ye hold not the rule of your patrons, ye be not then her freers, and so ye lie vpon your selues.

All friers found liers.

8 Why

Friers be dead men, and quick beggers.

8 Why make you as dede men when ye be professed, and yet ye be not dede but more quick beggers then ye were before? and it seemeth euill a dead man to go about and beg.

9 Why wil ye not suffer your nonnes heare your councels in your chapter house ere that they haue bin professed, if your councels bin true and after Gods law?

Graues befit dead men and not courtly houses.

10 Why make ye you so costly houses to dwel in? sith Christ did not so, and dede men should haue but graues, as falleth it to dede men, and yet ye haue more courts then many lords of England: for ye now wenden through the realme, & ech night will lig in your owne courts, and so now but few right lords doe.

11 Why heire you to ferme your limitors, giuing therfore ech yere a certen rent, and will not suffer one in anothers limitation, right as ye were your selues lords of countries?

Friers not the kings liege men.

Why be ye not vnder your bishops visitations, and leege men to our king?

Friers needе no mens prayers.

Why are ye no letters of brotherheds of other mens prayers, as ye desire that other men should are letters of you?

If your letters be good, why grant ye them not generallie to all manner of men for the more charitie?

Friers greater and better then God.

12 Now ye make any man more perfect brother for your prayers then God hath by our beleeue? by our baptisme and his owne grant? if ye now, certes then ye be aboue God.

Why make ye men beleeue that your golden trentall song of you, to take therfore ten shillings, or at least fiue shillings, wold bring soules out of hell, or out of purgatorie? if this bee soth, certes ye might bring al soules out of paine, and that wold ye nought, and then ye be out of charitie.

Vncharitable friers.

13 Why make ye men beleeue that hee that is buried in your habit shall neuer come in hell, and ye weet not of your selfe whether ye shall to hell or no? and if this were sooth, yee should sell your high houses to make many habits for to saue many mens soules.

Friers stealers of mens children.

14 Why steale ye mens children for to make hem of your sect, sith that theft is against Gods hests, and sith your sect is not perfect? ye know not whether the rule that ye bind him to, be best for him or worst.

15 Why vnderneme ye not your brethren for their trespasse after the law of the gospell, sith that vnderneming is the best that may be? but ye put them in prison oft when they doe after Gods law, and by S. Augustines rule, If any doe amisse and would not amend him, ye should put him from you.

Christ and burials were more gainefull then the ministring of the sacraments.

16 Why couet ye christ and burying of other mens parishens, and none other sacrament that falleth to christian folke?

Why bustle ye not to heare to christ of poore folke as well as of rich lords and ladies, sith they now haue more plentie of christ fathers then poore folke now?

Why sey ye not the gospell in houses of bedred men, as ye doe in rich mens that now go to church and heare the gospell?

Poore men haue no soules, saith my fellow frier.

Why couet you not to burie poore folke among you? sith that they bin most holy (as ye sain that ye bin for your pouertie.)

17 Why will ye not bee at hir diriges as ye haue bin at rich mens? sith God prayseth him more then he doth other men.

What is thy prayer worth? sith thou wilt take therfore, for all chapmen ye need be most wise for dread of simonie.

These be they that will not enter themselues, nor suffer other men that would.

What cause hast thou that thou wilt not preach the gospel, as God saith that thou shouldest? sith it is the best lore and also our beleeue.

Why be ye euill apaid that secular priests should preach the gospell? sith God himselfe hath bodden hem.

The frier getteth by *In principio*, and yet hateth the gospell.

18 Why hate ye the gospell to bee preached, sith ye bee so much hold thereto? for ye win more by yere with In Principio, then with all the rules that euer your patrons made, and in this minstrels bin better then ye, for they contrarien not to the mirths that they maken, but ye contraien the gospell both in word and deed.

Judas for thirtie pence, but the priest and frier for foure pence selleth Christ. A comparison betweene Judas and the frier.

19 Freer, when thou receiuest a pennie for to say a masse, whether sellest thou Gods bodie for that pennie, or thy prayer, or els thy trauell? if thou saiest thou wolt not trauell for to say the masse, but for the penny, that certes if this be soth, then thou louest too little meed for thy soule: and if thou sellest Gods bodie, other thy prayer, then it is very simony, and art become a chapman worse then Judas that sold it for thirtie pence.

The frier writeth because God forgetteth.

20 Why writest thou his names in thy tables that geueth thee monie? sith God knoweth all thing: for it seemeth by thy writing that God would not reward him, but thou writest in thy tables, God would els forgotten it.

Why bearest thou God in hand and slanderest him that he begged for his meat? sith he was Lord ouer all, for then had he bin vnwise to haue begged, and haue no need thereto.

Freer after what law rulest thou thee? where findest thou in Gods law that thou shouldest thus beg?

21 What maner men needeth for to beg?

For whom oweth such men to beg?

Why beggest thou so for thy brethren?

If thou saiest, for they haue need, then thou doest it for the more perfection, or els for the least, or els for the meane. If it be the most perfection of all, then should all thy brethren doe so, and then no man needed to beg but for himselfe, for so should no man beg but him needed. And if it be the least perfection, why louest thou then other men more then thy selfe? For so thou art not well in charitie, sith thou shouldst seeke the more perfection after thy power, liuing thy selfe most after God. And thus leauing that imperfection thou shouldest not so beg for them. And if it is a good meane thus to beg as thou doest, then should no man doe so, but they bin in this good meane, and yet such a mean granted to you may neuer be grounded on Gods law; for then both lerid and leaud bin in meane degree of this world, should go about and beg as ye do. And if all should do so, certes well nigh all the world should go about and beg as ye done, and so should there be ten beggers against one yeuer.

It is better to labor and giue, then to loiter and beg, as frier.

Why procurest thou men to yeue thee their almes, and sayest it is so needfull, and thou wilt not thy selfe win thee that meed?

22 Why wilt not thou beg for more bedred men that bin power then any of your sect, that liggen and now not go about to helpe himselfs, sith we be all brethren in God, and that brotherhed passeth any other that ye or any man could make, & where most need were, there were most perfection, either els yee hold them not your pure brethren, but worse, but then ye bee vnperfect in your begging?

Why make ye so many maisters among you? sith it is against the teaching of Christ and his apostles?

23 Whose been all your rich courts that ye han, & all your rich iewels? sith ye seene that ye han nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye saine they beene the popes, why gether ye then of poore men and lords so much out of the kings hand to make your pope rich? And sith ye saine that it is great perfection to haue nought in proper ne in common, why be ye so fast about to make the pope that is your father rich, and put on him imperfection? sithen ye saine that your goods been all his, and he should by reason be the most perfect man, it seemeth openlich that ye beene cursed children so to slander your father and make him imperfect. And if ye saine that the goods be yours, then do ye aienst your rule; and if it be not aienst your rule, then might ye haue both plough & cart, and labor as other good men done, and not so to beg by losengerie, and idle as ye done. If ye say that it is more perfection to beg then to trauell or to worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly, and teach all men to doe so? sith it is the best and most perfect life to the helpe of their soules, as ye make children to beg that might haue been rich heires.

Friers beg from all men to make the pope rich.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why doe the friers desire to make the pope vnperfect?

Why make ye not your feasts to poore men and yeueth him gests, as ye done to the rich? sith poore men han more need then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go twaine and twaine together? if ye be out of charitie, ye accord not in soule.

Why beg yee and take salaries therto more then other priests? sith he that most taketh, most charge hath.

24 Why hold ye not S. Francis rule and his testament? sith Francis saith, that God shewed him this liuing and this rule: and certes if it were Gods will, the pope might not fordo it; or els Francis was a lier that said on this wise. And but this testament that he made, accord with Gods will, or else erred: he is a lier that were out of charitie: and as the law saith, he is accursed that letteth the rightfull last will of a dead man. And this testament is the last will of Francis that is a dead man; it seemeth therefore that all his freers been cursed.

If Francis order be contrarie to Christ his testament, then is Francis accursed.

25 Why will ye not touch no coined mony with the crosse, ne with the kings head, as ye done other iewels both of gold and siluer? Certes if ye despise the crosse or the kings head, then ye be worthy to be despised of God and the king; and sith ye will receiue monie in your hearts, and not with you hands, and it seemeth that ye hold more holinesse in your hands then in your hearts, and then be false to God.

He that is more holy in hand then in heart, is false to God.

26 Why haue ye exempt you from our kings lawes, and bisitting of our bishops more then other christen men that liuen in this realme, if ye be not giltie of traitorie to our realme, or trespassers to our bishops? But ye will haue the kings lawes for the trespasse do to you, and ye will haue power of other bishops more then other priests, and also haue leaue to prison your brethren as lords in your courts more then other folks han that been the kings leege men.

A subiect to exempt himselfe from the lawes of his prince smelleth of treason.

27 Why shall some sect of you freers pay ech a yere a certaine to her generall prouinciall or minister, or els to her soueraignes? but if he steale a certaine number of children (as some men saine) and certaine if this been soth, then ye be constrained vpon certaine paine to do theft against Gods commandement, Non furtum facies.

Friers are forced to be theeues.

28 Why be ye so hardie to grant by letters of fraternity to men and women, that they shall haue part and merit of all your good deeds, & ye weeten neuer whether God be apaid with your deeds because of your sinne? Also ye written neuer whether that man or woman be in state to be saued or damned, then shall he haue no merit in heauin for his owne deeds ne for none other mans. And all were it so, that he should haue part of your good deeds: yet should he haue no more then God would giue him after that he were worthie, and so much shall ech man haue of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will say that ye been Gods fellowes, and that he may not doe without your assent, then be ye blaspheemers to God.

Works of superrogation.

God is the limiter of meed and reward, and not the frier.

29 What betokeneth that ye hatie ordained, that when such

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Friers will not pray, but for them that be of their fraternitie.

one as ye haue made your brother or sister, and hath a letter of your seale, that letter mought be brought in your holy chapter, and there be rad, or els ye will not pray for him. And but ye willen pray especially for al other that were not made your brethren or sistren, then were ye not in right charitie, for that ought to be commen, and namely in ghostly things.

30 Fréer, what charitie is this, to ouercharge the people by mightie begging vnder colour of preaching or praying, or masses singing? sith holy write biddeth not thus, but euen the contrarie: for all such ghostlie deeds should be done freely, as God yeueth them freely?

Friers do make apostataes.

31 Fréer, what charitie is this, to beguile children or they commen to discretion, and bind hem to your orders that bin not grounded in Gods law against hir friends will? sithen by this follie bin many apostatas both in will and deed, and many bin apostatas in hir will during al hir life, that would gladly be discharged if they wist how, and so many bin apostates that shoulden in other states haue bin true men.

The number of friers are superfluous and as necessarie as ten fingers on one hand.

32 Fréer, what charitie is this, to make so many fréers in euery countrie to the charge of the people? sith persons and vicars alone, ye secular priests alone, ye monks and canons alone, with bishops aboue them, were inough to the church to doe the priests office. And to adde more then inough is a foule error, and great charge to the people, and this openly against Gods will that ordained all things to be done in weight, number and measure. And Christ himself was apaid with twelue apostles and a few disciples, to preach and do priests office to all the whole world, then was it better do then is now at this time by a thousand dele. And right so as foure fingers with a thombe in a mans hand helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hand should let him more, and so the more number that there were passing the measure of Gods ordinane, the more were a man letted to worch: right so (as it séemeth) it is of these new orders that bin added to the church without ground of holie write and Gods ordinance.

See, so fast the frier followeth Christ in his pouertie.

33 Fréer, what charitie is this, to the people to lie, and say that yée follow Christ in pouertie more then other men done? and yet in curious and costlie housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking féeding, and in treasure and iewels, and rich ornaments, fréers passen lords and other rich worldlie men, and worest they should bring hir cause about (be it neuer so costly) though Gods law be put abacke.

Friers are the letters of preaching the gospell.

34 Fréer, what charity is this, to gather vp the books of holy write, and put hem in treasorie, and so emprison them from secular priests and curats, and by this cautell let hem to preach the gospell freelie to the people without worldlie méed, and also to defame good priests of heresie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods law by the holy gospell to the christian people?

What holinesse is in a friers coat.

35 Fréer, what charitie is this, to faine so much holinesse in your bodilie clothing (that ye clepe your habit) that many blind fooles desiren to die therein more then in another? and also that a fréer that leaueth his habit late founden of men, may not bée assoiled till he take againe, but is apostata as ye sain, and cursed of God and man both? The fréer beléeueth truth, and patience, chastitie, méeknesse and sobrietie, yet for the more part of his life hee may soone be assoiled of his prior, and if he bring home to his house much good by the yére (be it neuer so falsly begged and pilled of the poore and néedie people in countries about) hee shall behold a noble fréer. O Lord whether this be charitie?

The stouter begger the nobler frier.

Why friers so much desire to haue rich men buried in their friaries.

36 Fréer, what charitie is this, to preasse vpon a rich man, & to intise him to be buried among you from his parish church, and to such rich men giue letters of fraternitie confirmed by your generall seale, and thereby to beare him in hand that hée shall haue part of all your masses, mattens, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other good déeds done by your brethren of your order (both whilest hee liueth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten neuer whether your déeds bée acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter be able by good liuing to receiue any part of your déeds, and yet a poore man (that ye wite well or supposen incerten to haue no good of) ye ne giuen to such letters, though he be a better man to God then such a rich man: neuertheless, this poore man doth not retch thereof. For as men supposen, such letters and many other that fréers behotten to men, be full false deceits of fréers, out of all reason, and Gods law and christian mens faith.

Friers behests are false deceits.

37 Fréer, what charitie is this, to be confessors of lords and ladies, and to other mightie men, and not amend hem in hir living? but rather as it séemeth, to be the bolder to pill hir poore tenants and to liue in lecherie, and there to dwell in your office of confessor for winning of worldly goods, and to be hold great by colour of such ghostlie offices? this séemeth rather pride of fréers, then charitie of God.

Friers desire to be lords and ladies confessors.

38 Fréer, what charitie is this, to sain that who so liueth after your order, liueth more perfectly, and nert followeth the state of apostles in pouerty and penance, and yet the wisest and greatest clerks of you wend or send, or procure to the court of Rome to be made cardinals or bishops of the popes chaplens, and to be assoiled of the vow of pouertie and obedience to your ministers, in the which (as ye sain) standeth most perfection and merit of your orders, and thus ye farren as Pharisées that sain

Friers and Pharisees say one thing and doe another.

one and doe another to the contrarie.

Why name ye more the patron of your order in your Confiteor when ye begin masse, then other saints, apostles, or martyrs, that holy church hold more glorious then hem, and clepe hem your patrons and your auowries?

Dilemma.

Fréer, whether was S. Francis in making of his rule that he set thine order in, a fole and a liar, or else wise and true? If ye sain that he was not a fole, but wise; ne a liar but true: why shew you contrarie by your doing, when by your suggestion to the pope ye said; that your rule that Francis made was so hard, that ye mow not liue to hold it without declaration and dispensation of the pope, and so by your déed? Ne let your patron a fole that made a rule so hard that no man may well kéepe, and eke your déed prooueth him a liar, where he saith in his rule, that he toke and learned it of the holy ghost. For how might ye for shame pray the pope vndoe that the holy ghost bit, as when ye prayed him to dispence with the hardnesse of your order?

Which is the best order of friers.

Fréer, which of the foure orders of friers is best to a man that knoweth not which is the best, but would faine enter into the best, and none other? If thou saiest that thine is the best, then saiest thou that none of the other is as good as thine, & in this each fréer in the thrée other orders woll say that thou liest, for in the selfe manner ech other fréer woll say that his order is best. And thus to ech of the foure orders bin the other thrée contrarie in this point: in the which if any say soth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the best of foure. So followeth it that if ech of these orders answered to this question as thou doest, thrée were false, and but one true, and yet no man should wite who that were. And thus it séemeth, that the most part of fréers bin or should be liars in this point, and they should answer thereto. If you say that another order of the fréers is better then thine, or as good; why toke ye not rather thereto as to the better, when thou mightst haue chose at the beginning? And eke why shouldst thou be an apostata to leaue thine order and take thée to that is better, and so why goest thou not from thine order into that?

Friers neuer agree one with another.

Fréer, is there any perfecter rule of religion then Christ Gods sonne gaue in his gospell to his brethren? Or then that religion that S. James in his epistle maketh mention of? If you say yes, then puttest thou on Christ (that is the wisdome of God the father) vnkunning, vnpower, or euill will: for then he could not make his rule so good as another did his. And so he had be vnkunning, that he might not so make his rule so good as another man might, and so were he vnmightie, & not God, as he would not make his rule so perfect as another did his, and so he had bin euill willed, namely to himselfe.

The frier thinketh his rule perfecter then Christs, because he leaueth the one and followeth the other.

For if he might and could, & would haue made a rule perfect without default, and did not, hee was not Gods sonne almightie. For if any other rule be perfecter then Christs, then must Christs rule lacke of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfecter, and so were default, and Christ had failed in making of his rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blasphemie. If thou say that Christs rule, and that religion which S. James maketh mention of, is perfectest; why holdest thou not thilke rule without more? And why clepest thou the rather of S. Francis or S. Dominiks rule or religion or order, then of Christs rule or Christs order?

Dilemma.

Fréer, canst thou any default or alligne in Christs rule of the gospell (with the which he taught al men sikerlie to be saued) if they kept it to her ending? If thou say it was too hard, then saist thou Christ lied; for he said of his rule: My yoke is soft, and my burthen light. If thou say Christs rule was too light, that may bee alligned for no default, for the better it may bee kept. If thou saist that there is no default in Christs rule of the gospell, sith Christ himselfe saith it is light and easie: what need was it to patrons of fréers to ad more thereto? and so to make an harder religion to saue fréers, then was ỳ religion of Christs apostles and his disciples helden and were saued by. But if they woulden that her fréers saten aboue the apostles in heauen for the harder religion that they kepen here, so would they sitten in heauen aboue Christ himselfe, for their more and strict obseruations, then so should they be better then Christ himselfe with mischance.

Friers would sit in heauen aboue the apostles.

Go now forth and fraine your clerks, and ground ye you in Gods law, and gif Jacke an answer, and then ye han assoiled me that I haue said sadly in truth, I shall soile thée of thine orders, and saue thée to heauen.

If fréers kun not or mow not excuse hem of these questions asked of hem, it séemeth that they be horrible guilty against God, and hir euen christian; for which gilts and defaults it were worthie that the order that they call their order were fordone. And it is wonder that men sustaine hem or suffer hir liue in such maner. For holy write biddeth that thou do well to the méeke, & giue not to the wicked, but forbed to giue hem bread, least they be made thereby mightier through you.

After these digressions, now to returne to the course of our storie againe. As Henrie this king succéeded king John his father, so after Innocent the pope, came Honorius the third, then Gregorie the ninth, &c. And after Otho the emperor (whom the pope had once set vp, and after deprined againe) succéeded Frederike

Otho the emperor set vp and deposed againe by the pope.

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Frederike the second, as is partly before touched. In the daies of these kings, popes and emperours, it were too long to recite all that happened in England, but especially in Germanie, betwixt pope Honorius, Gregorius and Frederike the emperor: the horrible tragedie whereof were enough to fill a whole booke by it selfe. But yet we meane (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these ecclesiasticall matters, first beginning with this realme of England.

After that the kingdome of England had been subiected by king John (as hath been said) and made tributarie to the pope and the Romish church, it is incredible how the vnsatiable auarice and greedinesse of the Romans did oppresse and wring the commons and all estates and degrees of the realme, especially beneficed men, and such as had any thing of the church. Who, what for their domesticall charges within the realme, what for the pope, what for the legats, what for contributing to the holie land, what for relaxations and other subtill sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slauerie, captiuitie, and penurie, that whereas the king neither durst nor might remedie their exclamations by himselfe: yet notwithstanding by his aduice, Simon Montfort and the earle of Leicester, with other noble men (not forgetting what great grieuances and distresses the realme was brought into by the Romans) thought to worke some way how to bridle and restraine the insatiable rauening of these greedie wolues. Wherefore they deuised their letter, giuing strait commandement to the religious men, and to such as had their churches to farme, that henceforth they should not answere the Romans of such farmes and rents any more, but should pay the said farmes or rents vnto their owne proctors appointed for the same purpose, as by their writings sent abroad to bishops or chapters, and other ecclesiasticall houses may appeare, in this forme and effect as followeth.

A complaint of the nobles of England against the intollerable couetousnesse of the pope and *prelats of Rome.*

A complaint of the nobles of England against the couetousnesse of Rome.

TO such and such a bishop, and such a chapter; all the vniuersitie and companie of them, that had rather die then to be confounded of the Romans, wisheth health. How the Romans and their legats haue hitherto behaued themselues toward you and other ecclesiasticall persons of this realme of England, it is not vnknowne to your discretions, in disposing and giuing awaie the benefices of the realme after their owne lust, to the intollerable preiudice and grieuance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of benefices should and doe properlie belong to you and other your fellow bishops (ecclesiasticall persons) they thundering against you the sentence of excommunication, that you should not bestow them vpon anie person of this realme, vntill in euerie dioceese and cathedrall church within the realme, fiue Romans (such as the pope shall name) bee prouided for, to the value of euerie man an hundred pounds by yeare. Besides these, many other grieuances the said Romanists do inflict and inferre, both to the laitie and nobles of the realme for the patronages and almes bestowed by them and their ancestors, for the sustentation of the poore of the realme, and also to the clergie and ecclesiasticall persons of the realme touching their liuings and benefices. And yet the said Romanists not contented with the premisses, doe also take from the clergie of this realme the benefices which they haue, to bestow them on men of their owne countrie, &c.

Wherefore, we considering the rigorous austeritie of these foresaid Romanists, which once comming in but as straungers hither, now take vpon them not only to iudge, but also to condemne vs, laying vpon vs importable burthens, whereunto they will not put to one of their owne fingers to moue: Laying therefore our heads togither vpon a generall and full aduice had mong our selues concerning the same, wee haue thought good (although verie late) to withstand them, rather then to be subiect to their intollerable oppressions, and greater slauerie more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cause wee straitlie charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliuer you, the church, the king, and the kingdome from that miserable yoke of seruitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to be required or giuen to the said Romans. Letting you to vnderstand for truth, that in case you shall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but also in your persons shall incurre the same perill and punishment as shall the said Romish oppressors themselues.

Thus fare ye well.

Example teaching neuer to take part against their king with forren power.

¶ Thus much I thought heere to insert and notifie concerning this matter, for that not only the foule and auaricious greedinesse of the Romish church might the more euidentlie vnto all English men appeare: but that they may learne by this example how worthie they be so to be serued and plagued with their owne rod, which before would take no part with their naturall king against forren power, of whom now they are scourged.

To make the storie more plaine: In the raigne of this Henrie the third (who succeeding (as is said) after king John his father raigned sir and fiftie yeares) came diuers legats from Rome to England. First cardinall Otho sent from the pope with letters to the king, like as other letters also were sent to other places for exactions of money. Cardinall Otho legat.

The king opening the letters, and perceiuing the contents; answered, that he alone could say nothing in the matter which concerned all the clergie and commons of the whole realme. Not long after a councell was called at Westminster, where the letters being opened, the forme was this: *Petimus inprimis ab omnibus ecclesijs cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, vnam de portione episcopi, & alteram de capitulo: & similiter de cœnobijs vbi diuersæ sunt portiones abbatis & conuentus; a conuentibus quantum pertinet ad vnum monachum, æquali facta distributione honorum suorum, & ab abbate tantundem.* That is; We require to be giuen vnto vs, first, of all cathedrall churches two prebends, one for the bishops part, the other for the chapter: and likewise of monasteries where be diuers portions, one for the abbat, another for the conuent; of the conuent so much as appertaineth to one monke, the portion of the gods being proportionally diuided; of the abbat likewise as much. The cause why he required these prebends was this: It hath been (saith he) an old slander, and a great complaint against the church of Rome, to be noted of insatiable couetousnes, which as ye know is the rot of all mischefe, and all by reason that causes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceed in the church of Rome without great gifts and expence of money. Whereof seeing the pouertie of the church is the cause, and why it is so slandered and euill spoken of: it is therefore conuenient that you (as naturall children) should succor your mother. For vnlesse we should receiue of you and of other good men as you are, we should then lacke necessaries for our life, which were a great dishonor to our dignitie, &c. The pope requireth two prebendships in euery cathedrall church. Note the cause why the pope is compelled to craue money of other countries.

When those petitions and causes of the legat were propounded in the foresaid assemblie at Westminster on the popes behalfe (the bishops and prelats of the realme being present) answere was made by the mouth of maister John Bedford on this wise: that the matter there proponed by the lord legat, in especiall concerned the king of England, but in generall it touched all the archbishops with their suffragans, the bishops, and all the prelats of the realme. Wherefore, seeing both the king by reason of his sickenesse is absent, and the archbishop of Canturburie with diuers other bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so doe without preiudice of them which were lacking. And so the assemblie for that time brake vp.

Not long after the said Otho cardinall De carcere Tulliano, comming againe from Rome Cum autentico plenariæ potestatis, indicted another councell at London, caused all prelats, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and other of the clergie to be warned vnto the same councell, to be had in the church of S. Pauls at London about the feast of S. Martin. The pretence of which councell was for redresse of matters concerning benefices and religion; but the chiefe and principall was to hunt for money: for putting them in feare and in hope, some to lose, some to obtaine spirituall promotions at his hand, he thought gaine would rise thereby, and so it did. For in the meane time (as Parisiensis in vita Henrici tertij writeth) diuers pretious rewards were offered him in palfries, in rich plate and iewels, in costlie and sumptuous garments richly furred, in coine, in victuals, and such like things of value wel worthy of acceptation. Wherein one indeuoured to go beyond another in munificence (not considering by meanes of the seruilitie wherewith they were oppressed of those popish shauelings and shameleese shifters, that all was meere pillage and extortion.) In so much that only the bishop of Winchester (as the storie reporteth) hearing that he would winter at London, sent him fiftie fat oxen, an hundred come of pure wheat, eight tun of chosen wine toward his house keeping. Likewise other bishops also for their part offered vnto the cardinals bor after their abilitie. A councell at London called. Great rewards giuen to the cardinall.

The time of the councell drawing nigh, the cardinall commanded at the west end of Pauls church an high and solemne throne to be prepared, rising vp with a glorious scaffold vpon mightie and substantiall stages strongly builded, and of great height. Thus against the day assigned, came the said archbishops, bishops, abbats and other of the prelacie, both farre and neere throughout al England, wearied and vered with the winters iourney, bringing their letters procuratorie. Who being together assembled, the cardinall beginneth his sermon. But before we come to the sermon, there hapned a great discord betweene the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, for sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious cardinall; for the which the one appealed against the other. The cardinall to pacifie the strife betweene them both, so that he would not derogat from either of them, brought forth a certaine bull of the pope: in the middest of which bull was pictured the figure of the crosse. On the right side of the crosse stood the image of S. Paul, and on the left side S. Peter: Lo (saith the cardinall, Contention for sitting on the right hand of the cardinall.

(holding open the bull with the crosse) heere you see S. Peter on the left hand of the crosse, and S. Paul on the right side, and yet is there betweene these two no contention, for both are of equal glorie. And yet S. Peter for the prerogatiue of his keies, and for the preheminence of his apostleship and cathedrall dignitie, seemeth most worthie to be placed on the right side. But yet because S. Paul beleeued on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the crosse: For blessed be they (saith Christ) which beleeue and see not, &c. And from that time forth the archbishop of Canturburie inioyed the right hand, and the archbishop of Yorke, the left. Wherein yet this cardinall is more to be commended then the other cardinall Hugo mentioned a little before, which in the like contention betweene these archbishops ran his way.

Why S. Paul standeth on the right hand of the popes crosse. Why the archbishop of Canturburie hath the right hand, and the archbishop of Yorke the left hand.

Thus the controuersie ceased and composed betweene these two, Otho the cardinall sitting aloft betweene these two archbishops, beginneth his sermon, taking this theme of the prophet; In medio sedis & in circuitu eius quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro, &c. that is; In the midst of the seat, and in the circuit about the seat, were foure beasts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this theme the cardinall proceeded in his sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. Hee compared them about him to the foure beasts about the seat, declaring how they ought to haue eyes both before and behind (that is) that they must be prouident in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spirituall matters, continuing and ioyning wiselie things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of his clerkely sermon. That done, he gaueth forth certaine statutes for ordering of churches, as for the dedication of temples, for seuen sacraments, for giuing of orders, for farming of benefices, collations and resignations of benefices and vicarages, priests apparell, and single life, for eating of flesh in religious houses, for archdeacons, bishops, proctors, and such other like matters. But the chiefest intent of all his proceeding was this, that they should be vigilant, prouident, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the popes pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other trauels besides. In so much that the king dreading the displeasures of his commons for the doings of the legat, willed him to repaire home to Roome againe; but yet could not so be rid of him: for he receiuing new commandements from the pope, applied his haruest still, gleaning and raking what soeuer he might scrape, writing and sending to bishops and archdeacons in this forme and tenor.

Note the theme of the cardinall applied to God, how he applieth it to himselfe.

Scripture cleerkly applied.

A letter of the cardinall to bishops and archdeacons. Censure of the church well applied.

Otto miseratione diuina, &c. Discreto viro N. episcopo vel N. archidiacono salutem. Cùm necesse habeamus de mandato summi pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem, nec possimus propriis stipendys militare, discretionem vestram, qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, vt procurationes vobis debitas in episcopatu, vel archidiaconatu vestro colligi faciatis nostro nomine diligenter, eas quàm citiùs poteritis nobis, transmissuri, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendo. Prouiso, quòd quælibet procuratio summam 4. marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, & vbi vna ecclesia non sufficiet ad procurationem huiusmodi habendam, duæ pariter vnam soluant. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Gregor. papæ 9.

Foure markes to be paid to the pope of euerie procuration.

Note the craftie practise of Romish prelats to poll for money.

And moreouer, note againe the wicked and cursed traines of these Romish rakehels, who to picke simple mens purses, first send out their friers and preachers to stirre vp in all places and countries men to go fight against the Turkes: whom when they haue once bound with a vow, and signed them with the crosse, then send they their buls to release them both of their labour, and their vow for money, as by their owne stile of writing is heere to be seene, thus proceeding.

*N. episcopus dilectis in Christo filijs omnibus archidiaconis per diœcesim suam constitutis, salutem. Literas domini legati suscepimus in hæc verba; Otto miseratione diuina, &c. Cùm sicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce signati regni Angliæ, qui sunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad sedem apostolicam accedant, vt ibidem à voto crucis absolui valeant, & nos nuper recepimus à summo pontifice in mandatis, vt tales non solùm absoluere, verùm & ad redimenda vota sua * compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expensis, fraternitatem vestram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus, partem prædictam à summo pontifice nobis concessam faciatis in nostris diœcesibus sine mora qualibet publicari, vt præfati cruce signati ad nos accedere valeant, * beneficium super his iuxta formam nobis traditam accepturi. Datum Londini 15. Kal. Mart. Pont. D. N. papæ Gregor. 9.*

* Note the stile of Rome.

* Imo maleficium & naufragium pecuniæ.

Frederike the emperour maried king Johns daughter.

The fift part of euerie spirituall mans liuing giuen to the pope.

The cause why the pope was so greedie and needie of money, was this; because he had mortall hatred, and waged continuall battell the same time against the good emperour Frederike the second, who had to wife king Johns daughter, and sister to king Henrie the third, whose name was Isabell. And therefore because the popes war could not be sustained without charges, that made the pope the more importunat to take vp money in all places, but specially in England. In so much that he shamed not to require the fift part of euerie ecclesiasticall mans liuing, as Parisiensis writeth. And not only that, but also the said pope Gregorie (consenting with the citizens of Rome) so agreed with them, that if they would ioyne with him in banquithing the foresaid Frederike, he would (and so did) grant vnto them, that all the benefices in England, which were or should be vacant (namely pertaining to religious houses) should be bestowed at their owne will and commandement to their children and kinsfolkes. Whereupon it followeth in the forenamed historie, Vnde infra paucos dies misit D. papa sacta præcepta sua domino Cant. archiep. Elien. & Lincol. & Salisb. episcopis, vt trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficijs vacantibus prouiderent, scientes se suspensos à beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter prouiderentur: that is; The pope sent in commandement to the archbishop of Canturburie and foure other bishops, that prouision should be made for three hundred Romans in the chiefest and best benefices in all England at the next voidance: so that the foresaid archbishop and bishops should be suspended in the meane time from all collation or gift of benefices, vntill these foresaid three hundred were prouided for. Whereupon the archbishop the same time seeing the vnreasonable oppression of the church of England, left the realme and went into France.

Three hundred Romans to be placed in the best benefices of England.

Againe, marke another as much or more easie sleight of the pope in procuring money. He sent one Petrus Rubeus the same time with a new deuice, which was this: not to worke anie thing openly, but priuilie to go betwixt bishop and bishop, abbat and abbat, &c. telling in their eares, such a bishop, such an abbat hath giuen so much and so much vnto the popes holinesse, trusting that you also will not be behind for your part, &c. By the meanes whereof it is incredible to thinke what a masse of money was made out of the realme vnto the pope.

Petrus Rubeus the popes agent.

A Romish sleight of the pope to get English money.

At length the foresaid bishops, abbats, and archdeacons feeling their owne smart, came to the king (whose father before they did resist) with their humble sute lamentablie complaining of the vnmeasurable exactions of the pope, and especially against Petrus Rubeus and his fellow Otto the legat, desiring the king, that seeing the matter toucheth not themselues alone, but the whole church, and seeing the valuation of churches was knowen better to their archdeacons then to themselues, therefore they desired a generall calling and talke to be had in the matter. In the octaues of S. John the baptist, the day and place was assigned where they should talke, at which day and place the prelats of England conuenting together, durst not giue anie direct denial of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuat certaine exceptions against the same.

Exceptions aleaged for not contributing to the pope.

1 First they say, that for so much as the contribution is demanded to war against him, who was ioyned in matrimonie with their prince, they were not bound so to do.

2 Secondly, for that the said contribution tended to the shedding of christian blood: for so the forme of the bill pretended to fight against the emperour.

3 Thirdly, because it was against the liberty of the church: for so it is in the bill, that they that would not should be excommunicat.

4 Fourthly, because that when of late they gaue the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that they should contribute to the pope no more hereafter.

5 Item, because they had contributed before, if they should now contribute againe, it were to be feared lest an action twice done should grow into a custome, as is in the law, Lege nemo, &c.

6 Item, for so much as they shall haue causes continually to seeke to Rome through the emperours land: it were to be feared lest the said emperour by the way would worke their annoiance.

7 Item, because the king hath many enemies abroad, and for his wars hath need of much money at home, it is not conuenient that the goods of the realme should be alienated out of the realme.

8 Item, because that could not be done without preiudice to the patrons of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree vnto the same.

9 Lastly, because they heare say that the generall state of the church is in danger, for the which they vnderstand there shal be shortly a generall councell, wherein such matters shall be determined: and therefore if they should contribute now, it should be to the hinderance and damage of the church.

The legat and his fellow hearing these allegations, seeing their owne confusion, were the lesse importunat.

Not long after this, followed a generall councell at Lions, called by pope Innocentius the fourth, in the which councell the English nation did exhibit certaine articles of their grieuances not vnworthie to be knowne. Grauatur regnum Angliæ, eo quòd D. papa non est contentus subsidio illo, quod vocatur denarius beati Petri, &c. In English thus.

Articles exhibited in the councell of Lugdune for the grieuances sustained by the pope. The first grieuance. The second.

1 The kingdome of England is grieued that the pope, being not contented with his Peter pence, requireth and extorteth from the clergie great exactions (and more is like) without the consent both of the king and against the customes of the realme.

2 Item, the church and kingdome of England is grieued, that the patrons of the same cannot present as they were wont into their churches for the popes letters: but the churches are giuen to Romans, which know neither the realme nor the tongue thereof, both to the great perill of soules and robbing away

away the money out of the realme.

The third. 3 Item, it is grieued, for that the pope promising by the tenor of his letters, that in requiring of pensions and prouisions in the realme of England, he would require but only twelue benefices, now contrarie to the tenor thereof many more benefices and prouisions are bestowed away by him.

The fourth. 4 Item, the realme is grieued and complaineth, that in the benefices in England, one Italian succeedeth another, the Englishmen being not only excluded, but also compelled (for the determining of their matters) to seeke to Rome, contrarie both to the customes of the realme, and also to the priuiledges granted by the popes predecessors to the king and kingdome of England.

The fift. He meaneth percase Otho or master Martinus. 5 The fift grieuance is for the oft recourse of that infamous legat, by whom both faith and fidelitie, the ancient customes of the realme, the authoritie of old grants, statutes, lawes and priuiledges, are imbecilled and abrogat, whereby an infinit number in England be grieuously afflicted & oppressed.

The first. 6 The said realme is also grieued in generall tallages, collections, and assises, made without the kings consent, the appellation and contradiction of the kings procors to the contrarie notwithstanding.

The seuenth. 7 Seuenthly, the foresaid realme complaineth and is grieued, that in the benefices giuen to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor reliefe of the poore, nor hospitalitie, nor any preaching of Gods word, nor care of mens soules, nor seruice in the church, nor yet the wals of the churches be kept vp and maintained, as the manner and custome of the same realme requireth. Ouer and aboue these foresaid grieuances, there came moreouer from the pope other frely letters, charging and commanding the prelats of England to find of their proper costs and charges for one whole yeare, some ten armed souldiers, some fiue, some fiftéene, to be readie at the popes commandement there where he should appoint.

The Babylonicall captiuitie and slauerie of England vnder the pope.

After these and other grieuances and enormities of Rome, the states of England consulting together, direct their letters to the pope for reformation thereof. First the abbats and priors, then the bishops and suffragans, after the nobles and barons, last of all the king himselfe. But as the prouerbe is, Venter non habet aures, so the popes purse had no eares to heare. And as our common saying goeth; As good neuer a whit as neuer the better: so went it with the pope, who not long after the same sent for new tallages and eractions to be collected. Which thing when it came to the kings eare, he being moued and disturbed vehemently withall, writeth in this wise to the bishops, seuerally to euery one in his diocesse.

The letter of king Henrie the third to the bishops.

Henricus tertius Dei gratia, &c. Venerabili in Christo, N. episcopo salute. m Licèt aliàs vobis, &c. In English thus.

King Henrie the third commandeth no tax nor tallage to be sent to the pope.

Henrie the third by the grace of God, to the reuerend in Christ bishop of N. Whereas we haue heretofore written vnto you, once, twice, thrice, as wel by our priuie seales, as also by our letters patents, that you should not exact or collect for the popes behalfe, any tallage or other helpe of our subiects, either of the clergie, or of the laitie, for that no such tallage nor helpe either can or is vsed to be exacted in our realme without the great preiudice of our princely dignitie, which we neither will nor can suffer or sustaine: yet you contemning and vilipending our commandement, and contrarie to the prouision made in our last councell at London (granted and agreed vpon by our prelats, earles and barons) haue that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the said your taxes and tallages. Wherupon we doe greatly maruell and are moued (especially seeing you are not ashamed to doe contrarie vnto your owne decrees) whereas you and other prelats in the said councell in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should be hereafter, vntill the returne of our and your ambassadors from the court of Rome, sent thither purposely of vs, and in the name of the whole realme for the same, for to prouide redresse against these oppressions. Wherefore wee straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you doe not proceed any more in collecting and exacting such tallages or helpes, as you will inioy our fauor & such possessions of yours as within this our kingdome you haue and hold. And if you haue alreadie procured or gathered anie such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our realme, but cause it to be kept in safe custodie till the returne of the said ambassadors, vnder the paine of our displeasure in doing of the contrarie: and also of prouoking vs to extend our hand vpon your possessions, further then you will think or beleeue. Moreouer, willing and charging you that you participat and make common this our inhibition, with your archdeacons and officials, which we heere haue set forth for the liberties of the clergie and of the people, as knoweth God, &c.

The popes saying against king Henrie.

At length the ambassadors which were at Rome came home about the latter end of December, bringing word that the pope hearing what was done in the councell of Winchester and of the king, was greatlie displeased with him and the realme, saying: Rex Anglorum qui iam recalcitrat & frederisat suum habet consilium, ego verò & meum habeo, quod & sequar, &c. **Whereupon when the ambassadors began to speake in the kings behalfe, from that time they were halfe counted for schismatikes, and could no more be heard in the court of Rome.**

King Henrie against restraineth the popes taxes.

The king hearing this, was maruellously incensed therewith, commanding by general proclamation through all his realme, that no man should hereafter consent to any tax or subsidie of money for the court of Rome. When this came to the popes eare, vpon a cruell rage he directed his letters to the prelats of England, charging that vnder paine of suspence or interdiction, they should prouide the same summe of money to be collected against the feast of Assumption, the charge being giuen to the bishop of Worcester to be executor of the said curse. The king that lately intended to stand to the liberties of the church, now for feare of the pope and partly for persuasions of the said bishop of Worcester and other prelats, durst not stand to it, but gaue ouer.

The pope taketh against the king.

The king compelled for feare to giue ouer to the pope.

Moreouer, the greedie gulfe of the Romish auarice waxed so vnmeasurable, that at length the pope shamed not vpon the censure of his curse, to aske the third part of the church goods, and the yearely fruit of all vacant benefices. The chiefe doers and legats in England, were Otho, Stephanus capellanus, Petrus Rubeus nuncius, Mag. Martin, and Mag. Marinus, Iohannes Anglicus episcopus Sabinensis. Of whom to speake further (for that I haue matter much more to write) for this present time I thinke best to surceasle, lest in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps not only molest good eares, but also infect the aire. Yet one thing concerning the said Otho I cannot well ouerpasse.

The pope asketh the third part of the church goods.

A storie of cardinall Otho at Oxford.

This Otho, as he left no place vnsought, where any vantage might be got: so amongst all others he came to Oxford, where lying in the house of Osney, hee was receiued with great honour, the scholars presenting him honourablie with such dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratifie the cardinall after the best maner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reuerently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtesie againe of him be intertained. As they came to the gate, the porter (being an Italian) with a loud voice asketh what they would haue. They said they came to see the lord legat. But Cerberus the porter holding the doore halfe open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The scholars seeing that, by force thrust open the gate and came in: whom when the Romans which were within would haue repelled with their fists, and such staues as they had in their hands, they fell to alarum and by the eares together, with much howing and showing and many blowes on both sides. In the meane time while some of the scholars ran home for their weapons, there chanced a poore scholar (an Irishman) to stand at the gate waiting for his almes. Whom when the maister saw at the gate, he taking hot skalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his face. One of the scholars a Welchman, that came with his bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth driue an arrow, and shooteth this Nabuzardan (that maister of cookes) cleane thorow the bodie, and slayeth him out of hand. The cooke falling dead, there wag a mightie broile and a great clamour throughout all the house.

A skirmish betweene the scholars of Oxford and the cardinals men.

The cardinall runneth away.

The cardinall hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a valiant Roman runneth as fast as he could into the steeple, and there locketh the doores fast vnto him, where hee remained till midnight. The scholars in the meane while not yet all pacified sought all corners about for the legat, exclaiming and crying out; Where is that vsurer, that simoniake, that piller and poller of our liuings, that proller and extortioner of our money, which peruerteth our king, and subuerteth his kingdome, inriching himselfe with our spoiles: &c. All this heard the cardinall, and held his peace. When the night approching had broken vp the field, the cardinall comming out of his fort, and taking his horse (in silence of the night) was priuily conueyed ouer the riuer toward the king, conueying himselfe away as fast as he could. After the king heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed men, to deliuer the Romans which were there hidden for feare of scholars. Then was maister Otho a lawyer, with thirtie other scholars apprehended, and caried to Walingford castle, and from thence had in carts to London, where at length (through much intreatie of the bishops) being brought barefot to the legats doore, had their pardon, and the Vniuersitie released of interdiction. And thus much concerning the popes legat in England.

Thirtie scholars taken and had to prison.

Thus partly you haue heard, and do vnderstand the miserable thraldome and captiuitie of this realme of England and the clergie of the same, who before refused to take part with king John their naturall prince, against the forren power of the pope: and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same pope, whose insatiable extortion and rapacitie did so exceed in pilling and polling of this realme long after this, that neither the king now could helpe them, neither could the pope with any reasonable measure be content. In so much (as writers record) in the daies of Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie, An. 1365. the pope by his procors gat from the clergie in lesse then one yeare, more then fortie thousand florens, of meere contribution: besides his other anuales and common reuenues out of benefices, prebendaries, first fruits, tributes, Peter pence, collations, reseruations, relaxations, and such merchandize, &c.

Threescore thousand florens contributed to the pope in one yeare of the clergie.

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Mention was made a little before of Albingenses keeping about the citie of Tholouse. These Albingenses because they began to smell the pope and to controll the inordinat proceedings and discipline of the see of Rome, the pope therefore recounting them as a people hereticall, excited and stirred vp about this present time and yeare Anno 1220, Ludouike the yong French king through the instance of Philip his father, to lay siege against the said citie of Tholouse, to expugne and extinguish these Albingenses his enemies. Whereupon Ludouike (according to his fathers commandement) reared a puissant and a mightie armie to compasse about and beset the forenamed citie, and so did. Héere were the men of Tholouse in great danger. But see how the mightie protection of God fighteth for his people against the might of man: for after that Ludouike (as Matth. Paris testifieth) had long wearied himselfe and his men in waste, and could do no good with all their engins and artillerie against the citie, there fell moreouer vpon the French host by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence both of men and horses, besides the other daily slaughter of the souldiers, that Ludouike was inforced to retire, and with such as were left to returne againe home to France from whence he came. In the slaughters of which souldiers besides many others, was earle Simon de monte forti, generall of the armie, to whom the lands of the earle of Tholouse were giuen by the pope, who was slaine before the gate of the citie with a stone, and so was also the brother of the said Simon the same time in besieging a castle néere to Tholouse, slaine with a stone in like maner. And so was the siege of the Frenchmen against Tholouse broke vp. Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

Ludouike the French king.

Ludouike fighteth against Albingenses.

Ludouike besiegeth Tholouse.

The hand of God fighting for his people.

Ex Matth. Parisiensi, in vita Henrici 3.

The generall of the armie slaine.

The siege against Albingenses broke vp.

As the siege of these Frenchmen could do no good against the citie of Tholouse, so it happened the same time that the christians marching toward the holy land, had better lucke in laying their siege to a certaine tower or castle in Egypt neere to the citie Damieta, which séemed by nature for the situation and difficultie of the place inexpugnable: as which being situat in the midst of the great floud Nilus (hard by the citie called Damieta) could neither be come to by land, nor bée vndermined for the water, nor by famine subdued for the neerenesse of the citie; yet notwithstanding through the helpe of God and policie of man, in erecting scaffolds and castles vpon tops of masts, the christians at last conquered it, and after that the citie also Damieta, albeit not without great losse of christian people. In the expugnation of this citie or fort, among others that there died, was the Lantgraue of Thuring named Ludouike, the husband of Elizabeth, whom we vse to call S. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my storie recordeth) was the daughter of the king of Hungarie, and married in Almaine, where shée lived with the forenamed Ludouike Lantgraue of Thuring, whom shée through her persuasions prouoked and incensed to take that voiage to fight for the holy land, where he in the same voiage was slaine. After whose death Elizabeth (remaining a widow) entred the profession of cloisterly religion, and made her selfe a nun; so growing and increasing from vertue to vertue, that after her death all Almaine did sound with the fame of her worthie doings. Matthew Paris addeth this more, that shée was the daughter of that queene, who being accused to bée naught with a certaine archbishop, was therefore condemned with this sentence pronounced against her; Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est, etsi omnes consenserint non ego contradico: that is (although it be hard in English to be translated as it standeth in Latine) To kill the queene will yée not to feare that is good, and if all men consent thereunto not I my selfe do stand against it, &c. The which sentence being brought to pope Innocent, thus in pointing the sentence, which otherwise séemeth to haue a double vnderstanding, so saued the queene, thus interpreting and pointing the same: Reginam interficere nolite, timere bonum est: & si omnes consenserint, non ego, contradico. That is; To kill the queene will yée not, to feare that is good: And if all do consent thereto, yet not I, I my selfe do stand against it: and so escaped she the danger. This queene was the mother (as is said) of Elizabeth the nun, who for her holy nunnishnesse was canonized of the popes church for a saint in Almaine, about the yéere of our Lord 1220. Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

The gray friers first entred into England.

The order of gray friers first confirmed.

The order of S. Elizabeth.

Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungarie.

S. Elizabeth prouoketh her husband to go and fight for the holy land.

The mother of S. Elizabeth accused of adulterie.

The sentence of a double meaning.

The queene saued by fauourable interpretation of a double sentence.

Elizabeth canonized a saint in Almaine.

The expugnation of a certaine strong castle of Damieta in Egypt by the christians.

Damieta taken by the christians.

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the yeares and life of this king Henrie. The next yeare following, which was An. 1221, the king went to Oxford, where he had something to do with William earle de Albemarlis, who had taken the castle of Biham: but at last for his good seruice he had done in the realme before, was released of the king with all his men, by the intercession of Walter archbishop of Yorke, and of Pandulph the legat. About which present yéere entred first the frier Minorits, or Gray friers into England, and had their first house at Canturburie, whose first patron was Franciscus, which died Anno 1127, and his order was confirmed by pope Honorius the third, An. 1224.

Anno 1221

Ex tabula pensili in æde diui Pauli.

About the first comming of these Dominike and Gray friers Franciscan into the realme (as is in Nicol. Triuet testified) many Englishmen the same time entred into their orders. Among whom was Iohannes de sancto Egidio, a man famouslie expert in the science of physicke and astronomie, and Alexander de Hales, both Englishmen and great diuines. This Iohannes making his sermon Ad clerum, in the house of the Dominike friers, exhorted his auditorie with great persuasions vnto wilfull pouertie. And to confirme his words the more by his owne example, in the midst of his sermon he came downe from the pulpit and put on his friers habit: and so returning into the pulpit againe, made an end of his sermon. Likewise Alexander Hales entred the order of the Franciscans, of whom remaineth yet the booke intituled De summa theologiæ in old libraries.

Iohannes de S. Egidio.

Alexander de Hales.

Moreouer, not long after by William de longa spata, which was the bastard sonne of king Henrie the second, and earle of Salisburie, was first founded the house of the Carthusian monkes at Heitrope, An. 1222. After whose death his wife Ela was translated to the house of Henton in Barkshire, An. 1227, which Ela also founded the house of nuns at Lacocks, and there continued her selfe abbesse of the place. The bishop of London named William, the same time gaue ouer his bishoprike, after whom succéeded Eustace in that see. Flor. hist.

Charterhouse monkes founded by William Longspey.

Ela foundresse of the house of Lacocks.

In the towne of Oxford aboue mentioned, where the king kept his court, Simon Langton archbishop of Canturburie held a councell, where was condemned and burned a certaine deacon, as Nicol. Triuet saith, for apostasie. Also another rude countriman, who had crucified himselfe, and superstitiouslie bare about the wounds in his feet and hands, was condemned to be closed vp perpetually within wals. Ex Nicol. Triuet. About which yeare also Alexander king of Scots maried Ione sister to king Henrie.

Two condemned at a councell in Oxford.

Ex Nic. Triuet.

Not long after began the new building of the minster of Salisburie, whereat Pandulphus the popes legat laid the fine first stones; one for the pope (such was the fortune of that church to haue the popes stone in his foundation) the second for the yong king Henrie; the third, for the good earle of Salisburie; the fourth, for the countesse; the fift, for the bishop of Salisburie, &c. which was about the same yeare aboue mentioned, An. 1221. Ex chron. do. Sal.

In the same yeare about S. James tide fell a dissension betweene the citizens of London and men of Westminster, the occasion whereof was this. A certaine game betweene these two parties was appointed, to trie whether part in wrestling could ouercome the other. Thus in striuing for maisterie, each part contending against the other (as the manner is in such passime) it happened the Londoners to get the victorie, and the other side was put to foile, but especially the steward of the abbat of Westminster, who being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethinke in his mind how to be reuenged againe of the Londoners. Whereupon another day was set, which was at Lammas, that the Londoners should come againe to wrestle, and who so had the victorie should haue the bell wether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play, the steward suddenlie bringeth vpon the Londoners vnawares a company of harnessed men prepared for the same before, and letteth drive at the Londoners, who at length being wounded and grieuously hurt, after much bloodshed were driuen backe againe into the citie. This cõtumelie thus being receiued, the citizens eagerly stricken with ire and impatience, ran to the common bell, and by ringing thereof assembled their commons together, to consult with themselues what was to be done in that case so contumelious. Wherein when diuers sentences were giuen diuerslie, Serle the same time maior of London (a wise and discréet man) gaue this counsell, that the abbat of Westminster should be talked withall, who if he would rectifie the iniurie done, and satisfie for the harme receiued, it should be to them sufficient. But contrarie, one Constantine a great man then in the citie of London, in much heat exciting the people, gaue this sentence, that all the houses of the abbat of Westminster, but especially the house of the steward should be cast downe to the ground. In fine, that which he so vnaduisedly counselled, was as madlie performed: for the furious people according to his counsell so did. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be pruie, comming to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgo lord chiefe iustice of England aboue mentioned, he comming with a sufficient strength of armed souldiers to the citie of London, sent to the maior and aldermen of the citie to will them to come vnto him. Who so obeying his commandement, required of them the principall beginners of the riot. To whom Constantine there being present answered, that he would warrant that which was done, sorrowing moreouer that they had not done more then they did in the matter. The iustice vpon the same his confession commanded him with two others, without any further tumult to be taken, and so with the same two he was hanged, offering for his life 15000 markes, &c.

Dissension betweene the citizens of London and of Westminster.

Wholesome counsell of the maior of London refused of wilde heads.

Constantine executed at London for riot.

The said Hubert earle of Kent, and lord chiefe iustice, although he was a faithfull and trustie officer to his prince, and had the whole guiding of the realme in his owne hands, the king as yet being in his minoritie: yet afterward, what indignation he sustained for this his seueritie and other things, both of the nobles and of the commons, and how sharpely he was tossed and trounsed of his prince, wonder it is to sée, as in his due place and time (by the Lords leaue) hereafter shal appeare. Hæc ex Matth. Parisiensi.

Hubert lord chiefe iustice of England.

Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

And for so much as mention hath been made of the wrang-

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Discord and contention among churchmen.

ling betweene the commoners of London and of Westminster, both time and occasion bringeth me in remembrance something to speake likewise of the ecclesiasticall conflicts among churchmen, nothing inferiour in my mind, nor lesse worthie to be noted then the other. For so I reade in Matth. Paris, and in Ex Matth. Paris & ex Florilego. Flores hist. that at what time this wrestling was among the citizens for the cheepe, the like contention kindled and flamed betweene Eustace bishop of London and the chapter of Pauls on the one side, and the abbat of Westminster with his couent on the other side, about spirituall iurisdiction and subiection: to wit, whether the monasterie of Westminster were exempted from the subiection and iurisdiction of the bishop of London or not. Which controuersie at last comming into compromise, was committed to the arbitrement of Stephan archbishop of Canturburie, Philip bishop of Winchester, Thomas of Merton, and Richard prior of Dunstable; and at length was thus agreed, that the monasterie of Westminster should be vtterly exempted from the iurisdiction of the bishop of London, and that Staines with the appurtenances thereto belonging, should appertaine to the monasterie of Westminster. Also, that the manor of Sunburie should be due and proper to the church of S. Paul, and also the church of S. Margarit with all the lands belonging to the same to be exempted from all other iurisdiction, but only to the bishop of Rome: and so was this matter decided, An. 1222. Ibidem Flor. historiarum.

Whether the monasterie of Westminster be exempted from the subiection of the bishop of London or not.

{Anno 1222}

The same yeare (as writeth Matt. Paris) horrible tempests with such thundring and lightning, and whirlewinds, went through all the land, that much harme was done, churches, steeples, towers, houses, and diuers trees with the violence of winds were blowen vp by the roots. In Warwikshire a certaine wife with eight others in her house were slaine. In Grantham the church was set on fire by lightning most terrible, with such a stinke left there behind, that no man could after a long time abide it. The author addeth, that manifest markes of the tempest did remaine long after in that monasterie to be seene. Some also write that firie dragons and spirits were seene then flying in the aire.

Horrible tempest in England.

A woman with eight of her household slaine with thunder.

Grantham church burned with lightning.

{Anno 1223}

Anno 1223, Philip the French king died, after whom his sonne Ludouike succeeded in the crowne. To whom king Henrie sending his message, and desiring him to remember his promise and couenant made in rendering againe the lands lost in Normandie, could obtaine nothing at his hands. Whereupon Richard earle of Cornwall, also William the kings vncle earle of Salisbury, with diuers other nobles made ouer into France, where they recouered Poictiers, and kept Gascoine vnder the kings obedience. Ex Matth. Paris. Triuet. Flor. hist.

Lewis king of France.

The French king false of his promise.

{Anno 1224}

In the same yeere, or as Fabian giueth, the next following, which was 1224, by the vertue of a certaine parlement, was granted of the lords and baronie of the land, the king and his heires to haue the ward and mariage of their heires, which then was called, and after so proued, to be Initium malorum, the beginning of harmes.

Wardship first granted to the king.

Ex Gisburnensi & alijs.

In the same yeare by the count of Gisburne and other writers, the said king holding another parlement at Drenford, by the aduice of his counsell and of his clergie, did grant and confirme vnder his great seale, two charts of the old liberties and customes of this realme, for euer to be kept and obserued, the one called Magna Charta, the other Charta de foresta. The contents whereof fully in the forenamed author be expressed. For the which cause was granted againe by the whole parlement a quindecim, or a fifteene of all his subiects, as well of laymen as also of the clergie.

Magna Charta. Charta de foresta.

¶ Where is to be noted, that these liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed againe by the said king, An. 1236.

An. 1226, died pope Honorius a great aduersarie against Frederike the emperour, after whom succeeded Gregorie the ninth, more grieuous then his predecessor. In which yeare also died Ludouike the periured French king at the siege of Auinion, whom the pope now the second or third time had set vp to fight against Reimund the good earle of Tholouse, and the heretikes Albingenses of that countrie: for so the pope calleth all them, which hold not in all points with his glorious pride and vsurped power and vngodly procedings. The origin whereof was this, as in Matth. Paris appeareth. In the daies of Philip the French king, this Reimundus earle of Tholouse was disdamned of the pope for holding with the Albingenses, and therefore by the instigation of the pope the lands of the earle were taken from him and giuen to Simon Montfort, and instruments made vpō the same. But when the said earle Reimundus would not be remoued from the right of his possessions by vnrighteous dealing, then the pope setteth Philip the French king to make open war against him. Whereupon Lewis the French king was sent with a great power (as is aboue declared) to besiege the citie of Tholouse, but being repulsed from thence by the maruellous hand of God fighting for his people, could not preuaile, and so returned home after he had lost the most part of his armie by pestilence and other calamitie, as hath been before described. And thus continued the good earle still in quiet possession till this present time, Anno 1226. In the which yeare the pope not forgetting his old malice against the earle, and no lesse inflamed with insatiable auarice, directeth downe his legat maister Romanus to the parts of France for two seuerall purposes: one, to extirpe the earle, the other to inlarge his reuenues. Thus the legat being entred into France, beginneth to summon a councell, willing the French king with the archbishops, bishops, and clergie of France to appeare before him at Bitures; to whom eftsones repaired six archbishops with the bishops and suffragans of nine prouinces, to the number of an hundred, besides the abbats, priors, and proctors of all the couents of France, to heare the popes will and commandement. But because there was a discord feared to rise (saith Matthæus) about prehemmence of sitting, for that the archbishop of Lions challenged the superior place aboue the archbishop of Sene; also the archbishop of Rone aboue the archbishop of Bitures, and aboue the archbishop of Narbon, &c. therefore the session was holden there, not in maner and forme of a councell, but of a certaine parlee or consultation. Thus the meeke and holy councell being set, and the popes maiesties letters read and declared, appeareth before them Reimund earle of Tholouse of the one part, and Simon Montfort on the other part: which Simon required to be restored vnto him the lands and possessions of the said Reimund, which the pope and Philip the French king had giuen to him and to his father before, hauing good euidences to shew for the same, confirmed by the donation of the pope and of the king. Adding moreouer, that the earle Reimund was depriued and disherited in the generall councell at Rome for heresie, which is called the heresie of Albingenses. At least if he might not haue the whole yeelded vnto him, yet the most part of his lordships he required to be granted him.

Marke reader the right nature of Pharisies striuing for the chiefe place.

The pope giueth the right possession away from the owners.

Reimundus wrongfully disherited by the pope.

To this the earle Reimund answered againe, offering himselfe readie to all dutie and office both toward the French king, and to the church of Rome, whatsoeuer dutie to him did appertaine. And moreouer, touching the heresie wherewith he was there charged: he did not only there offer himselfe in that councell before the legat, but most humblie did craue of him, that he would take the paines to come into euerie citie within his precinct to inquire of euerie person there the articles of his beliefe; and if he found any person or persons holding that which was not catholike, he would see the same to be corrected and amended according to the censure of holy church to the vttermost. Or if he should find any citie rebelling against him, he to the vttermost of his might with the inhabitants thereof, would compell them to do satisfaction therefore. And as touching himselfe, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembreth not to haue done) he offered there full satisfaction to God and church, as becommed any faithfull christian man to do, requiring moreouer there before the legat to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (saith Matthæus) the legat despised: neither could the catholike earle (saith he) there find any grace, vnlesse he would depart from his heritage, both from himselfe and from his heires for euer. In fine, when it was required by the contrarie part, that he should stand to the arbitrement of twelue peeres of France: to that Reimundus answered, that if the French king would receiue his homage, which hee was readie at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For else they would not (said he) take him as one of their societie and fellow subiects.

Reimundus the good earle of Tholouse answereth for himselfe.

Albigenses falsely suspected for heresie.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the legat willeth euery archbishop to call aside his suffragans, to deliberat with them vpon the cause, and to giue vp in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly, the legat denounceth excommunication to all such as did reueale ante peece of that which was there concluded, before the pope and the king had intelligence thereof.

The proud villanie of the popes legats.

These things thus in hudder mutter among themselues concluded, the legat gaue leaue to all proctors of couents and chapters to returne home, only retaining with him the archbishops, bishops and abbats, and certaine simple prelats, such as he might be more bold withall, to open and of them to obtaine the other part of his commission, which was indeed to obtaine of euery cathedrall church two prebendships: one for the bishop, the other for the chapter. And in monasteries also after the like sort, where the abbat and couent had diuers and seuerall portions, to require two churches, one for the abbat, the other for the couent, keeping this proportion; that how much should suffice for the liuing of one monke, so much the whole couent should find for their part, and as much the abbat likewise for his. And for so much as he would not seeme to demand this without some colour of cause, his reason was this; that because the court of Rome had long been blotted with the note of auarice, which is mother of all euill, for that no man could come to Rome for any businesse, but he must pay for the expedition of the same: therefore for the removing away of the occasion of that slander, the publike helpe of the church therefore must necessarily be required, &c.

The pope raiseth war.

{Anno 1226}

The popes wicked malice against the christian earle of Tholouse.

The proctors and parties thus sent home by the legats, marueiling with themselues why the bishops and abbats should be staied and they sent home, and suspecting no lesse but as the matter was in deed, conferred their counsels together, and deuised with themselues to send certaine vnto him in the behalfe of all the cathedrall and conuentuall churches in France, and sent to the said legat the message to signifie to him, that they were credibly informed he came with speciall letters from the court of Rome for the obtaining of certaine prebendaries in euery ca-

Marke reader the practise here of prelats, for the learning.

The clergie of France answering to the legat.

thedrall and conuentuall church. Which being so, they much maruelled that he would not in the publike councell make manifest to them those letters which specially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their requeſt was to him in the Lord, that no such offensiue matter might rise by him in the French church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriseth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and inestimable damage to the church of France. For grant (said they) that certaine will assent vnto you, yet their assent standeth in no effect concerning such matters as touch the whole: especially, seeing both the states of the realme with all the inferiour subiects, yea and the king himselfe they are sure will withstand the same, to the venture not only of their honor, but of their life also, considering the case to be such, as vpon the offence whereof standeth the subuersion both of the realme publike, and of the whole church in generall. Declaring moreouer the cause of this feare to rise hereof, for that in other realmes such communication hath been with bishops and prelats for the procuring of such prebendships, whereas neither the prince nor the subiects were made any thing priuie thereto.

Inferiors euer more bold to speake in difficult causes of truth, then the rich.

The obiections of the clergie of France against the popes exaction.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the legat, the obiections of the inferior parties against the cruell exaction were these in briefe effect, as is in Parisiensis noted.

First, they alleaged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustaine thereby, by reason of the continuall procurators of the pope, which in euery diocesse must liue not of their owne, but must be sustained vpon the charges of the cathedrall churches, and other churches also, and many times they being but procurators, will be found as legats.

Item, by that means they said great perturbations might insue to the couents and chapters of cathedrall churches in their elections: for so much as the popes agents and factors being in euerie cathedrall church and chapter house, percase the pope would command him in his person to be present at their elections, and so might trouble the same, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the court of Rome to giue: and so should be placed more of the popes clientele in the churches of France, then of the proper inhabitants of the land.

Item, by this meanes they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome should be richer, and should receiue more for their proportion then the king of the realme: by reason of which abundance of riches it was like to come to passe, that as the wrong of rich men is pride; so by the meanes of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and driue off great suites, and scarce would take any paines with small causes. The experiment whereof is euident, for that now also they vse to delay their matters when they come with their gifts, and being in assurance to receiue. And thus should iustice stand aside, and poore suters die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in full abundance of all treasure and riches.

Item, for so much as it is méete and conuenient to haue friends in the court of Rome, for the better spéeding of their causes, therefore they thought to kéep them néedie, whereby their gifts may be the swéeter, and their causes soner dispatched.

Item, when as it is impossible the fountaine of grédie desire to be stopped, it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by themselues, or else they should be inforced to giue greater rewards then before; for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not loked vpon.

Item, where he alleaged the remouing away of the slander which goeth on the court of Rome: by this meanes rather the contrarie were to be feared, wherein they alleaged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

Quòd virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem;
Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.

Further, they alleaged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking, so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruine and destruction of the citie, whereof some experiment they had alreadie.

Item, they added, that although they would condescend and oblige themselues to that contribution, yet their successours would not so be bound, nor yet ratifie the bond of theirs.

Lastly, thus they conclude the matter, desiring him that the zeale of the vniuersall church, and of the church of Rome would moue him: for if this oppression of the church should be vniuersall, it were to be doubted lest an vniuersall departing might follow from the church of Rome: which God forbid (say they) should happen.

God grant, say we.

The legat hearing these words, being therewith something moued (as séemed) excused himselfe, that he being in the court neuer agréed in this exaction; and that the letters hereof came not to him before he was in France, whereat he said he was greatly sorie, adding this withall, that the words of his precept included this secret meaning in them thus to be vndersood and taken: so far forth as the empire and other realmes would agrée vnto the same. And as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were proued what other countries would say and do therein.

The cardinall repulsed and defeated of his purpose in France.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind commission of this legat touching his exaction of prebendships in euerie cathedrall and conuentuall church; wherein as yée heare, he was repulsed: Ex Matth. Paris. pag. 62.

Ex Matth. Paris. pag. 62.

Now to returne to the first part of his commission againe, which was concerning Reimundus the godly earle of Tholouse, thus the storie procedeth; that while the legat was in hand with this matter of the popes money, in the meane season certaine preaching friers were directed by the said Romanus the popes legat into al France, to incite and stir vp the Frenchmen to take the crosse vpon them, and to war against the earle of Tholouse and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for heretikes. At the preaching whereof a great number of prelats and lay-men signed themselues with the crosse, to fight against the Tholossians, being thereto induced, as the storie saith, more for feare of the French king or fauor of the legat, then for any true zeale of iustice. For so it followeth in the words of Paris: *Videbatur enim multis abusio, vt hominem fidelem christianum infestarent, præcipuè cùm constaret cunctis eum in concilio nuper Biturensi, multis precibus persuasisse legato, vt veniret ad singulas terræ suæ ciuitates, inquirens à singulis articulos fidei: & si quempiam contra fidem inueniret*, &c. For to many (saith he) it seemed an abuse, to moue warre against a faithfull christian man, especially seeing in the councell of Bitures (before all men) he intreated the legat with great instance that he would come into euerie citie within his dominions, and there to inquire of euerie person the articles of his faith: where if hee found any man to hold any thing contrarie to the catholike faith, he promised a full satisfaction to be had therof, according to the censure of the church, to the vttermost, &c.

The pope raiseth war against the earle and the people of Tholouse.

Testimonie of the author for the clearing of Reimundus and of the Albingenses.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the proud legat contemning this so honest and reasonable purgation of the earle Reimundus, ceased not by all manner meanes to prosecute the popes furie against him and his subiects, stirring vp the king and the Frenchmen vnder paine of excommunication, to war against them. Ludouike the French king thus being inforced by the legat, answered againe, that he for his owne safetie would not atchieue that expedition or aduenture against the earle, vnlesse it were first obtained of the pope to write to the king of England: commanding him that during the time of that expedition, he should inuade and molest no peece of his lands and possessions which he the same present time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howsoeuer they were holden, while the time of the said war against the heretikes (as they were then termed) did indure, but rather should aid and assist him with counsell and money in that enterprise. All which being done and accomplished, the French king and the legat (crossing themselues to the field) appointed a day peremptorie for the French armie to meet together at Lions, vnder paine of the popes excommunication, and with horse and harneſſe to set vpon the Tholossians, against the Ascension day next insuing.

The vnreasonable tyrannie of the pope against the Tholossians.

Excommunication abused.

When the Ascension day was come, which was the day peremptorie appointed, the French king hauing prepared at Lions all things necessarie for his armie, marcheth forward with a great and mightie host; after whom also commeth the legat, with his bishops and prelats. The number of fighting men in his armie besides the victuallers and wagoners were 50000 men. The legat by the way openly excommunicated the earle of Tholouse, & all that tooke his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forward, till he came into the prouince of Tholouse, and the first citie which they came vnto there of the earles was Auinion: which citie they thought first to haue besieged, and so in order after, as they went, to haue destroyed and wasted all the whole prouince belonging to the earle. And first the king demanded of them to haue his passage through their citie, saining himselfe in peaceable wise (for the expedition of his iourney) but to passe through the same. The citizens consulting with themselues what was to be done, at length gaue answere that they mistrusted their comming, and supposed that in deceit they required the entrance of their citie, and for no necessitie of their iourney.

Lewis the French king and Romanus the popes legat marching against the Albingenses.

Reimundus earle of Tholouse excommunicated.

The citie of Auinion besieged.

The king hereat being much offended, sware an oth that he would not depart thence till he had taken the citie, and immediatly in those places where he thought most meet, he began to giue sharpe assaults, with all manner of saultable engins: the citizens againe within, manfully defended themselues, casting stone for stone, and shooting shot for shot, and slew and wounded many of the Frenchmen. Thus, when they had long besieged the citie, and could not win the same: at length victuals in the French campe began to faile, and many of them died for hunger. For the earle of Tholouse as a wise man of war, hearing before of their comming, tooke into the towne all the prouision that was abroad, and left nothing without to serue for their defence and succour: he plowed vp the fields, that there should no stouer be found to serue their horses, he put out of the towne all the old people and yong children, lest they should want victuals that kept the towne, and before their comming sent them far away; so that within the towne they had plentie, and without they died for famine. And besides in séeking farre for their forage, manie fell into the hands of them that kept the citie, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad and slew manie of them: besides a great number of cattell and horses died for want

Policie of war.

Famine and pestilence in the French campe.

want of forrage: and poore souldiers that had no great store of monie, died for want of victuals. By which mortalitie and stink both of men and cattell, grew great infection and pestilence amongst them, in so much that the king himselfe and also the legat were greatly dismaied, thinking it to bee no little shame as well to the realme of France, as also to Rome, that they should so depart and breake vp their siege. Thus againe thought the souldiers, that much better it were for them to end their liues by battell then so to die like dogs and starue. Wherefore with one consent they purposed to giue a new assault at the bridge that goeth ouer the flood Rhodanus into the towne, to which place they came in such number, that either by the debilitie of the bridge, or subtiltie of the souldiers that kept the towne, three thousand of them with bridge and all fell armed into the violent streame, and were drowned. What was there then but ioy and gladnesse of the citizens part, and much lamentation and heauinesse on the other part? Then shortly after, the citizens of Auinion (when they saw a conuenient time, whilest their enemies were in eating meat) came suddenly vpon them out of the towne, and slue of them two thousand, and tooke the towne againe with safetie. But the legat with his companie of prelats (like good men of warre) practised none other martiall feats, but all to be cursed the earle of Tholouse, his cities and his people. Ludouicus the king, to auoid the pestilence that was in the campe, went into an abbie not farre off, where shortlie after he died; of whose death are sundrie opinions, some saying that he was poisoned, some that hee died of a bloudie flix.

The French souldiers destroyed at the siege of Auinion.

Lewis the French king dieth at the siege of Auinion.

Whose death notwithstanding the legat thought to keepe secret and conceale, till that the towne might bee rendred and giuen vp: for he thought himselfe shamed for euer, if hee should depart before the towne were wonne. Wherefore after hee had incouraged the souldiers afresh, and yet after many sharpe assaults could not preuaile, hee bethought him how by falshood he might betray them, and sent vnto them certaine heralds, to will them that they should amongst themselues consult vpon articles of peace, and bring the same to their campe, whose safe conduct they faithfully promised and warranted both of comming and going. And when they had giuen their pledges for the same, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legat: who promised them, if they would deliuer vp their citie, they should haue their liues, goods and possessions in as ample maner as now they inioyed the same. But the citizens & souldiers refused to be vnder the seruitude of the French king, neither would so deliuer vp their citie to those, of whose insolent pride they had so good experiment. After much talke on both sides, and none like to take effect, the legat requested them, & friendly desired, that he and his prelats which were about him, might come into their citie to examin what faith and beleefe they were of, and that he neither sought nor ment any other thing thereby, but their owne safeties as well of bodie as soule, which thing he faithfully sware vnto: For (saith he) the haute of your great infidelitie hath come to the lord popes eare, and therefore desired he to make true certificat thereof. Whereupon the citizens not mistrusting his faithfull oth and promise made vnto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the clergie bringing with them no weapon into the town. The souldiers of the campe, as it was agreed before, made them ready, so that at the entrance of the prelats in at the gate, nothing regarding their oth and fidelitie, the other suddenlie were readie, and with violence rushed in, slue the porter & warders, and at length wonne the citie and destroyed the same, and slue many of them that were within. Thus by sallhood and policie, when they had gotten this noble citie, they carried the kings corps vnto Paris where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French souldiers which in this siege were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and drowning, be recounted more then two and twentie thousand: Whereby, saith the storie of Mat. Parisiensis, it may euidentlie appeare the warre was vniustlie taken in hand, &c: Ex Mat. Parisiensi.

The popes legat wickedlie periured.

Periurie of the papists.

The citie of Auinion taken by treason and periurie of the popes legat.

The number of the French souldiers in this siege destroyed.

After these things finished, and after the funerall of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said historie of Parisiensis, that the said legat Romanus was vehementlie suspected, and grieuously infamed to abuse himselfe with Blanca the kings mother: Sed impium est (saith he) hoc credere, quia æmuli eius hoc disseminauerunt; benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur: that is, But it is vngodly to suspect any such thing of him, because his enemies so rumored the same abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtfull in the better part.

The incontinent life of these Romish prelats to bee noted.

To passe further to the yeere next following, which was 1227. of the Lord, first is to be noted, that in this yeere king Henrie beginning to shoote vp vnto the twentith yeere of his age, came from Reading to London, where he began to charge the citizens of London for old reckonings, namely for giuing & lending one thousand marks to Lewis the French king, at his departing out of the realme, to the great preiudice of him and of his kingdome. For the recompence whereof they were constrained to yeeld to the king the full sum of the like monie. That done he remoued to Orford, where he assembled a great councell, there denouncing and protesting before them all, that he was come to sufficient age, no more to be vnder tutors and gouernors; but to be his owne man: requiring to be freed from the custodie of others. Which thing being protested, and contraried forthwith; hee by the counsell of Hubert the chiefe iustice (whom hee made then the earle of Kent) remoued from his companie the bishop of Winchester, & others, vnder whom he was moderated. And immediatlie in the same councell, by the sinister persuasion of some, doth annihilat and make void the charters and liberties before by him granted, pretending this colour: for that they had been granted and sealed in the time of his minoritie, at what time hee had the rule neither of himselfe, nor of his seale. Whereupon much muttering and murmuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to Hubert the iustice. Moreouer, it was the same time proclamed, that whosoeuer had any charter, or gift sealed vnder the time of the kings minoritie, they should come and renew the same againe vnder the new seale of the king, knowing otherwise that the thing should stand in no effect. And finallie, for renewing of their seales, were tared not according to their abilitie, but according as it pleased the iustice and other to leuie them.

The king claimeth to befreed from gouernors and to be his owne man.

Hubert the iustice made earle of Kent.

The king vndooeth and dissolueth the liberties which before he granted.

Practises of princes to fetch in monie.

Moreouer, beside this general subsidie of the fifteenth granted to the king through the whole realme, and besides also the contribution of the Londoners, diuers other parcels and paiments he gathered through seuerall places: as of the burgesses of Northhampton he required a thousand and two hundred marks, for his helping of them, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of monie was made toward the furnishing of his voiage to recouer Normandie. And yet because hee would gratifie the citie of London againe with some pleasure; hee granted the citizens thereof should passe toll-free (saith Fabian) throughout all England. And if of any citie, borough, or towne they were constrained at any time to pay their toll, then the shiriffes of London to attach euery man comming to London of the said citie, borough, or towne, and him with his goods to withhold, till the Londoners were againe restored of all such monie paid for the said toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same. Ex Fabiano.

The citizens of London freed from toll through all England.

Anno 1228

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius succeeded pope Gregorie the tenth, betweene the which Gregorie and the people of Rome, this yeere, fell a great sedition. Insomuch that about the feast of Easter, they thrust the pope out of the citie, pursuing him vnto his castle at Viterbium. Where also they inuaded him so valiantlie, that they chased him to Perusium. Then hauing no other remedie wherwith to reuenge his persecutors, fiercely did excommunicat them. Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 69.

Ex Fabi. part. 7.

Sedition betweene the Romans and the pope.

Heere, by the way, is to be obserued and considered, christian reader, not only by this sedition, but by so many other schismes, diuisions, tumults, fightings, brawles & contentions in the church of Rome from the first beginning of the popes vsurped power, and that not only within the citie of Rome, but vniuersallie almost in all popish monasteries, colledges, churches, and couents vnder the pope subiected, continuallie raigning amongst them, what is to bee thought of their religion and holinesse, hauing so little peace, so great disquietnesse, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stories both manifest it is to behold and wonderous to consider.

The popes church may be iudged by their dissensions and schismes.

No peace in the popes church.

And forsomuch as I haue entred heere into the mention of this schismaticall commotion betweene the pope and his citizens: it followeth moreouer in the historie of Parisiensis, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befell the same yeere, and time, An. 1228. betweene the prior and couent of Durham, and this king Henrie the third vpon this occasion: After the death of Richard bishop of Durham, the prior and chapter of the said church came to the king, to obtaine licence for the electing of their bishop. The king offered to them one Lucas a chaplen of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their bishop. To this the monks answered, that they would receiue no man, but by their order of canonicall election. Meaning belike by their canonicall election, that is, when as they elect either some monke out of their owne companie, or else some monkish priest after their owne liking. Contrarie, the king againe sendeth word vnto them, and bound it with an oth, that they should tarrie seuen yeeres without a bishop, vnlesse they would admit the foresaid Lucas to that place of that dignitie. All which notwithstanding, the monks proceeding in their election, refused the said Lucas, and preferred another clerke of theirs, named William archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the king: but the king bringing in exceptions and causes against the partie, would not admit him. Then the monks in all hastie speed send vp to Rome certaine of their couent, to haue their election ratified by the authoritie apostolicall. On the other side the king likewise hearing, sendeth also to Rome against the monks, the bishop of Chester, and the prior of Lentone on his behalfe, to withstand the purpose of the monks. And so the matter being trauised with great altercatiõ on both sides, did hang in suspence (saith mine author) till at length thus it was concluded betweene both, that neither master William, nor yet Lucas should be taken, but that Richard bishop of Sarum should be translated to Durham, and be bishop there, An. 1228. Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

Dissention betweene the prior and couent of Durham and the king.

Canonicall election.

The monks of Durham send to Rome against their king.

The like stir also happened both the same yeere, and for the like

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Another contention between the monks of Couentrie and the canons of Lichfield.

like matter, betweene the monks of Couentrie and the canons of Lichfield, about chosing of their bishop, which of them should haue the superior voice in the election of their prelat. After much adoe, the cause at length being hoisted vp to Rome, had this determination; that the monks of Couentrie & the church of Lichfield should chuse their bishop by course, eeh part keeping his turne the one after the other: prouided notwithstanding, that the prior of Couentrie should alwaies haue the first voice in euery election, whereas the old custome was, saith mine author, that the couent with the prior of Couentrie was wont to haue the whole election of the bishop without the canons; this was An. 1228. Ex Parisiensi, pag. 68.

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 68.

Stephan Langton archbishop died.

In the which yeere died Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, by whom (as is recorded by Nic. Triuet) the chapters of the Bible, in that order & number as we now vse them, were first distinсted. The said Langton also made postils vpon the whole Bible. The same moreouer builded the new hall in the palace of Canturburie.

The chapters of the Bible first distincted by Stephan Langton.

Another contentious dissension betweene the monks of Canturburie and king Henrie the third.

After the death of this Langton insued another variance about the election of the archbishop of Canturburie, betweene the monks of Canturburie and the king. The perturbation whereof as it was no lesse seditious, so the determination of the same was much more colsklie. After the death of Stephan Langton, the monks of Canturburie obtaining licence of the king to proceed in the election of a new archbishop, did choose one of their owne societie named master Walter Hemelham.

Obiections laid against the new archbishop.

Whom when the monks had presented vnto the king, hee after long deliberation, began to obiect against that election, saying: first, that the monks had elected such one as neither was profitable to him nor his kingdome. Secondly, he obiected against the partie elect, that his father was conuict of felonie, and hanged for the same. Thirdlie, that hee stood in causes against his father king John in the time of the interdict. Moreouer, the bishops his suffragans charged the partie elect, that he had lien with a certaine nun, and had children by her: adding further, that the election of the archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c. But the archbishop againe stoutlie standing vnto his election, appealed vp to Rome, and eftsoones taking with him certaine monks, presented himselfe to the popes own proper person, there to sue his appeale, instantlie intreating, that his election might stand confirmed by his authoritie pontificall. But the pope vnderstanding that the said election was resisted by the king and the bishops, deferred the matter vntill he did heare further of the certaintie thereof. The king and the bishops hauing intelligence that the archbishop with his monks were gone to Rome, thought good to articulat the foresaid obiections aboue alleaged, in writing; and sealing the same with the seales both of the king and of the bishops to exhibit them to the bishop of Rome. The messengers of these letters, were the bishops of Rochester, of Chester, and the archdeacon of Bedford master John, &c. Who comming to Rome, and exhibiting their message with their letters vnto the pope (consideration being had vpon the same) were commanded to wait attendance against the next day after Ashwednesday: then to haue a resolute answer concerning the cause, which was the second day of March the nert yeere following, that is, in the yeere of our Lord 1229. In the meane season, the kings procurors ceased not with all instance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be fauourable to the kings side. But finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter (as is the guise of that court) they began to mistrust their speeding. Wherfore consulting together with themselues vpon the premisses, they came to the pope, promising in the kings behalfe to be giuen and granted to him out of the realmes both of England and Ireland, the tith or tenth part of all the goods within the said realms moueable, to sustaine his wars against the emperor, so that he would incline fauourably to the kings sute and petition herein. *At dominus papa* (saith Paris) *qui rebellem imperatorem super omnia æstuabat deijcere, tantis promissionibus exhilaratus trahitur ad consensum.* That is, But the pope (saith the author) which boiled with desire aboue all measure, to haue the emperour his enemie cast downe, being cheered with so great promises granted his consent to them, who sitting then in his consistorie had these words, as heere follow.

Appeale sued to Rome.

King Henrie sendeth to the pope.

Tithe of all moueable goods in England and Ireland promised to the pope for granting the kings sute.

O auri sacra fames.

It is pitie the pope will take no bribes.

The popes answer to the election of Walter archbishop of Canturburie.

There hath come of late to our intelligence the election of a certaine monke named Walter, to be archbishop of Canturburie, whereupon after that we heard and aduised as well those things which the said monke hath said for himselfe and for his election; as also on the contrarie side, the obiections and exceptions of the bishops of England alleaging against him and against his election; namelie of the bishop of Chester, the bishop of Rochester, and Iohn archdeacon of Bedford: We vpon the same committed the examination, touching the person of the man, vnto our reuerend brethren lord cardinall Albanie, L. cardinall Thomas de Sabina, and master Peter. And when the foresaid elect comming before them, was asked of them, first concerning the Lords descending into hell, whether he descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the bodie of Christ on the altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreouer how Rachel wept for her children, she being dead before, he answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the sentence of excommunication denounced against the order of law, he answered not wel. Againe, being required of matrimonie, if one of the maried parties be an infidell, and do depart, he answered thereto not well. Vpon these articles he was (as is said) diligentlie examined of the cardinals; to the which wee say hee answered not onely not well, but also very ill. For so much therefore, as the church of Canturburie is a noble church, and requireth a noble prelat, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosome of the church of Rome; and for so much as this new elect (whom not only heere we pronounce to be vnworthie, but also should say more of him, if wee would proceed with him by the rigor of the law) is so insufficient, that he ought not be admitted to such a roome: we doe vtterly infringe, annihilat, and euacuat his election, alwaies reseruing to our selues the prouision of the said church. *Hec ex Mat. Parienſi ad verbum.*

No, but when your darling Tho. Becket came, he was heard without such communication.

The election of Walter archbishop of Canturburie dissolued of the pope for the kings mony.

Thus the election of Walter being frustrat and dissolued, the kings procurators bringing forth the letters of the king, and of the suffragans of the church of Canturburie, presented the same vnto the pope for the ratification of Richard chancellor of Lincolne, to bee appointed archbishop of Canturbury, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge, of an honest conuersation; and which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the church of Rome, as also for the realme of England. And thus the said Richard being commended to the pope by the letters procuratorie of the king and of the bishops, had the consent of the pope and of the cardinals, and so was made bishop of Canturburie before he was elected. Whereupon the said pope Gregorie in his behalfe directeth downe his letters to al and singular suffragans of the church of Canturburie, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lie; that for so much as by the fulnesse of ecclesiasticall power the charge of pastorall office is committed to him in generall vpon all churches, he therefore for the sollicitude hee beareth as well to all other churches in generall, as in speciall to the metropolitan church of Canturburie, repudiating and disanulling the former election of Walter the monke vpon iust causes, hath prouided for that see a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so for that function very fit and commodious; and willeth and commandeth them, and al others by his authoritie apostolicall, with all deuout reuerence to receiue him, and humblie to obay him, &c: which was An. 1229. Ex Paris.

Richard chancellor of Lincolne commended to the pope to be archbishop of Canturbury.

Richard made archbishop of Canturburie by the pope without election.

The effect of the popes letters to the suffragans of Canturburie.

The pope beginneth first with a lie.

Ex Mat. Parisenſi.

These things thus finished at Rome, the pope not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English siluer which he so griedilie gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedie wise sendeth vnto the king of England M. Stephan his owne chaplen and trustie legat, to require and collect the foresaid tithes of all the moueable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promised to him before, therewith to maintaine his war against Frederike the emperor. And to the intent he might inflame al christian realms with the like hatred which he bare against Frederike the emperor, sendeth also with the said Stephan speciall letters full of manifold complaints, and grieuous accusations against the said emperour, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be shewed hereafter. Vpon the comming of this Stephan the legat, the king assembled all his earles and barons, with the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, templaries, hospitalers, parsons, and vicars, and other such as held of him In capite, to appeare before him at Westminster, to heare and to commune of the matter. In the assembly of whom, the popes patent letters were brought forth and read, wherein hee required the tenths of all the mooueables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergie as of the laitie, to maintaine his expedition against the foresaid Frederike the emperor. The which expeditio as he pretended to atchieue and to take in hand for the cause of the vniuersal church, and happily had begun the matter alreadie; and for so much as the riches of the apostolik see did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise: he therefore inforced by meere necessitie, did implore the aid and helpe of al the true obedient and natural chickens of the church of Rome, lest the members thereof together with the head should be subuerted. These letters of the pope to this effect, being openlie recited & explaned by ỹ popes chaplen, which he with much more allegation and perswasion of words did amplifie to his vttermost; the king (saith mine author) in whom all men did hope for helpe to their defence, became then as a staffe of reed. For so much as he had obliged himselfe to the same before, for the election of his archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The earles, barons, and all the laitie vtterlie refused so to bind their baronies to the church of Rome: but the bishops, abbats, priors, with other prelats of the church, first requiring space & respit to deliberat for three or foure daies; at length for feare of the popes curse (although they durst not vtterly withstand) had brought to passe to haue concluded for a sum of mony much lesse, had not Stephan Segraue, one of the kings counsellors, craftilie conuented with the legat; and by subtill meanes brought it so to passe, that the whole tenths were gathered and paid, to the inestimable

The pope requireth the tenths of all the mooueables in England, Wales, and Ireland.

The contents of the popes letters to the king.

The false pretence of the pope vnder the name of the church wherking his owne cankered malice.

The kings mouth stopped.

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Excommunication abused.

ble damage (saith Parisiensis) both of the ecclesiastical and temporall state. The means wherof (saith the author) was this. The legat hauing to the prelats his procuratorie letters, to collect and gather vp all the foresaid tenths in the name and authoritie of the pope, declared moreouer full authoritie to him granted by the vertue of his commission, to excommunicat all such and to interdict their churches, whosoeuer did gainstand or goe contrarie to the said collection. Whereupon by the said vertue legantine, hee sendeth to euery shire his proctors to gather the

The popes extortion.

popes monie, or else to excommunicat them which denied to pay. And for so much as the present need of the pope required present helpe without delay, he sendeth moreouer to the bishops and prelats of the realme, in paine of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him either of their owne or by loue, or usance, or by what meanes soeuer, so much monie in all post speed for the present vse of the pope; and after to take vp againe the said monie of the tenths of euerie singuler person, by the right taxing of their goods. Vpon this, the prelats to auoid the danger (hauing no other remedie) were driuen to sell their chalices, cruets, copes, iewels, and other church plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borrow vpon vsance to make the monie which was required. Moreouer, the

Vsurers brought into England by the pope to serue him with monie.

said Stephan the popes chaplen (as reporteth Paris) brought with him into England for the same purpose, such bankers and vsurers, who lending out their monie vpon great vsurie, did vnreasonablie pinch the English people, which merchant vsurers were then called Caursini. Briefle, such strict exaction was then vpon the poore Englishmen, that not onlie their present goods were valued and taxed, but also the corne yet growing in the field, against the next haruest was tithed, &c.

Corne vpon the ground tithed to the pope.

Mnelie the earle of Chester named Ranulphus, stood stoutly against the pope, suffring none within his dominion either laie man or clerke to yeeld any tenths to the popes proctors. Ex Mat. Paris, pag. 74. And this was the end of the strife betweene the monks of Canturbury and the king for the election of their archbishop, which was about the yeere of our Lord 1229. in the which yeere was finished the new church of Couentrie, by Alexander bishop of the said citie, and partlie by the helpe of the king: which church, Richard his predecessor bishop before him of Couentrie had begun.

Raimulphus earle of Chester denied to pay the popes tenths.

Anno 1229

The church of Couentrie finished.

The Frenchmen about this time againe prepared themselues towards Prouans, to warre against the foresaid Reimundus earle of Tholouse, and to expulse him out of his possessions. And hearing that he was in his castle of Saracene, they made thither all their power, thinking there to inclose and compasse him about: but the earle being priuie of their conspired purpose, set for them by the way, appointing certaine bushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receiue the comming of the Frenchmen, and to giue them their welcome. Thus when the French were entred the wood, the earle with his traine of wel armed and able warriors, suddenly did flie vpon them vnwares, and gaue them a bitter meeting, so that in that conflict fiue hundred of the French souldiers were taken, and many slaine. Of their seruitors to the number of two thousand men with their armour were taken, of whom some lost their eies, some their noses, some their eares, some their legs, and so sent home; the rest were carried away prisoners into the castell. And to bee briefe (saith the historie) thrice the same summer were the Frenchmen discomfited, put to flight, taken and imprisoned by the foresaid Reimundus the godly earle. Ex Parisiensi pag. 69. Wherein is to be seene and to bee praised the gratious protection of the Lord our God against the furious papists, which is glorious alwaies in his saints.

The popes French armie thinking to destroy Reimund, is destroyed by the way.

The same yeere the king being at Portsmouth, had assembled together all his nobilitie, earles, barons, and knights of England, with such an armie of horsemen and footmen, as hath not been lightlie seene, thinking to recouer againe the countrie of Normandie, of Gant, and other possessions which king

The inconstant loue of princes towards them that be chiefe about them.

John his father before had lost. But when the captaines and marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not halfe ships enow to receiue the host. Whereupon the king was behementlie inflamed with anger, laying all the fault to Hubert the lord chiefe iustice (who vnder the king had all the gouernment of the realme) calling him old traitor, charging him that he should be the let of his voiage, as hee was before when hee tooke of the French queene fiue thousand marks to stay the kings iournie into Normandie. Insomuch that the rage of the king was so kindled against him, that drawing his sword, hee made at him to run him through, had not the earle of Chester Ranulph stopt the king. Hubert withdrew himselfe away till the kings rage was past. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arriued Henric earle of Normandie in the hauen of Portsmouth in the moneth of October, who should haue conducted the king vpon his alleagiance and oth into Normandie. But he with other of the kings armie counselled the king not to take that voiage toward winter, but rather to defer it to the Easter next following: wherewith the king was staied and well contented, and pacified againe with Hubert the iustice, &c. Ex Parisiensi.

Fabian recordeth this yeere the liberties and franchise of the citie of London to be confirmed by the king, and to euerie of the shrifs to be granted two clerks, and two officers without any more. Ex Fabian.

Then followed the yeere 1230. in which vpon the day of the conuersion of saint Paul (as saith Paris) as a great multitude of people for solemnitie of the day were congregat in the temple of S. Paul, the bishop then being at his masse, a sudden darkenesse with such thicknesse of clouds fell in the aire, that vnneth one man might see another in the church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leauing such a sent in the church, that the people looking for dooms day, thought no lesse but that the steeple and whole church would haue fallen vpon their heads: in so much that they running out of the church, as people amazed, fell downe together by thousands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were, onlie the bishop and his deacon stood still at their masse, holding the altar fast. Ex Parisiensi.

Anno 1230

A sudden terror among the people in Paris church by thunder and lightning. Ex Parisiense pag. 75.

Of the death of Stephan Langton, and of the troublesome election of the next archbishop, also of the costlie and chargeable bringing in of Richard to succeed in the roome, which did cost the whole realme of England the tenths of all their mouebles, sufficient hath been declared before. This Richard being now confirmed in his seat, came to the king complaining of Hubert the lord chiefe iustice, oft mentioned before, for withholding from him the castle and towne of Tunbridge with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other lands of the earle of Clare late deceased. Which lands appertaine to the right of his seat, and to the church of Canturburie, for the which the said earle with his ancestors were bound to doe homage to him and to his predecessors, and therefore required the keeping of the foresaid castle, with the demaines thereof to be restored to him. To this the king answered againe, that the said earle did hold of him In capite, and that the castles being vacant of earles and barons with their heirs, did belong to his crowne, till the lawfull age of the said heirs. The archbishop when hee could get no other answer of the king, did excommunicat all such as inuaded the foresaid possessions, with all others that tooke their part, the king only excepted. Which done, eftsoones speedeth himselfe to Rome, there to prosecute his sute before the pope. The king hearing thereof, not long after sendeth vp maister Roger Cantelu with certaine other messengers vnto Rome against the archbishop.

Anno 1231

Richard archbishop of Canturburie.

The complaint of Richard archbishop of Canturburie against Hubert Lord chiefe iustice.

The kings answer to Richard the archbishop.

Excommunication abused.

This Richard the archbishop comming before the popes presence, beginneth first to complaine of his king, for that hee committed all the affaires of his realme to the disposition and gouernment of Hubert his iustice, vsing onlie his counsell, all his other nobles despised.

Richard the archbishop complaineth to the pope of his king and other matters more.

Against the said iustice moreouer he complained, laying to his charge: first, that he had married a wife, being the kinswoman of her whom hee had married before; also that the said Hubert the iustice did inuade, hold, and wrongfully detaine such possessions as belonged to the see and church of Canturburie.

As touching the wife of this Hubert, heere is to be noted, that he married the elder sister of the king of Scots, which seemeth could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, hee complaineth of certaine bishops his suffragans, who neglecting their pastorall function, did sit on chequer matters belonging to the king, and exercised sessions and iudgements of blood.

Pluralitie of benefices complained of by the archbishop of Canturbury.

Ouer and besides, hee complaineth of beneficed persons, and clerks within orders, for hauing many benefices ioyned with cure of soule: and that they also taking example of the bishops, did intermeddle in secular matters, and in iudgements of lay men.

Of these and such other defaults he required redresse to be had. The pope weighing and considering the cause of the archbishop to stand vpon right and reason (at least wise seeming so to his purpose) commanded incontinent his petitions and requests to be dispatched according to iustice.

The kings attornies could not speed with the pope.

Against these complaints of the archbishop, the kings attornies alleaged and defended, in as much fauour of the king as they might, but could do no good. Such fauour found the archbishop in the popes sight, being (as the storie reporteth) of a comly personage and of an eloquent tongue, that hee obtained whatsoeuer he asked. Thus the archbishop with all fauourable speed being dispatched at Rome after his owne will and desire, returned homeward, who in his iournie within three daies of his setting forth, departed in the house of Gray friers at S. Gemmes, and so his cause departed with him: who winning his sute, lost his life; for whom it had been better I suppose to haue tarried at home. And heere of him an end, with all his complaints also. Ex Parisiensi.

Respect of person both much with the pope.

Richard the archbishop in his iournie frō Rome dieth.

After the death of this Richard, the monks of Canturburie (according to the maner) addresse themselues to a new election: at which was chosen Ralfe Neuill, bishop of Chichester, who was the kings chancellor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithfull, vpright, and constant: which from the way of iustice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but vpright and sincere both in word and deed. This Ralfe (thus chosen of the monks) was presented vnto the king to bee their archbishop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad also of his election: and forthwith inuested him for archbishop of the church of Canturburie. But this inuesting

Ralfe Neuill bishop of Chichester elected archbishop of Canturburie.

The king inuesteth the archbishop of Canturburie.

Ex Mat. Paris.

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king of the king was not enough, vnlesse he should also be confirmed by the pope. Wherefore the monks readie to take their iournie vnto Rome, came to the new archbishop, requiring his helpe for their expenses by the way, and to know what seruice he would command them to the court of Rome. But hee fearing in his mind the same not to be without some scruple of simonie and ambition, said he would not giue an halfpenie, and holding vp his hands to heauen, thus prayed, saying: O Lord God, if I shal be thought worthie to be called (although indeed vnworthie) to the seat and office of this church: so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise in this troublesome office of chancery, and this my inferior ministerie, whereunto I haue bin assigned, I shall seeme more necessarie for this thy kingdome and people, I refuse not my labour, thy will be done.

A rare example of a good archbishop.

The prayer of the archbishop elect.

The monks beholding the constancie of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no monie, yet refused not their trauell and iournie to Rome, to haue their election confirmed by the popes authoritie. The pope inquiring of Simon Langton (brother of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported againe to him by the said Simon (maliciouslie deprauing the good man behind his backe) declaring to the pope that hee was a courtier, vnlearned, hastie, and seruent in his doings, and such a one, who if he should be promoted to that dignitie, would go about with the helpe of the king and of the whole realme, to remoue and bring the realme of England from vnder the yoke of the pope and of the church of Rome: and so to bereaue the see of Rome of the tribute, vnder which king John had once subiected himself and his realme, at what time he yelded his crowne to the hands of Pandulphus the legat, &c. With these and such other words Simon Langton falslie and maliciouslie depraued the godly bishop. The pope hearing with one eare and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other partie accused, sendeth incontinent to the monks of Canturburie to proceed in a new election, and to chose them another archbishop, such as were an wholsome pastor of soules, profitable vnto the church of England, and deuote to the church of Rome: and thus was the lawfull election of this good archbishop made frustrat, too good peraduenture to serue in that place whereunto he was elected.

Simon Langton archbishop of Yorke, a malicious backbiter of Radulphus archbishop elect.

The rash iudgement of the pope.

The election of Radulph archbishop elect, defeated by the pope.

John archbishop of Canturburie elected and refused of the pope.

After the repulse of this Radulph, the Canturbury monks entring a new election, agréed vpon John their prior, to bee their metropolitan, who going vp to Rome to haue his election confirmed by the pope, was three daies together examined of the cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiencie in him, touching those things wherein they tried him: yet notwithstanding the pope finding fault with his age (he peraduenture being more aged himselfe) repelled him, for that hee said he was too old and simple to sustaine that dignitie. Ex Paris.

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he which was able to take that iourny to Rome and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficientlie to take paines in keeping the chaire of Canturburie.

The popes intollerable exactions vpon England.

In the former parts of this storie proceeding, partly before hath been declared, partlie hereafter more shall appeare (Christ willing) how the church of England and commons of the same was grieued and miserablie afflicted by the intollerable oppressions of the pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the best benefices to be giuen vnto his Romans, and the chiefe fruits of them to be reserued to his owne coffers. And what complaints thereof haue béen made, yee heard before; but yet no redresse could be had. Such was the insatiable auarice of these Romane rakehels, prolling and polling where-soeuer they came, with their prouisions and exactions out of measure, and neuer satisfied. In so much that here in England wholsoeuer lacked, their barnes were alwaies full of corne; and what penurie soeuer pinched the people, they were sure to haue inough. And these importunat exactions and contributions of these Italiã harpyies, besides the Peter pence, besides the common tribut, daily more and more increased, to the great grieuance of the realm, in so much that the wealth of this land was almost cleane sucked vp and translated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant hereof, but could not helpe the matter. Wherefore it was deuised by some of the nobles (as appeareth in the storie of Parisiensis) this foresaid yéere, An. 1231. that certaine letters vnder the pretensed colour of the kings authoritie, should bée sent abroad, willing and commanding, that such corne and graine with other reuenues, as were taken vp for the pope, should be staid and forth comming by a certaine day in the said letters appointed; the which letters are thought to proceed chieflie by the meanes of Hubert lord chiefe iustice of England, who then, next vnder the king, ruled the most affaires of the realme. The words and contents of the letters be these.

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 79.

Hubert L. chiefe iustice a worker against the pope.

The copie of the letter written vnder the kings authoritie to restraine the benefices of the Romans within the realme.

After diuers and sundrie griefes and oppressions which this realme, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the preiudice of the king himselfe, as also of the nobility of the same, concerning the aduousons of their churches, and about their tithes: who also goe about to take from the clerks and spiritual men their benefices, and to bestow them vpon their owne nation and countrimen, to the spoile and confusion both of vs and our realme: we therefore by our common consents haue thought good (although very late) now yet rather, then any longer to suffer their intollerable oppressions and extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their benefices through all England, in like maner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to haue kept vnder and bridled others: whereby they may desist any longer to moleste the realme. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that as touching the farming of their churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you haue presently in your hands, or else do owe vnto the said Romanists, that from hencefoorth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from hencefoorth the same. But that you haue the said your rents and reuenues readie by such a day, to pay and deliuer vnto our procurators thereunto by our letters assigned; and that al abbats and priors haue the same in a readinesse at the time appointed, in their owne monasteries: and all other priests, clerks, and laimen, at the churches of the Romanists, there readie to pay. And further, know yee for certaintie, that if ye refuse thus to doe; that all that you haue besides, shall bee by vs burnt and spoiled. And besides, looke what danger we purpose shall fall vpon them, the same shall light vpon your necks, if you refuse thus to doe. Farewell.

When this was done, they sent their letters abroad by certaine souldiers therunto appointed, to the which letters they had deuised a new seale with two swords ingraued, and betweene the swords was written; Ecce gladij duo, &c; Behold these two swords, readie to take vengeance of all those that shall withstand the forme and order in these letters contained.

At that time the sixteenth day before the kalends of Januarie, about the beginning of the yéere 1232. there was kept at S. Albons a great conuocation of abbats, priors, archdeacons, with diuers both of the nobilitie and clergie by the popes commandement, for the celebration of a diuorce betweene the countesse of Esser and her husband. At the breaking vp of which conuocation, when euerie man was about to depart thence, there was a certaine clerk, whose name was Cincius a Romane, and also a canon of Pauls in London, taken by some of the said vniuersitie not far off from S. Albons, and was carried away from his companie by the souldiers. But master John archdeacon of Norwich a Florentine, hardlie escaping from that companie, gat to London where he hid himselfe, and durst not be séene. Cincius after fiue weeks, when they had wel emptied his bags, was safely sent againe without any more hurt to London.

Anno 1232

A Roman priest, canon of Pauls taken and robbed by souldiers.

Not long after this, about the beginning of Januarie, the barnes of a certaine beneficed man a Roman, and parson of Wingham, being full of corne, were broke vp by a like companie of armed souldiers; and the corne brought out to be sold and giuen away to the poore people. The farmer séeing this and not able to resist, complaineth to the shiriffe of the shire of this iniurie done to his master, and of breaking the kings peace: whereupon the shiriffe sent certaine of his men to see what was done. Who comming to the emptie barns, and there finding the foresaid souldiers to them vnknowne, who had sold away the most part of the corne vpon easie price, and some for charitie had giuen to the pouertie of the countrie about: required of them what they were, that so durst presume to breake the kings peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and shewed them the kings letters patents (pretending at least the kings name and seale) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose. Whereof the shiriffs seruants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

The barnes of a Roman parson broke vp and the corne distributed to the poore.

The Roman and Italian parsons in England robbed of their rents and corne.

This comming to the knowledge of Roger bishop of London, hée (with the assistance of other bishops) proceedeth in solemne excommunication, first against them that robbed Cincius the Romane; then of them which spoiled the barnes of the parson of Wingham another Romane; thirdly, he excommunicated them that forged the letters and seale of the king aboue specified.

Neither yet for all this, did that so cease, but the same yéere about Easter next following, all the barns in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise walked, and the corne sold to the best commoditie of the poore commons. Of the which, great almes were distributed, and many times monie also with corne together was sparsed for the néedie people to gather vp. Neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselues, they were stricken in such feare, that they hid themselues in monasteries and cels, not daring to complaine of their iniuries receiued; but held it better to lose rather their goods then to lose their liues. The authors and workers of this feat were to the number of fourscore armed souldiers, of whom the principall captaine was one naming himselfe William Withers, surnamed Twing.

A generall spoile of the Roman parsons in England.

This comming to the popes knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his letters immediatlie to the king vpon the same, with sharpe threatnings, and imperious commandements, charging him for suffering of such villanie within

A family vicar of mild Chriſt.

within his realme, ſtraitly inioyning him vnder paine of excommunication, to ſearch out the doers hereof with all diligence, and ſo to punish them that all others by them may take example. Likewiſe he ſendeth the ſame charge to Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, and to the abbat of S. Edmund, to inquire in the ſouth parts. Alſo to the archbiſhop of Yorke, and to the biſhop of Durham, and to maiſter Iohn canon of Yorke, a Romane, to inquire in the north parts for the ſaid malefactors, and after diligent inquiſition made, to ſend vp the ſame to Rome, there néeds to appeare before him, &c.

Inquiſition made for the ſpoiling of the popes coyne.

Thus after earneſt inquiſition made of all parties, and witneſſes ſworne and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, ſome that were factors, ſome that were conſentors, of whom ſome were biſhops and chaplens vnto the king, ſome archdeacons and deans, with other ſouldiers and lay men. Among whom certaine ſhirifs and vndershirifs with their ſeruitors vnder them were apprehended and caſt into priſon by the king. Many for feare fled and eſcaped away, who being ſought for could not be found: but the principall of this number (as is aforeſaid) was ſuppoſed to be Hubertus lord cheefe iuſtice, who

Hubert de Burgo.

both with the kings letters and his owne, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durſt interrupt them. Moreouer, in the ſame ſocietie of them which were noted in theſe doings, was

Robert Twing ſpoiled of his benefice by the Romans.

the ſame Robert Twing aboue mentioned, a comelie young man and a tall ſouldier, who of his owne voluntarie accord with fiue other ſeruitors, whom hée toke with him abroad to worke that feat, came vnto the king, openlie proteſting himſelfe to be the author of that déed doing, and ſaid he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romans, becauſe that by the ſentence of the biſhop of Rome, and fraudulent circumuention of the Italians he was bereaued of the patronage of his benefice, hauing no more to giue but that one: wherefore to be reuenged of that iniurie, hee enterpriſed that which was done; preferring rather iuſtlie to bee excommunicated for a ſeaſon, then to be ſpoiled of his benefice for euer. Then the king and other executors of the popes commandement, gaue him counſell, that ſéeing hée had ſo incurred the danger of the popes ſentence, he ſhould offer himſelfe to the pope to be abſolued of him againe, and there to make his declaration vnto him, that hee iuſtlie and canonicallie was poſſeſſed of that church. The king moreouer with him ſent his letters teſtimoniall vnto the pope, witneſſing with the ſaid ſouldier, and inſtantly deſiring the pope in his behalfe, that he might with fauor be heard. At the requeſt whereof, pope Gregorie afterwards both releaſed him of the ſentence, and reſtored vnto him his patronage, writing vnto the archbiſhop of Yorke, that hee might againe inioy the right of his benefice in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

The biſhops go about to bring Hubert out of the kings fauor.

Hubert de Burgo lord cheefe iuſtice, being one of them which held againſt the Romiſh prieſts, as is afore ſignified, was therefore not a little noted of the biſhops, who to requite him with the like deſpite againe (after their accuſtomed manér of practiſe) went about by ſubtill working to ſhake him out of the kings fauour. And firſt commeth Peter biſhop of Wincheſter to the king, grieuouſlie complaining of certaine about the king; but eſpecially of the foreſaid Hubert the kings iuſtice: in ſo much that he cauſed him to be remoued from his office, notwithſtanding hee had the kings ſeale and writing for the perpetuitie of the ſame, and procured Stephan Segraue to bée

Obiections laid againſt Hubert by the king.

placed in his function. And after a few daies, the king more and more incenſed againſt him, called him vnto account of all the treaſure which he was countable for by his exchéker office, alſo of all ſuch debts by him due from the time of his father, till his time: alſo of all the lordſhips which were in the poſſeſſion of William earle of Penbroke, cheefe iuſtice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in forrests, warrens, ſhires and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of priſes likewiſe, alſo of loſſes committed through his negligence, & of walks made contrary to the kings profit, of his liberties how he did vſe them. Item, of iniuries and damages wrought againſt the clerks of Rome and other Italians, and the popes legats, for the redreſſe whereof hée would neuer adioyne his counſell, according as pertained to his office, being then cheefe iuſtice of England. Alſo of ſcutagies, gifts, preſents, eſcapes of priſoners. Item of marriages which king Iohn committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were alſo in his time committed vnto him. To theſe Hubert anſwered, that he had king Iohns owne hand to ſhew for his diſcharge, who ſo approued his fidelitie, that he neuer called him to any, but clérelie diſcharged him from all ſuch counts. Whereunto anſwered againe the biſhop of Winchéſter, ſaying; The charter of king Iohn hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this king for the ſame.

Note, that the Winchéſter the kings charter is no longer in force then whileſt he liueth.

Other crimes obiected to Hubert by the king.

Ouer and beſides theſe, other greater obiections were laid to his charge by the king, as for ſending and writing vnto the duke of Auſtria that he might marrie his daughter, to the preiudice of the king and of the realme, diſſwading that ſhée might not be giuen to him. Item for counſelling the king not to enter into Normandie with his armie, which he had prepared for the recouerie of lands there belonging to his right, whereby great treaſure was there conſumed in vaine. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the king of Scots, whom king Iohn his father committed vnto his cuſtodie for him to marry. Item, for ſtealing from him a pretious ſtone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in war, and for ſending the ſame vnto Leolin prince of Wales: and that by his letters ſent to the ſaid Leolin, William Brues a noble man was cauſed there traitorouſlie to be hanged, &c. Theſe with other crimes, (whether true or falſe) were ſuggeſted to the king againſt the ſaid Hubert by his aduerſaries; whereunto he was required to anſwer by order of law. Hubert then ſéeing himſelfe in ſuch a ſtrait, refuſed to anſwer preſently, but required reſpit thereunto, for that the matters were weightie which the king obiected to him; which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September: but in the meane time, Hubert being in feare of the king, fled from London to the priorie of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before for the loue of the king, and defence of the realme (ſaith mine author) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the kings fauour, was deſtitute of comfort on euery ſide; ſaue onely that Lucas archbiſhop of Dublin, with inſtant prayers and teares, labored to the king for him. By this example and many like is to be ſéene, how vnſtable and variable a thing the fauour of mortall and mutable princes is: to teach all ſuch as haue to doe about princes, how to repoſe and plant their truſt, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find helpe in Chriſt the true prince of all princes, which neuer faileth. By like example was Clito ſerued of king Alexander, Ioab of king Dauid, Beliſarius of Iuſtinian, Harpagus of Aſtiages, Cromwell of king Henrie, with innumerable more, which in hiſtories are to be found.

Princes fauors not to be truſted vnto.

When the day was come that this Hubert ſhould anſwer, kéeping amongſt the monks of Merton, he durſt not appeare. Then was it ſignified vnto him from the king, that hée ſhould come vp and appeare in the court, there to anſwer to his charge. Whereunto he anſwered againe, that he miſdoubted the kings anger, and therfore he did flie to the church, as the vttermoſt refuge to all ſuch as ſuffer wrong; from whence hée would not ſtirre, till he heard the kings wrath to bee mitigated towards him. With this the king moued and ſore diſpleaſed, directed his letters in all haſt to the maior of London, commanding him at the ſight thereof to muſter and take vp all the citizens that could beare harneſſe in the citie, & to bring to him by force of armes the foreſaid Hubert either quicke or dead out of Merton. Whereupon, the maior immediatlie, cauſing the great bell to be rung, aſſembled together the people of London, and opening before them the kings letters, commãded them to prepare and arme themſelues in all readineſſe to the executing of the kings will and meſſage.

The kings diſpleaſure againſt Hubert.

The kings meſſage to the maior of London.

The citizens hearings this, were therewith right glad and readie, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert, becauſe of the execution of Conſtantine their citizen afore mentioned. Notwithſtanding, certaine of the citizens, namelie Andrew Bukerell, Iohn Trauers and others more, men of more graue and ſage diſcretion (wiſely pondering with themſelues, what inconuenience might riſe hereof) went in haſte to the biſhop of Winchéſter, lying then in Southworke, and waking him out of his ſléepe, deſired him of his counſell in that ſo ſudden and dangerous diſtreſſe, declaring vnto him what perill might therby inſue as well to the church of Merton, as alſo to the citie, by the furie of the vnordinat and fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and ſpoiling, neither will ſpare ſhedding of bloud, &c. Vnto whom againe the bloudie biſhop gaue this bloudie counſell (ſaith Pariſienſis:) Dangerous it is (quoth he) both here and there; but yet ſée that you obay and execute the precept of the king, I counſell you plainely. At the which counſell of the biſhop they being amazed, went with an ill will about the buſineſſe inioyned. But the people inflamed with hatred, gladly coueted to be reuenged and to ſhed the bloud of the ſaid Hubert.

Old grudge borne in mind.

Some wiſer then ſome.

Good aduiſement of diſcreet citizens.

Truell counſell giuen of Peter biſhop of Winchéſter.

¶ The cauſe why Peter biſhop of Winchéſter was ſo cruellie ſet againſt the iuſtice, was partly for the damages hee had done to the Romane prieſts, as before is touched: partlie alſo for the old grudge, becauſe the king comming to his lawfull age before (through the counſell of this Hubert) looſed himſelfe from the gouernement of the ſaid biſhop, who had him then in cuſtodie. And thus roſe vp the grudge and diſpleaſure of this biſhop towards him.

The cauſes of diſpleaſure betweene Hubert and the biſhop of Winchéſter.

On the nert morrow, the Londoners iſſuing out of the citie to the number of twentie thouſand, ſet forth toward the abbie of Merton, where Hubert was lying proſtrat before the altar, commending himſelfe to God.

Hubert proſtrat vpon the ground commendeth himſelfe to God.

In the meane ſeaſon, while the citizens were in their iourne, raging againſt the poore earle of Kent; it was ſuggeſted to the king by Radulph biſhop of Chicheſter, and lord chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite vp the vulgar and vnruly multitude, for feare of ſedition; leſt peraduenture the rude and headie people being ſtirred vp, will not ſo ſoone be brought downe againe, when the king would haue them. Moreouer, what ſhall be ſaid (quoth hee) among the Frenchmen and other nations, which of great things loue to make them greater, and of euill things to make them worſe then they are; but thus ieſtinglie and mockingly: Sée what a kind bird is ỹ young king of England, which ſéeketh to deuour his old nurſe, vnder whoſe wings he

Sage counſell of an earle giuen to the king.

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The marueilous working of the Lords helpe at time of neede, *Iuxta versum*, saith the storie: *Alis ales, alis alium ne longius ales.* *Ex additamentis Mat. Pariss. pag. 81.*

he had been brought vp and nourished in his youth. And thus the king by the perswasion hereof, changing his counsell, sent in all hastie wise after the armie againe, willing them to retract their iournie, and to retire. And thus the Londoners (although much against their wils) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be obserued another notable example of Gode worcking prouidence. For when the king (saith the historie) had sent by two messengers or pursuants to reuoke and call backe againe the armie of the Londoners, going with greedie minds to shed the blood of the innocent iustice: one of the messengers posting with all speed possible, with the kings letters, ouertoke the armie; and comming to the foreward where the captaines were, by vertue of the kings letters staid their course and bloudie purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other messenger craftie and malicious, who bearing hatred to ỹ said Hubert, rather wishing him to be slaine then to be deliuered, lingred by the way of purpose (although being commanded to make hast) and when hee came, went only but to the middle sort: more like a messenger meet to serue a dead mans arrant, then to serue the turne of them which be aliue. And so in like maner by the iust hand of God it fell vpon him. For the same messenger stumbling with his horse, riding but a soft or a fot pase, and rather walking then riding, fell downe backward from his horse backe, and there bracke his necke and died. This mercifull message of the king was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Radulph bishop of Chichester lord chancellor (a vertuous and a faithfull man) and one that could skill to haue compassion on the miseries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he being elected archbishop of Canturburie, would not giue one halfe peny to their expenses by the way, to get his election confirmed by the pope: and afterward by the said pope was defeated and frustrated of his election, as relation was made afore. And thus through Gods prouidence by the meanes of the kings letters the armie returned, and Huberts life (contrarie to his expectation) was preserued.

A notable example of Gods iust punishment striking with death him that seeketh the death of another.

Commendation of Radulph bishop of Chichester.

The archbishop of Dublin againe maketh intercession for Hubert.

After this, the archbishop of Dublin with much labor and great sute intreated, and obtained of the king to grant vnto the said Hubert respit till the twelfth day of Januarie, to prouide himselfe of his answer to such things as were commensed against him. Then Hubert trusting to inioy some safetie by the kings permission to him granted, to breath himselfe a little and to walke abroad, toke his iournie towards S. Edmundsbury, where his wife was; and passing through the countrie of Esser, was inned there in a certaine towne belonging to the bishop of Norwich. Whereof when the king was certified, fearing lest hee would raise vp some commotion in the realme, sendeth in hastie anger after him, sir Godfrid Cranecombe knight with three hundred men: commanding vnder paine of hanging, that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the tower of London: which commandement to accomplish, there lacked no haste. Hubert hauing intelligence of their comming (rising out of his bed naked as he was) ran vnto the chapell standing neere vnto the inne; where he holdeth with the one hand the crosse, with the other hand the sacrament of the Lords bodie. Then Godfrid with his foresaid armed souldiers entring into the chapell, willed him to come out. Which when hee would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the chapell, and taking the crosse and the sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with fetters and giues vnder the horse bellie, and brought him as they were commanded, to the towre. And so certifying the king what they had done (who then taried vp waking for them) he reioyced not a little thereat, and went merrie to his bed.

Hubert flieth to the church for his refuge.

Hubert violently drawne out of the church. Hubert cast into the towre of London.

The king blamed for breaking the peace of holy church.

The next morrow following after, Roger bishop of London hauing knowledge, how and in what order he was taken violentlie out of the chapell, commeth vnto the king, blaming him boldly for violating the peace of holy church, and protesting that vnlesse the partie were losed againe, and sent to the chapell from whence he was drawne, he would enter sentence of excommunication against all the deed doers.

The king compelled to send Hubert againe to his sanctuarie.

The king as he did not denie his transgression herein, so sendeth him (albeit against his will) out of the towre vnto the said chapel again, and by the same souldiers which brought him out before. Which done, hee giueth in strait charge and commandement vnder paine of hanging to the shirifs of Herford and of Esser, that they in their owne persons with the strength of both shires should watch and compasse about the chapell, and see that the said Hubert no waies might escape. Which commandement of the king was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert toke all this patiently, and continued in the chapell praying both night and day, and commending his cause vnto the Lord, whom hee desired so to deliuer him from that instant danger, as hee alwaies sought the kings honour by his faithfull and trustie seruice. And as hee continued in his prayer, so the king continuing in his rage, commanded that no man should intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet Lucas archbishop of Dublin, his true and almost onelie friend, ceased not to pray and weepe to the king for him, desiring the king at least to intimat to him what hee purposed should be done with Hubert. Whereunto the king answering, said: that of these three things one he should chose, whether he would abiure the realme of England for euer, or be condemned vnto perpetuall prison, or else confesse himselfe openlie to bee a traitor. But Hubert hereunto said, that hee would chose none of these articles, as who knew himselfe neither guiltie, nor worthie of any such confusion: but to satisfie somewhat the mind of the king, hee would bee contented to depart the realme for a season, but to abiure the realme he would not so doe.

Example of a constant friend in the time of need.

Three things put to Hubert to choose.

In this meane time it befell that Ranulphus earle of Chester and of Lincolne, one of his forest enemies died. Hubertus all this while remained in the chapell inclosed and garded about with the power (as is said) of two shires, and so continued till at length by the commandement of the king, his two seruitors which ministred to him within the chapell, were taken from him. Then Hubert seeing no other remedie, but there to starue for famine, offred himselfe of his owne accord to the shirifs, saying that hee would put himselfe rather in the kings mercie, then there desperatly to perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and being fast bound in fetters, was brought againe and clapped, by the kings commandement, in the towre of London.

Hubert yeeldeth himselfe to the shirifs.

Hubert reuoked againe to the towre.

Not long after this, word was brought vnto the king by certaine, that the said Hubert had much treasure lying in the house of the new templaries in London. Whereupon the king, to trie out the truth thereof, sendeth for the prior or master of the house: who not daring to denie, confessed that there was indeed treasure brought into the house, but the quantitie and number thereof he could not tell. The king desirous to seizon vpon the treasure, required and charged the master with his brethren with threatning words, to bring forth the treasure to him, saying that it was taken and stolne out of his treasurie. But they answered againe, that the treasure was committed with trust and faith vnto their hands, and therefore they would nor ought to let it goe out of their hands, being trusted withall, without the assent of him which committed the same vnto them. When the king could get no other answer at their hands, neither durst shew any further violence against them, he sendeth vnto Hubert in the towre, requiring of him the foresaid treasures. To whom he answering againe mildly, yeelded both himselfe, his treasures, and all that euer hee had vnto the kings will and pleasure, and so sending word vnto the master and brethren of the temple, willeth them to take all the keies, and deliuer the goods with all that there was vnto the king; who receiuing the same, and taking an inuentorie of that which was receiued, caused it to be brought vnto his treasurie: whereof the number both of the plate, of coine, and of the iewels, was of price vnknowne. The enemies of Hubert supposing thereby for to take aduantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint vnto the king, crying out against Hubert, that he was a theefe, a traitor, and a robber of the kings treasure, and therefore by right was worthie to bee hanged, and thus cried his accusers daily in the kings eare. But the hearts of kings (saith the wise man) are in the hands of the Lord, to bee ruled, not after mans will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this king hauing now his will and fill vpon poore Hubert, and somewhat comming more vnto himselfe, answered againe in this wise, that there was no such need to deale so straitlie with him, who from the time of his youth first serued mine vncle king Richard, then my father king John, in whose seruice (as I heard say) beyond the seas, hee was driuen to eat his horse, Parisiensis, pag. 81. and in my time hath stood so constantly in defence of the realme against forren nations, who kept the castle of Douer against king Lewis, and vanquished the Frenchmen vpon the seas, also at Bedford and at Lincolne hath done such seruice. And though against me hee hath dealt any thing vntruely, which yet is not euidentlie proued, yet he shall neuer be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather bee counted a king foolish and simple, then to bee iudged a tyrant or seeker of bloud, especiallie of such as haue serued me and mine ancestors in many perils so dangerouslie, weighing more ỹ few euils which yet be not proued, then so manie good deserts of his euident and manifest seruice done both to me and to the whole realme, &c. And thus the king somewhat relenting to poore Hubert his old seruant, granted vnto him all such lands as hee had giuen by king John his father, and whatsoeuer else he had by his owne purchase.

Hubert bereft of all his treasures.

Anno 1232

God ruleth the harts of kings.

The kings answer in defence of Hubert.

A worthie word of a king.

Thus Hubert after long trouble a little cheered with some peece of comfort, set Laurence his trustie friend that neuer left him, one that belonged to S. Albons, to bee his steward and ouerseer of those possessions granted vnto him by the king. And shortly vpon the same, after the kings mind was seene thus something to relent, the enuie also of the nobles being now partly satisfied, began to turne to mercie; in so much that foure earles, to wit, earle Richard the kings brother, William earle of Warreine, Richard earle marshall, and William earle of Ferris, became suerties to the king for him. Upon whose suretie hee was transferred to the castle of Deuizis, where hee was vnder the keeping of foure souldiers by them appointed, hauing the libertie of the castle. But the bishop of Winchester, who alwaies hunted after the life of Hubert, craftilie commeth vnto the king, and desireth the custodie of that castle, making

The kings mind relenteth toward Hubert.

Foure earles sureties for Hubert.

Hubert put in the castle of Deuizis.

Anno 1233

king no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof, he might the sooner dispatch him. Hubert hauing thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his seruants, who with compassion tendering his miserie, watched their time (the keepers being asleepe) and conueied him by night on their backs, fettered as he was, into the parish church of the towne, and there remained with him. The keepers when they mist their prisoner were in great perplexitie, and after diligent search finding him at length where he was in the church, with violent force drew him from thence to the castle againe. For the which iniurie to the church, the bishop of Sarum vnderstanding the order of the matter, commeth to the castle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert should bee brought againe into the church from whence he was taken. Which when the keepers denied to doe, saying they would rather hee should hang then they: then the bishop gaue sentence against them of excommunication. Which done, he with the bishop of London and other bishops, goeth immediately vnto the king, complaining of the iniurie done vnto Hubert, and especially of the contumelie against holy church: neither would they leaue the king, before they had obtained that he should be reduced againe into the church, and so he was. It was not long after, but the king in great displeasure sendeth to the shiriffe of the shire to keepe him well watched in the church, till either he came forth, or there perished with famine.

Hubert conueied out of the castle into the parish church.

Hubert againe taken out of the church, and brought backe to the castle.

It befell in the meane season that great dissension rose betweene the king and the nobles of the realme, by reason whereof Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard earle marshall into Wales, and there remained, vntill the king at length was reconciled with his nobles, and so receiued (with the rest) the said Hubert againe into his fauor. Ex Matthæo Parisiensi, & ex Floribus historiarum. Of the which dissension more shall bee shewed (Christ willing) hereafter.

Hubert deliuered out of prison and carried into Wales.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert first sprang of buying the popes barnes: so likewise Roger bishop of London suspected for the same cause, was inforced to trauell vp to Rome, there to purge himselfe before the pope. Where after much money consumed, and robbed also by the way, hee gat nothing else, but lost his labor, and so came home againe. Who then doing the part of a good bishop, after his returne from Rome, attempted to expell and exclude out of his dioces all these Italian vsurers called, as is before said, Caursini. These Caursinits comming with the popes legats into England, and lending their money to religious houses, to colleges and churches, had their debters bound vnto them in such sort as was much vantageable to them, and much iniurious to the other, as in the forme of their obligations in the storie of Mat. Parisiensis is largely expressed fol. 65. Against these Caursinites the bishop of London being worthilie inflamed with zeale of iustice, first with louing admonition went about to reclaime them for the wealth of their soules, afterward with sharpe words began to charge them. But they neither regarding christian counsell, and despising the bishops threatnings, would not leaue the sweetnesse of their occupation. Wherfore the bishop proceeding vnto the sentence of excommunication, precisely and districtly charged them to depart his dioces. But they againe being confident and imboldened vpon the popes defence, not onely set at light his excommunication, but also wrought such waies with the pope, that they caused the said bishop of London, being both aged & sickly, to bee cited peremptorily to appeare beyond the seas, there to answere to such obiections as they should inferre against him. And thus the bishop minding rather to couer then to open the faults of the church, and partly being let with infirmitie and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

Roger bishop of London goeth to Rome to purge himselfe before the pope.

Against vsurers.

Vsurers excommunicated and expelled by the bishop of London.

Excommunication well vsed against vsurers.

And thus much of the popes merchants here in England, which were not so busie here for their part, but the pope the great master of these merchant vsurers, was as busie for his. And although his barnes here in England were destroyed, and his banke something decayed, yet he thought to win it vp another way: for he proclaimed the same yeare a generall visitation through all the religious houses exempt or not exempt vniuersally pertaining to his iurisdiction, where by the cruell dealing of the visitors, many were compelled to appeale and to trauell vp to Rome, to the great expenses of their money, and filling the popes cofers. But as touching this visitation, to make short (saith the storie) it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of vniuersall order: *Dum omnes qui in diuersis orbis partibus vnicam Benedicti secuti fuerant regulam, per nouas constitutiones ita inueniantur vbique discordes, quòd ex omnibus cœnobijs, vel alijs religiosorũ ecclesiis vix duo habeantur in norma viuendi concordes:* that is, While all they, which before through all parts of the world followed onely the rule of Benedict, now through new deuised constitutions are found in all places so diuided and diuers, that of all monasteries, and other churches of religion, scarce may two be found, which doe agree in one rule and institution of life.

The generall visitation of the pope through all religious houses.

Ex Parisiensi.

The great diuersitie among all religious orders noted.

All this while that Hubert aboue mentioned was secluded from the king, Peter bishop of Winchester bare all the rule, and aboue all other alone was accepted. This bishop being in such principall fauour with the king, as by whose counsell all things were administred, remoued the naturall seruitors that were Englishmen, out of their offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of Pictauia, and of other countries, in their rowmes. Among whom was thrust out William vndermarshall, which supplied the rowme of Richard lord great marshall of England: for the which cause, the said lord Richard was mightilie offended. Also Walter treasurer of the kings house, was not onely expelled, but also mercied at an hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the kings patent granted to him.

Old seruitors of the king put out and discharged.

Moreouer, by the counsell of the said bishop of Winchester, all the old counsellers as well bishops, as other earles and barons, and all the nobles were reiected from the king in such sort, that he would heare and follow no mans counsell, but only the said Peter bishop of Winchester, and his cosin Peter de Riuallis. Whereby it came to passe that all the greatest holds and munitions in the realme were taken from the old keepers, and committed to the custodie of the said Peter. Then the bishop of Winchester, to plant and pitch himselfe more strongly in the kings fauor, adioyned to his fellowship Stephan Segraue succeeding in the place of Hubert the iusticé: also Robert Passelew, who had the keeping of the treasure vnder the foresaid Peter Riuall. So by these three, all the affaires of the realme were ordered. Moreouer, to make their partie more sure, by them was prouided, that souldiers and seruitors from beyond the sea, as Pictauians and Britains were sent for, to the number of two thousand, which were placed partly about the king, partly were set in castles & holds within the realme, and had the ouersight and gouernment of shires and baronies, who then oppressed the nobles of the land, accusing them to the king for traitors, whom the simple king did lightly beleeue, committing to them the custodie of his treasures, the sitting in iudgements, and the doing in all things. And when the nobles thus oppressed, came to complaine of their iniuries to the king, by the meanes of the bishop of Winchester, their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said Winchester moreouer accused certaine bishops also to the king, so that hee did flie and shun them as open traitors and rebels.

The king forsaketh his nobles and sticketh to strangers.

These things standing thus out of order, Richard the noble marshall of England, with others of the nobles ioyning with him, seeing these oppressions and iniuries daily growing contrarie to the lawes and wealth of the realme, came to the king, and blamed him for retaining such peruerse counsel about him of the Pictauians and other forreners, to the great preiudice of his naturall subiects, and of the liberties of the realme, humblie desiring and beseeching him, that he with as much speed as might be, would reforme and redresse such excesses, wherby the whole realme seemed to lie in danger of subuersion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, hee with other peers and nobles would withdraw themselues from his counsell, so long as he maintained the societie of those forreners and strangers about him.

Richard earle marshall admonisheth the king.

To this Peter Winchester answering againe, said, that the king right well might call vnto him what forreners and strangers him liked, for the defence both of his kingdome and of his crowne; and what number of them hee would, as by whom hee might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious subiects, and so to keepe them in awe and good order. When the earle and the nobles could get no other answere of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselues, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole realme, they would constantly ioyne togither to the parting of their life.

The disdainefull answere of the bishop of Winchester to the nobles.

After this, the foresaid Petrus bishop of Winchester with his complices, ceased not by all meanes to inflame the kings hart to hatred and contempt of his naturall people, whom they so vehemently peruerted, that he counting them no other then his enemies, sought by all diligence the vtter destruction of them, sending daily more garrisons of the Pictauians, that in short space they replenished welneare the whole land, whose defence the king only trusted vnto: neither was any thing disposed in the realme, but through the guiding of this Peter and of the Pictauians.

Wicked counsell about a king.

Petrus de rupibus bishop of Winchester peruerter of the king.

The king thus garded and strengthened with these forren aliens and strangers, proclaimed a parliament to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were warned to bee present. They considering the indignation of the king conceiued, would not appeare. Againe they were required the first, second, and third time to present themselues. The assemblie proceeded, but they came not, for whom the king loked. In this assemblie or parliament, it was plainely told the king by a Dominike frier preaching before him, that vnlesse he remoued from him the bishop of Winchester and Peter Riuall his kinsman, hee should not, neither could long inioy peace in his kingdome. This although it was bluntly spoken of the frier against the bishop, yet this remedie he had; the frier had nothing to lose. Yet was there another chaplaine of the court, who perceiuing the king somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a courtlike dexteritie handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrilie came to the king asking a question, What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that trauell by the seas? That, said the king

A merrie apothegme of the kings chaplain.

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king, is best knowne to such as trauell in that kind of traffike. May (saith he) this is easie to be told. The king demanding what it was, Forsooth (quoth he) stones and rocks; alluding merilie (but yet truely) to the bishop of Winchester, whose name and surname was Petrus de rupibus, for so Petræ in Latine signifieth stones, and Rupes rocks. Notwithstanding, the king either not perceiuing the meaning, or not amending the fault, againe signifieth to his nobles to speake with him at Westminster. But they fearing some traine to be laid for them, refused to appeare, sending plaine words to the king by solemne message, that his grace without all delay should seclude from him Peter bishop of Winchester and other aliens of Pictauia, or if he would not, they with the common assent of the realme, would displace him with his wicked counsellors from his kingdome, and haue within themselues tractation for chusing a new king.

The message of the nobles to the king.

The king at the hearing of this message being mightilie moued, partly to feare, partly to indignation, especially hauing the late example of king Iohn his father before his eyes, was cast in great perplexitie, doubting what was best to bee done. But Winchester with his wicked counsell so wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all seueritie against them, insomuch that in short time the sparkles of poysoned counsell kindling more & more, grew to a sharpe battell betweene the king and Richard earle marshal with other nobles, to the great disquietnesse of the whole realme. The which war before was presignified by terrible thundring and lightning heard all England ouer in the moneth of March, with such abundance of raine and flouds growing vpon the same, as cast downe mils, ouercouered the fields, threw downe houses, and did much harme through the whole realme.

War raised by the king against his nobles.

Great thunders and flouds in England.

To prosecute here at large the whole discourse of this war betweene the king and earle marshall, which continued neere the space of two yeares, to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof, what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought vnto the whole realme, what traines were laid, what slaughter of men, what wast of whole countries insued from Wales vnto Shrewsberie, how the marshall ioyned himselfe with Leolin prince of Wales, how the Pictauians were almost all slaine and destroyed, how the king was distressed, what forgerie wilie Winchester wrought by the kings letters to intrap the marshall and to betray him to the Irishmen, amongst whom he was at length slaine; all this I refer to other authors, who at large doe intreat of the same, as Mat. Paris, Florilegus, and such others. This is to be noted and obserued (which rather pertaineth to our ecclesiasticall history) to see what sedition and continuall disquietnes was in those daies among all christian people almost, being vnder the popes catholike obedience: but especially to marke the corrupt doctrine then reigning, it is to be maruelled, or rather lamented, to see the king and the people then so blinded in the principall point and article of their saluation, as we find in stories, which making mention of a house or monasterie of conuerts, builded the same yeare by the king at London, do expresse in plaine words, that he then did it *Pro redemptione animæ suæ, & regis Ioannis patris sui, & omnium antecessorum suorum*: that is, For the redemption of his soule, of the soule of king Iohn his father, and for the soules of all his ancestors, &c. Whereby may bee vnderstood in what palpable darkenesse of blind ignorance the sillie soules redeemed by Christ were then inwrapped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and first principles of their redemption. Ex Mat. Parisiensi. pag. 86.

Monasteries builded *Pro redemptione animæ.*

Mention was made a little before of dissoluing the election of Iohn Poor of Canturburie, which was chosen by the monks to be archbishop of the said church of Canturburie, but by the pope was defeated. After whom one Iohn Blund was elected, who trauelling vp to Rome this yeare, An. 1233. to be confirmed of the pope, was also repealed and vnelected againe, for that it was thought in England, and so complained of to the pope, that he had receiued of Peter bishop of Winchester, a thousand marks, and had another thousand promised him of the said Winchester. Who by his money thought to make him of his side, and also wrote vnto the emperor to helpe forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithstanding, both hee with his giuing, and the other with his taking of bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the pope hating then the emperor, for the same cause admitted not the election; pretending the cause, for that he was proued to hold two benefices without his dispensation. After whom, by the commandement of the pope, one Edmund canon of Salisburie was ordained archbishop, and had his pall sent to him from the pope. Which Edmund after for his vertues was canonized of the popish monks there for a saint, and called S. Edmund. About which time also Robert Grosthead was made bishop of Lincolne.

Iohn archbishop of Canturburie elected by the chapter, againe vnelected by the pope.

Corruption of bribes.

Edmund archbishop of Canturburie.

S. Edmund canonized.

Robert Grosthead made bishop of Lincolne.

This Edmund accompanied with other bishops, during this trouble betweene the king and his nobles, being in councell at Westminster, in the yeer next insuing, which was 1234: came vttering their minds boldly in the name of the lords, and declaring vnto the king as became his faithfull seruants, that his counsell which then he followed, was not sound nor safe, but cruell and dangerous both to him, & to the state of the realme,

{Anno 1231}

Faithfull counsel of the bishops giuen to the king.

meaning the counsell of Peter Winchester, and of Peter Riuall, with other adherents.

The counsell of Winchester and such other bishops about the king, disproued for certaine causes.

1 FIrst and in primis, for that they hate and contemne the English nation, calling them traitors and rebels, and turning the kings heart from the loue of his naturall subiects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the earle marshall and others, sowing discord among them.

2 Item, by the said counsell, to wit, by the foresaid bishop and his fellowes, king Iohn the kings father lost first the hearts of his barons, after that lost Normandie, and afterwards other lands also, and in the end wasted all his treasure, so that since that time the regiment of England had neuer any quiet after.

3 By the said counsell also, in their time and memorie, the kingdome of England had been troubled and suspended, and in conclusion became tributarie, she that was before the prince of prouinces: and so war insuing vpon the same, the said king Iohn his father incurred great danger of death, and at last was extinguished, lacking both peace of his kingdome and of his owne heart.

4 Item, by the said counsell the castle of Bedford was kept long time against the king, to the great losse both of men and treasure, beside the losse of Rupella, to the shame of the realme of England.

5 Moreouer, through their wicked counsell, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang ouer the whole realme; for else if it had not been for their counsell, and that true iustice and iudgement might haue been ministred vnto the kings subiects, these tumults had neuer been stirred, and the king might haue had his land vnwasted, and his treasure vnconsumed.

6 Item, in that faith and allegiance, wherewith they were obliged vnto him, they protested vnto him that the said his counsell was not a counsell of peace, but of diuision and disquietnesse, to the end that they which otherwise by peace could not aspire, by disturbing and disheriting others might be exalted.

7 Item, for that all the castles, forts, munitions, also all the officers of the excheker, with all other the greatest escheats of the realme were in their hands, of the which if the king would demand account, he should proue how true they were.

8 Item, for that neither by the kings seale, nor commandement, except it bare withall the seale of Peter Riuall, almost no businesse of any weight could be dispatched in the realme, as though they counted their king for no king.

9 Furthermore, by the foresaid counsell, the naturall subiects and nobles of the realme were banished the court, which was to be feared would grow to some inconuenience both to the king and to the realme; forsomuch as the king seemed more to be on their side then they of his, as by many euident coniectures may appeare.

10 Item, it was not well to be taken and liked, the said counsell standing of strangers and aliens, to haue in their power both the kings sister, and many other noble mens daughters and other women mariageable, with the kings wards and marriages, which they bestowed and diuided among themselues, and men of their affinitie.

11 Also, the said counsell regarding neither the lawes, nor liberties of the realme confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and peruert all iustice: wherefore it was to be feared that they would run vnder excommunication, and the king also in communicating with them.

12 Item, because they kept neither promise nor faith, nor oth with any person, neither did obserue any instrument made neuer so formall by law, nor yet did feare any excommunication; wherfore they were to be left for people desperate, as which were departed from all truth and honestie.

These things (said the bishops) we as your faithfull subiects before God and men, do tell and aduertise your grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you wil remoue and seclude from you such counsell: and as the custome is of all other kingdomes to do, that you will so gouerne in like maner your kingdome by your owne naturall leege people, and such as bee sworne vnto you of your owne realme. For thus (said they) in veritie wee denounce vnto you, that vnlesse in short time you will see these things reformed, we according to our dutie will proceed by the censure of the church against you, and al others that gainstand the same, tarrying no other thing, but onely the consecration of this our reuerend archbishop.

Excommunication denounced by the bishops against the king.

These words of the bishop thus said and finished, the king required a little time of respit, wherein to aduise with himselfe about the matter, saying that he could not in such a sudden remoue from him his counsell, before hee had entred with them account of his treasure committed to them: and so that assemblie brake vp.

The kings answere to the bishops.

It followed then after this communication so broken vp, that the king resorted to the parts of Northfolke, where coming by S. Edmundsburie, where the wife of Hubert the iustice was, he being moued with zeale of pitie toward the woman, who verie humblie behaued her selfe to the king, did grant hir eight manor places, which her husband before with his mony had purchased, being then in the custodie & possession of Robert Passelew, one of the kings new counsellors aboue specified.

The pitie of the king toward the wife of Hubert.

It

Edmund consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, which was afterward canonized by pope Innocent the fourth for a saint.

It was not long after this, but Edmund the archbishop was inuested and consecrated in the church of Canturburie, who shortly after his consecration, about the moneth of Aprill, comming with his suffragans to the place of councell, where the king with his earles and barons was assembled, opened to him the cause and purpose of his comming and of the other prelats, which was to put him in remembrance of their former talke had with him at Westminster; denouncing moreouer to him expressie, that vnles with speed hee would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithfull nobles of his realme, hee incontinent with the other prelats there present, would passe with the sentence of excommunication against him, and against all them that should bee enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

Example of excommunication rightly practised.

The kings promise to the bishops.

The king after he heard the meaning of the bishops, with humble and gentle language answered them againe, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few daies after, the king comming to some better remembrance of himselfe, commanded the forenamed bishop of Winchester to leaue the court, and returne home to his bishoprike, there to attend vnto the spirituall charge and care of his flocke committed to him. Moreouer, he commanded Peter Riuall the bishops cosin (some stories say his son) who had then the disposing of all the affaires of the realme, to render vnto him his castles, and to giue account of all his treasures, wherof he had the keeping, and so to voide the realme, swearing moreouer vnto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the church, else he would haue caused both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

Peter bishop of Winchester discharged out of the court.

Peter Riuall called to account of the kings treasures.

Pictauians and strangers sent home by the king vnto their countrie.

He expelled likewise the Pictauians out of the court, and from the custodie of his munitions, sending them home into their countrie, and bidding they should no more see his face. And thus the king wisely dispatching himselfe of his wicked counsellors, first did send Edmund the archbishop, with the bishops of Chester and of Rochester, into Wales to Leolin, and to Richard earle marshall, and others, to intreat with them of peace.

Reconciliation sought betweene the king and the nobles.

Also he receiued to his seruice againe men of his naturall countrie, to attend about him, offering himselfe willing to be ruled by the counsell of the archbishop and the bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his realme should be reduced againe to a better quietnesse.

Richard earle marshall fraudulently circumuented and slaine in Ireland.

But in the meane time, while these things were doing in England, the foresaid Richard earle marshall by the falshod of the bishop of Winchester, and Peter Riuall, forging the kings letters to the Irishmen against him, and partly by the conspiracie of Gilbert de Marisco, was circumuented by the Irishmen in war, and there taken & wounded, was by them through the meanes of his surgeon slaine.

Catini slaine about Almaine, iudged of the papists for heretiks.

Great slaughter the same time was of them which were called Catini, about the parts of Almaine. These Catini were esteemed of pope Gregorie and the papists to be heretiks; but what their opinions were I find it not expressed: In Parisiensi.

Albigenses slaine in Spaine by the popes setting on.

In like sort the Albigenses afore mentioned, recounted also of the popes flock to be heretiks, with their bishops, and a great number and companie of them were slaine by the commandement of pope Gregorie at the same time in a certaine plaine in Spaine. Ex Matth. Parisiensi, fol. 87.

How the archbishop of Canturburie with other two bishops were sent into Wales for intreatie of peace, yee heard before. At whose returne againe after the time of Easter, the king going toward Glocester to meet them by the way, as hee was in his iourney at Woodstocke, came messengers of Ireland, declaring to the king the death of Richard earle marshall, and the order thereof, through the forged letters of Winchester and others: whereat the king made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining that he left not his like in all the realm againe.

The king lamenteth the death of Richard earle marshall.

After this the king proceeding in his iourney came to Glocester, where the archbishop with the other bishops comming to the king, declared to him the forme and condition of peace, which they had concluded with Leolin, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the king had banished out of his realme; to the end that the concord might be the more firme betweene them. Thus (said they) was Leoline contented, although with much ado & great difficulty, to receiue the league of peace, saying and protesting this vnto them, that he feared more the kings almes then all the puissance both of him and of all his clergie within England.

The saying of Leolin king of Wales. The almes of king Henrie more feared then his puissance.

This done, the king there remaining with the bishops directed his letters to all the exiles and banished lords, and to all his nobles, that they should repaire to him about the beginning of June, at Glocester; promising to them his full fauour and reconcilement to them and to their heires, and that they should suspect no fraud therin they should haue their safe conduct by the archbishop and bishops.

Peace concluded betweene the king and the nobles.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the said archbishop and the bishops, first commeth to the king, Hubert earle of Kent, offring himselfe to the kings good will and fauor. Whom the king with chearefull countenance receiued and imbraced, restoring him not onely to his fauor, but also to his houshold and counsell, with his liuings and possessions from which hee had been disseized before. Then Hubert lifting vp his eyes to heauen, gaue praise and glorie to God, by whose gratious prouidence he so marueilously being preserued from so great distresses and tribulations, was againe so happilie reconciled to the king, and his faithfull friends. After him in like sort came in Gilbert Basset a noble man, Richard Siward, also Gilbert the brother of Richard Marshall that was slaine; which Gilbert recouered againe his whole inheritance as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the king, & his seruice due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high marshall court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

Hubert giueth thanks to God.

In the same councell or communication continuing then at Glocester, the said Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, bringing the forged letters wherein was betraied the life of Richard earle marshall, sealed with the kings seale, and sent to the great men of Ireland, read the same openly in the presence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing whereof, the king greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the bishop of Winchester and Peter de Riuallis, he commanded his seale to be set to certaine letters presented vnto him, but the tenor thereof he said and swore he neuer heard. Whereunto the archbishop answering againe, desired the king to search well his conscience, and said that all they which were procurers or knowledge of those letters, were guiltie of the death of the earle marshall, no lesse then if they had murthered him with their owne hands.

Falshood and murther commeth out. Kings many times abused by wicked counsell.

Then the king calling a councell, sent his letters for the bishop of Winchester, for Peter Riuall, Stephan Segraue, and Robert Passelew to appeare and yeeld account for his treasures vnto them committed, and for his seale by them abused. But the bishop and Riuall keeping themselues in the sanctuarie of the minster church of Winchester, neither durst nor would appeare. Stephan Segraue, who succeeded after Hubert the iustice, and was of the clergie before, after became a lay man, and now hiding himselfe in S Maries church in the abbie of Leicester, was turned to a clerke againe. Robert Passelew couertly hid himselfe in a certaine cellar of the new temple, so secretly that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length through the foresaid Edmund archbishop of Canturbury, meanes was made, that a dilatory day was granted by the king for them to answere. At which day first appeared Peter de Riuallis, then Stephan Segraue, after him Robert Passelew, each of them seuerally one after another shewed themselues, but not able to answere for themselues, like traitors were reproued, and like villaines were sent away. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 91.

The bishop of Winchester called to his answere.

Peter Riuall, Stephan Segraue, Robert Passelew called to their answere.

Variance betweene pope Gregorie the ninth and the Romans.

Variance betweene the pope and the citizens of Rome.

WHile peace thus betweene the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, dissension and variance the same time and yeare began in Rome, betweene the pope and the citizens of Rome. The cause was, for that the citizens claimed by old custome and law, that the bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the citie, nor suspend the said citie with any interdiction for any maner excesse.

The allegation of the Romans.

To this the pope answered againe; *Quod minor Deo est, sed quolibet homine maior* (to vse the very words of mine author:) *Ergo, maior quolibet ciue; nè Etiam rege, vel imperatore, &c:* That is, that he is lesse then God, but greater then any man: Ergo, greater then any citizen, yea also greater then king or emperor. And for so much as he is their spirituall father, hee both ought and lawfully may chastise his children when they offend, as being subiected to him in the faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way againe when they stray out of course.

The popes answere.

Moreouer the citizens alleage againe for themselues, that the potestats of the citie and senators doe receiue of the church of Rome yearely tribute, which the bishops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new and also ancient lawes. Of the which yearely tribute they haue been euer in possession before this present time of this pope Gregorie the ninth.

The second allegation of the Romans. The pope bound to pay to Rome yearely tribute.

Hereunto the pope answered and said, that although the church of Rome in time of persecution, for their defence and cause of peace, was wont to respect the head rulers of the citie with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a custome: for that custome onely ought to stand, which consisteth not vpon examples, but vpon right and reason.

The pope replieth.

Further and besides, the citizens said that they at the commandement of the senators, would appropriate their countrie with new and larger limits, and infranchise the same, being inlarged with fines and borders.

The third cause and allegation of the Romans.

To this the pope againe made answere, that certaine lordships, and cities, and castles, be contained within the compasse of the said limits, as the citie Viterbium, and Montcastler, which they presume to appropriate within their precinct: but to ascribe to them and vsurpe that which pertaineth to others, is against right and iustice.

The popes answere.

For these and such other controuersies rising betweene the pope and the Romans, such dissension kindled, that the pope

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The pope flieth to the citie of Rome.

with his cardinals leauing the citie of Rome, remoued to Perusium (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remaine and to plant themselues: but the Romans preuailing against him, ouerthrew diuers of his houses in the citie, for the which he did excommunicate them. The Romans then flying to the emperor, desired his aid and succor: but he, belike to pleasure the pope, gathering an armie, went rather against the Romans.

Excommunication abused.

The pope warreth against the Romans.

Then the popes armie, whose captaines were the earle of Tholouse (to purchase the popes fauor) and Peter the foresaid bishop of Winchester (whom the pope for the same had sent for from England, partly for his treasure, partly for his practise and skill in feats of war) and the emperors host ioyned togither, and bordering about the citie of Rome, cast downe the castles or mansions belonging to the citizens round about the suburbs, to the number of eightéene, and destroyed all their vines and vineyards about the citie. Wherat the Romans being not a little offended, brast out of the citie, with more heate then order, to the number of 100000 (as the storie reporteth) to destroy Viterbium the popes citie with sword and fire. But the multitude being vnordered and out of batell raie, and vnprouided for ieopardies which by the way might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number, so that on both parts were slaine to the diew of 30000: but the most part was of the citizens. And this dissension thus begun was not soone ended, but continued long after.

A great slaughter of the Romans by the pope. *Ex Parisiensi, pag. 92.*

The church of Rome degenerated from the image of the true church.

By these and such other stories, who séeth not how farre the church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right church of Christ, which by the rule and example of the gospell ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate, not a reuenger of her selfe, nor a séeker of wars; but a forgiuer of iniuries, humbly and patiently referring all reuenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of soules; not contending for worldly maistership, but humbling themselues as seruants, and not vicars of the Lord; but ioyntly like brethren seruing togither, bishops with bishops, ministers with ministers, deacons with deacons; and not as maisters separating themselues by superioritie one from another; and briefly communicating togither in doctrine and counsell, one particular church with another, not as a mother one ouer another, but rather as a sister church one with another, séeking together the glorie of Christ, and not their owne. And such was the church of Rome first in the old ancient beginning of her primitiue state, especially while the crosse of persecution yet kept the bishops & ministers vnder in humilitie of heart and feruent calling vpon the Lord for helpe; so that happie was that christian then, which with libertie of conscience onely might hold his life, how barely soeuer he liued. And as for the pride and pompe of the world, as striuing for patrimonies, buying of bishoprikes, gaping for benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure and lesse list yea once to thinke vpon them. Neither did the bishops then of Rome fight to be consuls of the city, but sought how to bring the consuls vnto Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the citie. Neither did they then presume so high, to bring the emperors neckes vnder their girdles, but were glad to saue necks in any corner from the sword of the emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward consolation, Gods holy spirit mightilie working in their hearts. Then was one catholike vnitie of truth and doctrine amongst all churches against errors and sects. Neither did the east and west, nor distance of place diuide the church, but both the east church and west church, the Grécks and Latins made all one church. And albeit there were then fiue patriarchall sées appointed for order sake, differing in regions, and peraduenture also in some rites one from another: yet all these consenting together in one vnitie of catholike doctrine, hauing one God, one Christ, one faith, one baptisme, one spirit, one head, and linked together in one bond of charitie, and in one equalitie of honor, they made all together one body, one church, one communion, called one catholike, vniuersal, and apostolicall church. And so long as this knot of charitie and equalitie did ioyne them in one vnitie together, so long the church of Christ flourished and increased, one readie to helpe and harbor another, in time of distresse, as Agapetus and Vigilius flying to Constantinople were there aided by the patriarch, &c: so that all this while, neither forren enemie, neither Saracen nor Soldan, nor Sultan, nor Calipha, nor Cozalmine, nor Turke had any power greatly to harme it.

Difference betweene the church of Rome that was, and the church of Rome that now is.

East church. West church.

Catholike.

The schisme betweene the Greeke church and the church of Rome. Equalitie mother of concord.

But through the malice of the enemie, this catholike vnitie did not long continue, and all by reason of the bishop of Rome, who not contented to be like his brethren, began to extend himself and to claime superiority aboue the other foure patriarchall sées, and all other churches in the world. And thus as equalitie amongst christian bishops was by pride and singularitie oppressed, so vnitie began by little & little to be dissolued, and the Lords cote, which the souldiers left whole, to be diuided. Which cote of christian vnitie, albeit of long time it had béen now seameript before by the occasion aforesaid: yet notwithstanding in some peece it held togither in some meane agréement, vnder subiection to the sée of Rome, till the time of this pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1230: at which time ths rupture and schisme of the church brake out into a plaine diuision, vtterly disseuering the east church from the west church vpon this occasion.

The cause and occasion why the Greeke church vtterly brake from the Romans.

There was a certaine archbishop elected to an archbishoprike among the Grecians, who comming to Rome to bee confirmed, could not be admitted vnlesse he promised a very great sum of money. Which when he refused to doe, and detested the execrable simonie of the court of Rome, hee made his repaire home againe to his owne countrie vnconfirmed, declaring there to the whole nobilitie of that land the case how it stood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others also, which comming lately from Rome, and there had proued the same or worse, came in and gaue testimony to his saying. Whereupon all the churches of the Grecians the same time hearing this, departed vtterly away from the church of Rome, which was in the daies of this pope Gregorie the ninth. Insomuch that the archbishop of Constantinople comming afterward to the generall councell at Lions, there openly declared, that whereas before time he had vnder him aboue thirtie bishoprikes and suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreouer, that all the Grecians and certaine others, with Antioch and the whole empire of Romania, euen to the gates almost of Constantinople, were gone from the obedience of the church of Rome, &c. Mat. Paris, fol. 112, &c. fol. 186.

Matth. Paris. fol. 112.

All Grecia gone from the obedience of the church of Rome. *Ex Matth. Parisiensi. fol. 186.*

By the occasion of which separation aforesaid of the Grecians from pope Gregorie, it happened shortly after, being the yeare of our Lord 1237, that Germanus archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople wrote to the said pope Gregorie the ninth, humblie desiring him to studie and séeke some meanes of vnitie, how the seamelesse cote of the Lord Jesus thus lamentablie rent, not with hands of souldiers, but by discord of prelats may be healed againe; offering this moreouer, that if hee will take the paines to stir out, he for his part, notwithstanding his old age and féeble body, would not refuse to meet him in the mid way, to the intent that the truth on both sides being debated by the scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the slander stopped, and vnitie reformed betweene them.

Germanus patriarch of Constantinople writeth to pope Gregorie the ninth.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it had béen the bishops part againe with like humilitie to haue condescended to the same, and glad with all his might to helpe forward the reformation of christian vnitie in the church of Christ, and so to haue shewed himselfe the sonne of peace: but the proud bishop of Rome more like the forme of discord and dissension, standing still vpon his maiestie, refused thus to doe: but writing againe answere to his letters with great disdaine, séeking nothing else but onely how to aduance his sée aboue all other churches; and not onely that, but also shortly after sent forth his preaching friers to moue all christians to take the signe of the crosse, and to fight against the Grecians no otherwise then against the Turks and Saracens: insomuch that in the ile of Cyprus many good men and martyrs were slaine for the same, as by the letters of the said Germanus patriarch of Constantinople is to be séene.

The pope setteth the west church to fight against the east church. *Ex Matth. Parisiensi. fol. 112.*

The tenor of the which letter to the pope, with the popes answere againe to him, being long and tedious to reade, are extant in the historie of Mat. Parisiensis, there to bee séene and found. The summarie effect whereof notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notifie for the simple and vnlearned multitude, which vnderstanding not the Latine, may hereby perceiue the fault of this schisme, not so much to rest in the Gréeke church, as in the church of Rome, as by the contents of his letter may appeare.

Ex libro Mat. Parisiensi manuscripto, fol. 3. & 111.

The effect of the patriarch of Constantinople his *letter to pope Gregorie the ninth.*

The letter of Germanus patriarch of Constantinople to pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1237.

IN the which letter the said Germanus patriarch of Constantinople writing to pope Gregorie, first after his reuerend salutation and preamble following vpon the same, entring then towards the matter, sheweth the occasion of his writing, which was by fiue obseruant friers repairing that waies, whom he gentlie receiuing into his house, had conference with them touching this discord between the two churches, how it might be reduced againe to vnitie: and afterward perceiuing the said friers to make their iourney towards Rome, he thought therfore by them to write his letters. Wherin he first lamenting this diuision in the house of God, and reciting the inconueniences which come thereof, by the example of Iuda and Israel, Ierusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Iacob; also of other such like, both priuat and publike societies, where brother fighteth against brother, like as amongst fishes the greater deuoureth the lesser: he proceedeth then further gently to exhort pope Gregorie to the studie of vnitie.

He sheweth the inconuenience of discord.

And forsomuch as the pope had accursed (belike) those churches of the Greeks before, he therefore taking his ground vpon the words of S. Paul (Gal. 1.) where he accurseth euery such person and persons whatsoeuer they be either man or angell of heauen, that shall preach any other gospell then hath been preached, &c: willeth the pope to stand with him vpon the same ground of the apostles curse: so that if the stroke of that curse haue light vpon him or his churches, he desireth him to shew the wound, and to helpe to wipe away the blood, to minister some spirituall implaster, to bind vp the sore, and to saue

Galath. 1.

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saue his brethren from perishing which lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man: A brotherly friend is tried in aduersitie, &c.

Salomon.

But if we (saith he) of the Greeke church bee free from the stripe of this curse of the apostle, & that you Italians and of the Latine church be stricken therewith, and lie thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you through ignorance and wilfull obstinacie will not so suffer your selues to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die.

Whether the church of the Greekes or the popes church lieth more vnder the danger of Gods curse.

And as touching this great discord betweene vs, if either contrarietie of doctrine, or swaruing from the ancient canons, or diuersitie of rites receiued of our forefathers bee any cause thereof, we here take heauen and earth to witnesse, that wee for our parts are readie, and desire also vpon due triall of profound truth by Gods word & inuocation of the Holy ghost, to ioyne hands with you, or you to ioyne with vs. But to say the verie tauth, & to tell you plaine, this we suppose, that many mightie and noble potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your vniust oppressions, your insatiable exactions, & inordinate prouisions wherwith you wring your subiects. By reason whereof haue risen amongst vs cruell wars, one fighting against another, desolation of cities, buls and interdictions set vpon church dores, diuision of brethren, and churches of the Grecians left whithout seruice, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I beleeue to bee predefined & appointed from aboue long before to vs Grecians, the time I meane of marryrdome, which also now hasteneth fast vpon vs, that the tribunall of tyrants should be opened, and the seats of torments bee set, that the blood of martyrs should be spilled, and we brought to the stage of marryrdome, to fight for the crowne of glorie.

The Greeks afraid of the popes oppressions.

The patriarch of Constantinople prophesieth of the martyrdome and slaughter of the Grecians.

This that I do speake, and wherfore I speake it, the noble iland of Cyprus doth alreadie know and feele, which hath made many new martyrs, and hath seene valiant souldiers of Christ, which of long time before passing by water & tears of sorrow, now at last haue also passed through fire, and so entred into the heauenly rest. How say you, bee these good and seemely, O holy pope, the successor of S. Peter the apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meeke and humble disciple of Christ? Doth he thus instruct the seniors and elders in his epistle, where he writeth in this wise? The elders which are among you, I beseech, which am also a fellow elder with them, & witnes of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glorie that shall be opened. Feed the flocke of God which is amongst you, hauing care & sight ouer it, not of a coaction as compelled against your wils, but willingly of your owne accord, not for filthie lucre sake, but freely and heartily, neither as bearing dominion and lordship ouer the church, but shewing your selues as an example to the flocke: and when the chiefe pastor shal appeare, you shall receiue an incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie, &c. And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they shall see, which do not obey it. As for vs, the other part of the said epistle is sufficient: wherein he willeth them to reioyce which are in heauinesse through manifold temptations, that the triall of their faith being much more precious then gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honor, and glorie, at the appearing of the Lord Iesu, &c. But beare with me I pray you (O holy father, and of al your predecessors most meeke) and suffer my words though they be something sharpe, for they bee sighings of a sorrowfull heart.

The popes persecution in the ile of Cyprus.

The tyrannie and auarice of the pope thakened by the words of Saint Peter: 1. Pet. 5.

1. Pet. 1.

Wherefore gird about your loines with fortitude, and light vp the candle of your discretion, and seeke the grote that is lost, of the vnitie, I meane of faith. And we will also with like compassion ioine with your holinesse, and will not spare this weake bodie of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or length of the way: for the more laborious the trauell is, the more crownes it bringeth. And S. Paul saith: euery man shall receiue reward according to his trauell, &c.

He exhorteth the pope to come and meet with him, that they might confer together about the vnitie of faith.

Neither are we ignorant (if it please your holines) that like as we Grecians for our parts do labor in all respects to keepe & obserue the sinceritie of true faith and doctrine, not to erre ne swarue in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed apostles and ancient fathers: so the church likewise of old Rome doth for hir part labor also (we know well) to follow the sincere veritie of christian doctrine, and thinketh hir selfe to erre in nothing, nor to need any remedie or reformation. And this wee know is the iudgement and saying of both the churches, as well of the Greekes, as of the Latines. For no man can see any spot in his owne face, without he stoope downe to the glasse, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face be blotted or no. Euen so haue wee many great and faire glasses set before vs: first the cleare gospell of Christ, the epistles of the apostles, and diuinitie bookes of ancient writers. Let vs therefore looke in them well: they will shew euery mans mind and iudgement, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace tread downe Satan speedilie vnder our feet. The author of peace confound the sower of discord. He that is the cause of all goodnesse destroy the hater of that which is good, and which giueth cause of offence and slander. And he which is God of all ioy and peace, send to vs, which are the shepheards of his sheepe reasonable, the angel of peace, and the messenger of great glad tidings, as

The Greeke church sound and sincere in doctrine.

He exhorteth the church of Rome to looke hir face in Gods glasse, that is, to trie their doctrine by Gods word.

he did in the nativitie of Christ, to the shepheards of brute sheepe and vnreasonable, and make vs worthie to sing that ioyfull song of Gods praise: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas:* and to receiue one another with an holy kisse. The grace of our lord Iesus Christ, and the peace of God the father, and the communion of the Holy spirit be with you alwaies: Amen.

Another epistle of the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and primate of the Greeke church, to the cardinals of Rome.

An other letters of Germanus patriarch of Constantinople to the cardinals.

A Nother letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the popes cardinals, wherin he first commendeth them for their wisedome and counsell, and sheweth what vtilitie commeth by good counsell giuing. For so much as God (saith hee) many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the almightie God is sunderly dispended to diuers, through common counsell and conference spreadeth to the publike vtilitie of many, &c. After this eftsones he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable ministers, and discreet counsellors, will take in hand the spirituall armor of God, to cast downe the stop and partition wall of the old discord betweene the Greeke and Latin church, and that they will be a meanes to the bishop of Rome, that they which so long haue been disseuered by dissension, may now be conioyned in vnitie of peace, in brotherly charitie and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter, I haue (saith he) already written to his holinesse. And now I beseech the king of heauen, which tooke the shape of a seruant, to helpe his miserable seruants, & was exalted vpon the crosse, to raise them vp which were fallen into the profunditie of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling it selfe ouer and aboue the vnitie of your brethren and fellow seruants, and to lighten your consciences with the true light of vnderstanding, that we may all togither agree in one, & that there be no schisme amongst vs. Let vs therefore as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it bee not said of vs, as it was of the Corinthians before vs; I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Christ: but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called christians, so may also abide in that wherein wee are instructed in one mind, that is, to follow loue and charitie in Christ Iesus, hauing alwaies in our hearts the words of the apostle, saying: One Lord, one faith, one baptisme. 1. Cor. 1.

And now to be plaine with you in that I haue to say, I shall desire you not to be offended with me in vttring the truth as a friend vnto you. The words (saith Salomon) of a wise man telling truth, be like to nailes which bee driuen in deepe: And truth for the most part breedeth enemies. And therefore though I am partly afraid, yet wil I simplie confesse the truth vnto you. Certes this diuision of christian vnitie amongst vs, proceedeth of no other cause but onely of the tyrannie, oppression, and exactions of the church of Rome, which of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put hir children from hir whom long time she nourished (after the maner of a rauening bird, which driueth hir yong from hir:) which children how much the more humble & obedient they are to hir, the lesse shee esteemeth them, & treadeth them vnder foot, not regarding the saying of the gospell: Who so humbleth himselfe shall be exalted.

The tyrannie and oppression of the church of Rome, is the onely cause of breaking vnity betweene the Greeke church and the Latine.

Let modestie therefore something temper you, and let the auarice of the court of Rome, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet surcease a while, and let vs togither condescend to the triall of the truth; which truth being found out on both sides, let vs constantly imbrace the same. Luke 18.

For why, wee haue been altogither sometimes both Italians and Grecians in one faith, and vnder the same canons, hauing peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the church. At what time many flying out of the west parts (whilest that the tyrannie of the heretiks indured) made their concourse to vs, and were receiued, and part fled vnto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong towre of refuge, and so receiued they comfort in both places, and one brother was thus receiued into the bosome of another, by mutuall loue for their defence.

The old amitie and concord betweene the east church and the west.

Then after, when Rome had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were euer readie to rescue and deliuer them. Did not Agapetus and Vigilius flie vnto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and being honorablie receiued, were here defended vnder our protection: although the like kindnesse was neuer yet shewed of your part to vs againe in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be vngratefull; for so doth the sea participat hir smooth & calme tides euen vnto the pirats. And so God causeth the sun to shine vpon the iust and vniust. But (alas for sorrow) what bitter diuision is this, that hath thus sequestred vs asunder? One of vs detracteth another, shunning the companie one of another, as the damnation of his soule. What a mortall hatred is this come among vs? If you thinke we are fallen, then do you helpe to lift vs vp, and be not to vs a stumbling blocke to our bodily ruine,

Agapetus and Vigilius fled to Constantinople for succor.

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but helpers vnto the ſpirituall reſurrection of our ſoules. So ſhall we acknowledge our ſelues bound vnto you to giue you condigne thanks accordingly.

Paul rebuketh Peter. Galath. 2.

But if the blame and firſt origin of all this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the ſucceſſors of Peter the apoſtle; then read ye the words of ſaint Paul to the Galathians, ſaying: When Peter came to Antioch, I withſtood him in the face, becauſe he was to be rebuked, &c. Howbeit this reſiſtance was no cauſe of any diſcord, or breach betweene them, but the cauſe rather of further ſearch and profounder diſputations, prouoking temporall agreement. For they were faſt ioyned togither in the bond of charitie in Chriſt, agreeing in faith and conformitie of doctrine, ſeparated by no ambition or auarice. In which points would God we alſo were like vnto them! This to vs in our minds gendreth a great offence, that you gaping ſo greedilie after terren poſſeſſions, ſcrape togther all that you can ſcratch and rake. You heape vp gold and ſiluer, and yet pretend that you be the diſciples of him which ſaid: Gold and ſiluer I haue none, &c. You make whole kingdomes tributarie to you, and kings and princes your vaſſals. You augment your monie by vſurie, and by feats of merchandize. You vnteach by your deeds, that which you teach in words.

Acts 3.

He meaneth of the kingdome of England and other more which were made tributarie to the ſee of Rome.

The immoderate auarice of the court of Rome.

Moderate your ſelues therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to vs and to all the world. You ſee how good a thing it is one brother to helpe another. Onely God alone needeth no helpe or counſell, but men need to bee holpen one of another. And were it not that I doe reuerence the bleſſed apoſtle Peter, the chiefe of Chriſts apoſtles, the rocke of our faith, I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this rocke was ſhaken and remoued from the foundation, at the ſight of a ſillie woman: and Chriſt of his ſecret purpoſe permitted the ſame, which by the crowing of the cocke brought him againe to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raiſed him from the ſlumber of deſperation. Then he being thus waked, waſhed his face with teares, confeſſing himſelfe before God and all the world, to bee a true paterne of repentance, which before bare the keyes of the kingdome, as ſaying thus vnto vs: May not he which falleth, riſe againe? Oh you which are fallen, riſe vp and behold me, and hearken vnto me, trauelling toward paradiſe; the gates whereof to open I haue receiued power.

Peters faith ſhaken.

Peter an enſample of repentance.

And thus do I write vnto you, not for any inſtruction, but onely to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath indued you with all wiſedome and knowledge; as Salomon ſaith: Giue only occaſion to the wiſe, and hee will learne wiſedome: Teach the iuſt man, & he will be glad to take inſtruction.

Chriſtian countries and nations in the eaſt parts which are not vnder the biſhop of Rome.

This one thing more I will ſay and ſo make an end: There bee great and mightie nations that are of like mind and opinion with vs. Firſt the Ethiopians that inhabite the chiefeſt part of the eaſt. After that the Syrians, and other more of greater number then they, and more diſpoſed to vertue, as the Hiberi, Alani, Gothi, Charari, with innumerable people of Ruſſia, and the kingdome of great Victorie of the Vulgarians. And all theſe are obedient vnto vs as their mother church, perſiſting hitherto conſtantly in the ancient and true orthodoxall faith immoueable.

Chriſt onely head of the church.

The God of all holineſſe, which for our ſakes became man, and which onely is the head of his church and congregation, vouchſafe to gather vs againe togither in vnitie, and grant that the Grecian church togither with hir ſiſter church of old Rome may glorifie the ſame Chriſt, the prince of peace, by the vnitie of faith, to the reſtitution of ſound & wholeſome doctrine, wherein many yeares agone they haue agreed and were vnited. God grant vnto you brotherly charitie, and the hand of the moſt mighty God gouerne you all (holy cardinals) till that ioyfully ye arriue in the hauen of euerlaſting tranquillitie. The grace of God be with you all, Amen. Ex Matth. Pariſienſ. fol. 111.

The pope proclameth war againſt the Greeke church. The archbiſhop of Antioch and Conſtantinople excommunicate the pope.

Shortly after the ſending of theſe letters, pope Gregorie prepared to ſend men of war ſigned with the croſſe to fight againſt the Grecians: whereupon the archbiſhop of Antioch, with the ſaid Germanus ſolemnly excommunicated the pope, after he firſt had excommunicated them: Pariſ. fol. 118. In the meane time by the tenor of theſe letters of the patriarch ſent to the pope and to the cardinals, it is euident to all men that haue eyes in their heads to ſee: firſt how the whole vniuerſall church of Chriſt, from the eaſt parts to the weſt, in ancient times were altogither vnited in one conſent of doctrine, and linked togither in brotherly charitie, one church brotherly to helpe another, both with temporall aid and ſpirituall counſell, as cauſe required. Neither was then any one mother church aboue other churches, but the whole vniuerſall church was the mother church and ſpouſe of the Lord, to euery faithfull beleeuer. Under which vniuerſall church in generall were comprehended all other particular churches in ſpeciall, as ſiſter churches togither, not one greater then another, but all in like equalitie, as God gaue his gifts ſo ſeruing one another, euer holding togither the vnitie of faith and ſiſterly loue. And ſo long was it and rightly might ſo be called the catholike church, hauing in it true vnity, vniuerſalitie, and free conſent. Unity in doctrine, vniuerſality in communicating and ioyning togither of voices, conſent in ſpirit and iudgement. For whatſoeuer was taught at Rome touching faith and ſaluation, it was no other then was taught at Antioch, Syria, &c.

Five notes to be conſidered.

The firſt note.

The true catholike church where it was, and when.

Vnitie. Vniuerſalitie. Conſent.

Secondly, how in proceſſe of time, through occaſion of the biſhops of Romes tyrannie and violent oppreſſion, this ring of equalitie being broken all flew in pieces, the eaſt church from the weſt, the Grecks from the Latins, and that which was one before, now was made two; vnitie turned to diuiſion, vniuerſalitie to ſingularitie, and free conſent to diſſenſion.

The ſecond note.

Thirdly, here is alſo to be noted, after this pitifull breach of equalitie, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the church of Rome, and eſpecially about this time aboue ſpecified of pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1230: ſo that both before and after that time many councels were holden, and many things concluded in the weſt church, whereunto the one halfe of chriſtendome lying in the eaſt parts, did neuer agree: and contrarie, many councels holden with them, which in the Latine church were not receiued. So that the church now as the loſt the benefit of vniuerſall conſent, ſo alſo ſhe loſt the name catholike. Whereupon this queſtion is to be aſked, that when the councell of Latran vnder pope Innocent the third, ordained the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and auricular confeſſion here in the weſt church, without the free conſent of the eaſt church, whether the ſame doctrine is to be counted catholike or not?

The third note.

The church hath hir name of catholike, whereby and when.

Whether the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, made without the free conſent of the eaſt churches, be catholike or no?

Fourthly, in the departing of theſe churches from the biſhop of Rome, here alſo is to be noted, that the ſame churches of the Grecks, notwithſtanding they ſequeſtred themſelues, and fell out with the church of Rome, and that iuſtly: yet they kept their vnitie ſtill with their God, and receiued ſtill the true ὀρθοδοξίαν; that is, The true and ſincere doctrine of faith, readie to debate and trie the truth of their religion by the ſcriptures, as they here in their owne writings deſire to haue the truth examined, according as ye haue heard. Wherefore the church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offred ſo gentlie to trie and to be tried by the truth of Gods word, not onely would ſtand to no triall, nor abide conference, but alſo hath excommunicated them as heretiks, which appeare here to bee more orthodoxall chriſtians then they themſelues.

The fourth note.

Fiftly, theſe things thus ſtanding, then haue we to conclude that the church of Rome falſely pretendeth it ſelfe catholike. For if the name of catholike muſt needs import an vniuerſall conſent of the whole, how can that be catholike where the conſent of ſo many famous and true chriſtian churches hath been lacking; and furthermore where the conſent that hath been amongſt themſelues, hath rather been coacted then any true or free conſent? Which is eaſie to be proued: for let theſe fires and fagots ceaſe, let kings and princes leaue to preſſe their ſubiects with the popes obedience; but let the ſcripture, and the biſhops alone euery one in his owne dioceſſe to gouerne their flocke after the rule of Gods word, and how few bee there in this weſt end of the world (trow you) that would not doe the ſame that theſe Grecians, Ethiopians, and Syrians haue done before vs? And thus much by the occaſion of this patriarchs letters ſent to pope Gregorie concerning the Grecians.

The fifth note. The church of Rome proued not to be catholike.

The proceedings of Rome ſtand vpon no free conſent, but are coacted.

Whoſe doings when I conſider, as I cannot but commend their wiſedome, and iudge their ſtate happie and bleſſed, in ſhaking off from their neckes the miſerable yoke of the popes tyranny: ſo on the other ſide conſidering with my ſelfe the wretched thraldome of theſe our churches here in the weſt part of the world vnder the biſhop of Rome, I cannot tell whether more to maruell or to lament their pitifull ſtate, who were brought into ſuch oppreſſion and ſlauerie vnder him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durſt caſt him off. So vnſufferable were his exactions, ſo terrible was his tyrannie, his ſuſpenſions and excommunications much like to a mad mans dagger, drawne at euery trifle, that no chriſtian patience could ſuffer it, nor nation abide it. Againe, ſo deepe did hee ſit in their conſciences, falſlie beleeuing him to haue the authoritie of S. Peter, that for conſcience ſake neither king nor Cеſar durſt withſtand him, much leſſe poore ſubiects once mute againſt him. And although his takings and ſpoilings namely in this realme of England were ſuch, that neither the laitie nor ſpiritualtie could beare them: yet was there no remedie, beare them they muſt, or elſe the popes ſentence was vpon them, to curſe them as blacke as pitch.

The miſerable ſtate of the weſt parts of chriſtendome vnder the pope. The popes excommunications like to a fooles dagger. The falſe perſuaſion of the popes ſupremacie, cauſe of much wretchednes.

In reading the hiſtories of theſe times, any good heart would lament & rue, to ſee the miſerable captiuitie of the people what they ſuffred vnder this thraldome of the biſhop of Rome, whereof part hath been ſhewed before, more (God willing) ſhall follow hereafter, and ſome part preſently I mind to erpreſſe.

A briefe table or declaration of the popes vnreaſonable *gatherings, exactions, and oppreſſions in the* realme of England.

A briefe table of the popes ſpoiling and getting of Engliſh money in the daies of king Henrie the third.

And firſt to begin with the elections of the biſhops, abbats, deanes, and priors within this realme, it cannot bee told what maſſe of money grew to the popes coffers thereby, eſpecially in this kings daies: forſomuch as in his time lightly no election happened either of archbiſhop, biſhop, abbat, or any rome of dignitie, but when the couent or chapter had choſen one to their mind, the king, who had maried a ſtranger, and

and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would set vp another. By reason whereof, when the other part was faine to appeale to Rome, and there to plead the case, no small riuers of English mony, besides expences and trauell by the way, went flowing to the popes sea. And although the election went neuer so cleere, yet the new elect must needs respect the holy father with some gentle reward, and further by his oth was bound euery three yeeres, either in his owne person, or by another to visit Limina apostolorum.

Mony comming to the pope by election of John Herford, abbat of S. Albons.

So in the house of S. Albons, when John Herford was elected abbat, their publike election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the same the monks were faine to send Reinold the physician, and Nicolas a monke, to Rome with a sufficient bag of mony, through the mediation whereof the election might stand, and the new abbat sworne euery third yeere by himselfe, or another to visit the dooresels of the apostles.

Eight thousand marks giuen out of the bishoppicke of Winchester to the pope, about the election of William Rale, An. 1243.

Another such like contention happened betweene the king and the monks of Winchester, about the election of William Rale, whom the monks had chosen; but the king refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to Rome his messengers, Theobald a monke of Westminster, and Walter Alexander a lawyer, with no small sum of mony to euacuat the election of the foresaid William Rale: commanding moreouer, that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him, and no man so hardy there to receiue him in the house. Whereupon the said W. being excluded, after he had laid his curse vpon the whole city of Winchester, made his repaire to Rome, wherefore eight hundred marks being promised to the pope, his bishoppricke (spite of the kings heart) was confirmed, and he receiued. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 164. & 240.

After the death of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturbury, ye heard before how the monks had elected Walter a monke of Canturbury. But the king to stop that election, sent vp his procters, M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford bishop of Rochester to the pope, to euacuat that election, and to place Richard chancellor of Lincolne. Which procors perceiuing at first the pope and cardinals, how hard and vnwilling they were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for mony, rather then the king should faile of his purpose, they promised on the kings behalfe to the pope for maintaining his wars against Frederike the emperor, a desme or tenth part of all the moueables in the realme of England and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which mony the pope eftsones thinking to passe with the king, began to picke quarrels with the foresaid Walter, for not answering rightly to his questions about Christs descending to hell, making of Christs body on the altar, the weeping of Rachel for her children, the being dead before; about the sentence of excommunication, and certaine causes of matrimony. His answers whereunto when they were not to the popes mind, he was therefore put backe, and the kings man preferred, which cost the whole realme of England and Ireland the tenth part of their moueable goods, by reason whereof, what mony was raised to the popes gazophylacium, I leaue to the estimation of the reader, An. 1229. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71.

The tenth part of al moueables in England and Ireland giuen to the pope, 1229.

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71. b.

And yet for all this, the said Richard the costly archbishop of Canturbury, within lesse then two yeers after, falling out with the king about the castell and lordship of Tunbridge, went and complained of him to the pope. In the trauers whereof it cost the king a great peece of mony besides, and yet missed he his purpose. In the which iourny the said archbishop in his returne homeward by the way departed, An. 1231.

Mony spent at Rome between the king and the archbishop of Canturbury.

The costly election of the bishop of Durham.

Of the like dissension ye heard before betweene the king and the couent of Durham, for not chusing M. Lucas the kings chaplen, whom the king offred to be their bishop. About the suite whereof, when much mony was bestowed on both sides wel fauoredly, the pope defeating them both, admitted neither M. William, nor M. Lucas, but ordained the bishop of Sarum to be their bishop, An. 1228. Ex Paris.

Mony comming to the pope for the election of the bishop of Conentry and Lichfield.

Betweene the monks of Couentry and the canons of Lichfield rose another like quarrell, which of them should haue the superior voice in chusing their bishop. In which suite, after much mony bestowed in the court of Rome, the pope to requalifie againe each part with some retribution for their mony receiued, toke this order indifferently betweene them, that each part by course should haue the chusing of their bishop, An. 1228. Ex Paris, fol. 68.

Edmund archbishop of Canturbury condemned at Rome in a 1000. marks.

What businesse fell likewise betweén Edmund archbishop of Canturbury, and the monks of Rochester, about the election of Richard Wendour, to be their bishop? And what was the end? First the archbishop was faine to trauell himselfe to the pope, and so did the couent also send their procors. Who belike being better monied, weighed downe the cause, so that the good archbishop in that cause against the monks, and partly in an other cause against the earle of Arundell, was condemned of the pope in a thousand marks. Whereof the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the popes coffers, An. 1238. Mat. Paris, fol. 114.

The fifth part of all the clergy granted to the pope.

After the returning of the said Edmund archbishop of Canturbury againe from Rome, it chanced that the monks of Canturbury had elected their prior without his assent: for the which he did excommunicat the monks, and euacuat their election. Not long after this, the popes eractors went about to extort from the churchmen the fifth part of their goods to the popes vse, fighting then against the emperor. This cruell eraction being a great while resisted by the prelats and clergy, at length the foresaid archbishop thinking thereby to get the victorie against the monks, was contented to grant to the said eraction, adding moreouer of his owne for an ouerplus eight hundred marks: whereupon the rest of the clergy was faine to follow after, and contribute to the popes eractors, An. 1240. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 132. b.

Great expence of mony in the court of Rome, between the bishop of Lincoln and the cathedrall church.

In the church of Lincolne (whose see before the conquest was in Dorkester, and afterwards by William Rufus translated from thence to Lincolne) rose a grieuous contention betweene Robert Grosthead then bishop, and the canons of the cathedrall church, about their visitation, whether the bishop should visit them or the deane: which matter being put vnto arbitrators, could not so be composed, before the bishop and the chapter after their appeale made vnto the pope, went both vnto Rome, and there after they had well wasted their purses, they receiued at length their answer, but paied full sweetly for it, An. 1239. Parisiensis, fol. 119.

Mony comming to the pope, betweene the bishop of Lincolne and the monkes within his diocesse.

At what time the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew to their bishop at the kings request, the archbishop with certaine other bishops taking part against the kings chaplen, repelled him, and set vp Richard Witch. Vpon this, what sending and going there was vnto Rome, and what mony bestowed about the matter, as well of the kings part as bishops; reade the story thereof in Mat. Paris, 182. 184. 186.

Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolne (of whō relation was made before) hauing a great care how to bring the priuileged orders of religious houses within his precinct, vnder his subiection and discipline, went vnto Rome, and there with great labor and much effusion of mony (as the story saith) procured of the pope a mandat, whereby all such religious orders were commanded to be vnder his power and obedience. Not long after, the monks not abiding that (who could some weigh downe the bishop with mony) sent their factors to the pope, who with their golden eloquence so perswaded him and stirred their affections in such sort, that some they purchased to themselues freedome from their ordinary bishop. Whereof Robert Grosthead hauing intelligence made vp to Rome, and there complaining to the pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before. Vnto whom pope Innocent loking with a sterne countenance, made this answer againe: Brother (said he) what is that to thee? Thou hast deliuered and discharged thine owne soule. It hath pleased vs to shew fauor vnto them. Is thine eye ill for that I am good? And thus was the bishop sent away with a flea in his eare, murmuring with himselfe, yet not so softly, but that the pope heard him say these words; O mony, mony, what canst not thou do in the court of Rome? Wherewith the pope being somewhat pinched, gaue this answer againe: O ye Englishmen, Englishmen, of all men most wretched, for all your seeking is how yee may consume and deuoure one another, &c. An. 1250. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 230.

How prettily the pope can take with both hands.

Mony may doe much at Rome.

The popes answer to Robert Grosthead.

It happened moreouer the same yeere, that the said Robert Grosthead excommunicated and depriued one Randulphus a beneficed person in his diocesse, being accused of incontinencie: who after the terme of forty daies, refusing to submit himselfe, the bishop wrote to the shiriffe of Rutland to apprehend him as contumax. Which shiriffe because he deferred or refused so to do (bearing fauor to the party) and being therefore solemnly excommunicat by the bishop, vttered his complaint to the king. Whereat the king taking great displeasure with the bishop for excommunicating his shiriffe, and would not first make his complaint to him, sendeth forthwith a substantiall messenger (M. Moneta) such as he was sure would speed vnto pope Innocent, by vertue of whose words the pope easie to be intreated, sendeth downe a prouiso to the abbat of Westminster, charging that no prelat nor bishop in the realme of England, should molest or enter action against any of the kings bailiffes or officers, in such matters as to the kings iurisdiction appertained. And thus was the strife ended not without some helpe and heap of English mony, so that no wind of any controuersie here stirred in England, were it neuer so small, but it blew some profit for the popes aduantage, An. 1250. Ex Paris, fol. 231.

Iustice peruerted by the popes authority for mony.

Mony comming to the pope by the election of Boniface archbishop of Canturbury, and of Ethelmare bishop of Winchester, both strangers and Frenchmen.

In like maner no little treasure grew to the popes coffers by the election of Boniface the queenes vncle a Frenchman to be archbishop of Canturbury, An. 1243: and of Ethelmare the queenes brother, to be bishop of Winchester against the wils of the prior and couent there, An. 1250: besides many such other erchetes, which made England poore, and the pope rich.

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the popes dispensations, prouisions, eractions, contributions and extortions in England in this kings daies; for to discourse all, it is not one booke will hold it.

Marriage with Elenor the kings sister a nun, dispenced by the pope for mony.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester had married Elenor the kings sister, and daughter of king John, who by report of stories had taken the mantell and ring. Wherefore the king and his brother Richard earle of Excester, were greatly offended with the marriage, which seeing the earle Simon made a hand of mony, and posting ouer to Rome, after he had talked a few

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a few words in pope Innocents eare, the marriage was good enough: and letters sent to Otho the popes legat here, to giue sentence solemnly with the earle. Notwithstanding the Dominike friers, and other of the like religious fraternitie, withstood that sentence of the pope stoutly, saying that the popes holinesse was therein deceiued, and soules in danger, that Christ was ielous ouer his wife, and that it could not bee any wise possible, that a woman which had vowed marriage with Christ, could afterward marry with any other, &c: An. 1238. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 114.

What inconuenience commeth by the popes dispensations.

As there was nothing so hard in the wide world, wherewith the pope would not dispence for mony: so by the said dispensations much mischef was wrought abroad. For by reason thereof, the people trusting vpon the popes dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they sware. As well appeared by this king Henry the third, who being a great eractor of the poore commons, as euer was any king before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people soner to his deuotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, & thereto bound himselfe with a solemne oth, both before the clergy and laity, to grant vnto them the old liberties and customes as wel of Magna charta, as Charta de foresta, perpetually to be obserued. Whereupon a Quindecim was granted to the king. But after the paiment was sure, the king trusting by the popes dispensation for a little mony to be discharged of his oth and couenant, went from that he had promised and sworne before.

Wilfull periury maintained by the popes dispensations.

In like maner the said king another time, being in need of mony, signed himselfe with the crosse, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himselfe personally fight in the holy land against the Saracens. But as soone as the mony was taken, small care was had for performance of his oth, being so put in the head by certaine about him, that he needed not to passe of that periury, forsomuch as the pope for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 273.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these popish dispensations, haue proceeded also many other foule absurdities. For where many young men were in those daies, which inioied benefices, and were no priests: and when by the procurement of Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincolne, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders; they laying their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained of the pope a dispensation to remaine still as they were, that is, to haue the fruits of benefices to finde them at schole or Vniuersitie, and yet themselues neither ministers to take charge, nor yelding any seruice for their profits taken: Ex Mat. Paris, fol. 256. Besides innumerable heapes of enormities more, proceeding of the popes dispensations, as dispensing one man to haue sundry bishopricks, to incroch pluralities of benefices, to make children parsons, to legitimate bastards, with such other like, the particulars whereof for breuities sake I doe omit to further opportunitie.

Enormities which spring out of the popes dispensations.

The intollerable oppression of the realme of England *by the popes exactions and contributions, and* other sleights vsed in the time of king Henry the third.

The miserable impouerishing of the realme by the popes promotions and contributions.

Although these emoluments, thus rising daily to the popes purse by simony and bribery, by elections and dispensations, might seeme sufficient to satisfie his greedy appetite: yet so vnsatiable was the auarice of that sea, that he not yet contented herewith, ouer and besides all this, sent euery where almost some legat or other into this realme to take for his aduantage. Insomuch that during all this kings time, the realme was neuer lightly without some of the popes ligiers, with all violence eracting and extorting continuall prouisions, contributions, and summes of mony to be leuied out of cels, abbies, priories, fruits of benefices, and bishopricks, and also lay mens purses, to the miserable impouerishing both of the clergy and temporalty, as hereunder followeth.

Cardinal Otho legat in England.

The receiuing of Otho the popes legat into the realme.

First, after Pandulphus, was sent into this realme cardinall Otho, procured by the king without the assent of his nobles, to the intent to all'll him in certaine affaires he had to do. At receiuing of which legat, great preparance was made, many rich and pretious gifts in scarlet, in plate, in Iewels, in mony and palfreies were giuen him. Whom the king also himselfe went as far as the sea side to receiue, bowing downe his head in low courtesie to the cardinals knees. To whom also the bishop of Winchester for his part gaue toward keeping of his house, fifty fat oxen, an hundred seemes of wheat, & eight great vessels of pure wine. This legat at his first comming beginneth first to bestow such benefices as he found vacant, vpon them whom he brought with him, without respect whether they were meet or vnmeet. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 103. {Anno 1237}

After this, the pope hearing how the nobles and commons of the realme began to stomack the cardinall for his excessiue procurations and eractions, sent for him home: but the king by reason he stood in feare of his nobles, & thought to haue a stay by the cardinall against all occurrents, intreated him to stay while he wrote to the pope to obtaine further licence for him to tary: & so did, not without some English mony ye may be sure.

Otho the legat seeketh to come into Scotland.

In this meane time of vacation, Otho thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crums in Scotland, made as though he would set things there in order, which were in the church of Scotland to be reformed. and so commeth to the king of Scots, being then in Yorke with king Henry, to haue leaue to enter. Vnto whom the king thus made answer, that he neuer saw, to his remembrance, any popes legat in his land, neither was there any such need (God be praised) for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no helpe of his. And as he could neuer learne either in the daies of his father, or any his predecessors, that any such entrance to any legat was granted; so he for his part would not now begin. But yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as I heare (said he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if ye will needs aduenture in, doe it warily, and take heed to your selfe, lest it happen to you otherwise then I would wish: for they bee a sauage and vnruly people, giuen much to murther, and shedding bloud, whom neither I my selfe am scarse able to bridle, so that if they fall vpon you, I shall not be able to helpe you. And how they also inuaded me, and sought to expell me from my kingdome, ye heard a late. And therefore I warne you before, take heed betime what ye thinke best to do. After the cardinall heard the king speake these words, he pluckt in his hornes, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of king Henry. Notwithstanding shortly after, the same legat comming to the borders of Scotland, there called the bishops to him, and so when he had well filled his bags, came backe againe. Ex. Matt. Paris, fol. 106. 123. b.

The king of Scots his answer to cardinall Otho.

The realme of Scotland hitherto neuer troubled with any popes legat.

Cardinal Otho stopped from going into Scotland.

It was not long after, but licence came from pope Gregory to his legat Otho, for his longer abode here in the realme (as welcome as water in the ship) with new authority also to proceed in the popes affaires. Who first shewing to the bishops and the clergy his letters of longer tarying, required of them, forsomuch as no man (said he) warreth of his owne charges, to be supported with new procurations; which was, to haue of euery able church foure marks; and where one church was not able to reach thereto, that other churches should ioine withall, to make the said mony. Notwithstanding the bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof. Paris, fol. 123. 128. 132. {Anno 1238}

Oppressions of the cardinall Otho the popes legat.

Besides, he assembled together all the blacke monks of S. Benedicts order, giuing to them strict orders, which shortly after for mony he released to them againe. Paris, fol. 116. 119.

Moreouer, by the said Otho, and other the popes eractions, with speciall buls directed downe for the same, collation of benefices being taken out of the hands of the patrons were giuen to light and vile runnagates, comming from Italy and other places, such as pleased the pope & his legat to bestow them vpon, to the great preiudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true patrons thereof. Whereupon the earles, and barons, and nobles of the realme, addressed letters vnto pope Gregory by sir Robert Twing knight, for redresse of such wrongs and iniuries, who otherwise should be forced (they said) to inuocat the succor of their king, who both was able, and no lesse was willing, according to his duty (they trusted) to reforme such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his realme. The tenor of whose writing is to be read in Matth. Paris, fol. 128. a.

The nobles of England write to pope Gregory for collation of benefices wrested out of their hands.

Not long after the same, in the yeere of our Lord 1240, came a new precept from pope Gregory, by Petrus Rubeus the popes Nuncio, to the foresaid Otho, that all beneficed men of the clergy, as well in England as in France, should pay to the pope the fifth part of their reuenews. Whereupon when the clergy men made their complaint to the king, seeking to be relieued by him; the king answered them againe, that he neither would, ne durst stand against the pope in any case, and so without al hope of succor, sent them away. Parisiensis, fol. 132. Then were the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and prelats of the church commanded to assemble together at Reading, there to heare the popes pleasure and commandement concerning the paiment of this fifth part, where in the end thus the matter concluded; that the prelats desired a further time to be giuen them to aduise vpon the matter; and for that season the assembly brake vp: Paris, 122. Notwithstanding at last, after many excuses and exceptions laid in by the clergy: first, that because the mony was gathered to fight against the emperor, they ought not to contribute their mony, contrary to the liberties of the church. Item, forsomuch as they had paid a tenth not long before vnto the pope, vpon condition that no more such paiments should be required of them, much lesse now the fifth part should be eracted of them, because an action twice done maketh a custome. Item, seeing they had oftentimes to repaire vnto the court of Rome, if they should giue this mony against the emperor, it would turne to their danger comming through his land. Item, seeing their king had many enemies, against whom they must needs relieue the king with their mony, they could not so doe if the realme were thus impouerished, &c. All which excuses, with diuers other more notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conforme themselues to the popes good pleasure, through the example giuen of Edmund archbishop of Canturbury, who to obtaine his purpose against the monks of Canturbury (with whom he was then in strife) began first to yeld to the legats 800. marks for his part, whereby the rest also were faine to follow after. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 132. 136. {Anno 1240}

Petrus Rubeus the popes carrier.

All beneficed men in England compelled to giue the fifth part of their reuenewes to the pope.

Excuses of the clergy why they would not contribute to the pope.

Further-

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Furthermore, the same yeere the pope agreed so with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederike the emperor, loke what benefices were to be giuen in England, the same should be at their arbitrement to be bestowed vpon their children. Whereupon commandement was sent to the foresaid Edmund archbishop, to the bishops of Lincolne and Sarum, that all the collations of benefices within the realme should be suspended, till prouision were made for three hundred children of the citizens of Rome to bee first serued. Vpon the which so miserable request, the said Edmund archbishop of Canturbury, for sorrow to see the church so oppressed, departed the realme, and so continued in France, and died at Pontiniac: Ex Mat. Paris, fol. 134. b. Which Edmund was afterward made a saint, and canonized by pope Innocent the fourth.

Three hundred children of Rome placed in benefices in England.

Edmund archbishop of Canturbury departeth the realme, and dieth in exile.

This done, then went Petrus Rubeus the popes Nuncio, and Ruffinus into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand pounds to the popes vse about All hollontide the same yeere. At which time moreouer commeth another harpar from the pope to England, named Mumelius, bringing with him three and twenty Romans here into the realme to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one side, and what by the cardinall Otho, Petrus Rubeus, Ruffinus and Mumelius on the other side, poore England was in a wretched case. Mat. Paris, fol. 137.

Three thousand pounds to the popes vse.

Romans 23 brought to England to be beneficed.

Another prettie practise of the pope to poll for mony, was this: The foresaid Petrus Rubeus, comming into religious houses and into their chapters, caused them to contribute to the popes holinesse, by the example of this bishop, and that abbat, pretending that he and he of their owne voluntary deuotion, had giuen so much and so much, and so seduced them. Paris, fol. 134. Also the pope craftily suborned certaine friers, authorized with full indulgence, that whosoeuer had vowed to fight in the holy land, and was disposed to be released of his vow, needed not to repaire to Rome for absolution, but paying so much mony as his charges would come to going thither, he resorting to the said friers might be assoiled at home.

The pope for mony releaseth christians of their vow.

✠ This passed in the yeere 1240. Now all these troubles laid together, were enough to ver the meekest prince in the world; whereto by way of accesse to the kings further molestation, he had much adoe with the prelats and clergy men of his realme, who were alwaies tempering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councels: to whom the king to restraine them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by this euidence of record: *Rex misit Galfridum de Langley, &c.* That is, The king sent Geffrey Langley to the archbishop of Yorke, and to other bishops purposed to meete at Dretford to appeale for him, lest in the said councell there called, they should presume to ordaine something against his crowne and dignity. This was done in the yeere of our Lord 1241. In which yeere also came a commandement apostolicall to the house of Peterborow, that they at the popes contemplation must needs grant him some benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof at least were worth an hundred pounds, and if it were more it should be the better welcome; so that they should be as the farmers, and he to receiue the profits. In fine, the couent excused themselues by the abbat, being then not at home. The abbat when he came home excused himselfe by the king, being the patron and founder of the house. The king being grieued with the vnreasonable rauening of these Romanists, vtterly forbad any such example to be giuen. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 143. But what happened? The abbat being therefore accused to the pope by one of the legats, and comming vp about foure yeeres after, in the time of pope Innocent, to the councell of Lions, was so rated and reuiled, and so shamefully thrust out of the popes court, that for sorrow he fell sick vpon the same, and there died. Paris, fol. 184.

The bishop of Yorke should ordaine nothing against the king.

Turris Lond.

Mumelius another messenger of the pope.

Abbat of Peterborow thrust out of the popes court.

In the time of which councell of Lions, pope Innocent the fourth, (forsomuch as the instrument or obligation whereby the realme of England stood tributary to the pope, was thought to be burned in the popes chamber a little before) brought forth either the same, or another chart like vnto it, whereunto he straitly charged and commanded euery English bishop being there present at the councell, seuerally to set to his hand and seale. Which vnreasonable petition of the pope, albeit it went sore against the hearts of the bishops, yet (see in what miserable subiection the pope had all the bishops vnder him) none of them durst otherwise doe but accomplish the popes request therein, both to their owne shame, and preiudice to the publike freedom of the realme. Amongst which bishops, the longest that held out, and last that put to his seale, was the bishop of London. Which act when the king and the nobility vnderstood, they were mightily and worthily therewithall offended. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 192. An. 1245.

The obligation of king Johns tribute to the pope burned.

The bishops of England put their hands and seales to the popes bill.

After what time cardinall Otho was sent for by pope Gregory in all hast to come to the generall councell, two other in his roome here remained, whose names were Petrus Rubeus, and Petrus de Supino. Of whom, the one bearing himselfe for the popes kinsman, brought out his bils and buls vnder the popes authority, to such an abbat, or to such a prior, or to such and such a bishop, and so extorted frō them a great quantity of gold and siluer. The other, to wit, Petrus de Supino sailed to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thousand and fiue hundred marks to the popes vse, An. 1241. Ex Paris, fol. 247. b. All which mony notwithstanding gotten by both the collectors, in the carriage vp to Rome, about the death of pope Gregory, happened into the hands of Frederike the emperor, who caused it againe to be restored as neere as he could, to them of whom it was taken. Paris, fol. 151.

Petrus Rubeus, Petrus de Supino, the popes collectors in England.

A thousand and fiue hundred marks brought out of Ireland for the pope.

After these, came in then M. Martinus a new merchant from the new pope Innocent the fourth, An. 1244. armed with full power to suspend all prelats in England from giuing benefices, till the popes kinsmen were first preferred. Neither would he take the fruits of any benefice, vnlesse it were aboue the value of thirtie marks. At his first comming, he required of prelats, and especially of religious houses to furnish him with horses and palfraies, such as were conuenient for the popes especiall chaplen and legat to sit vpon; also with plate, rainent, prouision for his kitchen and cellar, &c: and such as denied or excused, he suspended; as the abbat of Malmesbury, and the prior of Merton. All prebends that were void he sought out and reserued them for the popes behoofe, among which was the golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the chancellor of the quere, whom he preferred to the bishoprike of Bathe, and so setzed vpon the prebend being void, against the wils both of the bishop and the chapter. Paris, fol. 167, 180. Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, signed in the popes chamber with his stampe and seale, wherein he might afterward write to whom, and what he would: Paris, fol. 178. b. requiring furthermore of the king in the popes behalfe, to help his holinesse with a contribution to be tared amongst his clergy, at least of 10000 marks. Ibid. And to the end that the pope might win the king sooner to his deuotion, he writeth in the kings behoofe to the nobles and commons of the realme, that they should not faile vpon paine of his great curse, to confer such subsidie of mony to the subuention of the king; as he then had demanded of them, but they stood stiffe in not granting to him.

M. Martinus another messenger for the popes mony, An. 1244.

Extortion of the popes legat vpon the clergie of England.

Contribution of 10000 marks for the pope.

The pope craftily holdeth with the king, that the king might hold with him.

While the insatiable auarice of the pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in England, the nobles and barons, with the community as well of the clergy as the laity, weighing the miserable state of the realme, and namely of the church, which now neither had liberty left them to chuse their owne ministers, nor yet could inioy their owne liuings, laid their heads together, and so exhibited an earnest intimation to the king, beseeching him to consider the pitifull affliction and oppression of his subiects vnder the popes extortion, liuing in more thraldome then euer did the people of Israel vnder Pharaoh. Whereupon the king begining at last to looke vp, and to consider the iniuries & wrongs receiued in this realme, through the auarice of the court of Rome, directeth to pope Innocent the fourth this letter in tenor as followeth.

Intimation giuen to the king, touching the importable oppression of the realme by the pope.

The kings letter to pope Innocent the fourth.

Sanctissimo in Christo patri ac domino Innocentio Dei gratia summo pontifici, Henricus eadem gratia rex Anglie, &c. Salutem & pedum oscula beatorum, &c.

King Henries letter to the pope.

To the most holy father in Christ and lord, Innocent by the grace of God chiefe bishop, Henry by the same grace king of England, &c. Greeting and kissings of his blessed feete. The more deuout and obsequious the sonne sheweth himselfe in obeying the fathers will, the more fauour and supportation doth he deserue to finde at his fathers hands againe. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our realme haue euer and in all things bin hitherto at the deuotion and commandement of your fatherhood, and that although in some certaine affaires of ours and of our kingdome, we haue found your fatherly fauour and grace sometimes propice vnto vs: yet in some things againe, as in prouisions giuen and granted to your clerks of forren nations, both we and our kingdome haue felt no small detriment. By reason of which prouisions, the church of England is so sore charged and burthened, that not onely the patrons of churches, to whom the donations thereof doe appertaine, are defrauded of their right: but also many other good workes of charity thereby doe decay, for that such benefices which haue been mercifully bestowed vpon religious houses to their sustentation, are now wasted and consumed by your prouisions.

The king offereth to kisse the popes feet.

Damage receiued by the pope in the realme of England.

Wherefore forsomuch as your sea apostolike ought to be fauourable to all that be petitioners to the same, so that no person be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therfore to be suters to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your holinesse, that you will desist and surcease for a time from such prouisions to be exacted. In the meane season, it may please your fatherhood wee beseech you, that our lawes and liberties, (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receiue to your tuition, to be conserued whole and sound, nor to suffer the same by any sinister suggestion in your court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your holinesse be any whit moued therefore with vs, if in some such cases as these be, wee doe or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandements, forsomuch as the complaints of such as which daily call vpon vs, doe necessarily inforce vs thereunto, which ought by the charge of this our office and kingly dignity committed to

The popes prouisions.

The kings too much subiection to the pope.

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vs of almighty God, to foresee that no man in that which is their right be iniuried, but truly to minister iustice to euery one, in that which duly to him appertaineth. This letter was sent the eight and twentith yeere of the kings raigne. *Ex Parisiensi, fol.* 172.

A man would thinke that this so gentle and obedient letter of the king to the pope, would haue wrought some good effect in his apostolicall breast, to withdraw his prouisions, and to haue tendered the kings so reasonable and honest request: but how little all this preuailed to stop his insatiable greedinesse, and intollerable extortions and oppressions, the sequell well declareth. For besides that, shortly after the pope sent M. Martin with blanks, being bulled for contribution of 10000 marks, in all haste to be paid also, euen immediatly vpon the receiuing of this letter, it followeth in mine author, that the said pope Innocent the fourth, after all this great submission of the king, and so manifold benefits and paiments yeerly out of his realm receiued, was not ashamed to take of Dauid prince of North Wales, fiue hundred marks by yeere, to set him against the king of England, and exempted him from his fealty and obedience due to his owne liege lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welshmen had sworne their subiection before, as by the seales and obligations as well of that Dauid himselfe, as other Welsh lords in this behalfe doth appeare: In Mat. Paris, fol. 172.

Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 172.

The pope setteth Welshmen against the king of England.

Neither did M. Martinus in the meane while sleep his businesse, in making vp his market for the popes mony of ten thousand marks, but still was calling vpon the prelats and clergy. Who first excusing themselues by the absence of the king and the archbishop of Canturbury, afterward being called againe by new letters, made their answer by the deane of Pauls their prolocutor.

First, that the pouerty of the realme would not suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, whereas they had giuen before a contribution to cardinall Otho, for paying of the popes debts, and knew the said mony to be imploied to no such end as it was demanded for, more cause they had now to mistrust, lest this contribution in his hands, which was a much more inferior messenger then the cardinall, would come to the same or a worse effect.

Contribution required of the pope, with their excuses and reasons against the same.

Item, if they should now agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it would grow to a custome, seeing that one action twice done, maketh a custome.

Item, forsomuch as a generall councell is shortly looked for, where euery prelat of the realme must needs bestow both his trauell and expences, and also his present to the pope; if the prelats now should be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide this burthen.

Item, seeing it is alleaged, that the mother church of Rome is so far in debt, reason and right it were, that the mother so oppressed, should be sustained of all her deuout children meeting together in the generall councell; whereas by helps of many, more relefe might come then by one nation alone.

Item, last of all, they alleaged that for feare of the emperor and his threatnings, they durst not consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talke between the popes priests and the clergy of England, commeth in Iohn Mariscall and other messengers from the king, commanding in the kings name, that no bishop that held his baronage of the king, should infeft his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they ought only to him, &c. Ex Paris. fol. 139. An. 1243.

The ports of England laid to stop the popes letters, yet all would not serue.

Not long after this, in the yeere of our Lord 1245, the whole nobility of the realme by generall consent, and not without the kings knowledge also, caused all the ports by the sea side to be laid, that no messenger with the popes letters and buls from Rome should be permitted to enter the realme, whereupon some were taken at Douer and there staied. Notwithstanding when complaint thereof was brought to the king by M. Martinus the popes legat, there was no remedy but the king must needs cause these letters to be restored againe and executed to the full effect. Paris.

Sixty thousand marks yeerly going out of England to the pope and his Italian clerks.

Then the king vpon aduice, caused a view to be taken through euery shire in England, to what sum the whole reuenewes of the Romans and Italians amounted, which by the popes authority went out of England: the whole sum whereof was found yeerly to be threescore thousand marks, to the which sum the reuenewes of the whole crowne of England did not extend: Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 185. a.

M. Martin the popes legat, sent out of England in the diuels name.

The nobles then vnderstanding the miserable oppression of the realme, being assembled together at Dunstable for certaine causes, sent one Fulco in the name of the whole nobility, vnto M. Martinus the popes merchant with this message; that he indelaiedly vpon the same warning should prepare himselfe to be gone out of the realme, vnder pain of being cut all to peeces. At which message the legat being sore agast, went straight to the king, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom when he found little better comfort, he toke his leaue of the king, who bad him adiew in the diuels name (saith Matth. Paris) and thus was the realme rid of M. Martinus: Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 185. b. An. 2245.

As soone as pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his legat, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembring how the French king, and the king of Arragon not long before had denied him entrance into their land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, began in great anger to knit his browes, and said; It is best that we fall in agreement with our prince, whereby we may the sooner bring vnder these little petty kings: and so the great dragon being pacified, these little serpents we shall handle at our owne pleasure as we list.

The pope in displeasure with the king of England.

Ipsos reguli. The proud words of the pope against the French king and king of England.

After this, immediatly then followed the generall councell of Lions, to the which councell the lords & states of the realme, with the consent of the communalty, sent two bils: one containing a generall supplication to the pope and the councell; the other with the articles of such greeuances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes. First, that men now in these daies may see the pitifull blindnesse of those ignorant daies, wherein our English nation here did so blindly humble themselues and stand to the popes courtesie, whom rather they should haue shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the pope might the better appeare in his colours, who so disdainfully reiected the humble sute of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause to disdaine rather, and to stamp him vnder their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

The copy of the supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to pope Innocent the fourth, in the generall councell at Lions, Anno 1245. {Anno 1245}

To the reuerend father in Christ, pope Innocent, chiefe bishop, the nobles, with the whole comminaltie of the realme of England sendeth commendation, with kissing of his blessed feete.

The supplication of the lords and commons of England to the pope.

OVr mother the church of Rome we loue with all our harts, as our duty is, and couet the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, as to whom we ought alwaies to flie for refuge, whereby the griefe lying vpon the child, may finde cõfort at the mothers hand. Which succor the mother is bound so much the rather, to impart to her child, how much more kind and beneficiall she findeth him in relieuing her necessitie. Neither is it to the said our mother vnknowne, how beneficiall and bountifull a giuer the realme of England hath bin now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yeerly subsidie, which we terme by the name Peter pence. Now the said church not contented with this yeerly subsidie, hath sent diuers legats for other contributions, at diuers and sundry times to be taxed and leuied out of the same realme: all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding haue bin louingly and liberally granted.

The superstitious founding of monasteries in England.

Furthermore, neither is it vnknowne to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good catholikes, both louing and fearing their maker, for the soules health as well of themselues as of their progenitors and successors also, haue founded monasteries, and largely haue indued the same both with their owne proper lands, and also patronages of benefices, whereby such religious persons professing the first and chiefest perfection of holy religion in their monasteries, might with more peace & tranquillity occupie themselues deuoutly in Gods seruice, as to the order appertained: and also the clerks presented by them into their benefices, might sustain the other exterior labors for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said religious monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their patronages and collations of benefices, but the same must touch vs also very neere, and work intollerable griefe vnto our hearts.

Iniuries receiued in England by the pope.

And now see we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what iniuries we sustaine by you and your predecessors, who not considering those our subsidies and contributions aboue remembred, doe suffer also your Italians and forreners (which be out of number) to be possessed of our churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries afore said: which forreners neither defending the said religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet hauing the language, whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their soules, but vtterly leaue them of wilde wolues to be deuoured. Wherefore it may truly be said of them, that they are no good shepheards, whereas neither they know their sheep, nor the sheep do know the voice of their shepheards, neither doe they keepe any hospitality, but only take vp the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realme, wherewith our brethren, our nephewes, and our kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell vpon them, and imploy such exercises of mercy & hospitality as their duty required. Whereof a great number now for meere necessitie are lay men, and faine to flie out of the realme.

Benefices in England wickedly giuen away to Italians.

And now, to the intent more fully to certifie you of the truth, ye shall vnderstand that the said Italians and strangers receiuing of yeerely rents out of England not so little as threescore

Threeſcore thouſand marks yeerly giuen to Italians out of the church of England.

ſcore thouſand marks by yeere, beſides other auailes and exiſes deducted, do reape in the ſaid our kingdome of England more emoluments of meere rents, then doth the king himſelfe, being both tutor of the church, and gouernour of the land.

Italians receiued more in this land of meere rents, then did the kings crowne.

Furthermore, whereas at the firſt creation of your papacie, we were in good hope and yet are, that by meanes of your fatherly goodneſſe we ſhould inioy our franchiſes, and free collation of our benefices and donatiues, to be reduced againe to the former ſtate; now commeth another grieuance, which wee cannot but ſignifie vnto you, preſſing vs aboue meaſure, which we receiue by M. Martin; who entring late into our land without leaue of our king, with greater power then euer was ſeene before in any legat, although he beareth not the ſtate and ſhew of a legat, yet he hath doubled the doings of a legat, charging vs euery day with new mandats, and ſo moſt extremely hath oppreſſed vs: firſt in beſtowing and giuing away our benefices, if any were aboue thirty marks, as ſoone as they were vacant, to Italian perſons.

Deteſtable dealings of the popes legat in England.

Secondly, after the deceaſe of the ſaid Italians, vnknowing to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons haue been ſpoiled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly, the ſaid M. Martinus yet alſo ceaſeth not to aſſigne and confer ſuch benefices ſtill vnto the like perſons: and ſome he reſerueth to the donation of the apoſtolicall ſea, and extorteth moreouer from religious houſes immoderat penſions, excommunicating and interdicting whoſoeuer dare gainſtand him.

Complaint of M. Martin the popes legat.

Wherefore, forſomuch as the ſaid M. Martin hath ſo far extended his iuriſdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole realme, and no leſſe derogation to our kings priuiledge, to whō it hath been fully granted by the ſea apoſtolike, that no legat ſhould haue to doe in his land, but ſuch as he by ſpeciall letters did ſend for: with moſt humble deuotion beſeech you, that as a good father will alwaies be ready to ſupport his child, ſo your fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compaſſion to relieue vs your humble children from theſe grieuous oppreſſions.

King Henry the third vſed euery day to heare three maſſes by note.

And although our lord and king, being a catholike prince, and wholly giuen to his deuotions and ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, ſo that he reſpecteth not the health of his own body, will feare and reuerence the ſea apoſtolike, and as a deuout ſon of the church of Rome, deſireth nothing more then to aduance the eſtate and honor of the ſame: yet we which trauell in his affaires, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whoſe duty together with him, is to tender the preſeruation of the publike wealth, neither can patiently ſuffer ſuch oppreſſions ſo deteſtable to God and man, and grieuances intollerable, neither by Gods grace will ſuffer them, through the means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and truſt of you ſpeedily to obtaine. And thus may it pleaſe your fatherhood, we beſeech you to accept this our ſupplication, who in ſo doing ſhall worthily deſerue of all the lords and nobles, with the whole comminalty of the realme of England, condigne and ſpeciall thanks accordingly. An. 1245. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 188.

The ſtout words of the lords to the pope.

The ſupplication of the Engliſh nation took no place with the pope.

This ſupplication being ſent by the hands of ſir R. Bigot knight, and M. de Bowike ſquier, Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen, after it was there opened & read, pope Innocent firſt keeping ſilence, deferred to make anſwer thereunto, making haſt to proceed in his deteſtable excommunication and curſe againſt the good emperor Frederike. The which curſe being done, and the Engliſh ambaſſadors waiting ſtill for their anſwer: the pope then told them flat they ſhould not haue their requeſt fulfilled. Whereat the Engliſhmen departing in great anger away, ſware with terrible othes, that they would neuer more ſuffer any tribute, or fruits of any benefices, namely whereof the noble men were patrons, to be paied to that inſatiable and greedy court of Rome, worthy to be deteſted in all worlds. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 193.

The ſubtill practiſe of the pope.

The pope hearing theſe words, albeit making then no anſwer, thought to watch his time, and did. Firſt, incontinent vpon the ſame, during the ſaid councell, he cauſed euery biſhop of England to put his hand and ſeale to the obligation made by king John for the popes tribute, as is aboue ſpecified. Threatning moreouer, and ſaying, that if he had once brought downe the emperor Frederike, he would bridle the inſolent pride of England well enough.

The pope in an anger with England.

The biſhops of England ſet their ſeales to the popes tribute.

✻ But here by occaſion of this councell at Lions, that the reader may ſee vpon what ſlippery, vncertainty and variableneſſe the ſtate of the king did depend; it is materiall here to interlace the forme of a letter ſent by Henry the third to the prelats of his land, before they were tranſported ouer ſea to Lions, wherin may be gathered, that the king doubted they would be ſhouing and heauing at his royalty; and therefore directed theſe letters vnto them, otherwiſe to prepare their affections: the tenor whereof followeth.

A letter of charge to the prelats of England, purpoſed to aſſemble in the councell at Lions, that they ſhould ordaine nothing, &c: to their kings preiudice.

Turris Lond.

R *Ex archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, & omnibus aliis prælatis terræ ſuæ Angliæ conſtitutis ad concilium Lugdunenſe ſalutē: Vinculo iuramenti nobis (vt noſtis) aſtricti, &c.* In Engliſh thus.

The king to the archbiſhops, biſhops, and to all other prelats of his land of England, appointed to meet at a councell at Lions, greeting. You are (as you know) bound vnto vs by oth, whereby you bught to keep all the fealty that you can vnto vs in all things concerning our roiall dignity and crowne. Wherefore we command you vpon the fealty and alleagiance wherein you are firmely bound vnto vs, inioining that you doe your vttermoſt indeuour, as well to get as to keepe, and alſo to defend the right of vs and our kingdome. And that neither to the preiudce of vs, or of the ſame kingdome, nor yet againſt vs or our rights, which our predeceſſors and we by ancient and approued cuſtome haue vſed, you preſume to procure or attempt any thing in your councell at Lions: nor that you giue aſſent to any that ſhall procure or ordaine ought in this caſe, vpon your oth aforeſaid, and the loſſe of your temporalties, which you hold of vs. Wherefore in this behalfe ſo behaue your ſelues, that for your good dealing and vertue of thankfulneſſe, we may rather ſpecially commend you, then for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reproue your vnthankfulneſſe, and reſerue vengeance for you in due time. Witneſſe my ſelfe, &c: the nine and twentith yeere of our raigne. ¶ In like ſort wrote hee to the archbiſhops and biſhops, &c. of Ireland and Gaſcoigne.

Anno 1246

After this councell ended, in the beginning of the nert yeer following, An. 1246, pope Innocent came to Cluniake, where was then appointed a ſecret meeting or colloquie betweene the pope and Lewis the French king (who was then preparing his voiage to Hieruſalem) in which colloquie the pope ſought all meanes to perſwade the French king, in reuengement of his iniury, to war Contra regulum (as he termed him) that is, againſt the weake and feeble king of England, either to driue him vtterly from his kingdome, or elſe to damnifie him, whereby he ſhould be conſtrained whether he would or no, to ſtoope to the popes will and obedience, wherein he alſo would aſſiſt him with all the authority he could doe. Neuertheleſſe, the French king to this would not agree. Firſt, for the conſanguinity that was betweene them (for their two queenes were ſiſters.) Alſo for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly, for feare of the emperor, leſt he ſhould take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much ſpilling of chriſtian blood. And laſtly, becauſe he was preparing his voyage to the holy land, where his comming was already loked for. And thus the French king, denying the popes bloudy requeſt, refuſed not only to enter war againſt the king and the realme of England, but alſo ſhortly after concluded with him longer truce, An. 1246. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 196. b.

The pope ſtirreth Lewis the French king to war againſt the king of England.

Lewis the French king refuſeth to war againſt England.

Straight vpon the necke of this followed then the eraction of Boniface archbiſhop of Canturbury that he had bought of the pope; which was to haue the firſt yeers fruits of all benefices and ſpirituall liuings in England for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres together, vntill the ſum ſhould come of ten thouſand marks. Whereat the king firſt was greatly grieued. But in concluſion, hee was faine at laſt to agree with the archbiſhop; and ſo the mony was gathered. Paris. fol. 197.

The firſt yeeres fruits for ſemen yeeres gathered of all benefices for the archbiſhop of Canturbury.

Ouer and beſides all other eractions wherewith the pope miſerably oppreſſed the church of England, this alſo is not to be ſilenced, how the pope ſending downe his letters from the ſea apoſtolike, charged and commanded the prelats to find him ſome ten, ſome fiue, and ſome fiftéene able men well furniſhed with horſe and harneſſe for one whole yeere, to fight in the popes wars. And leſt the king ſhould haue knowledge thereof, it was inioined them vnder paine of excommunication, that they ſhould reueale it to none, but to keepe it in ſecret only to themſelues. Paris, fol. 200.

The prelats of England charged to finde horſe and harneſſe for the popes wars.

The popes haſt laid for more mony.

The pope yet notwithſtanding, partly being laboured by ſuters, partly of his owne mind thinking good ſomewhat to giue to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to giue ſomething to their babes to play withall to keep them ſtill, ſent downe this releaſement to the king, that hereafter whenſoeuer any of the popes nephewes, or of his cardinals were to be beneficed in any church of England, either he or the cardinals ſhould firſt make the king prinie thereof, and inſtantly craue his good will in obtaining the procuration, or elſe the ſame to ſtand in no effect. Paris, 202. Howbeit all this ſeemed to be done but of a policie, to get the kings fauor, whereby he might be ſuffered more freely to paſſe with greater eractions, as afterward appeared.

A new law of the pope, to ſeiſon vpon all the goods of clergy men that die inteſtat.

For when the foreſaid pope Innocent the fourth had knowledge at the ſame time of certaine rich clerks leauing great ſubſtance of mony, which died inteſtate, as of one Robert Hails, archdeacon of Lincolne, which died leauing thouſands of marks and much plate behind him, all which becauſe no will was made, came to temporall mens hands: alſo of M. Almarike, archdeacon of Bedford, being found worth a great ſubſtance when he died: and likewiſe of another M. John Hotoſp, archdeacon of Northhampton, who died ſuddenly inteſtat, leauing behind him fiue thouſand marks, and thirty ſtanding peeces of plate, with other infinit iewels beſides: ſent forth vpon the ſame a ſtatute to be proclaimed in England, that whatſoeuer eccleſiaſticall perſon henceforth ſhould deceaſe in England inteſtat

A note of certaine eccleſiaſticall perſons dying in England worth great ſubſtance.

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intestat, that is, without making his will, all his goods should redound to the popes vse. Paris, fol. 203.

Six thousand marks to be gathered of the clergy of England for the pope.

Furthermore, the pope not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to W. bishop of Norwich, for gathering vp amongst the clergy, and religious houses in England, six thousand marks, to the behoofe of holy mother the church, without any excuse or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the clergy, when it came to the kings eare, hee eftsoones directeth contrary letters to all the prelats and euery one of them, commanding them vpon forfetting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidy of mony should be gathered or transported out of the realme. But the pope againe hearing thereof, in great anger writeth to the prelats of England, that this collection of mony, vpon paine of excommunication and suspension should be prouided, and brought to the new temple in London, by the feast of the assumption next ensuing.

The king beginneth to withstand the pope, but durst not hold out.

The pope in a chafe.

And furthermore, forsomuch as he perceiued the king to go about to gainstand his procéedings, taking thereat great disdaine, hee was about the same time to interdict the whole land. To whom then one of his cardinals called Ioannes Anglicus, an Englishman borne, speaking for the realme of England, desired his fatherhood for Gods cause to mitigate his modie ire, and with the bridle of temperance to allwage the passion of his mind: which (said he) to tell you plaine, is here stirred vp too much without cause. Your fatherhood (quoth he) may consider that these daies be euill. First, the holy land lieth in great perils to be lost. All the Grécke church is departed from vs. Frederike the emperor is against vs, the mightiest prince this day in all christendome. Both you and we, which are the péeres of the church, are banished from the papall sea, thrust out of Rome, yea excluded out of all Italy. Hungary with all coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but vtter subuersion by the Tartarians. Germany is wasted and afflicted with inward wars and tumults. Spaine is fierce and cruell against vs, euen to the cutting out of the bishops tongues. France by vs is so impouerished, that it is brought to beggery, which also conspireth against vs. Miserable England being so often plagued by our manifold iniuries, euen much like to Balaams asse, beaten and bounst with spurs and staues, beginneth at length to speake and complaine of her intollerable greéfes and burthens, being so wearied and dammified, that she may séeme past all recouery; and we, after the maner of Ismael, hating all men, prouoke all men to hate vs, &c. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 207.

The words of Ioannes Anglicus, cardinal, to the pope.

The miserable troubles of christendome.

Of Spaine he meaneth, because the king of Aragon a little before had cut off the tongue of a certaine bishop that did reprehend him.

Paris. fol. 207.

For all these words of Ioannes Anglicus his cardinall, the popes cholerike passion could not yet bee appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandement with full authority to the bishop of Worcester, that in case the king would not speedily surceasse his rebellion against his apostolicall procédings, hee would interdict his land. So that in conclusion, the king for all his stout enterprise, was faine to relent at last, and the pope had his mony, An. 1246. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 204.

Power giuen to the bishop of Worcester to interdict the land.

The king faine to relent to the pope.

We heard before of the Grécke churches vnder the empire of Constantinople, how they sequestred themselues from the company of the Romish church. Insomuch that Germanus the patriach of Constantinople, and the archbishop of Antioch did excommunicat the bishop of Rome. And after the said Germanus another archbishop of Constantinople, at the councell of Lions protested, that whereas before were thirtie suffragans belonging to that prouince, now there were not three that held with the church of Rome. And this breach, albeit it chiefly brast out in the time of pope Gregory the ninth, Anno 1230, to open war and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, & so continued long before, in such sort as in the time of pope Innocent the third, if any priest had said masse in their churches, they would wash the altar afterward: as appeareth by the acts of the Lateran councell: Capit. 4. Wherefore pope Innocent now (as his other predecessors had done before) bearing an old grudge against those churches of the Grécks, and neither willing by conference to try with them, nor able by learning to match with them, thought by force of armes to subdue them, sent the prouinciall of the gray friers, with other associats of the same order into England with his precept authenticall, containing in it these articles.

Of this diuision reade before.

The Grecians vsed to wash their altars, if any Latin masse had bin said vpon them. *Ex actis concilij Lateranensis, cap. 4.*

1 FIrst, that the said prouinciall, or his friers, should inquire vpon all vsurers being aliue, and of all such euill gotten goods gained *Per vsurariam prauitatem*, should make attachment for the vse & preparation for this war against the Greeks, excommunicating all them by district censures of the church that repugned against it.

Goods gotten by vsury, attached for the pope.

Excommunication abused.

2 That all they which tooke the badge of the crosse, for the recouery of the said empire of the Greeks, or with goods and cattell would helpe sufficiently vnto the same, should be absolued of all their sinnes.

Falle absolution of sinnes.

3 Item, that all the goods left in the testaments of them that were departed, being gotten by vsury, should be taken vp to the subsidie of the empire aforesaid, and whosoeuer repugned against the same, should be excommunicated.

Vsuraria prauitas.

4 Item, that such goods as in the testaméts of the dead, were left, or which should be left three next yeers to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had euill gotten, they should take vp for the subsidie of the empire aforesaid, excommunicating, &c.

Goods left in dead mens wils for restitution, conuerted to the pope.

5 Item, such goods as were left to be distributed in godly vses, after the arbitrement of executors, by the wils of the dead, or were not in their wils deputed to any certaine places or persons named, nor yet were bestowed by the said executors to the foresaid vses, they should collect to the vse and subsidie aforesaid, and giue certificat to the sea apostolike of the quantitie thereof, excommunicating all repugners and rebellers against the same.

Goods bequeathed in dead mens wils, conuerted to a war against the Grecians.

6 Item, that they should diligently inquire of such mens goods euill gotten or euil come by, as were aliue, and them they should attach for the subsidie aforesaid, in case the party which ought to be satisfied for those goods euill gotten, could not be found, giuing certificat thereof, and excommunicating, &c.

Goods ill gotten giuen to the pope.

7 Item, that the said prouinciall or his friers, should haue full power to absolue those that were excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 205.

Absolution for mony.

What man hauing eies is so blind, which seeth not these execrable dealings of the pope to bs such, as would cause any nation in the world to do as the wise Grecians did, and perpetually to abrenounce the pope, and well to consider the vsurped authority of that sea not to be of God? But such was the rude dulnes then of miserable England, for lacke of learning and godly knowledge, that they féeling what burthens were laid vpon them, yet would play still the asse of Balaam, or else the horse of Esop, which receiuing the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his owne misery, nor yet recouer libertie. And so it fared with England vnder the popes thraldome: as partly by these stories aboue hath béen declared, partly by other in like case following is to be séene.

For so it followeth in the history of the said Matth. Paris, how the pope taking more courage by his former abused boldnesse, and perceiuing what a tame asse he had to ride vpon, ceased not thus, but directed a new precept the same yeere, 1246, to the prelats of England, commanding by the authority apostolike, that all beneficed men in the realme of England, which were resident vpon their benefices, should yéeld to the pope the third part of their goods, & they which were not resident should giue the one halfe of their goods, and that for the space of three yéeres together: with terrible comminations to all them that did resist: and euer with this clause withall, Non obstante, which was like a key that opened all locks. Which sum cast together, was found to amount to 60000 pounds: which sum of mony could scarse be found in all England to pay for king Richards ransome: Paris, fol. 207. The execution of this precept was committed to the bishop of London, who conferring about the matter with his brethren in the church of Pauls, as they were busily consulting together, and bewailing the importable burthen of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustaine, suddenly commeth in certaine messengers from the king, sir John Lexinton knight, and M. Laurence Martin the kings chaplen, straitly in the kings name forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which should bee greatly to the preiudice and desolation of the whole realme. Paris. fol. 207.

An vnreasonable exaction of the pope.

Non obstante.

Threescore thousand pounds exacted of the clergy to be paied to the pope.

This being done, about the first day of December, in the yeere aboue said, shortly after in the beginning of the next yeere 1247, about February the king called a parliament, where by common aduice it was agréed, that certaine ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to make manifest to the court of Rome the exceeding grieuances of the realme, deliuering moreouer these letters to the pope in the name both of the temporalty and also of the clergy, as here followeth.

A parliament.

Another letter sent to pope Innocent the fourth in *the names of the whole clergy and comminalty of* England, An. 1247.

A letter sent to the pope in the name of all the estates and comminalty of the realme.

Sanctissimo patri in Christo ac domino Innocentio Dei prouidentia summo pontifici; vniuersitas cleri & populi per prouinciam Cant. constituti deuota pedum oscula beatorum. Cum Anglicana ecclesia, &c. To the most holy father in Christ, and lord Innocent, by Gods prouidence chiefe bishop; the whole comminalty both of the clergy and laity within the prouince of Canturbury sendeth deuout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the church of England, since it hath first receiued the catholike faith, hath alwaies shewed her selfe faithfull and deuout in adhering to God and to our holy mother the church of Rome, studying with all kind of seruice to please and to serue the same, and thinking neuer otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun: euen so now the same church most humbly prostrat before the feet of your holinesse, intirely beseecheth your clemencie to accept her petition, in sparing this imposition of mony, which so manifold wates for the subuention of other nations, by the commandement of your holinesse is laid vpon vs: considering that not onely it is importable, but also impossible which is inioyned vs. For although our country

More fooles you in giuing to the church so much.

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countrie sometimes yeeldeth forth fruit for the necessarie sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor siluer, neither were able to bring forth of long time so much as now adaies is required. Which also being burdened and ouercharged of late daies with another such like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answere vnto that which is exacted.

Furthermore, besides this commandement of your holinesse, there is required of the clergie a subsidie for our temporall king, whose necessities neither possiblie wee can, nor honestly ought to forsake, whereby he may both withstand the inuasion of the enemie, and maintaine the right of his patrimonie, & also recouer againe that hath beene lost. In consideration whereof, we haue directed the bearers hereof to the presence of your holinesse with our humble supplication, to explaine to you the dangers and inconueniences which are like to insue vpon the premisses, which by no meanes we are able to sustaine, although notwithstanding we know our selues by all bonds of charity to be obliged to your deuotion and obedience. And because our generall communitie hath no seale proper, wee haue signed therefore these presents with the publike seale of the citie of London, &c. *Ex Parisiensi, fol.* 209.

The like letters were sent also vnto the cardinals, to the same effect. The pope vnderstanding these things, and perceiuing that there was no striuing against such a generall consent, and yet loth to forgo his sweet haruest, which he was wont to reape in England, craftilie deuised to send this answere againe vnto the king, much like to the same which he sent before, which was: That although the pope in time past vpon his owne will and pleasure to the importable grieuance of the realme of England, hath euery where, and without respect, through the whole land made his prouisions in giuing their benefices vnto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest said he, is ouerblowne: so that hereafter if the pope shall grant his prouision for any of his nephues or of his cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant sute vnto the king, without all inforcement, so that it shall stand wholy in the kings free arbitrement to doe herein what he thinketh good, &c. Matt. Paris, fol. 209. b.

The popes answere againe to the king of England.

This answere of the pope albeit it was but a subtil shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that hee had thus promised to the king. For shortly after, and within few daies vpon the same, and in the time also of the said parliament holden at Winchester, the pope sent two English friers into the realme, whose names were Iohn and Alexander, with full authoritie after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lowly submission to the king, while they had leaue granted to range about the realme, afterward comming to the bishops and rich abbats, shewed themselues forth in their full authoritie, in such sort as they became rather tyrants then extortioners.

The pope false of his promise.

Note the subtill practise of the pope to get money.

Among others, comming to Robert bishop of Lincolne, who of all other bare a speciall mind to the order of obseruants, these two friers as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible mandat with the popes buls, required and eke commanded vnder the popes mightie curse, to haue the gathering in his diocesse of six thousand marks. Likewise of the abbat of S. Albons they required foure hundred marks vnder great penalty and that in short time to be paid.

The bishop of Lincolns answere to the friers the popes messengers.

The bishop although well liking before that order of those friers, yet seeing the impudent behauiour, and more impudent request of those merchants, thus answered to them againe: that this exaction (sauing, saith he, the popes authoritie) was neuer heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed: and moreouer was such as did not onely concerne him, but the whole publike state of the clergie, and of the whole realme in generall; and therefore it should be absurdlie and rashly done of him to giue them answere herein, before the king and the rest of the councell, with others to whom the matter generally did appertaine, were made priuie thereunto, &c: and so for that time he shooke them off, Paris, fol. 210.

The abbat of S. Albones maketh great sute to the pope for the 400 marks that he should pay. This Iohannes Anglicus was the more fierce against the abbat, because he receiued him not with such reuerence as he thought meet for the popes legat.

Furthermore, as touching the abbat of S. Albons, when he also alleaged the same causes, he pretended moreouer that hee would appeale, and so did, to the pope and his cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent downe from pope Innocent another legat called Iohannes Anglicus, an English frier and cardinall, who bringing downe a new speciall precept to the foresaid abbat, cited him either to appeare at London the morrow after S. Giles day, or to disburse to the vse of the pope the foresaid foure hundred marks. By reason whereof the abbat was driuen to send his proctors againe, with a new supplication to the pope at Lions, who in the end through great instance of monied friends, agreed with the abbat for two hundred marks, besids his other charges borne, and so was that matter compounded. little to the abbats profit, Paris. fol. 213.

To recite all damages and grieuances receiued by the bishop of Rome in this realme of England, neither is any history sufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, vnneth is there any that would beleeue it. Notwithstanding to those aboue declared, this one I thought to commit likewise to memorie, to the intent that they which now liue in this age may behold and wonder in themselues to se in what miserable slauerie, passing al measure, not onely the subiects, but kings also of this realme were brought to, vnder the intollerable yoke of the popes tyrannie, which in those daies neither durst any man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example insuing, with infinite others like to the same, may appeare.

In the yeare of our Lord 1248. after that pope Innocent the fourth had taken such order in the realme, that all prelats of the church were suspended from collation of any benefice, before the popes kinsfolks and clerks of Italie had been first prouided for: it happened vpon the same, that the abbat of Abington had a commandement from the pope, to bestow some benefice of his church in all hast, to a certaine priest of Rome, which the abbat as an obedient child vnto his father the pope was prest and readie to accomplish accordingly. But the Roman priest not contented with such as fell next hand, would tarie his time, to haue such as were principall and for his owne appetite, hauing a speciall eie to the benefice of the church of S. Helen in Abington, which was then esteemed worth an hundred marks by yeare, besides other vales and commodities belonging to the same: the collation whereof the priest required by the authoritie apostolicall to be granted vnto him.

Example how this realme of England was oppressed miserable by the pope.

As this past on, it chanced at last the incumbent to die and the benefice to be emptie. Which eftsones being knowne, the same day commeth a commandement, with great charge from the king to the abbat, to giue the benefice to one Aethelmare the kings brother by the mother side, who at the same time was possessed with so many benefices, as the number and value thereof was vnknowne. The abbat here being in great perplexitie, and not knowing what to doe, whither to gratifie his king, or to obey the pope, tooke counsell with his friends: who well aduising the matter, gaue him counsell rather to preferre the brother of his prince and patron, so that the king would vndertake to stand in his defence against the pope, rather then the Romish priest, whom alwaies hee should haue lying there as a spie and watcher of him, and like a thorne euer in his eie: and so the king assuring the abbat of his vndoubted protection, and indemnitie against all harmes, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the kings brother.

The Roman priest not a little grieued thereat, speedeth himselfe in all hast to the bishop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the maner is of men) making it worse then it was. Vpon whose complaint the pope eftsoones in great anger cited vp the abbat personally to appeare before him, to answere to the crime of disobedience. The abbat trusting vpon the kings promise and protection (which neither could helpe him in that case, neither durst oppose himselfe against the pope) being both aged and sickly, was driuen to trauell vp to the court of Rome, in great heauinesse and bitternesse of mind. Where in conclusion after much veration and bitter rebukes, besides great expences, he was faine to satisfie the pope after his owne will, compounding to giue him yearely fiftie marks in part of making amends for his trespasse of disobedience, Ex Matt. Parisiensi. fol. 222.

The abbat of Abington cited to appeare before the pope.

The abbat of Abington condemned in fiftie markes for denying of an English benefice to an Italian the popes nephue.

To this also may bee added another like fact of the pope as outragious as this, against the house of Binham. For when the benefice of wessle in the diocesse of Elie was voide by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian and one of the popes chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to the priorie of Binham, an other Italian which was a bastard and vnlearned, borne in the citie of Genoa, called Heriggetto de Malchana de balta, brought downe the popes letters to M. Berardo de Nympha the popes agent here in England, with strict charge and full authoritie, commanding him to see the said benefice to be conferred in any case to Heriggetto. Yea and though the benefice had been giuen alreadie, yet notwithstanding the possessor thereof should bee displaced, and the said Heriggetto preferred: yea also Non obstante that the said pope himselfe had before giuen his grant to the king and realme of England, that one Italian should not succeed another in any benefice there; yet for all that the said Heriggetto vpon paine of excommunication to bee placed therein, Ex Matt. Parisiensi, fol. 240.

A detestable extortion of the pope vsed against the priorie of Binham.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the east churches and the Grecians, to the intent all men that read these stories, and see the doings of this westerne bishop, may consider what iust cause these Grecians had to seclude themselues from his subiection, and communion. For what christian communion is to bee ioyned with him, which so contrarie to Christ & his gospell seeketh for worldly dominion, so cruelly persecuted his brethren, so giuen to auarice, so greedie in getting, so iniurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in reuenging, stirring vp wars, depriuing kings, deposing emperors, playing Rex in the church of Christ, so erronious in doctrine, so abominable abusing excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of Gods feare: and briefly, so farre from all the parts of a true euangelicall bishop: For what seemeth hee to care for the soules of men, which setteth in benefices, boyes and outlandish Italians: and further, one Italian to succeed another, which neither did know the language of the flocke, nor once would abide to see their faces. And who can blame the Grecians

The Grecians excused and purged in parting from the church of Rome.

The miseries that haue risen in England through subiection vnder the church of Rome.

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then for diſſeuering themſelues from ſuch an oppreſſor and gi-
ant againſt Chriſt.

England plagued by the pope when it needed not.

Whoſe wiſe example if this realme had then followed, as they might, certes our predeceſſors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, iniuries, oppreſſions, wars, commotions, great trauels, and charges, beſides the ſauing of innumerable thouſands of pounds, which the ſaid biſhop ful fallſie hath raked and tranſported out of this realme of ours. But not to exceed the bounds of my hiſtorie, becauſe my purpoſe is not to ſtand vpon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will paſſe this ouer, leauing the iudgement therof to y further examinatiõ of the reader. For elſe if I liſted to proſecute this argument ſo farre as matter would leade me, and truth peraduenture would require me to ſay, I durſt not onely ſay, but could well proue the pope and court of Rome to be the only fountaine and principall cauſe, I ſay not of much miſerie here in England, but of all the publike calamities and notorious miſchiefs which haue happened theſe many yeares through all theſe weſt parts of chriſtendome, and eſpecially of all the lamentable ruine of the church, which not onely we, but the Grecians alſo this day doe ſuffer by the Turks and Saracens. As whoſoeuer well conſidereth by reading of hiſtories the courſe of times, and vieweth withall the doings and acts paſſed by the ſaid biſhop of Rome, together with the blind leading of his doctrine, ſhall ſee good cauſe not onely to thinke, but alſo to witneſſe the ſame. Onely one narration touching this argument, and yet not tranſgreſſing the office of my hiſtorie, I mind (the Lord willing) to ſet before the readers eies, which happened euen about this preſent time of this king Henries reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1244.

The pope and court of Rome the principall cauſe of all the publike calamities through chriſtendome.

The ſickneſſe of Lewis the French king.

In the which yeare it chanced, that Lewis the French king, ſonne to queene Blanch, fell very ſore ſicke, lying in a ſwound or in a trance for certaine daies, in ſuch ſort as few thought he would haue liued, and ſome ſaid he was gone alreadie. Among others, there was with him his mother, who ſorrowing bitterly for hir ſonne, and giuen ſomewhat (as commonly the maner of women is) to ſuperſtition, went and brought forth a piece of the holy croſſe, with the crowne and the ſpeare, which piece of the holy croſſe Baldwinus emperor of Conſtantinople (whom the Grecians had depoſed a little before for holding with the biſhop of Rome) had ſold vnto the French king for a great ſum of money, and bleſſed him with the ſame, alſo laid the crowne and the ſpeare to his bodie, making a vow with all in the perſon of hir ſon, that if the Lord would viſit him with health, and releaſe him of that infirmitie, hee ſhould bee croſſed or marked with the croſſe, to viſit his ſepulchre, and there ſolemnely to render thanks in the land which hee had ſanctified with his blood. Thus as ſhe, with the biſhop of Paris, & others there preſent were praying, behold the king which was ſuppoſed of ſome to be dead, began with a ſigh to plucke to his armes and legs, and ſo ſtretching himſelfe, began to ſpeake, giuing thanks to God, who from an high had viſited him and called him from the danger of death. Which as the kings mother with others there tooke to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the holy croſſe: ſo the king amending more and more, as ſoone as hee was well recouered, receiued ſolemnly the badge of the croſſe, vowing for a freewill ſacrifice vnto God, that he, if the counſell of his realme would ſuffer him, would in his owne perſon viſit the holy land: forgetting belike the rule of true chriſtianitie, where Chriſt teacheth vs otherwiſe in the goſpell, ſaying: That neither in this mount, nor in Samaria, nor at Ieruſalem the Lord will be worſhipped, but ſeeketh true worſhippers, which ſhall worſhip him in truth and veritie, &c. An. 1244. Pariſienſi, fol. 182.

The ſuperſtition of the kings mother.

The king recouereth his ſickneſſe.

The people of France blinded with a falſe miracle.

The vaine vow of Lewis the French king.

After this was great preparance and much ado in France toward the ſetting forth to the holy land. For after the king firſt began to be croſſed, the moſt part of the nobles of France, with diuers archbiſhops and biſhops, with earles, and barons, and gentlemen to a mightie number, receiued alſo the croſſe vpon their ſleeues. Amongſt whom was the earle Atrebacenſis the kings brother, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Brabant, the counteſſe of Flanders with hir two ſons, the earle of Britaine with his ſonne, the earle of Barrenſis, earle of Swellon, earle of S. Paul, earle of Dzuil, earle of Retel, with many noble perſons more. Neither lacked here whatſoeuer the pope could do, to ſet forward this holy buſineſſe, in ſending his legats and friers into France, to ſtir the people to follow the king, and to contribute to his iourney. Whereupon was granted to the king, to gather of the vniuerſall church of France by the popes authoritie, the tenth part of all their goods for three yeares ſpace together, vpon this condition, that the king likewiſe would grant to the pope the twentith part, for ſo many yeres after to be gathered of the ſaid church of France. Which was agreed, An. 1246. Ex. Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 204. b.

The French king ſickneſſe to recompence all iniuries done to his ſubiects.

William Longſpath with other noble Engliſhmen prepared to the ſame voyage.

Perſuaſions giuen to the French king to turne his voyage.

Contribution in France to the kings voyage.

The pope maketh prouiſion for his contribution alſo in France.

{Anno 1247}

Shortly after this, in the yeere of our Lord one thouſand two hundred fortie & ſeuen, followed a parliament in France, where the king with his nobles being preſent, there was declared how the king of Tartarians or Turks, hearing of the voyage of the French king, writeth a letter to him, requiring that he will become his ſubiect. In the which parliament the time was preſtired for taking their iourney, which ſhould be after the feaſt of ſaint John Baptiſt y very next yere inſuing. Alſo they that were croſſed, were ſworne to perſiſt in their purpoſe, and ſentence of the popes great curſe denounced to all them that went from the ſame: Mat. Paris fol. 211. Furthermore, for the better ſpeed in his iourney, the king through all his realme cauſed it to bee proclamed, that if any merchant or other had been iniured at any time by the kings exactors, either by oppreſſion, or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, ſhewing how or wherein, and he ſhould bee recompenſed. At which time William Longſpath a worthie warrier, with the biſhop of Worceſter and certaine other great men in the realme of England moued with the example of the French men, prepared themſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

The French king deſireth to reconcile the pope and the emperor.

The next yeare after this inſuing, which was 1248, the French king yet ſtill remaining in his purpoſed iourney, ladie Blanch his mother, alſo the biſhop of Paris his brother, with the lords of his counſell, and other nobles and his ſpecial friends aduertiſed him with great perſuaſions to alter his mind, touching that ſo aduenturous and ſo dangerous a iourney, for that his vow (ſaid they) was vnaduiſedly made, and in time of his ſickneſſe, when his mind was not perfectly ſtabliſhed: and what ieopardies might happen at home, it was vncertain, the king of England being on the one ſide, the emperour on the other ſide, and the Pictauians in the midſt ſo fugitiue, and vnſtable: and as concerning his vow, the pope ſhould friendly diſpence with him, conſidering the neceſſitie of his realme, and weakeneſſe of his body. Beſides all this, his mother vpon hir bleſſing required him, his brethren of all loues deſired him to ſtay at home, and not in his perſon to aduenture; others might be ſent in his roome, with no leſſe furniture to atchieue that enterpriſe, and to diſcharge him of his vow, eſpecially ſeeing at the making thereof his ſenſes were feeble, his bodie weake, and reaſon through ſickneſſe and verie death almoſt decaped.

The kings anſwere to his lords, laying downe and taking vp his croſſe againe.

To whom the king againe: For ſomuch (ſaid he) as you ſay, that for feebleneſſe of my ſenſes I toke this vow vpon me, lo therefore as you heare will me, I lay downe the croſſe that I toke. And putting his hand to his ſhoulder, tare off the badge of the croſſe, ſaying to the biſhop, here I reſigne to you the croſſe wherewith I was ſigned. At the ſight wherof there was no ſmall reioycing of all that were there preſent. To whom the king then both altering his countenance and his ſpeech, thus ſpake: My friends (ſaid he) whatſoeuer I was then in my ſickneſſe, now I thanke God I am of perfect ſenſe, and reaſon ſound, and now I require my croſſe againe to be reſtored vnto me. Saying moreouer, that no head ſhould come in his head, before he were recognſiled againe with the ſame croſſe, as he was before. At the hearing whereof all there preſent were aſtonied, ſuppoſing that God had ſome great matter to worke, and ſo moued no more queſtions vnto him.

{Anno 1248}

The French king letteth forth on his iourney.

Vpon this drew nigh the feaſt of John Baptiſt, which was the time ſet for the ſetting forth. And now being in a readines, the king in few daies after was entring his iourney: but yet one thing lacked. For the king perceiuing the mortall variance betweene the pope, and good Frederike the emperor, thought beſt firſt before his going to haue that matter appeaſed, whereby his way both might bee ſafer through the emperors countries, and alſo leſſe ieopardie at home after his departure, and therefore vpon the ſame, toke firſt his way to Lions, where the pope was, partly to take his leaue; but moſt eſpecially to make reconcilement betweene the emperor and the pope.

The emperor Frederike purgeth himſelfe to the pope and councell.

Where is to be noted by the way, that as touching the good emperor there was no let nor ſtay. Who rather ſought all meanes how to compaſſe the popes fauor, and neuer could obtaine it: inſomuch that before he ſhould be excommunicated in the councell of Lions, hee not onely anſwered ſufficiently by Thadeus his atturney, diſcharging himſelfe againſt whatſoeuer crimes or obiections could be brought againſt him; but ſo far humbled himſelfe to the pope and the councell, that for all detriments, damages, loſſes, or wrongs done of his part, what amends ſoeuer the pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the vttermoſt. This would not be taken.

The ſubmiſſion of the emperor.

The worthie offer of the noble emperor.

Furthermore, if the pope (he ſaid) could not abide his tarrying in his owne dominions and empire, he would go fight againſt the Saracens and Turks, neuer to returne into Europe againe, offering there to recouer lands and kingdoms whatſoeuer did at any time belong to chriſtendome, ſo that the pope onely would be contented that Henrie his ſonne (which was then nephue to king Henrie here in England) ſhould bee emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

The emperor offereth to put in the French king and king of England to be his ſuretie.

Then hee offered for truth of his promiſe, to put in the French king and the king of England to be his ſureties, or elſe for triall of his cauſe to ſtand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that bee granted.

The emperor deſireth to anſwere for himſelfe in the councell.

At leaſt hee deſired, that hee might come himſelfe and anſwere before the councell. But the proud pope in no caſe would abide that, ſaying: that he did not yet find himſelfe ſo ready and meet for martyrdome, to haue him to come thither to the councell: for if he did, he would depart himſelfe, &c. Ex Matt. Pariſ. fol. 187.

The time of the kings voyage appointed.

This obſtinate rancor and diuelliſh malice of pope Innocent and his predeceſſor, againſt that valiant emperor, and againſt the Grecians, what diſturbance & miſchiefe it wrought to

to the whole church, what strength it gaue to the Saracens and Tartarians, how it impaired christian concord, and weakened all christian lands, not onely the host of the French king did find shortly after, but christendome euen to this day may and doth feele and rue. Neither can in stories be found any greater cause which first made the Turks so strong, to get so much ground ouer christendome as they haue, then the pestilent working of this pope in deposing and excommunicating this worthie emperor. For as there was neuer emperor of long time, which more victorioullie preuailed in bridling and keeping vnder thele enemies of Christ, or would haue done more against them, then the said Frederike if hee might haue been suffered: so after the deposing and excommunicating of him, when the French king neither would abide at home, as hee was counselled, neither was yet able, without the helpe of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said Saracens and Tartarians being now ioyned togither, neither yet could the emperor be suffered by the pope to rescue the king: it followed thereof, that the good king being taken prisoner, and all his armie destroyed, the Turks thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the christians, that euer since they haue burst in further vpon vs, and now haue preuailed so far; as neither the power of the pope nor of all christendome is able to driue them out, as hereafter by sequell of storie is further to be declared.

The beginning of the Turks victories ouer christendome.

Pope Innocent the fourth would not be reconciled with the emperor.

In the meane time, to returne where before we left, when the French king comming thus vnto the pope at Lions, to intreate for the emperor could find no fauor, hee toke his leaue and with great heauinelle departed, letting forward on his iourney vnto Marsilia, and so sailed to the ile of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter, so that falling into penurie and lacke of victuals, he was faine to send to the Venetians and other ilands by, for helpe of prouision. The Venetians gently sent vnto him six great ships laden with corne, wine, and other victuals requisite, besides the relefe of other ilands more. But especially Frederike the emperor vnderstanding of their want, so furnished the French campe with all plentie of necessaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French king moued with the kindnelle of the emperor, wrote his speciall letters to the pope in the emperors behalfe; but the hard heart of the pope would not relent. Blanchia the kings mother in France, hearing what the emperor had done to hir sonne, sent him most heartie thanks, with presents and rewards manifold: Matt. Paris. fol. 226.

The French armie relieued by the emperor Frederike.

The French king againe intreateth the pope for the emperor.

In this meanstime about the beginning of October, the Frenchmen got Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, in the yere one thousand two hundred fortie and nine. After the winning of Damiata, the prince and people of the Saracens being astonied at the losse thereof, offered to the christians great ground and possessions more then euer belonged to christendome before, so that they might haue Damiata to them reskored againe. But the pride of the earle of Artois the kings brother would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but requireth both Damiata and Alexandria the chiefe metropolitan citie of all Egypt to bee deliuered vnto them. The Saracens seeing the pride and greedinesse of the Frenchmen, in no case would abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our christians, as in the end it proued: Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 229.

Damiata gotten againe by Frenchmen.

The pride of the earle of Artois.

First, in the ile of Cyprus and in the iourney before, died the earle of Palatin and one of the twelue peeres of France, also the earle of S. Paul and Blesle, who had vnder him fiftie enlignes, which were al after his death scattered abrode and dispersed; also died Joannes de Denis a valiant captaine, with many other noble personages both men and women, which by altering the aire and diet, there deceased.

Death of certaine of the French captaines in the way.

The next yeare insuing, which was 1250, about Ashwednesday, the Frenchmen issuing out of their tents by the citie of Damiata, slew vpon the Saracens which besieged them, and so after a great number of the enemies slaine, with victorie and great spoiles, returned to their tents againe. Now within the citie of Damiata was the queene with hir ladies, the popes legat, and bishops, with a garrison of horsemen and footmen for the defence of the citie strongly appointed. The next day, the Frenchmen supposing to haue the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gaue a fresh assault vpon them; but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly appointed themselues, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more then they got the day before, and so after a great slaughter of their men, retired vnto their tents againe. Where upon the Saracens began to take great hearts and courage against our men, stopping also the passages round about the citie of Damiata, that no victuals could passe vnto them. In like maner the Soldan also gathering all the gallies about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, so inclosed the seas, that no intercourse should be to them by water.

Anno 1250

Victorie of the Frenchmen ouer the Saracens.

Frenchmen discomfited by the Saracens.

At length after long talke and consultation betweene them on both sides, the Soldan aduised them betimes to resigne vnto him the citie of Damiata, with the furniture which they found therein, and they should haue all the countrie about Jerusalem, with all the captiues of the christians friendly restored vnto them. Wherewith the christians (said he) ought to be contented, and to seeke no further, but onely to haue the land of Jerusalem; which being granted to them, they should not incroch into their lands and kingdomes, whereto they had no right. This forme of peace, as it liked well the meaner sort of the poore souldiers and diuers others of the said counsell and nobilitie: so the proud earle of Artois the kings brother, in no case would assent thereto, but still required the citie of Alexandria to be yelded vnto them. Which the Egyptians by no meanes would agree vnto.

The earle of Artois and the popes legat against refuse the forme of peace offred.

From that time the French armie being compassed by sea and by land, began euery day more and more to bee distressed for lacke of victuals and famine, being driuen to that miserie, that they were faine to eate their owne horses in the Lent time, which should haue serued them vnto other vses. Neither could any christian, nor Frederike being deposed by the pope, be able to send them any succor. Furthermore, the more miserie the christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens preese vpon them on euery side, detecting their forward wilfulnesse. Insomuch that diuers of the christian souldiers not able to abide the affliction, priuilie conueied themselues as they could, out of the campe to the Saracens, who were gladly receiued and relieued, and some suffered still to keepe their faith, some marrying wiues amongst them, and for hope of honor did apostatate to their law, and so wrought no little harme to the christians. The Soldan being perfectly instructed by these fugitiues of all things belonging to the kings armie, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his mattocks, forkes, and rakes, his sithes, plowes, and harrowes, which he brought ouer with him, or why he did not occupie them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker? All this and much more the king with his Frenchmen were faine to take well in worth. It happened shortly after, that this Soldan died, being poysoned of his owne seruants, which was to the christians a more heaping of their miseries. For albeit the said Soldan had been a cruell tyrant to the christians, yet was he hated of his owne people, whereby his strength was the lesse: after whom succeeded an other much more cruell. Who as he was better loued, so he became much stronger by a generall confederacie of all the Saracens which were in the east parts, ioyning now togither. So that when the christians desired now to haue the forme of peace before proffered, he precisely denied them. And so the French host, which at first began to bee feared, by their pride and ouermuch greedinesse grew more and more in contempt amongst their enemies, and now was vtterly despised.

Famine and miserie in the French campe.

The Frenchmen eate their horses in Lent time.

The Soldans message deriding the Frenchmen.

The Soldan dieth, a worse followeth.

The Frenchmen desire againe the peace offred before, and could not haue it.

The christians thus seeing all things to go backward with them, and how the infidell Saracens daily did preuaile, began to murmur against God, and some also which were well setled before, to stagger in their religion, calling out these words of infidelitie; How is this (said they) that the Lord hath left vs, in whose cause wee fight? How often within the time of remembrance haue we been confounded by these Saracens and infidels, who with sheading of our blood haue inioyed great spoiles and victories? First this citie of Damiata, which wee christians had gotten dearely with effusion of so much christian blood, afterwards wee were constrained for nought to resigne vp againe. After that, the armie of the templaries, fighting for the holy temple against the Saracens, neere to Antioch, was banquished, and the standerbearer slaine in the fields. Againe, within these few yeers, our Frenchmen fighting in like maner against the Saracens at the citie of Gazara, were put to the worst, and many afterward out of captiuitie ransomed, by Richard duke of Excester, brother to the king of England, Henrie the third. Then came in the Cholmozins sent by the Soldan of Babylon, which by a wile inuaded the christians in the citie of Jerusalem, where almost all the christian armie being in the holy land were destroyed. And now here our most christian king togither with the whole nobilitie, is like to bee in danger, vtterly to bee ouerthrowne. And how is it, that the Lord thus standeth against vs, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them, then of vs, or? Matthæus Parisiensis fol. 231. Such murmuring words of an vnstable faith many there began to call out, as taking displeasure for their sufferings: but not considering on the other side what idolaters they were, what pride and discord was amongst them, what crueltie and murther they had shewed at home in persecuting the poore Albingenses, what superstition they first brought out with them, with what idolatrie they proceeded, putting their trust in masses, in the popes indulgences, in worshipping of images, and praying to saints. And what helpe then could they looke for at Gods hand, which had images in their temples, to fight against them which had none? Or what marueil, if the Lord of hosts went not with their armie, committing such idolatrie euery day in their pauilions to their sacramentall bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their owne merits, and not onely by the power of thir faith in Christ, which is onely the victorie that ouercommeth the world: Iohn 1. Finally, hauing in their campe the legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemie: as by example of Frederike the emperor may be well perceiued, who after hee was accursed by pope Gregorie a little before, comming the same time in war against ỹ Saracens in Palestina, Gods blessing wrought so mightilie with him, that without any bloudshed he recouered

Victories giuen the templaries and keepers of Jerusalem.

Causes debated why the Lord did not prosper the christians fighting against the Saracens.

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Ierusalem, and set all the countrie about it in great quietnesse, till at last the popish templaries, which at the popes setting on, went about to betray him to the Soldan of Babylon, and so lost all againe by their owne malicious mischiefe, that the emperor before had gotten. Ex Mat. Parisiensi.

But let vs proceed further in this holy progresse. The French king with his armie seeing himselfe distressed, and no good there to be done against the Soldan of Egypt, after he had sufficiently fortified the citie of Damiata, with an able garrison left with the duke of Burgundie, hee remoued his tents from thence to goe eastward. In whose armie also followed William Longspath (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied with a picked number of English warriers retayning vnto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longspath and the Englishmen, that they could not abide them, but flouted them after opprobrious maner, with English tailes, insomuch that the good king himselfe had much ado to keepe peace betweene them.

William Longspath.

Grudge and disdaine betweene the French campe and the English souldiers.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them, began thus: There was not far from Alexandria in Egypt, a strong fort or castle, replenished with great ladies, and rich treasure of the Saracens: the which hold it chanced the said William Longspath with his company of English souldiers to get, more by good lucke and politike dexteritie, then by open force of armes, whereby hee with his retinue were greatly inriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof, they being not made priuie therto, began to conceiue an hartburning against the English souldiers, and could not speake well of them after that. It happened againe not long after, that the said William had intelligence of a companie of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, asses, and mules richly laden with silks, pretious iewels, spices, gold and siluer, with cartlodes of other wares, besides victuals and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great need. He hauing secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen vnto him that he could, and so by night falling vpon the merchants, some hee slue with their guides & conductors, some he tooke, some he put to flight. The carts with the driuers and with the oxen, and the camels, asses, and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke and brought with him, losing in al the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his seruitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

A bootie gotten by the English souldiers about Alexandria.

A venturous act of William Longspath.

William Longspath inriched by Saracens goods.

This being knowne in the campe, forth came the Frenchmen which all this while loitered in their pauilions, and meeting their cariage by the way, tooke all the foresaid prey whole vnto themselues, rating the said William and the Englishmen, for so aduenturing and issuing out of the campe without leaue or knowledge of their generall, contrarie vnto the discipline of war. William said againe, he had done nothing but hee would answere to it, whose purpose was to haue the spoile diuided to the behoofe of the whole armie: when this would not serue, hee being sore grieued in his mind so cowardly to be spoiled of that, for the which hee so aduenturously had trauelled, went to the king to complaine. But when no reason nor complaint would serue, by reason of the proud earle of Artois the kings brother, which vpon despite and disdaine stood against him, hee bidding the king farewell, said he would serue him no longer. And so William de Longspath with the rest of his companie breaking from the French host, went to Achon. Upon whose departure then said the earle of Artois: Now is the armie of Frenchmen well rid of these tailed people. Which words spoken in great despite, were euill taken of many good men that heard him: Ex Mat. Parisiensi. fol. 233. 234.

William Longspath wronged by the Frenchmen.

William with the Englishmen departeth to Achon.

The despitefull words of the kings brother against Englishmen.

Before the arriuing of the French armie in the land of Egypt, the Soldan of Babylon hauing before intelligence of their comming, committed the custodie of Damiata vnto a certaine prince of his, whom he specially trusted, committing also to his brother the keeping of Kaira and Babylonia. It followed now after the taking of Damiata, that the Soldan of Babylon accused the prince which had the custodie thereof, before his nobles of proditition, as giuing the citie vnto the christians. Who notwithstanding in iudgement did sufficiently cleare himselfe, declaring how hee was certified that the king would land at Alexandria, and therefore bent all power to preuent the kings arriuall there. But by distresse of weather, hee missing of his purpose, and the king landing about Damiata, by reason thereof the citie was taken vnprouided, hee notwithstanding with his companie resisting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and so departed out, cursing (said hee) Mahomet and his law. At which words the Soldan being offended, commanded him to be had away as a traitor and blasphemer, and to bee hanged, albeit hee had sufficiently purged himselfe by the iudgement of the court. His brother which was the keeper of Kaira and Babylonia, being therewith not a little grieued, and bearing a good mind to the christian religion, deuised in himselfe how to giue the said citie of Kaira and Babylonia to the French king, and so in most secret wise sent to the king shewing his full purpose and what had happened: and furthermore instructing the king in all things how and what he should doe, and moreouer requiring the sacrament of baptisme, meaning indeed good faith, and sending also away all the christian captiues which he had with him in prison. The king being glad hereof, sent in all hast for William Longspath, promising a full redresse of all iniuries past, who vpon hope of some good lucke towards, came at the kings request, and so ioyned with the French power againe.

Babylon in Egypt.

How Damiata was taken of the christians.

The keeper or tribune of Damiata wrongfully put to death by the Soldan.

The tribune of Kaira desireth to be christened.

William Longspath sent for againe, and commeth.

The lamentable ouerthrow and slaughter of the *French armie fighting against the infidels, through the sinister counsell of the popes legat.*

TO make the storie short, the king setting forward from Damiata, directed his iourney toward Kaira, slaying by the way such Saracens as there were set to stop the victuals from Damiata. The Soldan in the meane time hearing of the courragious comming of the French host, as being in great hope to conquer all; sent vnto the king by certaine that were next about him, offering to the christians the quiet and full possession of the holy land, with all the kingdome of Ierusalem, and more; besides other infinite treasure of gold and siluer, or what else might pleasure them, onely vpon this condition, they would restore againe Damiata, with the captiues there, and so would ioyne togither in mutuall peace and amitie. Also they should haue all their christian captiues deliuered home, and so both countries should freely passe one to another with their wares and traffike, such as they lusted to occupy. Furthermore, it was also firmely affirmed and spoken, that the Soldan with most of his nobles were minded no lesse then to leaue the filthie law of Mahomet, and receiue the faith of Christ, so that they might quietly enioy their lands and possessions. The same day great quietnesse had entred (no doubt) in all christendome, with the end of much bloodshed and miserie, had it not been for the pope and his legat, who (hauing commandement from ỹ pope, that if any such offers should come, he should not take them) stoutly *Et frontose* (as the words be of the story) *contradicens*, in no wise would receiue the conditions offered: Parisiensis, fol. 233.

The storie how the French armie was ouerthrowne fighting against the Saracens.

The faire offers of the Soldan to the Frenchmen, if they had had grace to take it.

The pope and his legat cause of all this mischiefe.

Thus, while the christians vnprofitablie lingered the time in debating this matter, the Soldan in the meane time got intelligence of the compact betweene the tribune of Kaira and the French king, wherupon he sent in all hast to the citie of Kaira, to apprehend the tribune till the truth were fully tried, which seemed to him more apparent, for that the christian prisoners were alreadie deliuered. Herewpon the Soldan being in some better hope, and lesse feare, refused that which before he had offered to ỹ christians, albeit they with great instance afterward sued to the Soldan, and could not obtaine it. Then the Soldan being wholly bent to trie the matter by the sword, sent to ỹ east parts for an infinite multitude of souldiers, giuing out by proclamation, that whosoeuer could bring in any christian mans head, should haue ten talents, besides his standing wages. And whosoeuer brought his right hand, should haue fiue. Hee that brought his foot should haue two talents for his reward.

The christians refusing good offers could not haue them when they would.

A cruell proclamation of the Saracens against the christians.

After these things thus prepared on both sides to the necessity of war, the king commeth to the great riuer Nilus, hauing gotten togither many botes, thinking by them to passe ouer, as vpon a sure bridge. On the other side the Soldan pitcheth himselfe to withstand his comming ouer. In the meane time happened a certaine feast amongst the Saracens, in which the Soldan was absent, leauing his tents by the water side. Which being foreseene by a certaine Saracen lately conuerted to Christ, seruing with earle Robert the kings brother, and shewing them withall a certaine shallow foord in the riuer of Nilus, where they might more easilie passe ouer, the said earle Robert and the master of the temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the armie, issued ouer the riuer, after whom also followed William Longspath with his band of English souldiers. These being togither ioyned on the other side of the water, incountred the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents, and put them to the worse. After this victorie gotten, the French earle surprised with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, diuiding himselfe from ỹ maine host, thinking to win the spurs alone. To whom certaine sage men of the temple giuing contrarie counsell aduised him not so to doe, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid priuilie for them. The maner of that people (they said) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alleaging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiencie also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the aduersaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all, or losing all: with other such like words of persuasion. Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancie then ignorance, with opprobrious tants reuiled them, called them cowardly dastards, and betrayers of the whole countrie, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which said, that the land of the Holy crosse might bee won to christendome were it not for the rebellious templaries, with the hospitalaries and their fellowes, &c.

The earle of Artois with the third part of the christian armie passeth ouer the riuer Nilus.

William Longspath.

Victorie of the christians against the Saracens.

Good counsell giuen, but not followed.

The despitefull rebukes of earle Robert to them that gaue him good counsell.

To these contumelious rebukes when the master of the temple

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temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where hee durst, they were as readie to follow him, as he to go before them. Then began William de Longspath the worthie knight to speake, desiring the earle to giue eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countries and people then hee had, commending also their counsell to bee discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the maister of the temple began with gentle words to mitigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the earle taking his words out of his mouth began to fume and sweare, crying out of these cowardly Englishmen with tailes. What a pure armie (said he) should we haue here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it: With other like words of great villanie & much disdaine. Whereunto the English knight answering againe, Well earle Robert, said he, whersoeuer you dare set your foot, my step shall goe as far as yours; and as I beléeue, wee goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse: as in the euent it proued true. Ibid. fol. 236.

The worthie answere of an English knight to earle Robert the kings brother.

In this meane time the French king intending to aduance forward his armie, thought best to send away such as were feeble and lacked armor, vnto Damiata by botes. The Soldan hearing thereof, prepared a great number of botes to be caried by waine and cart to the water side, which meeting them by the way, drowned and destroyed by wildfire euery one, so that of all that companie of our christians, of whom some were burned, some slaine, some drowned, not one escaped aliue, saue one onely Englishman, named Alexander Giffard, who although he was sore wounded in the chace in fiue places in his bodie, yet escaped to the French campe, bringing word vnto the king what was done. And this was vpon the water.

A number of French souldiers sent to Damiata, drowned and slaine by the way.

Now vpon the land, séeing earle Robert would néeds set forward, weening to get all the glorie vnto himselfe before the comming of the host; first they inuaded a little village or castle which was not far off, called Mansor. The countrie boores, and pagans in the villages by, séeing the christians come, ran out with such a maine crie and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, which was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane while the christians inuading and entring into the munition incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie sore maimed, and almost in despaire. Then immediately vpon the same commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, who séeing the christians armie to bee diuided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight. Then the earle began to repent him of his headie rashnesse, but it was too late: who then séeing William the English knight doughtilie fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried vnto him most cowardly to flie, séeing God (said hee) doth fight against vs. To whom the knight answering againe, God forbid (saith hee) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracen: the earle then turning his horse fled away, thinking to auoid by the swiftnesse of his horse, and so taking the riuer of Thasnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned. Thus the earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to despaire and scatter. Then William de Longaspatha, bearing all the force of the enimies stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, vntill at length his horse being killed, and his legs maimed, hee could no longer stand, who yet notwithstanding as hee was downe mangled their feet and legs, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at the last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, hee yéelded his life. After the death of him, then the Saracens setting vpon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on euerie side, deuoured and destroyed them all, in so much that scarce one man escaped aliue, sauing two templaries, one hospitular, and one poore rascall souldier, which brought tidings hereof to the king.

Earle Robert's armie inclosed by the Soldan of Babylon.

The cowardlie flying away of the earle Robert.

Earle Robert the kings brother drowned.

The manlie courage of William Longspath.

William Longspath slaine in batte.

The Frenchmen ouerthrowne.

The sorrowe in the French campe for losse of their brethren.

These things being knowne in the French campe vnto the king and his souldiers, first of their drowning which were sent to Damiata, then of the ruine and slaughter of the armie, with the kings brother by the towne of Mansor, there was no little sorrow and heauinesse on euery side, with great feare and doubt in themselues what was best to doe. At last, when they saw no remedie, but they must stand manfully to reuenge the blod of their brethren, then the king with his host past ouer the flod of Nilus, and comming to the place where the battell had been, there they beheld their fellowes and brethren pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the Saracens for the reward before promised by the Soldan or Sultan, vnto them that could bring the head and hand of any christian, had so mangled the christians, leauing their bodies vnto the wild beasts. Thus as they were sorrowing and lamenting the rufull case of their christian fellowes, suddenly appeareth the comming of the Soldan, with a multitude of innumerable thousands. Against whom the Frenchmen eftsoones prepare themselues to incounter, and so the battell being stricken vp, the armies began to ioyne. But alacke for pity, what could the Frenchmen here doe, their number first so maimed, their hearts wounded already with feare and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and famine, their horses for feblenesse not able to serue them? In conclusion, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, slaine, and dispatched; and séeing there was no flying, happie was he that first could yéeld himselfe. In which miserable conflict, the king with his two brethren, and a few that claue vnto him, were taken captiues, to the confusion of all christian realmes, and presented to the Soldan. All the residue were put to the sword, or else stood to the mercie of the Saracens, whether to be slaine or to remaine in wofull captiuitie. And this was the end of that sorrowfull battell, wherin almost all the nobilitie of France was slaine, neither was there one man welneare in all the multitude which escaped free, but either was slaine, or taken prisoner. Furthermore, they that were slaine or left halfe aline, had euery one his head and hand cut off, vpon the Soldans proclamation aboue mentioned.

The French army ouerthrowne.

The pitifull slaughter of the Frenchmen.

The French king with his two brethren, taken captiue by the Soldan.

The Sultan or Soldan, after the taking of the French king, fraudulently suborning an armie of Saracens, to the number of the French army, with the armes and enlignes of them that were slaine, made toward Damiata, where the duke of Burgundie, with the French quéene, and Otho the popes legat, and other bishops and their garrisons were remaining, supposing vnder the shew of Frenchmen to bee let in: but the captaines mistrusting their hastie comming, and misdoubting their visages, not like to the Frenchmen, shut the gates against them, and so returned they frustrate of their intent.

The purpose of the Soldan was, if he might haue gotten Damiata, to send ỳ French king vp higher in ỳ east countries to Calipha the chiefe pope of Damascus, to increase the titles of Mahomet, and to be a spectacle or gazing stocke to all those quarters of the world. The maner of which Calipha was, neuer to let any christian prisoner come out, whosoeuer came once in his hand. But for so much as the Soldan missed his purpose, he thought by aduice of councell, to vse the kings life for his owne aduantage in recouering the citie of Damiata, as in the end it came to passe. For although the king at the first was greatly vnwilling, and had rather die then surrender Damiata againe to the Saracens, yet the conclusion so fell out, that the king was put to his ransome, and the citie of Damiata was also resigned, which citie being twice won, and twice lost by the christians, the Soldan or Saladin afterward caused it vtterly to be raced downe to the ground. The ransome of the king, vpon condition that the Soldan should see him safely conducted to Achon (which I take to be Cesaria) came to 60000 marks. The number of Frenchmen, & others which miscarted in that war by water and by land, came to 80000 persons. Hæc Matt. Paris, fol. 237. 238.

Damiata resigned to the Saracens.

The summe of the kings ransome.

The number of the Frenchmen slaine.

And thus haue ye the briefe narration of this lamentable peregrination of Lewis the French king. In which when the Frenchmen being once or twice well offered by the Soldan, to haue all the kingdome of Jerusalem, and much more in free possession; they not contented with that which was reasonable and sufficient, for greedinesse to haue all, lost all, hauing at length no more then their naked bodies could couer, lying dead vpon the ground, and all through ỳ originall cauſe of the pope and Otho his legat. By whose sinister meanes and pestilent pride, not onely the liues of so many christians were then lost, but also to the said pope is to be imputed all the losse of other cities and christian regions bordering in the same quarters: for so much as by the occasion hereof, the hearts of the Saracens on the one side were so incouraged, and the courage of the christians on the other side so much discomfited, that in short space after, both the dominion of Antioch and of Achon, with all other possessions belonging to the christians were lost, to the great diminishing of Christs church.

During the time of this good king lying at Achon or Cesaria, almightie God sent such discord betwixt the Soldan of Halapia, and the Soldan of Babylon, for letting the king so escape, that the said Soldan or Saladin of Babylon, to win the king vnto his side, entred league with him (whom both his brethren, and all his nobles almost at home had forsaken) and remitted his ransome, and also restored vnto him such prisoners as were in the said battell found to bee aliue. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forsaketh. Mat. Paris. fol. 261.

The two Soldans at variance about the French king.

Another cause moreouer, why the ruine of this French armie may worthilie bee imputed to the pope, is this: for that when Lewis the French king perceiuing what a necessarie friend and helper Frederike the emperor might bee to him in these his affaires against the Saracens, and therefore was an earnest sutor for him to the pope to haue him released; yet neither he, nor the king of England by any meanes could obtaine it. And although the emperor himselfe offered to pope Innocent with all humble submission to make satisfaction in the councell of Lions, promising also to expugne all the dominions of the Saracens, and neuer to returne into Europe againe, and there to recouer whatsoeuer the christians had lost, so that the pope would onely grant his sonne Henrie to be emperor after him: yet the proud pope would not bee mollified, but would néeds proceed against him with both swords, that is, first with the spirituall sword to accurse him, and then with the tenporall sword to depose him from his imperiall throne. Through the occasion whereof, not onely the

What mischiefe hath come to christendome and by what meanes.

How Frederike the emperor might haue serued in good stead against the Saracens, but the pope would not suffer him.

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The tyrannie and dnelliſh miſchiefe of the pope againſt the emperor.

French kings power went to wracke, but alſo ſuch a fire of miſchiefe was kindled againſt chriſtendome, as yet to this day cannot bee quenched. For after this ouerthrow of the French king and his armie, the chriſtians of Antioch and of other chriſtian regions thereabouts, being vtterly diſcouraged, gaue ouer their holds and cities. Whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turks, got ſuch an hand ouer chriſtendome, as to this day we all haue great cauſe to rue and lament. Beſides this, where diuers chriſtians were croſſed to goe ouer and helpe the French king, the pope for money diſpenſed with them to tarrie ſtill at home.

But as I ſaid, the greateſt cauſe was, that the emperor which could haue done moſt, was depoſed by the popes tyrannie, whereby all thoſe churches in Aſia were left deſolate. As touching the which emperor Frederike, becauſe wee haue diuers and ſundrie times made mention of him before, and for that his ſtorie is ſtrange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragicall, which he ſuſteined againſt foure or fiue popes one after another, I thought (not out of ſtorie) in a whole narration to ſet forth the ſame, for the reader to conſider, what is to bee iudged of this cathedrall ſée of Rome, which had wrought ſuch abominable miſchiefe in the world, as in the ſequell of the ſtory following faithfullie tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh is to be ſéene.

The whole tragicall hiſtorie of Frederike the ſecond emperor, tranſlated out of the Latine booke of Nich. Ciſnerus.

What houſe Frederike came of.

FRederike the ſecond, came out of the ancient houſe of the Weblins or Gibillins; which Gibillins came of the moſt famous ſtocke of the French kings and emperors.

What father and mother.

He had Frederike Barbaroſſa to his grandfather, whoſe ſonne Henricus the ſixth was emperor after him, who of Conſtantia, the daughter (or as ſome write the neece) of Roger the firſt, king of Sicilie, begat this Frederike the ſecond.

The time and maner of his birth.

This Conſtantia was fiftie yeares of age before ſhe was conceiued with him; whom the emperor Henrie the ſixth to auoide all doubt and ſurmiſe that of hir conception and childing might be thought, and to the perill of the empire inſue: cauſed his regall tent to be pitched abrode in place where euery man might reſort. And when ỹ time of his quéens trauell approched, Conſtantia (in preſence of diuers ladies and matrons, and other gentlewomen of the empire, a great number) was brought a bed and deliuered of this Frederike, the ſeuenth day before the kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Chriſts incarnation 1193, who by inheritance was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria and Sicilia.

What patrons hee had.

Henricus his father ſhortly after hee was borne, obteined of the princes electors, that by their oth vnto him giuen, they would chuſe his ſonne Frederike for their emperor after his deceaſe, and ſo did, and immediately called him Ceſar, being yet but in his cradle.

This Henrie when hee died (which was ſhortly after the birth of Frederike) committed the protection of him to Conſtantia his wife, to Philip his brother chiefe gouernor of Hetruria, and to the biſhop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Conſtantia, not long after the death of Henry hir huſband being ſickly and growing into age, and thereby not ſo well able to gouerne the troubles and vnquiet ſtate of the empire, reſigned, and willed by hir teſtament the ſafety both of hir ſonne Frederike, and alſo of his dominions to the protection and gouernment of Innocent the third, thinking therby ſafely to haue prouided, &c.

The conſpiracies of pope Innocent againſt Frederike during his minoritie.

This pope Innocent, as ſoone as hee had the protection of the yong emperor and his ſeigniories, became in ſtead of a patron and protector to him and his dominions both an enemie and conſpirator. The examples are many. One is, hee perſuaded Sibyll the late wife of Tancredus (whom Henrie put from the kingdome of Sicilie) to recouer the ſame againe, and that ſhee ſhould thereunto require Philip the French kings aide.

The firſt conſpiracie.

Whereupon one Waltherus being of ỹ noble houſe of the erles of Bzenno, which in the prouince of Barrencecis had great liuing; and marrying with Ateria the eldeſt daughter of Tancredus once king of Sicilia (as is ſaid) now by the inſtigation, counſell, and aid of the French king with the pope (well hoping to recouer the kingdom) entred and inuaded with great power Campania, and Apulia. At which time alſo, the ſame worthie protector Innocentius the third, ſent his legats with letters of excommunication againſt all thoſe that would not admit and take the ſaid Waltherus for their king.

The ſecond conſpiracie.

Another was, that where the princes electors and other nobles as before is ſaid, had promiſed by their oth to Henricus, that they would make Frederike his ſonne emperor after his deceaſe (whom the pope ſaw to put their indeauor thereunto to bring it to paſſe) abſolued them all from the oth which they had taken and giuen for the election of Frederike the emperor, as one not content he ſhould obtaine the ſame. And further, hee raiſed ſlanders and defamations againſt Philip, whom the electors had choſen to gouerne the empire during the minoritie of Frederike his nephue. Hee wrote his epiſtle (which is yet extant) to the duke Barthold of Zaringia to bee emperour.

The third conſpiracie.

Who for that he gaue place to Philip, hee went about to procure that Otho the ſon of Henry Leo ſhould be made emperor, and that the princes and lords electors of Germanie would crowne him forthwith after the maner of Aquiſgrane. He depriued all ſuch biſhops as he knew to fauour Philip as emperor, in the defence of his nephues right. But Philip whoſe cauſe was better, his ſkill in martiall affaires greater, and in power and ſtrength mightier, after diuers and great conflicts, the maruellous diſturbance & vaſtation of the whole empire, by Gods helpe put the other to the worſe. All which calamities and miſchiefes Conradus Lichtenauus at that time liuing, in his annales moſt pitifullie complaineth of, and accuſeth the biſhop of Rome and his adherents to be the chiefe authors and deuiſers of this great and lamentable miſchiefe, as ſuch that for to make themſelues rich by the ſpoile thereof, ſought by all meanes and deſired the ſame.

The fourth conſpiracie.

Not long after, a peace was concluded betweene Philip and Otho, and Philip reconciled againe to the pope, who within a while after betweene Otho and him was murthered in his chamber and ſlaine. And then was Otho againe brought to the imperiall ſeate, and new elected for emperor, with the counſell and conſent of this Innocent the third, and ſo continued vntill that a great variance and diſcord chanced to ariſe betweene the ſaid Otho and the pope. Wherupon Innocentius ſought by all meanes, how againſt him likewiſe hee might worke miſchiefe and bring him vnto his end. The occaſion of this ſudden change and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now being of great power) inuaded and deſtroyed theſe dominions of Frederike, as Flaminia, Piſenum, Umbria, Hetruria, but chiefly Campania, and Apulia, ſo that thoſe properly appertained to the inheritance of Frederike.

The fifth conſpiracie.

Philip ſlaine.

Variance betweene Otho and the pope.

Thus you ſée, how firſt by the counſell and conſent of pope Innocentius and by his inſtigation, beſides his ſecret conſpiracies, this good Frederike and his dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then againe through his default what damage he ſuſteined by Otho, who by him and his meanes was made ſo ſtrong as he was: notwithſtanding the great truſt he was put in for the protection both of Frederike and his dominions.

What learning and knowledge he was of.

At this time Frederike was come vnto the age of twentie yeares, who in his youth by the prouiſion of Conſtantia his mother, was ſo well inſtructed in letters, and in other arts and vertues ſo indued, that at theſe yeares there appeared and did ſhine in him excellent gifts both of wiſdome and knowledge.

What vertue he was indued with.

He was excellently well ſéene in the Latine and Gréeke tongues, although at that time learning began to decay, and barbaroufneſſe to increaſe. He had alſo the Germane tongue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. Hee daily exerciſed and put in practiſe thoſe vertues which nature had planted in him, as pietie, wiſedome, iuſtice, and fortitude: in ſo much that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthieſt and moſt renoumed emperors his predeceſſors.

Frederike ſuſpected for his grandfathers ſake.

Fazellius (the hiſtorician of Sicilia in this time) writeth, that Fredericus was againe after this had in great honor and eſtimation with Innocentius; but yet notwithſtanding he had no ſure confidence in him, for that he had the ſuſpected name of Frederike his graundfather often in remembrance, and for that occaſion was much deſirous to haue him far from Italie.

When Frederike had gathered his power, he purpoſed to ſet vpon Otho his enemie; of which thing Otho hearing (as he was painefull in trauell) came out of Italie with his armie into Germanie, thinking to haue met Frederike at the riuer of Rhene, and to haue ſtopped his paſſage; but hee was deceiued of his expectation, and Fredericus was crowned, as the maner of Aquiſgrane is, before he came. And after that Frederike in the winter time toke his iourney to Frankford, and after many métings in Norico had, and that Otho was dead, he ſet the empire in a ſtay, and the whole countrie of Germanie hee in a maner appeaſed. And then with all his nobles and princes hee returned to Rome, and of Honorius the third was with great ſolemnitie conſecrated and called Auguſtus. Which Honorius ſucceéded Innocentius the third in the papall ſée: and was a great helpe to Frederike (although hee loued him not) in this behalfe, to reuenge himſelfe vpon Otho.

The coronation of Frederike.

The death of Otho.

The conſecration of Frederike the emperor.

After the conſecration of Frederike the ſecond, hee gaue many great and liberall gifts, as well vnto the biſhop of Rome himſelfe, as alſo vnto the court of Rome beſides. Alſo he gaue and aſſured by his charter to the church of Rome, the dukedome of Fundanum. For by the vnſatiable couetouſneſſe of the Romiſh biſhops, this wicked vſe and cuſtome grew, that vnleſſe the emperors elect and crowned would giue vnto them ſuch like great and large gifts, they could not obtaine of them their conſecration or confirmation, which for that intent they deuiſed.

The liberall munificence of Frederike to the pope and church of Rome.

Furthermore, Frederike the emperor willing to ſhew himſelfe more bountifull and liberall vnto the church, neither yet to reſtraine any priuiledge that might benefit the ſame, gaue and admitted thoſe conſtitutions which the pope himſelfe would deſire, and are yet extant in their ciuill law: by which his doings he deliuered to their hands a ſword (as it were) to cut his

Frederike giueth through his liberalitie a woord to cut his owne throte.

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his owne throte: for the bishops of Rome now having euen what they listed, and all in their own hands, might by the paine of proscription, bring what emperor or king vnder Coram nobis that them listed, and keepe them by their owne lawes, as if they were bound in certaine bands, out of which they might not start. For whatsoeuer he were which for the diminution of the liberties of the church were excommunicated, and so continued a yéere's space, then he should be within the danger of this proscript, and should not be released before hee had made satisfaction, and were admitted by the pope to the church and congregation of good men againe. Whereby it came to passe, that whatsoeuer emperor in the gouernement of his dominions, should in any point displease or do contrary to the lust of the bishop of Rome, he then as enemy to the church was excommunicat. And vnlesse within a yéere he were reconciled to them againe (by this their principall law) he was in the proscript. And often it chanced, that princes to auoid the pain of this proscript, were ready to doe whatsoeuer the pope would haue them, and commanded them to doe.

The canon of proscription granted and confirmed by Frederike.

After the consecration of Frederike was with great solemnity finished, and that the pope and church of Rome in all ample maner (as is partly described) were gratified, and yet larger constitutions to them confirmed, hee departed from Rome, and went into Italy, there to set in order and stay the cities and great townes, for the better tranquillity of himselfe and safetie of his subiects, and from thence into his owne prouinces and dominions: where he heard of certaine that began to raise and make new factions against him. Amongst whom were found Thomas & Richard, the brethren of Innocentius the third earle of Anaquinos, that held certaine castels in the kingdome of Neopolitans from him by force: which castels he besieged and beat downe, and tooke from them all that hee in them found. Richard he tooke and sent as a prisoner into Sicilia: but Thomas escaped and came spéedily to Rome, whither also repaired certaine bishops and others that were conspirators against Frederike, as also such others as the feare of the emperors lawes, and their own guilty consciences caused to flie, and were (that notwithstanding) of this bishop of Rome Honorius the third (to gratifie againe the liberality of the emperor bestowed vpon him) vnder his rose succored, maintained, and defended. Which thing when Frederike vnderstood, he began to expostulat with the bishop, considering the vnseemlinesse of that his fact. Against whom the pope on the other side was so chafed and vered, that immediatly without further delay hee thundereth out against him like a tyrant, his curses and excommunications.

Frederike after his consecration directeth his prouinces and dominions.

The liberality of Frederike well recompenced of Honorius the third.

Frederike expostulateth, the pope curseth.

Thomas Fazellus declareth the detestation or defiance to happen betweene them somewhat otherwise. There were (saith he) amongst those which were found traitors to the emperor, certaine bishops, which flying to the pope, requested his aid: whereupon the pope sent his legats to the emperor, and requested him that he would admit and receiue to fauor those bishops which he had banished and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any ecclesiasticall charge wherewith he had not to doe: and said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the bishop of Rome, and not to him. And moreouer, that the ouersight of those churches in that kingdome, from the which he had expelled the bishops, pertained and belonged vnto him.

Whereunto Frederike thus replieth; That forsomuch as now foure hundred yéeres and more (from the time of Carolus Magnus) all emperors and kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same, such ecclesiasticall functions and charges as within their territories and kingdoms fell: that he looked to haue the like priuiledge and authority also, that other his predecessors before him had. And further said, that he had the same and like authority in the empire that his father Henry and Frederike his grandfather, and other his predecessors before them had; neither had he so deserued at the hands of the church of Rome, either of Honorius himselfe, to be depriued of those priuiledges which his ancestors before him had and kept. And further, Frederike being chafed and moued with these demands of the pope, breaketh forth and saith; How long will the bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his couetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious desire grow? With such like words more, repeating certaine iniuries and conspiracies, both against him and his dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocentius the third his predecessor, as also other like iniuries of popes to his ancestors practised. What man (saith he) is able to suffer and beare this so incredible boldnesse and intollerable insolencie of so proud a bishop? Go, saith he (vnto the legats) and tell Honorius that I will hazard both the seignior of my empire, and crowne of my kingdome, rather then I will suffer him thus to diminish the authority of our maiestie. Thomas Fazellus, lib. 8.

The emperor replieth to the popes demand.

The emperor speaketh but reason, howsoeuer it pleaseth the pope to take it.

Now because much disquietnesse and controuersie hath arisen (for the most part through all christendome in euery kingdome and realme seuerally) for and about the authority of chusing and depriuing of bishops (as may be séene by the example of this Frederike) which the pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himselfe, and not to appertaine to another: I thought good not with silence to ouerpasse, but somewhat to say, and to proue the authority of christian kings and princes in this behalfe, to be both sufficient and good. Which thing not only by the holy scriptures is right easie to be done, but also by synodall decrées and councels (diuers and sundry) to be established and confirmed, may easily be proued, as also by the ancient custome and maner of the primitiue church may further be corroborated and made good.

The strife betweene the pope and the emperor for the election and deprivation of bishops.

Wherunto appertain certaine places collected and gathered out of the decrées of Gratianus, and especially in these canons, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63 distinctions. Furthermore, when christian kings & princes began to imbrace Christ his religion, both for honor & orders sake it was granted: that when the people desired such ministers as were conuenient, and by them thought méet, that they which were then in the ecclesiasticall function, and chiefest in authority, should either confirme such as were presented, or else themselues to place fit men in their churches as need required. So did the emperors of Constantinople (receiuing the order and maner from Constantine the Great) vse and giue the right of ecclesiasticall function with the consent both of the people and ecclesiasticall persons, and long so retained the same. As Honorius the emperor vnto Boniface, can. 8. dist. 79. and can. 2. dist. 97. Also of Pelagius & Gregorius Magnus: of which one in the raigne of Iustinian the emperor and Totila gouerning Italy; the other in the time of Mauricius the emperor (when the Lombards possessed Italy) were appointed bishops to the church of Rome: cap. 15. 21. 24.

Authority for the election of bishops to be in the princes and their subiects.

Authorities of election of the bishop of Rome to be in the emperor.

And whereas Gratianus in the beginning of the 96 and 97 distinction doth declare, that the rescript of Honorius the emperor is void and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the bishop of Rome, contrary to the authority of the holy canons, when as yet neither to the ciuill magistrat, nor to any of the ecclesiasticall order, can be read of any licence giuen them for to dispence withall: each man may plainly see and discerne his great folly and want of vnderstanding. As though at that time any decrées were made, which should debar emperors for the constituting of the ecclesiastical ministers. Or that it were doubtfull whether the emperors at that time had past any constitutions touching the causes of ecclesiasticall discipline, and the same lawes then put in vre, when the contrary most manifestly (both by the lawes and histories of that age and time, as well of the church as of the empire) may appeare. And that we need not seeke far for the matter, this thing is sufficiently proued by these titles: De sacrosanctis ecclesijs, episcopis, clericis, besides other ecclesiasticall chapters and matters touching religion. All which are to be séene in the bookes of the principall and chiefest constitutions, collected and set forth by Iustinian. Amongst the which, many of the chapters are said to be accepted and allowed of Honorius and Theodosius: so in like case the 21 can. in the 63 distinction doth declare, that the Grecian emperors that next ensued after Iustinian, did obserue that maner of ordaining & electiō of the bishop of Rome, although then at that time Interpellatum erat, it was somewhat spurned at. Amongst whom mention is made of Constantinus the fourth, which was surnamed Pogonatus.

Gratianus in his distinctions reproued for the election of bishops to be in the pope.

The titles of Iustinian for the election.

The Grecian emperors electors of bishops.

Carolus Magnus in like manner followed their steps and maner in the same, as in the 22 canon, and the same distinction is declared. And further, it was at a synodall councell in Lateran (Adrian being high bishop, where were conuented and assembled 153 other bishops) decréed: that the power and authority of creating the bishop of Rome, and ordaining of all other prelats and ecclesiasticall orders, should be in the power and will of Carolus Magnus, as well in Italy as other his dominions and prouinces, and that whosoeuer was not promoted and allowed by him, should not be consecrated of any; and that those which repugned and disobeied this decrée, should incur the most sharpe paine of proscription and publication of law. The worthy example hereof is extant in the 18 can. and 18 title. Yet notwithstanding, Stephanus the fourth author of this rescript against the said decrée and without the emperors consent was made bishop of Rome; who to the intent he might delude the decrées and solemnized penalty, thereby to excuse himselfe, went into France to Ludouicus Pius the sonne of Carolus Magnus, and at Rheims crowned he him with the imperiall diadem. Neither could this bishop here stay himselfe, but spying the great lenity of the emperor, allaied to make frustrate the foresaid constitution. For his purpose was, and so brought it to passe, as in the 27 can. and the same distinction appeareth, that it might bee lawfull for the ecclesiasticall order, with the people and senat of Rome (without the authority of the emperor) to chuse the bishop of Rome, referring that he should not be consecrated without the will and consent of the emperor. Thus it is manifest, that the bishops of Rome themselues, not regarding but despising the strict penalty and sanction of the foresaid decrée of the Lateran councell, were not only the first that brake the same, but also by contrary rescripts and constitutions, laboured and indeuoured to extoll and set vp themselues aboue all others.

Stephan the fourth first alterer of this election.

The bishop of Rome the first breaker of the decrees of the councell.

Whereupon Lotharius afterward being emperor and nephew to Carolus Magnus, comming into Italy there to dissolue the conspiracie and confederacie of Leo the fourth about the translation of the empire, renewed & stablished againe the synodall

Lotharius renewed the Lateran decree for election of bishops.

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synodall decree of Lateran touching the iurisdiction of the emperor for the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiasticall persons. And heereof it came that those epistles were written of Leo in the 16 and 17 canon, and the same distinction, which also, as in the 9 can. and 10 distinction, made a profession, that the same imperiall precepts should bee kept in all ages. This Leo when he was reproued of treason and other euils, pleaded his cause before Ludouicus the second, emperor of Rome, and sonne of Lotharius aboue recited: 2 question, 7 can. 40.

Otho deposeth Iohn the fourteenth, and ratifieth a new decree of election.

But after this, as time grew on, the bishops of Rome nothing relinquishing their ambitious desires; Otho the first emperor of that name, depriued and put from the sea of Rome that most filthy and wicked bishop Iohn the thirteenth, both for diuers and sundry wicked and hainous acts by him committed, as also for his great treasons and conspiracies against his roiall person, and did substitute in his place Leo the fifth, who calling a synod at Lateran in the same temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgat a new constitution with consent of the senat and people of Rome concerning the emperors iurisdiction in the foresaid election: which in the 23 canon is contained and 63 distinction. Whereby the old right and power of the emperor in the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiasticall prelats, was againe with more sharper and stricter sanction confirmed and ratified. Against Iohn the eightéenth, whom Crescentius the Roman (vsurping the imperiall crowne) had made bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiasticall order, hauing his nose cut off, and his eies put out, and so thrust out of the capitoll, was againe of Otho the third established and made bishop. But when as yet notwithstanding, the bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry indeuored to abrogat that iurisdiction of the emperor ouer the bishop of Rome (as people loth to bee vnder subiection) Henry the third (then Leo the ninth being constituted bishop) did once againe ratifie the same, and cauled the bishop (which extolled himselfe before all his fellow bishops) to stepe and giue place to Moguntinus.

Leo the fifth was instituted by Otho the emperor.

The election once againe ratified to be in the emperors iurisdiction.

Henry the third and Leo the ninth.

So after the death of Henry the third emperor, Nicolas the second, although in his decrée (which in the 1 canon, and 23 distinction is recited) he gaue the primacy for the election of the bishop of Rome by the means of the priests & people of Rome, vnto the cardinals: yet he would after that, that the prerogatiue therein should be reserued to Henry the fourth the young emperor, from whom the empire afterwards was for a time wrested and taken.

Henry the fourth and Nicolas the second.

But now after this, when Hildebrand, which was called Gregory the seuenth, was pope, this prerogatiue of the emperors in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander the bishop was neglected and broken; the bishops of Rome not only did séeke to diminish the authority thereof, but also to euacuat and quite vndo the same. For he not only aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the emperor, but also made restraint, that no emperor, king, duke, marques, earle, or any ciuil magistrat, should assigne and appoint to any, any ecclesiasticall function and charge; neither that any of his prelats so hardy, should take them at any of their hands: as quest. 16. can. 7, 9 and 10 may be séene.

The election hitherto in the emperors, and now beginneth to faile by Hildebrand.

Yet notwithstanding, after that this horrible monster Hildebrand was proscript and thrust out of the papall seat, and Clement the third put in his stead, Henry againe challenged his imperiall prerogatiue of election. But yet, when the bishops which succéeded after this Hildebrand, and led by his example, began to derogat from the imperiall prerogatiue of election: and Henry on the other side by all the means possible, sought to defend and maintaine the same, by the subtill fraud and mischieuous policie of the bishops, which set the sonne against the father, and found meanes to steale from him the hearts of his nobles and subiects, and to set them all against him, and especially the princes of Germany, was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

Henry the fourth againe challengeth the election.

And although Henry the fifth (comming to Rome) brought Paschalis the second to that point, that he both in publike concion, and in writing sealed, and also by oth confirmed, restored againe to the emperors of Rome the prerogatiue of election, and of giuing ecclesiasticall dignities: yet notwithstanding, after that Henry the emperor was gone from Rome, Paschalis the pope, greatly repenting and sorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming the priuiledges of emperors through feare) touching the giuing and disposing of ecclesiasticall functions, excommunicated the emperor, and in a synodall coūcell at Lateran, ordained and decréed, that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any ecclesiasticall function or preferment at the hands of a ciuill magistrat: whereupon were made these decrées, qu. 16, chap. 7, 13, 14, 15, and 16.

Henry the fifth also striueth for the election and faileth.

Priests accursed that take any benefit at the hands of a lay man.

Therefore when these decrées touching the designation of bishops, in spight and contempt of the emperor were practised and put in vre; and when that now (especially by the means and procurement of the bishops) intestine and ciuill wars began to rise in the empire: the imperiall iurisdiction in this matter was not onely weakened and much debilitat, but also in manner vtterly broken and lost. For when Henry the fifth emperor was sharply of Lotharius and his vassals the bishops beset, and laid vnto by the prouocation of the pope, and was mightily by the bishops that toke his part on the other side, requested and intreated (in hope of publike peace & tranquillity) that hee would condescend and somewhat yéeld to the popes demands: he at length (the more was the pitie) that he might be reconciled and haue peace with pope Calixtus the second, in the citie of Mangio, departed from and with that his prerogatiue or iurisdiction of giuing ecclesiasticall preferments to the pope and his prelats, now more then three hundred yéeres (from the time of Carolus Magnus) in the hands of the emperors of Rome, and vntill this time with great fortitude and princely courage conserued and kept: which resignation turned to no small detriment both of the church of Christ, and christian commonwealth.

Henry the fifth resigneth his prerogatiue of election.

Then first, and neuer before, obtained the bishop of Rome, and quietly inioied that prerogatiue of election and bestowing of benefices, which he so long before with such great policies (now secretly, now openly, and now with force) had sought for. And with what sufficient and good authority Gratianus will proue, that before this time the same authority was giuen to the city of Rome for the election of the pope without the consent of the emperor, he sheweth, as in the 29 and 30 canon, and what good stuffe he putteth in the latter, and how subtilly that papisticall flatterer or pontifical parasit hath forged the same, both Carolus Molinæus sufficiently in diuers places hath noted, and by the obseruation of times may of a meane historiographer that hath read the French and German histories, some be espied and discerned. For first, fiue bishops one after another succéeded this Gregory the fourth, vpon whom the 29 canon is intituled or fathered; that is, Sergius the second, Iohn the eighth, Adrian the second, Iohn the ninth, and Adrian the third. Which Adrian by force, wresting the authority of the election from the people, was made pope, when as Gregory (specially to be noted) would not take on him the papacie, before that the emperor had consented to his election. After this, Molinæus compareth Raphael Volaterranus with the 30 canon, which againe is suspected. For why, when Eugenius was bishop, who was the successor of this Paschalis, with whom Ludouicus Pius is said to haue made a league or paction, the same Ludouicus Pius with his sonne Lotharius, together with the helpe of the king of Romans, at Rome made lawes both to all his subiects in the empire, as also to the Romans themselues: speaking nothing of the renewing of the decrée made by Lotharius. Then againe, how could Leo the fourth write to Lotharius and Ludouicus emperors, that counterfet or forged decrée beginning with Constitutio, &c? when in the same mention is made of Henricus Aucupes, and Otho the first, which reigned more then foure score yéeres after them, and Leo the fourth bishop of Rome.

The election gotten to the bishops of Rome.

Gratianus found a forger of the canons.

Sergius the second.

Iohn the sixth and Adrian the third.

The second fault found with Gratianus.

Now with what face dare this fond fellow Gratianus make Otho the first to be author of the 31 can. when as Otho depriued the same Iohn the twelfth of the papacie: and not only toke nothing from the imperiall iurisdiction concerning the election, nor from the citie of Rome, nor any other bishops subiect to the Roman empire, but added somewhat more thereunto, as was said before. And yet notwithstanding, so shameless and senseless was this Gratian, that he durst obtrude and lay before the reader so manifest fraud and euident legerdemaine (fained and made of his owne braines in the compiling of this decrée) being so necessary, as he thought for the dominion and primacie of the Roman bishops, in the stead of good and true lawes, neither fearing that the same might be after his daies reprehended, neither to his great shame and discredit to him attributed. Where also by the way is to be noted, that as this graceless Gratianus to please these holy fathers, and to erect their kingdome, would giue so impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiuing of all posterities, inserting for grounded truths and holy decrées such loud lies and detestable doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the rest of writers in those daies, what attempts hope of gaine might cause them to worke: by whom and such like is to be feared the falsifying of diuers other good works now extant, in those perilous times written.

How shameles and impudent Gratianus is in forging the decrees.

The corrupting of many good works to be feared.

Thus when the bishops had once wrested this authority out of the emperors hands, they then so fortified and armed themselues and their dominion, that although afterwards Frederike the first, grandfather vnto this good emperor Frederike the second, as also Ludouicus Pius, and Henricus Lucelburgensis (as men most studious and carefull for the dignities of the empire, vnfained louers and maintainers of the vtility of the commonweale, and most desirous of the preseruation and prosperity of the church) did all their indeuors with singular wisdome and strength, as much as in them lay, to recouer againe from the bishop of Rome this the authority of the imperiall iurisdiction lost, most cruelly and wickedly abusing the same, to the destruction both of the empire, vndoing of the commonwealth, and vtter subuersion of the church of God: yet could they not be able to bring the same to passe in those darke and shadowed times of peruerse doctrine and errors of the people; and most miserable seruitude of ciuill magistrates.

The election wrested from the emperor.

What Rome once catcheth, that she keepeth.

Not without good cause desired they to nuzzell the people in ignorance.

The

The same and like priuiledge also in the election of their bishops and prelats, and disposing of ecclesiasticall offices, as the emperor of Rome had, euery prince and king in their seuerall dominions had the like. For by the decree of the councell of Toletan, which in the 25. canon and 63. distinction is mentioned; the authoritie of creating and chusing bishops and prelats in Spaine, was in the power of the king of Spaine. The like also by the histories of Clodoueus, Carolus Magnus, Ludouicus nonus, Philippus Augustus, Philippus Pulcher, Carolus quintus, Carolus sextus, Carolus septimus, kings of France, is apparant and well knowne; that all these kings had the chiefe charge and gouernment of the French church, and not the bishops of Rome.

Euery king and prince in their seuerall kingdome, had also till that time the prerogatiue of election.

Spaine had the same.

France had the same.

And by our English histories also, as you heard, it is manifest, that the authority of chusing ecclesiasticall ministers and bishops, was alwaies in the kings of England, till the raigne of king Henry the first, who by the labor and procurement of Anselmus archbishop of Canturbury, was depriued and put from the same.

England had the election.

Also the princes of Germany and electors of the emperor, till the time of Henry the fifth, had all (euery prince seuerally in his owne dition and prouince) the same iurisdiction and prerogatiue, to giue and dispose ecclesiasticall functions to their prelats at their pleasure, and after that it appertained to the people and prelats together. And how in the raigne of Frederike, the prelats gat vnto themselues alone this immunitie, Iohannes Auentinus in his seuenth booke of the annales of the Boiors doth describe.

Germany had the election.

Also it is probable that the kings of Sicilia had the same facultie in giuing and disposing their ecclesiasticall promotions and charge of churches: Andræas de Isthmia ad 1. constit. Neap. nu. 12. And that because Frederike defended him against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, therefore (as Fazellus saith) he was excommunicated of Honorius: but that Platina & Blondus alleage other causes wherefore he was excommunicat of Honorius, I am not ignorant: howbeit, he that will compare their writings with others that write more indifferently betweene Honorius and him, shall easily find, that they more sought the fauor of the Roman bishops, then to write a verity. But now againe to the history of Frederike.

Sicilia had the election.

Nicolaus Cisnerus affirmeth, that whilest Frederike the emperor was in Sicilia, his wife Constantia died at Catiana or Catana. In the meane time the christians which with a great nauie, sailed into Egypt, and toke the citie Heliopolis, commonly called Dalmatia, and long ago named Pelusinum, being in good hope to haue driuen Sultanus the Soldan out of Egypt, had a great and maruellous ouerthrow by the conuaying of the water of the floud Nilus (which then ouerflowed into their campe) and were faine to accord an vnprofitable truce with the Soldan for certaine yeeres, and to deliuer the citie againe, and so departing out of Egypt, were faine to come to Acon and Tyrus, to the no small detriment and losse of the christian army. Whereupon king John surnamed Brennus (being king of Hierusalem) arriued in Italie, and praied aid of the emperor against his enemies, in whom he had great hope to finde remedy of the euils and calamities before declared, and from thence he went to Rome to the pope, delaring vnto him the great discomfit and ouerthrow past, as also the present perill and calamity that they were in, desiring also his aid therein. By whose meanes (as Cisnerus saith) the emperor was reconciled again to the pope, and made friends together, to whom also king John gaue Joell his daughter in marriage, which came of the daughter of Conradus king of Hierusalem, and marques of Montferrat, with whom he had for dowrie, the inheritance of the kingdome of Hierusalem, as right heire thereunto by her mother. By whom also he after obtained the kingdome of Naples and Sicill, and promised that with as much expedient speed as he might, he would prepare a power for the recouery againe of Hierusalem, and be there himselfe in proper person: which thing to do, for that vpon diuers occassions he deferred (whereof some thinke, one some another) Honorius, vnto whom he was lately reconciled, purposed to haue made against him some great and secret attempt, had he not been by death before preuented, vpon whom were made these verses.

The death of Constantia the wife of Frederike.

A great ouerthrow of the christians in Egypt.

Frederike and the pope made friends.

Honorius the pope dieth before he put his practise in vre against Frederike.

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,
Est tibi decori viuere, vade mori.

After whom succeeded Gregorius the ninth, as great an enemy to Frederike, as was Honorius, which Gregory came of the race whom the emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of treason which they wrought against him. This Gregory was scarsly setled in his papacie, when that he threatned him greatly with excommunication, vnlesse hee would prepare himself into Asia according to his promise, as ye heard before, to king John; and what the cause was why the pope so hastened the iourny of Frederike into Asia, you shall heare hereafter: In effect, he could not well bring that to passe which in his mischieuous mind he had deuised, vnlesse the emperor were further from him. Notwithstanding, Frederike it should seeme smelling a rat, or mistrusting somewhat (as well he might) alleaged diuers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Gregory the ninth as great an enemy to Frederike as Honorius.

Frederike refuseth to go into Asia at the popes bidding: the pope is angry.

Fazellus a Sicilian writer saith, that the speciall cause of the emperors stay was, for the oth of truce and peace during certaine yeeres, which was made betweene the Saracens and christians as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

The same also Fazellus writeth thus of king John of Hierusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the emperor and the pope were reconciled together. And being called vp to Rome to celebrat the marriage, pope Gregory (as the maner of those proud prelats is) offered his right foote vnto the emperor to kisse. But the emperor not stooping so low, scarsely with his lip touched the vpper part of his knee, and would not kisse his foot; which thing the pope toke in very euill part, and was therewith maruellously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time serued to reuenge his conceiued grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same as he might for that time, thinking to recompence it at the full, as time would serue, and fall out therefore.

The cause of the stay of the emperors iourny into Asia.

The pope dissembleth his grudge.

After this, it fortuned that the emperor hearing how the christians were oppressed by the Soldan in Syria, and that from Arsacida there came a great power against the christian princes: he made the more haste, and was with more desire incouraged to set forward his iourny into Asia. Wherefore assembling the nobility of the empire at Rauenna & Cremona, he gaue in commandement to Henry his sonne (whom not long before he caused to be created Cesar) that he should perswade the nobles and princes of the empire, that they all would bee ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his iourny and enterprise. This writeth Fazellus: howbeit, some others affirme that these things were done in the time of Honorius. But howsoeuer the matter is, this thing is manifest; that Frederike to satisfie the popes desire, which neuer would lin, but by all means sought to prouoke him forward, gaue him at length his promise, that by a certaine time he would prepare an army, and fight himselfe against those, which kept from him the citie of Hierusalem (which thing he also confesseth himselfe in his epistles, and also how hee desired, and obtained of the peeres and nobility of the empire, their aid thereunto) as also, to haue appointed a conuenient time when they should bee at Brundusium.

The preparation of the voyage of Frederike to Hierusalem and stay thereof.

In the meane season, he with all his power and indeuour made spedy and hasty preparation for the warres: he rigged and manned a puissant nauy, he had the pickedst men and best souldiers that were in euery country, and made warlike prouision and furniture, for euery thing that to such a voiage and expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slacked, but at the time appointed great bands assembled and mustred both of German souldiers and others, and vnder their captaines appointed, set forth and marched to Brundusium. Their generals were, Thuringus and Sigebertus, and Augustinus the bishop: where they long time lying, and attending the emperors comming, being let by infirmity and sickenes, great pestilence and sundry diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that country: and many a souldier there lost his life, among whom also died Thuringus, one of their generals. The emperor, when he had somewhat recouered his health, with all his nauy lanched out and set forward to Brundusium. And when he came to the straits of Peloponesus and Creta, being Ilands lying in the sea, and there for lacke of conuenient wind was staied, suddenly the emperor (his diseases growing vpon him againe) fell sicke; & sending before all or the most part of his bands and ships into Palestina, promising them (most assuredly) to come after and follow them so soone as he might recouer and get neuer so little health: hee himselfe with a few ships returned and came to Brundusium, and from thence, for want of health, went into Apulia.

The preparation of the emperors war against the Turke.

Great sickenes in the emperors army.

The emperor himselfe sicke.

When tidings hereof came to the popes eare, he sent out his thundring curses and new excommunications against the emperor. The causes wherefore, I finde noted and mentioned by his owne letters, that is; How that when hee had robbed and taken from Brundusius, prince of Thuring, his horses, his mony, and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, he sailed into Italy: not for the intent to make war against the Turke, but to conuay his pray that he had stollen and taken away from Brundusius, who neglecting his oth and promise which he had made, and faining himselfe to be sicke, came home againe. And that by his default also, Damiata was lost, and the host of the christians sore afflicted. Fazellus besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the pope alleaged these also: that he defiled a certaine damsell, which was in the quenes nursery; and that he slew his wife when he had whipped her in the prison, for declaring the mischieuous act to her father king John. But all the writers, and also Blondus himselfe doth declare, that this Joell died after the publication of the proscript and excommunication: wherefore, the pope could not without great shame alleage the cause vpon the death of Joel; for vndoubtedly the truth is, that she of her sonne Conradus died in childbed. Then Frederike, to refell and auoid the foresaid slanders, sendeth the Bishop of Brundis and other legats to Rome, whom the pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the councels of the cardinals to make his purgation. Wherefore the emperor to purge himself of the crimes which the pope did so falsly accuse him of, both to all christian

The pope excommunicateth the emperor for staying his voyage.

He laieth false accusations to his charge.

The emperor purgeth himselfe of those crimes the pope laid against him by his letters dedicated to all christian prin-
ces.

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christian kings, and specially to the princes of Germany, and all the nobles of the empire, he writeth his letters (which are to be seene) that those things are both false & also fained, and of the popes owne head inuented; and sheweth how that his ambassadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the popes presence: also doth largely intreat how vnthankfull and vngratefull the bishops of Rome were towards him for the great benefits, which both hee and also his predecessors had bestowed vpon them and the Roman church: which letter, for that it is ouer tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the history is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this.

The effect of the emperors letters.

He protesteth and declareth vniuersally, that hee had alwaies great care for the christian common wealth, and that he had determined euen frō his youth to fight against the Turke and Saracens. And for that occasion he made a promise to the princes electors of Aquisgrane, how that he would take the war vpon him. Afterward he renewed his promise to Rome when he was consecrated of Honorius; then when he maried the daughter of the king of Hierusalem, which was an heire of the same. And for because that kingdome might be defended & kept from the iniuries of the enemies, and that he fauored it euen as hee did his own, he prepared an huge nauy, and gathered togither a strong army of men, neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the war. But when the time was come, and his band was gathered together, his sicknes would not suffer him to be there. And afterward when he had recouered the same, and came to Brundusium, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to the sea: he fell into the same sicknesse againe, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (saith he) he is able to proue by sufficient testimony. How the pope also doth lay the losing of Damiata and other things which prospered not wel with him, vniustly to his charge, when as he had made great prouision for the same iourny, both of souldiers & other necessary things. But he ỹ will vnderstand these things more plainly, among other epistles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Frederike, let him reade these especially which begin thus: *In admirationem, & iustitiam, & innocentiam, & Leuate oculos.* And truly euen as Fredericus the emperor declareth in his letters concerning this matter, all the old writers of Germany doe accord and agree in the same.

The emperors purgation.

The emperors epistle beginning thus: In admirationem & iustitiam, and againe: Leuate oculos.

A letter of the emperor to the king of England, abstracted by Matthew Paris.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaining vnto him of the excommunication of the pope against him, whose words are these: And amongst other catholike princes (saith he) he also wrote his letters vnto the king of England, embulled with gold: Declaring in the same that the bishop of Rome so flamed with the fire of auarice and manifest concupiscence, that not being cōtented with the goods of the church, which were innumerable, but also that he shamed not to bring princes, kings, and emperors to be subiects and contributors to him, and so to disherit them and put them from their kingly dignities. And that the king of England himselfe had good experiment thereof, whose father (that is to say, King Iohn) they so long held excommunicat, till they had brought both him and his dominions vnder seruitude, and to pay vnto him tribute. Also that many haue experience of the same by the earle of Tholouse and diuers other princes, which so long held their persons and lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like seruitude. I pretermit (saith he) the simonies & sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was neuer yet heard) which daily are vsed amongst the ecclesiasticall persons, besides their manifest vsury (yet so cloked and coloured to the simple sort) that therewithall they infect the whole world. They be sugred and embalmed simonists, the insatiable horse-leaches or bloud-suckers, saying: that the church of Rome is our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the vniuersall world, the roote & right mother of all mischiefe, vsing and exercising no motherly doings or deedes, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked stepdame, making sufficient proofe thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparant. Let the barons of England consider whether this bee true or not, whom pope Innocent by his buls with one consent incouraged to rise and rebell against their soueraigne lord and prince king Iohn your father, as an obstinat enemy to the church of Rome. But after that, the king (farre out of square) remembring himselfe, had crouched vnto him and obliged both himselfe and kingdome to the church of Rome, more liker a woman then a man; and that the wise barons whom the pope had first maintained and stirred vp, without all shame either of the world, or feare of God had done the same, sought how hee might with gaping mouth deuour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betraied and disherited, as the maner of the Roman bishops is. By whose greedy auarice it came to passe, that England the prince of prouinces was brought vnder miserable subiection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our Roman bishops, behold the snares wherewith these prelats doe seeke to intangle men withall, to wipe their noses of their mony, to make their children bondmen, to disquiet such as seeke to liue in peace, being clothed with sheeps clothing, when in deed they be but rauening wolues, sending their legats hither and thither to excommunicat and to suspend: as hauing power to punish whom they list, not sowing the seed, that is the word of God, to fructifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens persons, and reape that which they neuer did sow. Thus commeth it to passe, that they spoile the holy churches and houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poore, and the mansion houses of Saints, which our deuout and simple parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refection of poore men and pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerat varlets, whom only letters haue made both mad and malipert, do striue and gape to be both kings and emperors.

Who be the rauening wolues in sheeps clothing.

The treasure of the church belongeth to the poore.

Many kingdomes haue experience of the popes practises.

The church of Rome the mother of mischiefe.

King Johns submission to the pope blamed by the emperor.

Doubtlesse the primitiue church was builded and laid in pouerty and simplicitie of life, and then as a fruitfull mother begat she those her holy children, whom the catalogue of Saints now maketh mention of: and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other church, then that which is laid by Iesus Christ. But this church as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluitie of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory, so is it to be feared lest the wals thereof in time fall to decay, and when the wals be downe, vtter ruine and subuersion follow after. Against vs, he knoweth that is the searcher of al hearts, how furiously these catholikes rage and go to worke; Saying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take vpon me the iourny I haue promised beyond the seas, whereas ineuitable and most vrgent causes and perils as well to the church of God, as also to the empire, besides the annoiance of mine infirmity and sickneſſe, do detaine me at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolencie of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? neither doe we thinke it safetie to our empire, nor expedient to the christian state, that we should now take our iourny into Asia, leauing behind vs at home such intestine and ciuill wars, no more then for a good surgeon to lay a healing plaister to a grieuous wound new stricken with the sword and made. In conclusion, also to this he addeth, admonishing all the princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their auaricious iniquity) of like perill and danger to themselues, because that as the prouerbe is: It behoueth him to looke about that seeth his neighbours house on fire. Thus much out of Parisiensis, pag. 69.

Christs church was builded in humility: the popes church is all superfluitie: Ergo, the popes church is not Christs church.

But now, that Fredericus the emperor might in very deed stop the slanders of the cruell pope, which did perstil and go forward still in his excommunication against him; and that he might declare in the whole world, how that the last yeere he forslowed not his iourny by his owne voluntary will, but by necessity, when he had deuised and prepared all things meete for the war, and that he had gathered together and leuied a great army of men, he departed from thence to Brundusium, committing the gouernment of his kingdome to Reinaldus the sonne of duke Spoletus, and to Anselmus a baron of Justingensis, and came by sea to Cyprus with his host.

Another iourny of the emperor to Hierusalem.

From Cyprus, the emperour with his whole nauy sailed into Ioppa, which citie he fortified, for that the passages by land were stopped and kept of the enemies: and by sea might he not passe nor trauell, by meanes of the extreame weather and tempest; whereby it came to passe, that within short space they lacked victuals, and were sore afflicted with famin. Then fell they to praier, and made their humble supplication to God, with whose teares his wrath being appeased, the great tempest and long continued foule weather ceased, whereby (the seas being now calme) they had both victuals great plenty, and all other necessary things for their need brought vnto them, whereby immediatly it came to passe, that both the emperor and his army, as also the inhabitants of Joppa were greatly refreshed and animated: and on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; insomuch that the king of Egypt, who with great power (accompanied with Scarapho his brother, prince of Gaza, & the prince of Damascus their nephew, with many other dukes and nobles) hauing incamped themselues within one daies iourny of Joppa, thinking to haue besieged the same, were contented vpon the comming of the emperors heralds vnto them, to intreat of a peace.

The emperor oppressed by famin, and by praier miraculously relieued.

A conclusion of a profitable peace during ten yeeres betweene the Turks and the christians.

Whereupon, ambassadors were sent vnto them with the emperors demands, right profitable to the christian common weale. The Saracens (immediatly consulting vpon the same) granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten yeeres was concluded, and was confirmed by solemne oth on the behalfe of both princes, according to their seuerall vsages and manner: the forme and condition of which peace breefly collected are these.

The Articles of the peace agreed vpon.

Firſt, that Frederike the emperor should be crowned and annointed king of Jerusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Jerusalem before him.

Secondly, that all the lands and possessions which were situat betwixt Jerusalem & Ptolomaida, and the greatest part of Palestina, and cities of Tyrus and Sidon, which were in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwinus the fourth at any time had and did occupy there, should bee deliuered vnto him, only certaine castels reserued.

Thirdly, that he might fortifie and build what fortresses and castels

castles cities and townes hee thought good, in all Syria and Palestina.

Fourthly, that all the prisoners which were in the Saracens hands, should be ransomed freely and sent home: and againe, that the Saracens might haue leaue without armor to come into the temple where the Lords sepulcher is, to pray; and that they should hold and keepe still Chratum, and the kings mount.

The letters of Frederike to the princes and pope of his successe.

Frederike now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be so necessary, as also profitable for all christians, and had also gotten as much thereby as if the wars had continued he should: he sent his legats with letters into the west, to all christian kings, princes and potentates, as also to the bishop of Rome, declaring vnto them the circumstance and successe of his iourny and wars, as partly ye haue heard; requiring them that they also would praise and giue God thanks for his good successe and profitable peace concluded. And desireth the pope, that for so much as he had now accomplished his promise, neither that there was any cause now wherefore hee should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtaine his fauor.

The emperor crowned king of Hierusalem.

In the meane season the emperor with all his army marcheth to Hierusalem: where, vpon Easter day in the yeere one thousand two hundred twenty and nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his nobles, and also the magistrates of that kingdome (onely the patriarch of Cyprus the kings legat, and Oliuer the master or captaine of the temple with his company excepted) solemnely and with great applause crowned king.

After this, he reedifieth the citie and wals thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten downe and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he buildeth vp the churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth Nazarethum and Joppen with strong garrisons, victuals, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold I pray you, whilest Frederike was thus occupied in the kingdome of Hierusalem, what practises the pope had in Italy: not I warrant you any whit at all carefull in the affaires of the christian commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischiefe and spight he might worke against the emperor, whom of set purpose he had so occupied (partly for hate, and partly to inrich himselfe) in Asia and Hierusalem, so far out of Italy ye may be sure. First, he caused the souldiers which the emperor sent for out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy warres, to be staied as they passed through Italy, letting them of their iourney, and take from them, and spoiled them of all such prouision as they had. And not onely this, but he sent secretly also his letters into Asia to those that were of his owne faction: that is, to the patriarch of Hierusalem, and souldiers that kept the temple and the hospitall, inticing and inciting them to rebell against the emperor: which thing Blondus himselfe, that popish parasit or historiographer, dissembleth or hideth not. But that he furthermore dissuaded the princes of the Saracens, that they should make no league nor take any truce with Frederike, neither deliuer vp vnto him the crowne and kingdome of Hierusalem. Which letters, as they were manifest testimonies of his trechery & treason towards him, whom God had instituted and made his liege lord and soueraigne, and mightiest potentate vpon earth: so was it his will that he should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those letters should fall into his hands. And that he kept the same letters for the more credible testimony thereof, in the same his last epistle vnto the christian princes he protesteth. The copie of which letter amongst his other epistles you shall haue expressed.

The first and secret practise of pope Gregory the ninth.

Neither were the popes letters written to that leauened and factious sect in vain: for the patriarch and his collegioners, which toke their name of the temple, did mightily repugne against Frederike. They raised a tumult in Ptolomaida against him, they accused him and his legats openly of treason, and did malipertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But as God would, by the helpe of the inhabitants of Pisa and the Genowaies, and the Duch souldiers, both their false accusations were refelled, & also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And this was the cause that when al other men reioiced and were glad of the emperors coronation, they as wicked confederators were heauy therefore, and obtrectors of his worthy laud and fame.

The emperor withstandeth the secret treason which the pope had wrought against him at Hierusalem.

The second and manifest treason of the pope against Frederike.

The pope when he had thus conspired against Frederike, and had betraied him to the publike enemy of all christian men the Turke, hee could not dissemble this his mischieuous fact, nor content himselfe therewith, but that he would deuise and practise yet another. For by reason of those slanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and slaughter of his wife Iola, hee incited John Brennus his father in law to make warre against him, who caused the subiects of his empire to withdraw from him their allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Picenum, & inhabitants of Lombardy. And thus ioining themselues togither, craued further aid of the French king, whereby they made a great power. That done, they diuided their host in two armies, inuading with the one the empire, and with the other the proper territories and ditions belonging to the inheritance of Frederike; John Brennus and Pandolph Saiellantus, leading the one (as generals) into Campania and the kingdome of Naples, and the other (with John Columna cardinall, his legat, and that Thomas before conuicted of treason being his lieutenants) he sendeth into Picenum.

Brennus, Pandolphus, Johannes Columna and Thomas the traitor, the popes generals and leaders of his host.

Of this treason of the pope against Fredericus, doth also Matthæus Parisiensis make mention during his wars in Asia, who (saith he) purposed to haue deposed him, and to haue placed *Alium quemlibet filium pacis & obedientiæ loco eius subrogare*: That is; Any other he cared not whom (so that hee were the child of peace and obedience) in his stead. And for the more certainty thereof, the said Matthæus Parisiensis, pag. 71. repeateth the letter which a certaine earle of Syria wrote vnto him concerning the same, which letter heere vnder insueth word for word.

To the high and mighty prince Fredericus by the grace of God emperor of Rome, and euer Augustus, and most puissant king of Sicilia, Thomas earle of Actran his faithfull and trustie subiect in all things, humble salutation. After your departure, most excellent prince, Gregory the bishop of Rome, and publike enemie to your magnificence, gathering togither a great power and host of men by Iohannes Brennius, late king of Hierusalem, and other stout captaines, whom he hath made generals of the same his host, as a forren enemy inuading your dominions and possessions of your highnesse subiects against the law of christianity, hath purposed and determined to vanquish and subdue you with the materiall or temporall sword, whom he cannot master and ouercome with the spirituall sword, hee saith. For the foresaid Iohn Brennus gathering out of France and other prouinces neere adioining, a great army; giueth vnto them of the treasure he hath gotten (by what meanes togither I cannot tell) great wages, in hope to recouer and get from you the empire. And furthermore, the same Iohn and others (the captaines of the sea apostolicall, inuading your land) burne and destroy all as they goe, driuing away and taking for their booties all that they can come by, as well cattell as other things, and such as they take prisoners, they constraine by afflicting them with greeuous punishments to ransome themselues for great summes of mony: neither spare they man, woman, nor child, but take and keepe your townes and castels, hauing no regard that you be in the seruice of Iesus Christ. And further, if any make mention of your maiesty vnto him, he saith, there is none other emperor but himselfe. Your friends and subiects, most excellent prince, much maruell heereupon; yea and also the clergy themselues of the empire doe maruell with what conscience, or vpon what consideration the bishop of Rome can doe the same, making such bloudy wars and slaughter vpon christian men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Peter, when he strooke with the materiall sword, to put vp the same into the scabbard, saying; All that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword. Or else by what law he daily can excommunicat such pirats, burners of mens houses, and robbers, when he is the patron & maintainer of such himselfe: hereat they greatly muse and maruell. Wherefore most mighty and renowned emperor, I beseech your highnesse to consider your owne safety, for that the said Iohn Brennus hath laid and fortified all the ports and hauens with no small company of men and souldiers: that if (not knowing thereof) your grace should arriue in any of them, the same garrisons of his should apprehend and take you as a prisoner; which thing to chance God forefend.

What meaning the pope had to send Frederike to fight gainst the Turke.

Thus whilest the host of this hostill enemy the pope was incamped in the dominions of Frederike, he receiued the letters which Frederike by his legats sent into Europa, as you heard, whereby he vnderstood the good successe hee had in Asia: who not only toke no delectation at all therein, but was also in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifestly it may appeare, what was the cause and meaning of the pope, that he was so solicitous and vrgent to haue Frederike the emperor make a voyage into Asia. Doubtlesse euen the same that Pelias had, when by his instigation he procured Iason with all the chosen youth and flower of Grecia to saile into Colchus, to fetch away the golden fleece: and that by the opportunity of his absence he might vse, or rather abuse his power and tyranny; and that Frederike might either be long afflicted and molested in the Asian war, or that he might perish and lose his life therein, was that he sought, and all that he desired.

How the pope chafeth and fretteth at the prosperous successe of the emperor.

And when he saw, that fortune neither fauored his fetches, nor serued to his longing lust, he was as a man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings of the prosperous successe of the emperor. He tare and threw his letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reuiled the legats for the emperor their masters sake: which thing also Blondus himselfe denieth not, though he write altogither in the fauor of the pope. And to the intent that he might couer this his rage and vnbridled furie with some cloke and colour of iust deserued dolor, he fained himselfe therfore so much to mislike therewith, as though the emperor therein had onely respected his owne priuat commoditie, not regarding the vtility of the christians; for that the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon)

weapon) to haue repaire vnto the sepulchre of Christ, and had left for them somewhat nére the same an hostelrie or lodging place: for which occasion (saith Blondus) his lord pope rebuked the emperors legats by the name of traitors & such like other opprobrious words. Now to go to friend Blondus, by what strong arguments proue you and your lord pope, that the peace which the emperor hath concluded, to be either against the christian commonwealth, or that the emperor was a traitor? But who is it that seeth not these things either by reading of old and ancient writers, or else partly by mee that haue gathered and collected the same out of diuers monuments and histories, and plainly perceiueth not the conspiracies and treasons of your good lord the pope so notable and filthy, as also his manifest shame and infamie? What? there be diuers that write how the pope commanded these legats of Frederike to be made secretly out of the way, and also how he commanded diuers souldiers returning out of Asia, to be slaine, to the end that none should heare the report of those good newes which were in Asia, nor none go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I wil make report of no more then of those things which all the writers with most consent agrée vpon. This is most certaine, that the pope caused this rumor to be spred of the death and taking of the emperor vpon this consideration, that he might allure vnto him the fidelity of those cities in the kingdom of Naples, which yet kept their allegiance vnto Frederike, of whom they should now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the emperor in his epistle intituled Leuate oculos greatly against him complaine.

Blondus reproued that wrote so greatly in the popes fauor.

The third practise of pope Gregory against the emperor.

Great are these iniuries of the pope against Frederike, and most wicked treasons. But herewith could not the cruell and tyrannicall mind of him be contented, nor his lust satisfied, but so far exceeded, as scarce is credible that it could: for he presumed not onely to set variance betweene Henry (whom Frederike his father had caused to be made king of Germanie) and him, but also by his allurements caused him to become an enemie vnto him. To whom when his father had assigned the duke of Boiorie (named Ludouicus) to be his ouerséer and counseller; neither knew hee amongst all the princes of Germany a man more faithfull to him in his office and duty, or else more vertuous, or else more graue and apt to be in authority: Henry fearing lest hee should vnderstand and know of these secret counsels, which he with his cõspirators had in hand against his father, or that he should vtter the same vnto him, or that he should go about to dissuade him from that he was purposed to do by authority of the court and senat of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the fetch of all their policie, that togither and at one instance (but in diuers and sundry places far one from another) sharpe and cruell war might be made against the emperor, so that his power being distract to the appealing of variable contention, might be himselfe the easier oppressed of a few.

The pope setteth the sonne against the father, as a good father of peace.

Henry Cesar at the popes inticement, putteth from him his trusty counseller Ludouicus.

When the emperor now vnderstood what stir the pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, and that he had somewhat reformed & appeased the troubles which he secretly had wrought him in the kingdome of Hierusalem, thinking to preuent the popes purpose in that he went about, and also to confirme the friendship towards him of them whom in his absence he found his trusty subiects: he left in Asia Renaldus with his garisons, commanding all the other bands to be vnder his appointment, and with all spéed came forth certaine gallies to Calabria. During the time of his there being, which vnlooked for came thither, he assembled his power, and made with his friends all the spéedy preparation that he might. From thence hee went to Berleta, where he taried twenty daies, to whom came the duke of Spoletanum with all his garisons, and so from thence with all his power he came into Apulia, and remoued John Brennus his father in law from the siege of Calatia, and within short time by Gods helpe recouereth againe all his holds and dominions there. And from thence going into Campania, he winneth Beneuentum, and as many other townes and holds as the pope had there, euen almost to Rome, and so after that, Umbria & Picena. And now although the emperor (being moued thereunto vpon good occasion, and vpon the popes worthy desert) had gotten & recouered this so likely an entrance vpon the popes dominions, whereby he might haue reuenged him of all the iniuries done to him: yet notwithstãding for that he preferred nothing before the christian and publike tranquillity (for the loue of which he restraining his wrath so vehemently vrged and kindled) sendeth vnto him his legats to intreat a peace, declaring vnto him, that if no other conceiued grudge towards him were, then that he dissembled and pretended, he promiseth that he would make to him an account voluntarily of all things that euer he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to submit himselfe vnto the church; and also for that this cause he willingly offered vnto him both duty and obseruance. Furthermore to the intreating of this peace and deciding of all controuersies, hee sent to the pope eight or ten of the noblest and chiefest about him that were princes and dukes of the empire; as Bartoldus the patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Otho prince of Dalmatia and Histria, Eberhardus Iuuanensis, Sigifridus, Reginoburgensis, Sibbotus, Augustanus a worthy prelat, Leopaldus of Austria and Styria, and Bernhardus, being all dukes; besides others of the nobilitie to accompany them.

The emperor hearing of the popes practises, returneth secretly out of Asia.

John Brennus remoued from the siege of Calatia.

God prospereth Frederike in all his affaires.

Frederike intreateth for the popes fauor although he haue no need.

But yet so great was the insolencie and pride of the stubborne pope, that by no gentlenesse or beneficence he of those princes could be brought that yéere to the profitable concord of the church and christian commonweale. O worthy head, that chalengeth all authority to himselfe in the church of Christ, and in respect of his owne wilfull reuenge, setteth nothing by the health and vtility of all christendome. Then therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the most part of these noble men departed from Rome, the next yéer after (with much adoe) a peace was made and concluded betweene them, by the helpe and industry of Leopaldus of Austria, Hermannus captaine of the Duch souldiors, and the president of Mellania. The pope then absoluing the emperor Fredericus of his excommunication, toke therefore of him 120000 ounces of gold, restoring vnto him againe the titles both of his empire, and also of his kingdomes. Now considering the vncourteous dealing of the pope with Frederike the emperor herein, who can sufficiently muse and marueil at the vnshamefastnesse of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the pope (yet notwithstanding) had dealt more gently and courteously with Frederike then was méete, or beséemed him to doe) who is it that doth not sée his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason, nor secret dissimulation? But much more truly and better writeth Cuspinianus concerning this matter, which saith, that the pope doth occupy very profitable merchandize, which for so much mony selleth that he receiued freely, paying nothing therefore, if he had receiued it of Christ in deed, as he saith he had.

The pope refuseth a peace with the emperor.

The price of the emperors absolution.

Vnshamefull Blondus.

Cuspinianus pretily girdeth the pope.

And yet although the emperor Frederike concluded with the pope this vnprofitable peace for himselfe, yet he performed those things that were agréed vpon faithfully and diligently. But the pope, which thought it but a trifle to breake his promise, would not stand to the conditions of that peace he made. For by the way, to passe ouer other things, neither had he restored as he promised, the customes in the land of Sicill, neither yet the city Castellana, which hee before the peace concluded betweene them did occupy and inioy. And that doth both Frederike in his epistles testifie, and also Fazellus in his eight booke writing of the affaires of Sicilia. Yet notwithstanding, Frederike, for the quietnes and vtility of the commonwealth, purposed with himselfe to beare and suffer these small iniuries, and further, studied in all that he might, as well by liberall gifts as otherwise, to haue the pope to be to him a trusty friend. As when the Romans and others of the ecclesiastical number made war against the pope for certaine possessions which he kept of theirs, he comming to him at Reat, and as one that tendered the vnitie of the church, and thinking to help the pope at his earnest request in these matters, sent his legats vnto them, willing them to lay downe their armor which against the pope they bare. And when that would not serue, at the popes further request and desire, he leuied an army against them at his owne charge, and draue them from the siege of Viterbium; with other such like assured tokens of amitie and friendship he shewed him. Who notwithstanding, so soone as the emperor was departed with a small company which he toke with him into Sicilia, leauing with him the greater and most part of his army for the maintenance of his wars, concluded a peace with the Romans (vnknowing to the emperor) whom he had procured to trauell and labor therein with great expences: affirming that without his will and commandement, the emperor had expelled them, and driuen them out of the territories of Viterbium. And hereof doth Frederike also himselfe make mention in his second and third epistle, where he complaineth of the iniuries of the pope towards him.

What beneficence the emperor vseth to haue the popes friendship, which he shall neuer get.

A well recompenced good turne of the pope to the emperor.

Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserued, if he had written of these treacheries of the pope, then that forgetting himselfe (as vnto liers often it chanceth) in that he writeth both contrary to himselfe in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of Fredericus his story; which saith, that the Romans were incited to these new tumults by his inciting and setting on. As though simple men of vnderstanding could not both by the offering of his sonne in hostage, by the great preparation of the wars, and by the euent specially of the thing it selfe, gather the contrary. But too too impudent will Blondus néeds shew himselfe.

Blondus taken with vntruth.

Whilest that these things were done in Italy and Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany against the emperor by Henricus Cesar and Frederike of Austria, his sons being the chiefe authors thereof. For Henry being disappointed and shaken off from his lord pope, and other conspirators by reason of the peace betweene his father and him (as ye heard) began now to make open chalenge to the empire. And for that cause, he (as before is said) put from him Ludouicus, whom he knew to be vnto the emperor his father so louing & an assured friend; who as willingly (perceiuing and smelling what mischief he went about) forsoke his court, and came to Boiorie, who had not there remained a yéere, but was as he walked abrode at a certaine time stabbed in with a dager of one Kelhemius presently died, his seruants being not far from him; of whose death diuers diuerslie write. Notwithstanding the sequell doth shew them to write truliest, that affirme the said striker to be suborned

The emperors sonnes no longer suborned, make manifest rebellion against their father.

A wicked murther of Henry Cesar for true and faithfull seruice.

suborned by Henrie Cesar: who comming vnto him in the habit of a messenger, deliuered vnto him certaine letters which he fained to be sent from the emperour. And whilest Ludouicus was in reading the same, he strake him in with a dagger and gaue him his mortal wound: and with speed fled vpon the same. After whose death succéeded in that dukedome his sonne Otho, who when solemnly according to the maner of the Boiores he should haue béen created, was also let by the same Henrie Cesar: who forbad the assemblie of the magistrates and citizens the same. They notwithstanding, neglecting his vniust restraint created him: wherefore, he first besieged Reginoburgh, and with another companie sacked, burnt, and wasted Boioria: with many more such great outrages and rebellions.

The outrage of Henrie Cesar against the emperour his father.

When intelligence was brought of these things to the emperour, he sent his legats, and commanded that both the Cesar his sonne and other princes of Germanie which had assembled their armies, should breake vp and disperse the same. And because he saw and perceiued now manifestlie that his sonne made so apparant rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections to insue in Germanie, hée thought good to preuent the same with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to go in all haste to Germanie with his armie, from whence he had now béen absent fourteene yeares, and hereunto he maketh the pope priuie. The pope promised the emperour hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalfe to all the princes of Germanie: but perswaded him to the vttermost of his power, that he should in no case go into Germanie himselfe. For why? his conscience accused him that he had written to the nobles of Germanie euen from the beginning of his papacie (for the hate and grudge he had against the emperour) that they should not suffer him, nor any of his heires to enioy the empire, and further had stirred them all vp to rebell against him; and had moued Henrie the emperors sonne by his bribes and faire promises, to conspire against his father. And to conclude, he was the author and procurer of the conspiracie which the Lombards made then against him: and fearing lest these things should come now to the emperours eare, he was greatly troubled and carefull. But the emperor not thinking it good at so needfull a time to be absent: he (all doubt set apart) with his second sonne Conradus, went spéedilie into Germanie. And assembling there a councell in the citie of Nureburgh: Henrie Cesar his sonne, after his conspiracie was manifestlie detected, which he had in practise with the Longobards (whereof the pope was chiefe author) was by iudgement and sentence of seuentie princes condemned of high treason. And being commanded by his father to be bound, was as prisoner brought to Apulia: where not long after in prison he died. In whose stead he ordained Conradus his second sonne Cesar, by consent of all the péeres and princes. Furthermore, by publike commandement he renounced Frederike Austriacus for his sonne, and for an enemie to the publike weale he caused him to be proclamed. And further, when he saw that neither that punishment could cause him to remember himselfe and acknowledge his abuse, the emperour with a great armie (accompanied with diuers of the noble men of Germanie) toke from him all Austria and Stiria, and brought them againe vnder his owne obedience and fidelitie.

The pope fearéth that his treason should be spied by the emperour going into Germanie.

Henrie Cesar condemned of treason, and dieth in prison.

Fredericus Austriacus proclamed an open enemie to his father, and disherited.

The same yéere married he with his third wife named Isabell, the daughter of king John of England. Then, when he had set Germanie in a stay and quietnesse, he left there Conradus Cesar his sonne: and with his host returneth againe into Italie, there to punish such as had with Henrie his eldest son conspired against him: whose treasons were all detected at the condemnation of Henrie Cesar his son, chiefly set on by the pope. When the pope had vnderstanding that the emperor with warlike furniture marched toward Italie: although he fained himselfe reconciled, and to be a friend to Frederike, yet was hè notwithstanding to him a most secret and infestiue enemie. And vnderstanding that he brought with him such a power, both of horsemen and footmen, to do execution of such as he vnderstood to haue béen conspirators against him in the late tumult and rebellion: those which were faultie herein and guiltie (and all other that toke their parts) he admonished to ioyne themselues together, and that they should furnish strongly their cities with garrisons, that they should send for aid to their friends, and that with all the force they were able they should prepare them for the war. The rest of the cities also in Italie, whether they were the emperours or his owne, he indeuoureth to make them all his, and proper to himselfe.

The emperour marrieth king Johns daughter of England.

The pope againe beginneth to play his part.

Furthermore, vnto the emperour he sendeth his ambassadors: to whom, vnder the pretence of nourishing a peace, he had giuen a secret commandement, that they should interdict him and his host, so soone as he came within the borders of Italy. To the preseruation of which peace, saith he, he had (but late since) promulgat a subsidy to be gathered amongst the christians, when he began the holy war. And also to say (not by way of intreatie, but commandingly) that what cause of controuersie hée had with the Longobards, the same he should commit to him, and stand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the emperour replying, maketh his legat this answere:

The popes ambassage to the emperour.

Shortlie after, saith hée, the peace was made betweéne the pope and me, he called me for a chiefe defense both of the church and himselfe, against the Romans which made war with him, and at his request, with mine owne proper charge I maintained that his war, and gaue his enemies the ouerthrow. And further said, that he should not do well through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by law and right he might and ought to do; but rather so he ought to dispose himselfe, with force to restraine and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themselues from the subiection both of him and the empire; and that such rebels as both had restrained the souldiers which the emperor sent for when he was in Asia, and diuers others also (which for necessary causes he had called to him) they had so wickedly dealt with and abused, he (as they had deserued) should rather desire to sée punished and reformed, then to maintaine them (vnder colour of peace) being so wicked and manifest euill doers. And touching that he demandeth of him, that he should commit and defer so great a cause, wherein the wealth and safetie of the empire consisteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either assignment of any time when, or adding thereunto anie condition or exception for not doing the same, neither the diminishing and impairing the dignitie and regalitie of his empire considered, he could not but maruell: seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and facultie, nor to the benefit or commoditie of the empire. To this effect also writeth Frederike in his last epistle vnto the pope, the effect whereof amongst other epistles you may reade.

The emperour againe vnto the pope.

And in the same his letters he sheweth, that when the emperour at a certaine time had béen with the pope, at his going away, he requested that when he came againe, he would come into Italie, but with his houshold band and familie; for that if he should come as before he did accustome with his armie, he should terrifie them ouermuch; amongst whom (saith he) you may assure your selfe to be in great safetie, and find all things in rest and quiet; when quite contrarie (as the emperour for a certaintie had tried) he had there all things readie and prepared for his destruction: so that when he pretended vnto him greatest friendship, he was busiest in conspiring his death. The certaine time when the pope had this exercise in hand against the emperour I cannot search out, neither may it be in his epistles vndated easily found out; but that of the certaintie thereof no man need to doubt, I haue alligned you to the emperours epistle, where he maketh mention of the same.

A secret conspiracie of the pope against the emperour.

The emperour then, as he had determined, prosecuteth his purpose and marcheth into Italie, where he brought vnder his subiection those cities that against him rebelled, as Mantua, Verona, Ternillum, Patauium, and others. And then he afterward set vpon the great host of the Mediolanenses, the Brixians, the Placentines, and other confederators, vnto whom the popes legat Georgius Longomontanus had ioyned himselfe, of whom he toke 1000 prisoners, and also their generall, being the chiefe magistrat in the citie of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus the dukes sonne of Venice, and slew diuers captaines more, and toke all their ensignes. And in this battel, specially at the recouering of Marchie and Ternillana, he vsed the friendly aid of Actiolinus.

The emperour marcheth into Italie, notwithstanding the popes forbidding.

The pope now somewhat dismaid at this ouerthrow of his confederats and mates (though not much) began yet somewhat to feare the emperour, and whereas before, that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to worke with might and maine to subdue and depriue the emperour. And although the emperour saw and perceiued what inward hate and mortall malice he bare towards him, not only by that he so apertly stood with his conspirators against him, but also that on euery side he heard, and from all parts was brought him certaine word how greatly he laboured against him, as with opprobrious words, naughtie reports and slanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelitie of his subiects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take vp and cease from such euill and wicked practises: yet notwithstanding for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace betweéne them a little before concluded, hée sendeth foure legats to the bishop of Rome, which should answere vnto and refute those crimmous obiections which he laid vnto him, as also make him priuie vnto his purpose, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocencie towards him (in such causes) and simplicitie.

The emperour loth to breake the peace of late concluded.

The bishop when he vnderstood these ambassadors to be not farre off from Rome, and knew the cause of their comming, hée thought with himselfe, that in hearing the excuse and reasonable answere of the emperour, perhaps might be prouoked to desist from his purpose, & so degenerat from others of his predecessors, refuseth to speake with them, and at the day appointed pronounceth the sentence of proscription against him, depriuing him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatiues, kingdomes, and whole empire. And that hée had no occasion hereunto, as well Pandulphus and Colonucius, as the letters of the emperour himselfe do both right well declare. For it may appeare, hée dedicated as it were himselfe to his vtter ruine and destruction, when he did sollicitat against Fredericus, Jacobus Tenopolus the Venetian duke, whom for the displeasure hée toke with the emperour in the imprisoning of

The pope refuseth to speake with the emperours legats.

The new sentence of proscription against the emperour.

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his sonne, was in good hope he should allure vnto him, he being in so troublous a time such a comforter and aider vnto him, that as Blondus writeth in a certaine epistle gratulatory, he calleth him lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and lord of halfe of the Roman empire. And calling vnto him the Venetian and Genowetian legats, made a peace betwixt them (which for certaine causes about their sea coasts were at variance) and couenanted with them vpon this condition, that at their publike charges, they should rig and man fiue and thirtie gallies, which should spoile and burne all alongst the sea coasts of the kingdomes and dominions of Frederike.

The pope wageth and hireth fiue and thirtie gallies to spoile the coasts of the emperour.

But the pope when he saw the good will and fidelitie which the duke of Venice bare vnto the emperour, and saw also what aid the emperour had of him, neither that he was like to winne him to his purpose: then had he recourse againe to his old craftie practises and subtilties. And further deuised to put forth an edict at Rome to the vniuersall church and people, the beginning whereof is, Ascendit de mari bellica bestia: wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and giueth the emperor to the diuell of hell, and hath deiect him from all his princelie dignitie. Hee in the same accuseth him of so manie and so huge a heape of mischiefes, as to nominat them my heart detesteth. And besides that, he restraineth his soueraigne lord and emperour of the appellation which euerie priuat man by law may haue. He slandereth him of treason, periurie, crueltie, sacrilege, killing of his kind, and all impietie; he accuseth him for an heretike, a schismatike and a miscreant: and to be briefe, what mischiefe soeuer the pope can deuise, with that doth he charge him and burthen him. All this doth he, saith the pope, that when he hath brought our holinesse and all the ecclesiasticall estate to beggerie, he might scoffe at, and deride the religion of Christ, which as a miscreant he detesteth. And now for that the pope had a great and speciall trust in Albertus Behauus of the noble house called Equestri (as craftie an apostle as the best) as one whom he saw readie to leane to his lust: to him the pope deliuered two other mandats in seuerall letters sealed, in which he commanded all bishops, prelats, and other of the clergie, that they should solemnely recite the same in their churches in stead of their sermon, that by his decree hee had excommunicated Frederike out of the fellowship of christian men, put him from the procuration or gouernment of the empire, and that hee had released al his subiects of their allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them, and all other christian men vnder paine of cursing and damnation, that neither they succour the emperour, nor yet so much as wish him well. Thus he, being the popes speciall and trustie seruiter, and made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of publike quietnesse, as shall after appeare.

The popes edict against the emperour.

Ascendit de mari bellica bestia.

Albertus Behauus the popes one hand.

The pope threateneth to curse all those that wish well to the emperour.

Amongst all other noblemen of Germanie at that time towards the emperour, was Otho the gouernor of Rhenus and duke of Boioza, both most seruiceable, and also a prince of great honor, riches, and estimation. This prince, both with faire promises and also rewards he enticed from him: for that being made by him to beleeue, that Ludouicus his father, of whom we spake before, was by the emperour murthered and slaine. And the same Otho againe caused three other princes and dukes to reuolt from the emperor to the pope, which were neighbours and neere adioyning vnto him, as Wencellaus, and Belus, princes of the Hungarians, and Henrie duke of Polonia. To whom came also Fredericus Austriacus his sonne: who because he was proscript or outlawed of his father, and had his dukedome walled and burnt, as you heard, was easily wonne vnto the pope. These gathering a councell (when they had thought to haue translated the empire vnto the kings sonne of Denmarke) desired to haue the popes legats to be sent from him, to the effect of that election.

Otho with diuers other princes of Germanie, by the popes meanes do forsake the emperour.

The emperour was at Patauium when these newes were brought vnto him, what the pope had done at Rome. Therefore he commanded Peter de Veneis his secretarie (vpon Easter day) to make a narration to the people of his great and liberall munificence to the bishops and church of Rome, and againe of the iniuries of them toward him in recompence thereof: of his innocencie also in that whereof he had accused him, and of the vnseemelinesse of such an act or deed, of the right vse of the ecclesiasticall censure, and of the errors and abuse of the church of Rome. By which oration of his, he so remoued the cloud from many mens hearts of blind superstition, and the conceiued opinion of holinesse of the church of Rome, and bishops of the same, and also of their vsurped power and subtill persuasion, that both they plainly saw and perceiued the vices and filthinesse of the church of Rome and bishops of that see, as also their fraudulent deceits and flagitious doings, most vehemently lamenting and complaining of the same. Albertus maketh mention of certaine verses which were sent and written betweene the bishop of Rome and the emperour. The which verses in the latter end of this present historie of Frederike you shall find.

What great good the oration of Peter de Veneis did in the emperours behalfe.

The emperour moreouer both by his letters and legats, giueth intelligence vnto all christian kings, to the princes of his owne empire, to the colledge of cardinals, and people of Rome; as well of the fained crimes wherewith hee was charged, as also of the crueltie of the bishop of Rome against him. The copie of which letter or epistle followeth heere vnder inserted.

¶ The emperour to the prelats of the world.

The emperours letter to all prelats to bridle the pope and restraine him of his will.

IN the beginning and creation of the world, the inestimable foreknowledge and prouidence of God (who asketh counsell of none) created in the firmament of heauen two lights (a greater and a lesse) the greater he created to gouerne the day, and the lesse to gouerne the night: which two so do their proper offices and duties in the Zodiake, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique respect vnto the other, yet the one is not enemie to the other: but rather doth the superiour communicat his light with the inferiour. Euen so, the same eternall foreknowledge hath appointed vpon the earth two regiments, that is, to wit, priesthood and kinglie power: the one for knowledge and wisdome, the other for defence; that man, which is made of two parts (ouer wanton and dissolute) might haue two raines to gouerne and bridle him withall, that peace thereby and loue might dwell vpon the face of the earth. But alas, the bishop of Rome sitting in the chaire of peruerse doctrine or pestilence, that pharisie annointed with the oile of iniquitie aboue the rest of his consorts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from heauen; indeuoureth with his power to destroy and vndo all, and thinketh (I beleeue) to stellifie againe himselfe there from whence he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the light of our vnspotted life, whilest that (altering the veritie into lies) his papall letters stuft with all vntruths, are sent into sundrie parts of the world: of his owne corrupt humor, and vpon no reasonable cause, blemishing the sinceritie of our religion. The lord pope hath compared vs vnto the beast rising out of the sea, full of names of blasphemie, and spotted like a leopard. But we say, that he is that monstrous beast of whom it is said, and of whom we thus reade: And there shall come another red horse out of the sea, and he that shall sit on him, shall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell vpon the earth destroy him. For since the time of his promotion, he hath not bin the father of mercie, but of discord: a diligent steward of desolation in stead of consolation, and hath inticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right sense and interpretation, he is that great dragon that hath deceiued the whole world: he is that antichrist, of whom hee hath called vs the forerunner: he is that other Balaam hired for money to curse vs: the prince of darkenesse, which hath abused the prophets. This is the angell leaping out of the sea, hauing his phials filled with bitternesse, that he may both hurt the sea and the land: the counterfeit vicar of Christ, that setteth forth his owne imaginations. He saith that we do not rightlie beleeue in the christian faith, and that the world is deceiued with three manner of deceiuers, which to name God forbid we should open our mouth, seeing that openly we confesse only Iesus Christ our Lord and Sauiour to be the euerlasting sonne of God, coequall with his Father and the holy Ghost, begotten before all worlds, and in processe of time sent downe vpon the earth for the saluation of mankind: conceiued, not by the seed of man, but by the holy Ghost: which was borne of the glorious virgin Marie, and after that suffered and died as touching the flesh: and by his Godhead the third day, he raised from death that other nature which he assumed in the wombe of his mother. But we haue learned, that the bodie of Mahomet hangeth in the aire, and his soule is buried in hell: whose workes are damnable and contrarie to the law of the most high. Wee affirme also, that Moses was the faithfull seruant of God, and a true teacher of the law: and that hee talked with God in mount Sinai, vnto whom the Lord said, *Rubum*, &c. By whom also God wrought miracles in Aegypt, and deliuered the law written to the Israelites, and that afterwards with the elect he was called to glorie. In these and other things our enemie and enuier of our state, causing our mother the church to accuse her sonne, hath written against vs venemous and lying slanders, and sent the same to the whole world. If he had rightly vnderstood the apostles meaning, he would not haue preferred his violent will before reason, which beareth such swaie with him: neither would hee haue sent out his mandats to the suggestion of those which call light darkenesse, and euill good; which suspect honie to bee gall, for the great good opinion they had conceiued of that holie place, which indeed is both weake and infirme, and conuerteth all truth into falsehood, and affirmeth that to be which is not.

Man being made of two parts hath two seuerall regiments, Gods word and the material sword.

The apologie of the emperour to the popes edict. *Ascendit de mari, &c.*

Antichrist long agone described to the world by the emperour.

The confession of the emperors faith, whereof he was accused by the pope.

The pope vnder pretence of his holinesse deceiueth simple soules and ignorant men.

Trulie my opinion (so indifferent on euerie side) ought not in any case to be infringed and auerted from the faith, to such enemies of so corrupt a conscience. Wherefore wee greatly are inforced not a little to maruell, which thing also doth much disquiet vs to see: that you which be the pillers and assistants in office of righteous dealing, the senators of Peters citie, and the principal beames in Gods building, haue not qualified the perturbation of so fierce a iudge: as do the planets of heauen in their kind, which to mitigat the passing swift course of the great orb or sphere of heauen, draw a contrary way by their opposit mouings. In verie deed, our imperiall felicitie hath bin (almost euen from the beginning) spurned against, and enuied at of the papall see and dignitie: as Simonides being demanded whie

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The answere of Simonides applied.

while he had no more enemies and enuiers of his state, answered and said; *Quia nihil fœliciter gessi:* For because (saith he) I haue had no good successe in any thing that euer I tooke in hand. And so, for that wee haue had prosperous successe in all our enterprises (the Lords name be blessed therefore) especially in the ouerthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrell he promised life and absolution with remission of their sins, is the cause wherefore this apostolicall bishop mourneth and lamenteth. And now, not by your counsels (I suppose) he laboureth to impugne this our felicitie, but of his owne power of binding and loosing, whereof he glorieth so much, he impugneth it. But presently where power and abilitie wanteth to redresse, there doth abuse take place. We see in him which was so mightie a king, and the worthiest prince amongst all the prophets, to desire and craue the restitution of Gods holy spirit, when he had polluted the dignitie of his office. But the prouerbe is, *Vti indissolubilia non soluuntur, ita inligabilia non ligantur.* As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound, are not to be bound. Which thing manifestlie is proued in him. For why, the Scriptures of God do instruct men how to liue, they mortifie our souls which are immortall, and quicken the same which are dead for want of life. And doubtlesse he is able to humble and bring downe those that are vnworthie of dignitie, as much as him pleaseth, and when him pleaseth. Doubtlesse, if the bishop of Rome were a true bishop indeed, innocent, impollute, and not associat with wicked liuers and euill men, his life should declare him so to be. He would not then be an offerer of dissensious sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of loue and charitie, and would cense, not with the incense of griefe and hatred, but with the sweet smelling incense of concord and vnitie, neither yet would alter *Suum pontificium in maleficium:* that is, make of a sanctified office an execrable abuse. If hee were such a bishop as he ought to bee, hee would not wrest or abuse the preaching of the word, into the fruit and gaine of his owne dissension, neither should we bee accused for such an enemie of our mother the true church, as is laid vnto her sonnes charge by such a bishop. Which true and mother church, with all reuerence we honor, and benignitie embrace, so beautified and adorned with Gods most holy sacraments. Some singular persons notwithstanding, faining themselues to be our brethren by that mother, and yet are not, but of a strumpet begot: such, I say, as are subiect and slaues to corruptible things (putting them from amongst vs) we vtterly reiect: especially for that iniuries by them done, are not only transitorie and mundane, wherewith our maiestie is so molested, vexed and grieued. Wherefore we cannot so easily mitigat our mood, neither ought we in very deed so to do, and therefore are we inforced the more to take the greater reuenge of them. You therfore that are men of graue and deliberat counsell, hauing the excellent gift (as from God) of wisedome and vnderstanding; refuse you that roring enemie of ours in these his proceedings, whose beginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past, with those to come. Otherwise, you that are vnder our subiection, as well of our empire as other our dominions, shall feele and perceiue (both of my chiefe enemie and persecutor, as also of the princes that are his fautors and adherents) what reuenge by sword Fredericus Augustus shall take vpon them, God so permitting.

The emperour vpbraideth of the popes fall.

The emperour vtterly reiecteth the pope and church of Rome.

This done, he denounceth a solemne parlement or councell of all the princes and other nobilitie of the empire at Aegra; whither came Conradus Cesar, Moguntinus præsul, the Saxon dukes, the lords of Brandeburgh, Misna, Thuringus, and the legats of all the nobles of Brabant to aid the emperor. But the princes of Boiemus and Palatinus being disswaded by the legats, vnto whom the Austrians had ioyned themselues, refused to come to the councell holden at Aegra. And being at their wits end, not knowing well what they might do, forsoke at last the emperour, and tooke part with the pope and the other conspirators. Then Fredericus Austriacus the emperours second sonne (whom he disherited as ye heard) by the aid of the Boiors and Bohemians, recouered againe the dukedomes of Austria and Stiria, putting to flight and discomfitting the emperours bands and garrisons which he had there. And although the cardinals (especially that honest man Albertus Boiemus) had allured to the pope Otho the duke of Boioria, as ye heard, and diuers other noble men of Germanie: yet notwithstanding certaine bishops in Boioria (as Eberhardus Iuuanensis, and Sigrefridus Seginoburgensis, being at that time the emperors chancellor, Rudicenus Ratheuiensis, Conradus Frisingensis, and others) left not or yet forsoke the emperour. All which the foresaid Albertus not only did excommunicat, but also by processe sought to bring them vp to Rome before the pope, giuing commandement to their collegioners and cloisterers, that they should depriue them of their offices, and chuse such others in their stead as would obey the pope. All which things the pope vnderstanding by Albertus, and of this their fidelitie to the emperour, corroborated and confirmed the same his doings, commanding them to chuse other bishops in their steads.

The emperour called a parlement or councel to appease the popes malice.

The godly bishops of Germanie are obedient to the king and prince.

But the bishops and prelats with one consent contemning the popes mandats and writs, and also the curses and threatnings of Albertus, accused, reproued, and greatly blamed his temeritie and also tyrannie which he vsurped against the churches of Germanie, and especially against the good emperour, that without his consent he durst be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the emperours gouernment against the old and ancient customes, and that he had excommunicated the emperour without iust cause, that he had condemned the emperours faithfull subiects as enemies to the church for standing with their liege and soueraigne prince (which allegiance to violat, without horrible iniquitie they might not) and so had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations, and had also in that quarrell giuen such defiance to the emperour. They accused and condemned the same Albertus also for a most impudent impostour and wicked varlet, and for a most pestiferous botch and sore of the christian commonweale: and giue him to the diuell they do, as a ruinous enemie, as well of the church as of his owne naturall countrie; and further thinke him worthie to haue his reward with the rest of the popes pursuants, being the most wicked inuenters and deuisers of mischiefs that were in all Germanie. This done, they make relation hereof to the emperor by their letters; and further, they aduertise all the princes of Germanie (especiallie those which were of the popes faction or rebellion, and were the fauourers of Albertus) that they should take heed and beware in any case of his subtill deceits and pernicious deceiueable allurements, nor that they should assist the pope for all his words against the emperour. And doubtlesse by the counsell of the high prelat or archbishop of Boioria (whose name was Iuuanensis) and by his industrie and perluasion, Fredericus Austriacus was againe reconciled vnto the emperour his father, from whose aid and obedience after that (by no promises, threatnings, bribes, nor paines, no nor for the execrable curses of the popes owne holy mouth) he would be induced or remoued. But Albertus prosecuteth still his purposed mischiefe, alluring and inciting by all meanes possible (and that not amongst the worst but the best) friends to the pope, and enemies to the emperour. Vnto some he gaue their tithes to fight against the emperour, to other some he gaue the glebe lands of benefices, and to other some he gaue the spoile of such colledges and monasteries as tooke not part with the pope; and to some other also he gaue the colledges and monasteries themselues. And assuredly I find by Iohannes Auentinus, lib. 7, annalium Boiorum, that there were certaine of the popes owne birds, that had their ecclesiasticall tithes taken from them; and other some had the rents and reuenues of their colledges pluckt away by force to the maintenance of the popes quarrell against the emperor. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they lusted (euerie man according to his rauening and detestable lust) and all things lay open vnto their greedie and insatiable desires. Who lusteth to heare more hereof, let him reade Auentinus in his booke before noted, and there shall he see what vastation grew thereby to the whole state of Germanie, who largely intreateth of the same.

The bishops of Germanie excommunicat the popes legat and cardinall.

Iuuanensis the bishop a true subiect to his prince.

The passage of the pope to maintaine the war against his lord and master.

While these things were thus in working in Germanie, Frederike leauing in Lombardie Aciolinus with a great part of his host (he passing with the rest by Apeninum) came to Hetruria and set the same in a stay, after that he had allaied certain insurrections there, and from thence to Pisas, where he was with great amitie and honor receiued and welcommed. This citie was alwaies assured and faithfull to the emperours of Germanie. The pope vnderstanding of the emperours comming into Hetruria, and knowing what power the emperour had also left in Lombardie, he with a great armie besieged the citie Ferraria, that alwaies loued the emperour full well: which citie when the popes legat had assaulted sharpely the space of fiue moneths, and could not win the same; he deuised with himselfe to send for Salingwerra out of the towne, by way of a parlee, promising his faith and truth to him for his safe returne. Who, by the persuasion of Hugo Bambartus, that said without perill he might do the same (being but by way of parlee) was comming to the legat: who preuenting him in his iourney tooke him as prisoner, contrarie to his truth and fidelitie. And thus gat hee Ferraria, and deliuered the keeping thereof to Azones Atensis. And that the popes legat thus falsified his truth, and circumuented the captaine and old man Salingwerra, the same is confessed of the popes friendly historiographers, to be but a stratagem or warlike policie. But to returne againe. About the same time also the Venetian naute, at the mount Garganum chased twelue gallies of the emperours, which were appointed to the keeping of that coast, and spoiled, burnt, and wasted all the region: and further tooke one of the emperours great shippes, being driuen by tempest and weather into the hauen Sipontium, fraught with men and munition.

The pope besieged Ferraria.

The fidelitie of papists learned by this example.

The emperours gallies chased, and one of his ships taken by the pope.

Fredericus againe getting on his side the Lucenses, the Volaterans, the Genenses, the Aretines, and diuers cities besides in Hetruria to helpe that countrie, came to Pisas and Viterbium, which tooke part with him. Some say, that the names and factions of Gibellins and Guelphs sprang from Frederike, that by them he might spie and know (hauing recourse to all the townes and cities in Italie) which tooke part with, and fauoured the pope, and which the emperour; and called the one by the name of Gibellins, and the other by the

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name of Guelphs. But for that both Blondus, and Platina, and some others, bring no sufficient proofe thereof, but only by slender coniecture, I rather cleaue to the opinion of Nauclerus, Hermannus, Antoninus, Florentinus, and other such writers, which say: that these Guelphus and Gebelins in Italie toke their beginning of Conradus the third, Fredericus his great vncle being emperour; and that these Guelphs were dedicated to the pope, of Guelphs the yonger brother of Henrie the proud: and that those which were called the Gibelins, were appointed either of Conradus himselfe or else of his son, being brought vp in the lordship of Waiblingen. But to our purpose.

The Gibelins and Guelphs from whence they came.

The pope afraid of the emperours comming into Italie.

The pope, when he vnderstood that Frederike was come to Viterbium, he was verie heauie: for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which citie the pope much mistrusted. He therefore caused a supplication to be drawne, portraying about the same the heads of Peter and Paul, and with a sharpe and contumelious oration he much defaced the emperour: promising them euerlasting life, and gaue them the badge of the crosse, as many as would arme themselues and fight against the emperour, as against the most wicked enemie of God and the church. Now when the emperour marching somewhat neere to Rome gates, beheld those whom the pope had with his goodly spectacle of S. Peter and S. Paul, and with his alluring oration stirred vp against him, and marked with the badge of the crosse to come forth in battell against him; disdaining to be accounted for the enemie of the church, who had been thereunto so beneficiall, giuing a fierce charge vpon them, put them some to flight: and as many as he toke (cutting off that badge from them) he caused to be hanged. From thence he marching into Campania and his owne kingdoms, leuied a great masse of money, and mustered new bands, and augmented his armie: and in these bands he retained the Saracens also. And to the intent he might find the Saracens the more trustie vnto him; he appointed them to inhabit in a citie named Luceria. For which thing, although the papisticall writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write of Frederike, yet notwithstanding, Nicolaus Machiauellus doth write, that therefore he retained them; lest that through the popes execrable curses he should be quite destitute of souldiers, as was Fredericus Barbarossa a little before, his grandfather, when that of Alexander the pope he was excommunicated, as yee haue heard.

The emperour hangeth all the crossed souldiers.

The emperour retaineth the Saracens in his wars against the pope.

After this, when the emperour had greatly afflicted by battell the popes ecclesiasticall consorts, such as conspired with the pope against him, and that he had wasted and destroyed Beneuentum, the mount Casenum, and Sora, for that they toke part with the pope against him; Frederike, when he had manned the citie of Aquila, marched forth with a great host both of horsemen and footmen to Picenum, that he might banquish his enemies in Italie. And by the way, hee besieged the strong towne of war named Asculinum, which was also conuerted to the popes faction and rebellion. He there hauing vnderstanding what the popes assistents had done with the princes electors and other princes of Germanie, especially with Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and Otho Palatinus, writeth his letters vnto them. In the which, first he sheweth how that those contumelies and spightful words which the pope blustred out against him, are lighted vpon himselfe, and how the bishops of Rome haue taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are become so loftie, that not only they seeke to bring emperors, kings, and princes vnder their obedience, but also seeke how to be honored as gods, and say that they cannot erre, neither yet be subiect or bound to any religion, and that it is lawfull for them to do all things what they list, neither that any account is to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any, so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as princes they command (and that vnder paine of cursing) that men beleeue euerie thing they say, how great a lie soeuer it be. In so much that by this couetousnesse of his, all things goe backward, and the whole state of the commonweale is subuerted, neither can there any enemie be found more hurtfull or perilous to the church of God then he. He wrote vnto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greatest charge and dignitie was in the whole commonweale appointed and committed) seeing and perceiuing to his great perill, their good hearts, wils, and practises towards him, would with all the power and abilitie that God had giuen him, do his indeuour: that he which in the likenesse of the shepheard of the flocke, and the seruant of Christ, and chiefe prelat in the church, sheweth himselfe so verie a wolfe, persecutor & tyrant; may be remoued from that place, and that a true and carefull shepheard of Gods flocke may be appointed in the church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, that if they desire the safetie and preseruation of the whole state of the commonweale and empire; that they be vnto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and procéedings: lest otherwise, they also should happen to fall into the same snare of seruitude with the bishop of Rome. And further, he gaue them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he sought for (that is, to be an emperour and king ouer kings) yet should that be no stay of his insatiable desire, but would be as greedie and rauenous as now he is. Therefore if they be wise, to withstand him betimes, lest hereafter when they would, it should be to late, neither were able to withstand his tyrannie. The effect of this epistle I toke out of Auentine, which more largely dilateth it, who also writeth that the emperour (by his legats) sent the same to Wenceslaus.

No enemy more hurtfull to the church of God then is the pope.

The effect of a letter sent by the emperour to the princes of Germanie.

The emperour volweth to remoue the pope, and put another more carefull shepheard into the church of God.

Boiemus somewhat relenting at this letter, promiseth to accomplish the emperors biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assemblie of princes and nobles at Aegra; where, by common consent they thinke to renouat with the emperour a new league and couenant. And furthermore they find Otho Boius (which was absent, and would not be at this their assemblie) to be the author of this defection, and an enemie to the commonweale. Otho then seeing himselfe not able to stand against Cesar and the other princes with whom he was associat, desiring aid of the pope by his letters, came with all speed to Boiemus his kinsman, whom when he could not persuade vnto him againe, neither would he to their parts also be wonne, obtaineth notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the league and couenant (which they were in hand to make with the emperour) might for a time be deferred, and that another assemblie might be made, whereat he also would be, and ioyne himselfe with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched also his sonne, and brought him to be both a rebell and a traytor. In the meane season the pope sent his rescript vnto the king of Bohemia and to Otho, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the church, to take the emperours part. And so much preuailed he by the meanes of Bohuslaus and Budislaus (which were the chiefest of the senat regall) and by his faire promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that againe at Libusta by Boiemus and Boius new assemblies were gathered for the creation of a new emperour, in despite of Augustus the emperour and Cesar his sonne. And whilest that this was thus in hand, Conradus Cesar calleth Landhuta the wife of Otho (being absent) in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her husband had, and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that vnlesse her husband toke a better way with himselfe and shewed his obedience to the emperour his father, that he should not inioy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conradus Cesar came thus: Fredericus Barbarossa in the yeere of our Lord 1180, at a parlement holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Henricus Leo of high treason, and depriued him of his dominions of Boiora and Saronie, and gaue Boiora to Otho Wiltaspachius, for that he had done him so faithfull seruice in his Italian wars. After that, Ludouicus the sonne of this Otho, obtained of this emperour Frederike the second, in recompence of his assured and trustie fidelitie the dition of Palatinatum Rheni so called, which gaue also Agnetes the daughter of Henrie earle of Palatine to Otho his sonne in marriage. This Henrie was the sonne of Henrie Leo the traitor, vnto whom Henrie the first the father of Frederike gaue in marriage Clementia his brothers daughter Conradus Palatine of Rhenus, and gaue vnto him the keeping of the palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boiora, that hee had also now long possessed by the heires of Otho Wiltelspachius. But to our purpose againe.

Boiemus relenteth at the emperours letter.

The practise of Otho with the pope against the emperour.

The popes rescript dasheth all the matter againe.

By what means Otho attained to great possession by the emperour and his ancestors.

At the same time also the gouernour of Colonia Agrippina reuolted to the pope, who not long after in a skirmish betweene Wrabantinus and him, was vanquished and taken prisoner. And doubtlesse, Fredericus Austriacus after he was receiued into fauour againe with the emperor (keeping most constantly his promise and fidelitie renued) during this time, made sharpe war vpon the Hungarians, which toke part with the pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in Germanie, the emperour when he had gotten Ascalum and led his host into Flamminia, hauing Rauenna at his commandement, from thence came to Fauentia, which citie neuer loued the emperour: the circuit of whose wals is fiue miles in compasse, and pitched his campe round about the same. And although the siege was much hindered by asperitie of the time and weather (being in the verie dead time of winter) yet notwithstanding through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his souldiers in the painfulnes of the laborious siege, he indured out the same, who thought it no little shame, hauing once made that enterprise, to come from thence without any assault giuen. And therefore when now the winter (so extreame cold and hard) was well neere ended, and the spring time now hard at hand, and by long batterie had made the same in diuers places saltable: the citizens (being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof) sent their legats to the emperour, craning pardon for their offence, and that he would grant vnto them their liues, and so yeelded themselues vnto his mercie.

The gouernour of Agrippina reuolteth to the pope.

The emperours great lenitie and clemencie, but yet marueilously inforced.

The emperour hauing against them good and sufficient cause of reuenge, yet for that his noble heart thought it to be the best reuenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men: hee thought it better to grant them their requests, to saue the citie and citizens thereof, with innumerable people, then by armes to make the same his souldiers prey, to the destruction both of the citie, and great number of people therein. So doth this good emperour in one of his epistles, Adacta nobis, confesse himselfe. Which epistle, to declare the lenitie and mercifull heart

heart of so worthie a prince, if that with great and marueilous prouocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the middest of the historie heere to haue placed. But thus I haue kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

In this siege the emperour hauing spent and consumed almost all his treasure both gold and siluer, caused other money to be made of leather, which on the one side had his image, and on the other side the spread eagle (the armes of the empirie) and made a proclamation, that the same should passe from man to man for all necessaries in stead of other money, and therewithall promised, that whosoeuer brought the same money vnto his exchekier when the wars were ended, he would giue them gold for the same, according to the value of euerie coine limited: which thing afterward truly and faithfully hee performed, as all the historiographers do accord.

The emperour inforced to make his money of leather.

Thus when the pope, as before is said, had stopped his eares, and would not heare the emperors legats that came to intreat for peace, but reiected and despised his most courteous and equall demands; neither yet had left any wilie policie vnattempted or force vnpractised, that with his confederats he thought himselfe either able to reuenge or else resist: he by his legats calleth to a councel at Rome, al such prelats out of Italy, France, and England, as he thought to fauor him and his procéedings, that hereby as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helpes might depriue Frederike of his empire, as an vtter enemie to God and to the church. All which things Fredericus hauing vnderstanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be put to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to Rome, as well by sea as by land in all that euer he might. So that all the passages by land being now stopped and preuented, he commanded his son Henrie with certaine gallies to go and keepe the coasts of Sardinia, which kingdome the Italians call Entimum: and from thence to Pisas, and with the Pisans to rig out a naule to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aid the pope at Rome. The popes champions vnderstanding that by land they could not safely repaire to Rome: they procured of gallies and ships out of Genoa (hauing Gulielmus Bzaccius for their chiefe captaine or admirall) fortie saile for their defence: thinking hereby, that if they should fortune to meet with any of the emperours ships or gallies, which should lie for them in watt, they should be able to make their part good, and giue them also the repulse. Encius in like maner and Huglinus (being captaine and admirall of the Pisan naule for the emperour) lanched forth to sea with fortie ships and gallies: and betwixt the iles of Lilium and Mons Christi, which lie betweene Liburnium and Corsica, they met with the Genowaies ships; and straightwaies fiercely began to grapple with them and bord them, in which fight at length were three of the Genowaies ships both bouiged and sunke, and two and twentie taken and brought away, with all the riches and treasure in them. In these were taken three legats of the popes, whereof were two cardinals, Iacobus Columna, Otho Marchio, and Gregorius de Romania (all cruell enemies against the emperour) and many other prelats more: besides a great number of legats and procurators of cities, with an infinit number of monkes and priests, besides of Genowaies souldiers 6000, with diuers others.

The pope sendeth for forren aid and is preuented.

The emperour riggeth forth a naule to the sea.

A great victorie on the sea against the popes confederats by the emperours naule.

Pandolphus Colonutius in describing the circumstances of the great losse & misfortune of these champions of the pope by sea, amongst the rest declareth: that besides the great prey and bootie which the takers had from them, they also found manie writings and letters against Frederike, which much holpe him in the defence of those causes, wherein they had labored against him. The like mischance also almost about that time happened on the popes side, by the emperours souldiers which lay in the garrison at Ticinum, thus: There went forth vpon a time out of Ticinum into the borders of Genowaies, certaine bands to giue them larums in the countrie: which bands, the scuriers of Mediolanum (where lay a great garrison of the popes) discrying, told the captaine of the towne, that now a verie opportune and fit time was to giue an assault to Ticinum: for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a foraging. Whereupon they immediatly calling togither the captaines and such as had charge, set their souldiers in array and marched forward to Ticinum. And now when they were come almost thither, the Ticinian bands (whom they thought to haue béen far a foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gaue a full charge vpon them: who, being dismaied at the suddennesse of the matter, fought not long but gaue ouer and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slaine) three hundred and fiftie captaines, and brought prisoners into Ticinum with all their ensignes with them.

The emperour obtaineth another victorie by land at Ticinum against the pope and his confederats.

The emperour thinketh to make the pope afraid.

Newes hereof was brought to the emperor not long after, who then was remoouing from the siege of Fauentia (as yée heard) to the citie of Bononium, thinking to haue destroyed the same. But vpon the hearing of these good newes, he altereth his purpose, and thinking to haue hereafter a more conuenient time thereunto, leadeth his armie towards Rome: and in the way he reconciled to him the citie of Pisarum. But Fanum, for that the townesmen shut their gates and would not suffer the emperour to come in, he tooke by force and destroyed. For the emperor séeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawfull excusation hée could doe any good with him, thought, that by his sudden comming thither, and with feare of the perill imminent, he might be brought to some vniformitie, and caused to leaue off his accustomed pertinacie. And although the emperour was too strong for him, yet for that hée regarded nothing more then the publike tranquillitie of the empire, and that he might then take the Tartarian wars in hand, if he could by any meanes conclude, he refused not so to intreat a peace with him, as though he had béen both in force and fortune much his inferiour.

Whilest that this ruffle was betwixt the emperor and the pope, Ochodarius the emperour of the Tartarians his sonne, with a great power and prouision made, inuaded the borders next adioining vnto him, and there wan Rorolanum, Bodolum, Budanum, with diuers other cities, townes, and villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the countries all about, killing and slaying man, woman and child, sparing none of anie ser or age. At whose sudden inuasion, the people being in such feare and perplexitie (hauing no citie, no refuge, nor aid to stand in defence for them) were faine to leaue all that euer they had, and disperse themselues into woods, and flie into marishes and mountaines, or whersoeuer any succour else did offer it selfe to them. And by this time the Tartarian host was come as farre as Uratislauia, where Henricus of Polonia and the duke of Silesia with their armies met with them, who for the inequalitie of the number and small strength they were of, had soone an ouerthrow, and almost all their souldiers being slaine, they themselues were taken and put to the sword. From thence they came to Morauia, and from thence to the kingdome of Bohemia: which countrie while the king kept himselfe in strong defenced forts, and durst not come abroad, hée inuaded and destroyed all Hungarie, putting to flight and vanquishing Colmannus the brother of Belus the fourth king of Hungarie, by whom also was great spoile made in both the Pannonias, Misiarum, Bulgaria, and Seruia. When Belus the king of Hungarie had gotten to Pola (which is a citie of Illiria) vnto Otho the duke of Dalmatia, he sent his legats to Frederike the emperour, promising that if hée would send him aid that the Tartarians might be expelled, then Hungarie should euer after be vnder the iurisdiction of the emperour: which thing if hée refused to doe, that then the same were in great danger to be subiect to the Tartarians, to the no little perill of the whole empire. And said further, that the cause whereof he with more instance required the same, was; that so many christian men and countries made such pitifull lamentation in this their great calamitie and miserie, and that there was none able to help them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole christian state and empire. And also said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, that then he thought they would make inuasion vpon the empire and prouinces of the same.

The Turke inuadeth christendome with a great and mightie power.

The vnmercifull crueltie and the slaughter of christian men by the Turke.

The king of Hungarie craueth aid of the emperour, for the which he offereth him his land.

The emperour although he thought it verie requisit, that with all conuenient speed this mischiefe should be remedied and preuented: yet notwithstanding his great enemie the pope with his confederats, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceiued that he himselfe could do no good, and only laboured in vaine in séeking peace with the pope, he gaue commandement to Boiemus and Boius, to intreat and perswade with him. And (considering the imminent perill like to insue by reason of such ciuill dissension to the whole state of christendome) that he would take vp and conclude a peace, and mitigat somewhat his fierce and wrathfull mood. Wherefore, when he saw further, that neither by that meanes of intreatie, nor any other, the pope would desist from his stubborne and malicious froward purpose, hée writeth againe to the king of Hungarie, that he was right sorie and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to reléeue the néed and necessitie that he and all the rest stood in. But why that he could not redresse the same, nor stand him then in anie stead, hée blamed greatly the bishop of Rome, who refusing all intreatie of peace, could not without great perill to himselfe depart out of Italie, lest that when hée should come to the aid of him (by the popes mischieuous imaginations) hée should be in perill of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, hée sent Conradus Cesar king of Bohemia and other princes more of Germanie to resist and withstand the enemie, as much as in them lay to doe. The great armie and number of such souldiers as wore the crosse by the popes assignement, deferred their iourney against the Tartarians, and had commandement giuen vnto them by one Albertus (the popes procurator) to tarie and abide at home, vntill they should be called for in battell to fight against the emperor. This was the louing zeale and affection of the pope and his adherents (to conclude) in this time of calamitie towards the christian state and commonwealth; that he had rather bend his force and reuenge his malice vpon the christian and good emperour, then either hée himselfe to withstand, or suffer and permit by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this most bloodie and cruell Tartarian should be let and restrained from so great hauocke, spoile and slaughter of the christian men: and yet forsooth these men will séeme to haue the greatest regard of all others to the christian preseruation, and thinke to haue the supremacie giuen therein:

The pope will grant to haue no peace.

The popes fault that the Turke is not resisted.

The pope had rather fight against the emperour, then against the Turke.

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what thing elſe is this, then manifeſt mockerie and deceiuing of the people? But notwithſtanding, euen in the midſt of this ſpoile and hauoke of Polonia, Bohemia, and Hungaria, was it determined: that at Libuſſa, the princes confederat ſhould be aſſembled about the depoſing of the emperour and creation of another.

But now notwithſtanding the prouident foreſight and wiſe policie of the emperour (as you heard before) in reſtraining the paſſages both by the ſea and land, who had ſpeciall regard thereunto, and gaue moſt ſtrict charge that none ſhould paſſe without priuie ſearch and examination, as one hauing ſufficient triall as well in his owne perſon as by the example of his predeceſſours, what great miſchiefe and diſſenſion by their legats euerie way ſent out they had procured, both to the imperiall ſtate and dignitie, and to the whole countrie of Germanie: yet found they ſuch meanes, and wrought ſuch policies, that they had not only ſecret paſſage and repaſſage with their letters and ſpials into all chriſtendome where they liſted, but alſo ſo laboured the matter and handled the ſame; that the long continued league of amitie betweene the French king and the emperour, whoſe predeceſſours as alſo they themſelues had many yéeres reuerently obſerued in chriſtian concord and vnitie, was by this ſeditious prelat and arrogant vicar of ſatan, now either vtterly infringed, or elſe in variable ſuſpence: as by their letters each to other, and héere vnder inſuing, are to be read and ſéene: which for the more probabilitie of this hiſtorie of Frederike (not being long or greatly tedious) I thought meet héere to intert and place.

The emperour as well in his owne perſon, as his predeceſſors haue triall of the popes ſubtill practiſes.

The epiſtle of the French king to Frederike the emperour, touching the impriſoning of certaine *cardinals of France*.

HItherto (noble emperour) hath the good opinion and great confidence (many yeares in mutuall loue eſtabliſhed betwixt vs) laſted and continued well, hoping that no ſuch cauſe ſhould riſe betwixt vs, to hatch either hatred or other occaſion offenſiue betweene your highneſſe empire and our kingdome. Eſpeciallie, ſeeing that all our predeceſſours kings of France, late of moſt worthie memorie (till theſe our daies) haue béen ſo zealouſlie affected to the moſt high and regall ſtate of your empire: as that alſo after we, whom God hath placed ſucceſſiuelie to raigne as king, haue been no otherwiſe minded nor affected towards the ſame. None otherwiſe alſo on their behalfe haue the ancient and renowned emperours of Rome our neighbours and your predeceſſours ſhewed themſelues towards vs (each other eſteeming the empire and kingdome of France as one) and faithfullie conſeruing together the vnitie of peace and concord. In ſo much that there hath not chanced betweene them theſe manie yeares ſo much as one ſparke of diſcord and diſſenſion. But this notwithſtanding, we for our part cannot but greatly maruell, and not without good cauſe are troubled and vexed: that without deſert or any offence, you haue taken the prelats of our realme vpon the ſea, making their repaire to the ſee apoſtolicall: to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience they ſtand bound and are obedient, neither could they withſtand the pope his commandement: theſe haue you impriſoned, and ſo ſtill detaine the ſame. Whereat (we do your maieſtie to weet) we are not well pleaſed, neither yet take in ſo good part as you peraduenture thinke we do. For by their owne letters we vnderſtand, they had excogitat nothing preiudiciall to your imperiall eſtate and celſitude, although the pope had proſecuted therein more then became him to do. Wherefore, ſeeing that there is no cauſe why yee ſhould detaine them: it is meete and becommeth no leſſe your magnificence, but that you reſtore vnto vs and ſet at libertie the ſaid prelats of our realme: wherin alſo you ſhall appeaſe our grudge, and keepe vs your friend, which account the diſpleaſure you do to them, as our owne and proper iniurie. For why? it were a great diſhonor to our realme and kingly eſtate, if we would winke hereat and ouerpaſſe the ſame with ſilence. Werefore if you will conſider and reſpect the thing that we haue ſaid, we doubt not but that you will releaſe the biſhop of Peneſtrum, with the other legats and prelats of the church, which you to our preiudice doe detaine. In deſiring of our aid doubtleſſe we gaue vnto them a manifeſt nay: neither could they obtaine in our kingdome any thing at all which ſeemed to be againſt or preiudiciall to your maieſty. Let therefore your imperiall prouidence ponder in the balance of iuſtice, thoſe things which we write vnto you, neither let our lawfull requeſt vnto you be fruſtrate or made in vaine. For our realme and kingdome of France is not ſo debilitat or impoueriſhed, that it will be ſpurned at, or troden vnder your feet: Fare ye well.

The great amitie and long continued league between the empire and kingdome of France.

The king not without great allurement of the pope would ſo haue written to the emperor.

Heere it ſhould ſeeme the emperour found the fault of contradiction.

The reſcript of the emperour to the ſame letter of the king of France.

OVr imperial magnificence hath peruſed your kingly letters: wherein if we had not found manifeſt contradiction, they might peraduenture haue obtained at our hands all that they required. But euen as with a little leauen a whole lumpe of dow is ſowred: ſo a manifeſt vntruth alleaged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faultie and vnſauourie. It is apparent that you wanted the vertue of mediocritie in the concluſion of the ſame your graces letter: for that they themſelues bewray no leſſe then we giue you manifeſtly to vnderſtand, and many more beſides do know. It is notorious alſo, and to all the world reuealed, in what ſort that apoſtolicall father hath impugned our innocencie, as well with the one ſword as with the other, and how that whileſt we at his commandement tooke our iourney beyond the ſeas: the ſame our great enemie and hoſtil aduerſarie inuaded our kingdome of Sicilia: and the ſame not in one place or two, but in diuers and ſundrie parts thereof hath waſted, ſpoiled, and deſtroyed. After this, when with great intreatie at our returne from Aſia, we had concluded a peace with him, which with vs at his owne pleaſure he made, and had taken and receiued our deuotion for the ſame, which in ſeruiceable maner we granted him: the ſaid apoſtolicall father (that notwithſtanding) hath ſince that time rather aggrauated his diſpleaſure toward vs, then any thing at all qualified the ſame: and further hath to our depriuation and ſubuerſion, excogitat and deuiſed againſt vs al the miſchiefe he might or hath been able, no cauſe in all the world giuen of vs to prouoke the ſame; and further hath promulgated to our great defamation and ſhame (as well by his letters as legats) the ſentence of excommunication againſt vs vnto all nations. Laſtly, he aſpiring to our imperiall ſtate, and conſpiring our ſupplantation, hath made warre againſt vs, as againſt king Dauid Gods annointed: and hath vnto a priuat councell for that purpoſe called all the prelats he can get, as one that meaneth to ſet al the whole world together by the eares. But ſuch is the maruellous wiſedome of God, by whom we liue and raigne, who beholding the wicked purpoſe he went about (confounding the crafty in their craftines) hath giuen into our hands as wel your prelats of the realme of France, as alſo of other regions and prouinces: all which wee impriſon and detaine, as enemies and aduerſaries to our imperiall crowne and perſon. For where there deſiſted not to be a perſecutor, there hath not wanted alſo a ſufficient withſtander and defender. Let not therefore your kingly highneſſe maruell, although Auguſtus detaineth in priſon your French prelats, which haue indeuoured themſelues to conſpire and ſo to diſturbe our imperiall eſtate and regiment. Fare ye well.

The French kings letters contrarie to themſelues.

A good apoſtolicall father with a two handed ſword.

1 20000 ounces of gold, as before you heard.

The craftie compaſſed in their craftines.

When Frederike now ſaw there was none other remedie, and that in vaine he laboured to haue peace with the pope, he proſecuteth his war to the vttermoſt: and when he had gotten Tudertum and reconciled the ſame, he deſtroyed the towne of Geminum and Narnia, and giueth the ſpoile of them vnto his ſouldiers: he gently receiued the yéelding vp of Siburnium, and wafteth all the countrie round about Rome. The pope herewith diſmaied and troubled with ſuch as otherwiſe diſſuaded and counſelled him, and that things not ſo well proſpered with him and againſt the emperour as he wiſhed and deſired, being in deſpaire of obtaining his purpoſe, died for very anger and thought.

Gregorie the ninth dieth for thought and cruell heart.

What opinion the prelats of Germanie at that time had of this Gregorie, is extant and to be ſéene by the oration of Eberhardus biſhop of Iuuauence, that he made to the nobilitie of Boioria in the parlement at Reginoburgh, written by Iohannes Auentinus in his ſeuenth booke. Doubtleſſe he not onlie brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole chriſtian commonweale and alſo empire, whileſt he ſought thus to depreſſe and bridle the emperour, and aduance his papall ſée and dignitie, but alſo brought into the church of God much horrible impietie, blaſphemie and wickedneſſe, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Balæus and others make mention: and amongſt others that moſt deteſtable cantilene Salue Regina, in the which he attributeth the honor and worſhip proper only to Chriſt, vnto the virgin his mother. This is he in whoſe name the booke of the decretals was ſet out, which (to omit the opinion of diuers other learned men) Iohannes Balæus calleth it the ſinke or puddle of ſolliſhneſſe and impietie. Doubtleſſe Carolus Molinæus a man both of ſingular iudgment in that law, which in tribunal courts and iudgements is vſed, as alſo in this, painted forth the decree of this Gregorie in his booke of annotations vnto Platina, whoſe words thereof are theſe: Certum eſt, multa capita in ijs mutila & decurtata eſſe, vt inuidioſum argumentum lateret, &c. That is; Doubtleſſe diuers chapters in the ſame booke of decretals be mangled and vnperfect, that many contentious arguments therein might lurke. For when the ambitious deſire of raigning like kings tooke them, they ſtudied nothing elſe but how to inlarge and aduance their ſée and dominion with the empire it ſelfe and other kingdomes (oft ſhaken and weakened through contention:) and this purpoſe and end had they and none other in all their conſtitutions. The proofe whereof Molinæus declareth in his booke De regibus Galliæ & Angliæ. But manie more examples by the emperours, princes, and lords electors of the empire may be gathered, whereof to ſpeake, more conuenient place ſhall ſerue hereafter.

Carolus Molineus vpon the decretals of pope Gregorie the ninth.

In the ſtead of this Gregorie was placed Celeſtine borne in Mediolanum amongſt the Caſtellians: who as Blondus declareth by fained promiſes offered a league with Fredericus, and the eightéenth day after he was created pope he alſo died.

The creation and death of pope Celeſtinus.

Thus when the author of all this conſpiracie was gone, Fredericus

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Fredericus now thinking himselfe free and void of that feare which before he had, and durst not be absent out of Italie, with all his indeuor leuieth an armie, and prepareth his furniture and other necessaries for the deliuerie of the christians, so mightilie oppressed as ye heard by the Turke or Tartarians. Who hearing of the comming of the emperour, left the straight way through Hungarie, which they came, and returned by the riuer of Danubium to Taurica, and so through the fenz of Meotida, and by the riuer Tanaum, into Sarmatia Asiatica. When the cardinals had now a long time protracted the creation of the pope, & would not agree vpon the same, the emperor put them in remembrance of their dutie, and blameth them for their disagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more carefull for the christian common wealth. His two epistles touching this matter are extant, whereby appeareth, that onely for the care and desire of peace he had to the christian vnity and state, he did the same: and for that (peraduenture) the cardinals refused to make peace with him before they had created a new pope: the one for more breuitie I haue omitted, and here the other inserted.

The emperour prepareth an armie to fight with the Tartarians: the Tartarians flie.

An epistle inuectiue of the emperour vnto the cardinals, *for that they cannot agree vpon the creation of the pope.*

Fredericke against the cardinals.

VNto you I write, oh you children of Ephraim, which euill haue bent your bowes, and worse haue shot your arrowes, filthilie turning your backs in the day of battell; vnto you I speake, O you children of Belial, and disparkled flocke, you insensible people and assistants of the great iudge, vnto you I write, O you dissensious cardinals, whom the world for your deserts doth hate; for whose causes the whole world being at variance is euill spoken of. Doubtles, I cannot speake vnto you, but to your detractation, because I am worldly and you spirituall. I am vnperfect, wherefore I must do as the vnperfect world doth: neither can the part be dissonant to the whole, nor I contrarie to my selfe that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude epistle, wanting the dignitie of rhetoricall stile. My prouoked tongue bursteth forth into words, before my conceiuing spirit hath deliuered the same; and so not attending to the higher regiment, hath hastened to expresse my words not fullie conceiued or premeditat. Thus, I say, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget vnordered talke, and vntimelie vttereth the same. This therfore it is that our hart hath conceiued, that we beleeue and all men confesse, that Iesus Christ the mediator betweene God and man, which came from heauen to make peace vpon the earth, is not diuided and at variance, being also the master and Lord of the apostles. But Satan being diuided in himselfe, that blustring prince is amongst you, as those to whom he ministreth: hee, euen he, the perswader of discord and dissension, that mankiller, father of lies, and spirit of darkenesse, that hath diuided your tongues, and set dissension amongst your selues: neither do ye good one to another, nor yet to the world, being by you into so perillous a state brought; & the little ship of Peter, which is tossed vpon the sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard; which ship, though it need not indeed vtterly to feare drowning, yet suffereth it by your negligence many great stormes and perillous tempests. Doubtlesse, if ye would diligently consider how the nations and people whom ye were wont to iudge, in scorne shake their heads at you: euery one of you would bee ashamed of another. And to say the truth, they cannot doe too much to detect your so detestable opprobrie: for whilest euerie one of you aspireth to the chaire, euery one is at variance with his fellow; and whilest one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilest none is promoted, the cathedrall dignitie vanisheth. And thus by your discord, the peaceable state and concord of the church is confounded, and the perfection of the faith and religion whereby yee should liue, perisheth. And surely, through your default it perisheth; so that whereas nature hath placed the sense and vnderstanding to bee, that partly like a monster remaineth with you, both senseless and headles. And no maruell, for why, your hearing is impared, and that sound of the mouth which shrilly was heard throughout the whole earth, is vtterly dumbe, and become a scoffing echo. For why, the thundrings of Peter and Paul are now no more heard, the preachers are become dumbe dogs, and are commanded to silence. Perhaps you haue hands readie to receiue, but there be no bribes; for why, those that were wont to come from Saba, and bring gold with them, now come no more, seeing the Lord is not in the manger, and the celestial shining star refusing to be their guide. Moreouer, ye want feet to walke withall, for seeing there is no man to giue you ought, you will not remooue one foot for any mans pleasure. Fie shameless people, the least and simplest beast may learne you obedience, for the birds haue their captaine, and the silly bees their king, but you wil come vnder no gouernement, &c.

Peters ship by the dissention of the cardinals greatly afflicted.

Peters shrill voice turned into a scoffing echo.

The emperour releaseth the cardinals out of prison.

The emperor yet after this at the request of Baldwinus, the emperour of Constantinople, who came to Fredericus to Parma, released the cardinals out of prison, thinking thereby not onely to gratifie the emperour Baldwinus, but also thinking that thereby things would haue the better growne to publike tranquillitie on euery side. When the cardinals were all assembled at Auignia, they made Sinibaldus a Genowaie pope, whom by a contrarie name, for that he had determined (as I suppose) to bee hurtfull to the commonwealth, they called Innocentius the fourth. Of which election when Frederike vnderstood, he was well pleased therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, he well hoped that the christian commonwealth should by him haue been brought to much peace and concord. Wherfore he sent both his legats and letters gratulatorie vnto him, letting him to vnderstand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made pope, and what peace and quietnesse thereby he promiseth (as it were to himselfe) he maketh full relation thereof: offering againe vnto him, obseruance, helpe and aid in all things, commending his dignitie to the publike state and quietnesse of the christian commonwealth and empire, &c.

Innocentius, the fourth created pope.

The emperour reioyceth of the popes election, but without cause why.

He also wrote his letters to Otho duke of Boiozia, who a little before was reconciled to the emperour, that he which was elected pope was a good man, a louer of peace, and studious as well for the tranquillitie of the christian commonwealth as of the empire.

The legats of Frederike also with the furtherance of Baldwinus the emperor of Constantinople, laboured very diligentlie for the conclusion of the promised peace. And to bee briefe, euerie man was in good hope, and looked for no lesse. But far otherwise fell the matter out, and contrarie to all their expectation. For the pope (set on and incouraged by the cardinals and others against Frederike) secretly and amongst themselues wrought contrary to that they openlie pretended, and not a little disappointed both Frederike and others of their expectation and good opinion they had in the popes holinesse. For whilest the emperors legats attended the answer of their peace before promised, Rainerus the cardinall went secretly to Viterbium with a certaine number of souldiers, and tooke the towne which before was on the emperors part.

The pope taketh Viterbium while the emperour hoped for peace.

The emperor hauing vnderstanding hereof, mustereth his bands, and with a sufficient power entreth the popes dition, againe to recouer Viterbium. But yet, taking this warre so in hand (not thinking thereby to expell all conditions of peace) at the request of certaine of the cardinals was contented to leaue Viterbium, being furnished by the emperor of warlike prouision before, and came to Aqua. From thence he sent againe other ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the emperor of Constantinople, with the earle of Tholouse, who he thought were able to doe much with the pope in the prosecuting of this peace. And although at the time of Easter the matter seemed to haue been through, and peace concluded, for that his legats had sworne in the behalfe of the emperour (and as hee willed them) that hee would submit himselfe to the pope. And againe, for that the cardinals and others, commonly called and named him Fredericus the christian prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpose. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to goe through therewithall, but that through this dissimulation and likelihood of peace which they vnderstood the emperor much desired, he should set free and open the passages which he straitly kept, that no man could passe and come to Rome, whither a great multitude dailie resorted and flocked for religions sake. But when all came to al, and that the legats perceiued no conclusion of peace was simplie purposed on their behalfe, they began to despaire of the matter; letting the emperor so to vnderstand. The emperor yet notwithstanding doubted not, but if hee might himselfe speake with the pope, hee vpon reasonable conditions should well inough accord with him; wherefore hee by his legats and letters desired him to appoint a place where the emperor might resort to him. The pope seemed to be contented herewithal, and appointed a day at Fescennia, where they would talke together, and that the pope would be there before him, and expect the emperours comming. But the pope in this while had made a confederacie with the French king against Fredericus, who when he knew those three gallies to be readie and brought vnto Centuncellas, which hee before had spoken for vnto the Genowaies, secretly in the night with his companie (hastening thither in post speed) tooke ship, and first came to Genoa, and from thence to Lions in France, where he (calling a councell) with a loud voice summoneth Frederike, and appointing him a day commanded him there personallie to plead his cause.

The dissimulation of the subtill pope Innocent the fourth.

The emperour hath too much confidence in the pope.

The pope mocketh the emperour and goeth to Lions, where he proscribeth the emperour.

And yet although hee vnderstood the sudden departing of him out of Italie, made plaine demonstration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace, and also knew the councell which the pope had called, wherein hee was himselfe both plaintiffe and iudge; and at the same councell those which he had by bribes allured, pretended the destruction of the emperor; with many other such euident demonstrations, both of his enuious and hatefull heart towards him: yet the most modest emperour hoping the innocencie and vprightnesse of his cause, and as one most desirous of peace and christian concord, sent the patriarch of Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the bishop of Panormia & Thadeus Suessanus the president of his court (a most skilfull and prudent ciuilian) to the councell at Lions: which signified vnto them that the emperor would be there for the defence of his owne cause: and for that the day was verie short, required a time more conuenient for him thither to make his

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The emperour comming to make his appearance before the pope.

his repaire. The emperor also being onward on his way, and come as far as Taurinum, sent before other messengers (as the maister of the Flemish order, and Peter de Vineis) to giue them vnderstanding of the emperors comming, and that hee would prorogue the day of hearing, till that he might conuently trauell thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or vpon how iust cause soeuer required, the pope would not giue so much as three daies space, in the which time the ambassadors assured them of the emperours presence; as though there had been no common prouiso for euerie man in that case, by the law to haue vsed vpon any reasonable let. What should I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the pope with his confederats (whom for monie and bribes he had gotten to that councell) against Gods law, against christian doctrine, against both the prescript of the law of nature and reason, against the rule of equitie, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of emperors, and also the decrees of the empire, without any obseruation of the law, or granting dilatory daies, without probatiõ of any crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded vnto, or heard what might be answered therin, taking vpõ him to be both aduersarie and iudge, condemned the emperour being absent. What more wicked sentence was euer pronounced? What more cruell fact (considering the person) might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could haue bin imagined or deuised? And yet hereat were those bishops nothing ashamed; but meaning to leaue their doings in writing (as an impudent testimonie to their posteritie) established the same for a law to continue.

The extremitie of the pope to the emperour.

Vengeance falleth vpon the pope for his false iudgement.

But marke what vengeance God tooke vpon this wicked iudge. The writers of the annals record, that when Fredericus the emperour, and Conradus his son being Cesar, were both dead, the pope gaping for the inheritance of Naples and Sicilie, and thinking by force to haue subdued the same, came to Naples with a great host of men, where was heard in the popes court manifestlie pronounced this voice, Veni miser ad iudicium Dei, Thou wretch come to receiue thy iudgement. And the nert day after the pope was found in his bed dead, all blacke and blew as though hee had been beaten with bats, as before in the historie of king Iohn is declared.

When the emperour had vnderstanding of this cruell and tyrannical sentence of the pope, passed and pronounced against him (considering his furious purpose and mind therein) thought good by his letters, to let all christian princes and potentats vnderstand, as well what iniuries and manifold displeasures he had sustained by the foure popes in all their times, as also the crueltie and tyrannie of this pope, in pronouncing the sentence of iudgement and condemnation against him (passing the bounds both of iustice, equitie, and reason) which letter as he wrote the same, heere vnder followeth to be seene.

The letter of the emperor to the French king, and other princes, for the sentence giuen against him in the councell of Lions by the pope and cardinals.

ALthough we suppose not the contrarie, but that both by true certificat and common rumor you haue heard of the indifferency of our cause and good handling therof: yet for that more credit is commonly giuen to that the eie seeth, then to that the eare receiueth, wee thought good to present vnto you the naked truth of such things, which the popes successiuely haue put forth, and forged against vs. To the perusing and consideration of which my case and letter, I beseech your gentlenesse amongst other times of leisure, you will spie out some fit and conuenient time therefore. And all other whatsoeuer that shall haue desire to heare princes counsels and affairs, let them in like sort attentiuely consider. First, whether our predecessors haue been destitute or not of godlie zeale, iust dealing, and righteousnesse: or whether we may not lawfully reuenge our selues, being so much prouoked, of such euils and iniuries as haue been wrought against vs. Secondly, let thẽ consider whether Christs vicar doth follow Christs steps or not; and whether Peters successors do follow his example or not; and also by what law, equitie and right, that sentence which they haue pronounced against vs, may be maintained and allowed: as also what name they may iustly giue it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence which is giuen by an vnsufficient iudge or not. For although we acknowledge that the Lord hath giuen full power in spirituall things vnto his church, that whatsoeuer the same bindeth in earth is bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer the same looseth, is also loosed; yet wee read neither by Gods law, nor by any law of man, that wee ought of dutie to be subiect vnto him, or that an empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may giue any such sentence or iudgement to punish princes temporallie, and depriue them of their kingdoms. For why? although our consecration belongeth vnto him by right and custome (as he challengeth) yet our deposing and depriuing doth no more belong to him, then doth that presumption belong to any other prelat of other realmes, which doe consecrat and annoint their kings, as the custome and maner is. Or put case it were so (we nothing hindred hereby) that he had such power: hath he that power to the intent to reuenge himselfe vpon whomsoeuer his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equitie and law to bring them vnder his iurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against vs as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither went there out any inscription or processe before; neither yet by denunciation, forsomuch as there lacked a lawfull denouncer; neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before it no manifest accusation. But hee peraduenture will say, that all things that hee laieth against vs were manifest and notorious. But that doe we denie, and nothing to be notorious but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approoued and tried. For so may euery iudge himselfe (contemning the order of law) affirme what hee list to be notorious, and thus condemne whom he list. There were against vs (as well it may be said in counsell) certaine false witnesses, although not many, of whom the bishop of Calin was one, whose neere kinsman or nephue (by our lawes condemned for treason to be hanged) maketh also to vs an infestiue enemie. ¶ To such like effect prosecuting the rest of his epistle, which for breuitie sake I omit.

This policie vsed the pope to vexe and disturbe both the countrie of Germanie and the whole empire, and not so onelie, but also vtterly to destroy and subuert the same: by the ruinous decay whereof, the pope and his prelats thought to make vp their mouthes. And thus, whilest that Germanie was now newly againe diuided, some taking part with Frederike the emperor and Conradus Cesar his sonne and other nobles and princes of the empire; some with those that should by the popes procurement be the electors of the new emperor, other some with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending the publike vtilitie, but to serue their owne purposes, armed themselues; and thus was the publike peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and altogether in tumult and hurlie burlie. For whilest the one part laboured by all force to retaine the dominion by publike and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort indeuored themselues with all their force and power to vse and occupie the same, according vnto the decree of the bishop of Rome, and to take it from Frederike, and thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

Germanie altogether in hurlie burlie through the popes malitious mind.

By these ciuil wars, Germanie suffered no little calamitie, in euery place was manslaughter and murther, the countrie spoiled, the townes and villages set on fire and burnt, the churches and temples violated and robbed, wherein the husbandmen had put their goods and substance: houses were pulled downe, the goods diuided, & euery mans cattell driuen away. To conclude, in this turmoile and contention of deposing and chosing another emperor, in this faction of princes, in this libertie of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and sinning, the impudent boldnesse of diuers priuat souldiers, and especially of such as were the horsemen, then counted the better sort of souldiers, was so great, and their vnbridled and vnsatiable desire in robbing, spoiling, and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be sure and in safety that any good man inioyed. Wherefore a little before the death of Gulielmus the king, three score cities & townes which were belonging to Ludouicus Palatinus duke of Boioria and Rhenus, and Otho his sonne, and other princes, whose names Auentinus in his seuenth booke of the annals of the Boiores maketh mention of, ioyned themselues in a league for the expelling of these rebels and repressing of their so great iniurious rapins, and slaughter of men. Of which armie the said Ludouicus being captaine, chased and draue the whole rout of them to the vttermost parts of Germany, and pulled downe and ouerthrew their castles and fortresses, and euery other place where they had intrenched themselues.

Germany spoiled by ciuill dissension through the popes onelie practise against the emperour.

The robbers and rebels chased out of Germanie.

Otho Boius yet notwithstanding keepeth his promise and faith most constantlie made before to the emperor Frederike and Conradus his sonne. Wherupon Philippus Iuuauensis, Albertus and others, calling a councell at Wildorsus (by the popes commandement) sent for Otho vnto them, vnto whom they opend the popes pleasure and commandement. To all which, when he had heard, Otho answered: I cannot maruell at some of you inough, that when as heretofore you perswaded me to leaue & forsake the part I took with the bishop of Rome, whom you your selues affirmed to bee antichrist, and that I should take part with the emperor, why that you your selues will not keepe your fidelitie and promise made vnto those good princes: and said that he perceiued in them a great inconstancie and leuitie, both in their words and deeds, which now call that wicked, vniust, and violent wrong, but latelie that they thought equall, iust and right. Hee said further, that they were ouercome with pleasures, corrupted with superfluitie, wonne with bribes, gaping for honor and estimation: and that they neither regarded honestie, godlinesse, nor their dutie and office, but studied how to make dissension and commotions, and longed after war and bloudie battell.

The fidelitie of Otho to the emperour.

The answer of Otho to the legats.

He said further, that for his part he would obay God and his prince, to whom he had sworne fidelitie; and that he nought esteemed the fained holinesse and detestable practises of such prelats. He said he beleeued in Christ, and would trust in his mercie; and that he beleeued how those whom they cursed and

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Otho excommunicated for turning from the pope to take the emperors part.

gaue to the diuell, were in greatest fauor with God. Howbeit, and notwithstanding those prelats toke in good part this expostulation with him, and seemed to beare Otho no malice or grudge for that he had said, but to be desirous of peace and vnitie: yet not long after Otho was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as the worst.

Albertus the popes champion now in Germanie playeth not rex only amongst the citizens, but also bethought him of a mischieuous deuice against Conradus Cesar the emperors sonne; when by fraud and subtiltie hee had gotten and taken many of the rich burgesses and citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the emperour good will, and had sent them prisoners to Stakkum. Conradus ioyning with other noble men of the empire (after he had spoiled and wasted much of his lands and others his companions) draue him so neere, that vpon certain other conditions he deliuered againe the citizens. And shortlie after comming againe to Reginoburgh, and being receiued and welcommed into the colledge of D. Pameranus: Albertus with certaine of his confederats by the meanes of Ulricus a chiefe officer of the monks, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where the Cesar with a few others about him did lie; and falling vpon them, some they tooke, and other some they slue: and finding no other bodie in the chamber or lodging, they thought that Cesar had been slaine among the rest. But he hearing the noise, forsoke his bed, and hid himselfe vnder a bench and so escaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proscribed the bishop and his mates, and also the monks bailiffe of treason, and seized vpon all the goods of the house. But at the sute of the guiltlesse monks he released all to them againe, taking by way of fine 100. pounds. Ulricus lost his office, and Albertus thereby to escape danger of punishment, tooke vpon him the habit of a monke. Conradus Hochenkolleus, which was the murtherer of these men (though he escaped the punishment of mans hand) yet the vengeance of God for the fact he escaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, he was suddenly stricken with a thunderbolt and died.

Cesar in danger of Albertus.

Albertus to escape punishment taketh the order of monkerie.

During all this busie and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that Frederike the emperor lay not still, but had his hands full: who notwithstanding (by Gods helpe) ouercomming and suppressing these or the greater part of these rebellious popish tumults, and had done strict execution on these especially that had conspired against his person, calling a councell, and setting in some stay the troublesome affaires of his kingdome, came to Cremona with Fredericus prince of Antioch, Richardus earle of Umbria, the gouernor of Flamminia, and Encius king of Sardinia, with a great number besides of soldiers and men of war. And besides, he toke with him (which he sent for out of euerie part) the wisest, most vertuous, and best learned men that there were, thinking with them to haue gone himselfe to Lions to the pope, and there to haue with him communication, as well concerning the sentence definitiue, as also about the conclusion of any peace, if by any meanes hee might. And when all things were prepared and readie, he toke the iournie in hand, and came to Taurinum, hauing with him both a great armie of souldiers, and also a great company of legats and ambassadors. From thence sending his carriages before, within three daies iournie of Lions, he was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlawes of diuers and sundrie factions of the pope, his neere neighbors and friends; as by the popes legat, and other citizens, as of Biria, Placentia, and such like. Which thing when hee vnderstood, and that the pope herein was the onlie and chiefe doer, he saw manifestly it should little preuaile, to attempt any further the thing hee went about, and then at length, when he saw no other remedie, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himselfe to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpose and iournie, hee toke the straightest way into Lombardie, and with an armie of 60000. men hee besieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptlie and neere the town plant his siege and battrie without disturbance, first he intrenched his campe, and fortified the same about with bulworks & other defensible munition. After that, he caused diuers victualling houses & tauerns in his campe to be sleightly builded of timber; and without the campe he appointed the place where the market should be kept, and al victuallers resort that would. He appointed places for their churches and temples, and in seemelie maner adorned the same: and for the most part, their tents were builded with wood, so that it was like another Parma. All which things when he had finished, which was not long in doing, for this happy and prosperous successe he called and named it Victoria, and had thought to haue made the same to be in the stead of the citie Parma, the which he purposed to haue made leuell with the ground. And in the beginning, both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with Frederike and had good successe; for hee sharplie laid to their charges that defended and kept the citie of Parma. And further, Robertus Castilioneus, which was the emperors lieutenant in Picenum neere vnto Aurimum, discomfited the popes armie, and slue of them more then 4000. and took many such as were of the confederat cities prisoners. And when the factions or companies of the Gibelines and Guelphs in Florentia were at controuersie, when Fredericus of Hetruria came to the Gibelines, to whom they had sent for aid: the Guelphs therewith dismaid, fled from thence to Bondnia, whose goods and substance came al to the emperors coffers, and Florentia also it selfe to the emperors obedience. But this good successe and prosperous fortune lasted not long. For as at a time Fredericus to recreat himselfe (which seldome had his health) rode about the fields with certaine of his horsemen to hauke and hunt: many of the emperors souldiers thinking nothing lesse then of such a matter to bee attempted of a many staruelings within the towne of Parma, wandred and ranged vnarmed out of their citie Victoria about the fields. The souldiers in Parma hauing this occasion offered, with all force and speed possible entred the emperors campe or towne Victoria, which being not stronglie fenced, nor hauing gates to shut against them, was a thing easie enough to doe. The sudden strangenesse of the matter much abashed the souldiers, and rang out their larum bell. The first assault was giuen vpon Marcus Malaspina his charge, whom when the emperor returning in all hast found to be hard beset, had thought to haue rescued him. But when that was perceiued of the enemie, they bent all their force altogether on that side: insomuch that the emperor was inforced to take the trench, least he should haue bin of the enemie inuironed, and from thence he retired into the citie or campe, where he had thought to haue gathered further aid. But the enemie giuing not so much time thereunto, with all force entred the citie Victoria. The emperor now, when the enemies were entred, left the campe and came to Dominum, who when they had killed and slaine a great number of the emperors souldiers, and had burnt and destroyed the same campe Victoria, came againe to Parma. The emperor then suspecting this thing to be wrought by treason, wherby the enemie had vnderstanding as wel of the emperors absence, as also of the negligence of his souldiers, imprisoned certaine of ỳ chiefest about him, amongst whom also was Petrus de Vineis. Yet whilest he was at Dominum, gathering together his souldiers & residue of his bands; Encius getteth a great victorie of the Mansuanos, who comming to the rescue of Parma, lost fiftie of their ships, and all that they had in them.

The negligence of the souldiers offereth an occasion to the enemie.

The discomfiture of the emperour at the siege of Parma.

The emperour vpon suspition of treason imprisoneth diuers of his captains.

After this also, Richardus in another conflict in Picenum, discomfited the popes souldiers, and slue their captaine Hugolinus, besides 2000. others slaine and taken prisoners. When now Fredericus had gathered againe, and new mustered his bands at Dominum, he marched forth to Cremona: and notwithstanding that there he vnderstood of the good successe and victorie that Encius had at Rhegium, yet for that he perceiued the defection and backsliding of all or most part of Lombardie from him, he determined to take his iournie into Apulia: and when he had there leuied a strong and sufficient power, he purposed to make his speedie returne againe into Lombardie. Therefore, in his iournie through Hetruria into Apulia, he ioined with his sonne Fredericus, which besieged Capras, and tooke the same: and led with him diuers of the chiefest captains prisoners, and after that subduing vnto the obedience of the empire Miniatum, he came into Apulia.

The emperor when he had somewhat suppressed these tumults, came to Cremona.

The emperour thinketh to go to Lions to the pope.

Parma taken and kept by the popes legat and other friends of his.

The emperour altereth his iournie from Lions to the siege of Parma.

Capras besieged and taken of the emperor.

When newes was brought him thither, that Encius his sonne (comming to aid the Mutinenses against the Bononians) was taken prisoner two miles from Mutina; and that in his absence, the popes captains with their bands and garrisons went throughout all Lombardie, Emilia, Flamminia, and Hetruria, to stir and procure the cities to reuolt from the obedience of the emperor; and the same, partlie working by subtill policies, and partly by force and sinister meanes to bring them to his purpose: determined with himselfe, that with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make, to haue begun afresh, and prosecuted this war to the vttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as Pandolphus Colonucius writeth) but that he would haue wrought some marueilous exploit and great attempt, but that he was of this his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) preuented by vnlooked for death. For when he fell into this ague, being at a certain castell of his in Apulia called Florentinum, and saw by the extremity therof his daies to be short, he remembred that which was once shewed him, how hee should die at Florence; whereupon, hee made and ordained his testament. And when vnto Conradus and others of his children he had giuen and appointed the great and innumerable masse of monie which he had colleated and leuied for the maintenance of his wars, and godly purpose (as it is called) and vnto them also had giuen all other his kingdoms and dominions (to euery one according to their ages and yeers) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

The emperour purposeth to make some great attempt.

Pandolphus writeth, that Fredericus was very willing to die, and as they made certaine report to him which were present at his death, that his mind was altogether set and bent on the heauenly ioy and felicitie. Which thing also Gulielmus Puteanus, Andreas Pandalus, and Manardus the bishop, being Italian writers doe all affirme, of whom this last writeth, that he assuredlie beleeueth Frederike to be one of the number of Gods elect.

The emperour preuented by death.

Frederike one of Gods elect.

The writers notwithstanding are of sundrie iudgements and opinions touching this good emperors death. Some write that he was traitorouslie poisoned by his cupbearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was strangled with a pillow of Manfredo the sonne of Pherus. But Pandolphus as good

Sundrie opinions of the death of Frederike the emperour.

The popes armie discomfited by the emperours lieutenant at Aurimum.

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good a writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was giuen him, but only that he died of an ague. The last opinion of Manfredus he manifestly refuteth, and that there is no maner of likelihood of the same: and further, that the contrarie is affirmed by diuers other writers that were of that time. He died in the yeere of our Lord 1268. the thirteenth day of December, in the seuen and fiftith yeere of his age, and seuen and thirtith yeere of his raigne, whose corps was brought to Panormum, and there intombed.

The issue of Frederike the emperour.

Frederike had three wiues, the first was Constantia, the daughter of the king of Arragon, of whom he begat Henrie the duke of Sueuia and king of the Romans: the other Iole the daughter of Johannes Brennus king of Hierusalem, by whom he had the inheritance of Hierusalem, Naples and Sicilie, of whom hee begat Conradus duke of Sueuia, king of Hierusalem and Naples, being Cesar: the third Isabell the daughter of king John of England, by whom he had a sonne named Henrie, which is said to die in his childhood. This Fredericus had not his peere in martiall affaires to be compared vnto him, and warlike policies amongst all the princes of that age: a wise and skilfull souldier he was, a greater indurer of painefull labors & trauels, most bold in greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that hee toke in hand, and in aduersitie most stout and couragious. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attaine perfection, neither yet is there any prince almost of such gouernement and godly institution, both in life and doctrine as is required of them: so neither was this Frederike without his fault and humane fragilitie: for the writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith he was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that he was not all cleare therof, forsomuch as by sundrie concubines he had sundrie children; as Encius the king of Sardinia, Manfredus the prince of Sarentinum, and Frederike king of Antioch. And this is all that I find of the discription of Frederike by Colonucius, which hee affirmeth to haue gathered out of good and probable authors. But as touching the hainous acts and flagitious deeds, which the pope burtheneth him withall, and in his sentence against him maketh mention of; Fredericus not only purgeth himselfe thereof, but also diuers historicians (as well Germane writers as Italians) affirme the same to bee false and of the popes owne braines, to doe him skath and teene withall, inuented. Of which matter those things which Pandolphus (touching the commendation or dispraise of Fredericus writeth) I thought good out of Italian to translate; whose words be these.

Frederike a most puissant prince in martiall affaires.

Frederike was not without his fault of humane fragilitie.

The words of Pandolphus touching the praise and dispraise of the emperor.

Albeit the emperour Fredericus was indued with many godly gifts and vertues, yet notwithstanding was he accounted an enemie of the church, and a persecutor of the same: of which, both Innocentius the fourth in his sentence hath pronounced him guiltie, and the same sentence haue other popes registred in their fiue books of decretals, and stablished the same for a law, how that he ought to be taken for no lesse. Therefore peraduenture it should not become me to falsifie or call in question that, which others haue confirmed, or els to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithstanding as much as his acts and deeds in writing declare, and the bookes of the chiefest authors affirme, as also his owne epistles doe testifie: I cannot precisely say, whether the bishops of Rome so call him and iudge him therefore. Or else for that hee was somewhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth, and reprouing the ecclesiasticall order of their great abuses. Or els, whether for that he would haue had them gone somewhat more nere the conditions and liues of the ancient fathers of the primitiue church and disciples of Christ. Or whether for that he defended and stood with them for the prerogatiue and dignities belonging to the empire, or not. Or else whether they stood in feare and awe of the great power he was of in Italie (which thing indeed Gregorie the ninth in a certaine epistle of his confesseth:) but of these things let them iudge and discerne, that shall read the monuments and histories of Frederike. Truly (saith he) when I consider with my selfe that Christ (whose vicar the Romane bishops boast themselues to be) said vnto his disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitat his example, as of their maister and teacher; and commanded them furthermore, how they should not draw the sword, but put vp the same into the skabberd; and further gaue them in precept that they should not only forgiue iniuries seuen times, but seuentie times seuen times to those that offended them; and when I now compare the liues of the bishops of Rome, how neere they follow him whose vicar they say they be; and consider so many and great conspiracies, treasons, rebellions, disloialties, lyings in wait, and treacherous deuices, so many legats of the popes (being ecclesiasticall persons) which will needs be called the shepheards of Christs flocke, to be such warriors and captains of souldiers in all & parts of Italie, Campania, Apulia, Calabria (being the emperors dominions) in Picenum, Emilia, Flamminia, and Lombardie, to be sent out against him; and also when with my selfe I meditat the destruction of so many great and famous cities, the subuersion of such commonweales, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much christian bloud; and lastly when I behold so victorious, prosperous and fortunat emperors to be, and so many miserable, vnfortunat and banquished popes put to flight: I am perswaded with my selfe to thinke and beleeue, that the iudgements of God are secret and maruellous, and that to be true which Aeneas Syluius in his history of Austria writeth: that there is no great and maruellous slaughter, no notorious and spectall calamitie (that hath happened either to the publike weale, or els to the church of God) of the which the bishops of Rome haue not bin the authors. Nicolaus Machiauellus also saith, that all the ruinous calamities and miserable chances that the whole christian common weale and also Italie hath suffered, haue been brought in by the popes and bishops of Rome.

Many epistles of Fredericus there be, which he wrote vnto the bishops of Rome, to the cardinals, and to diuers other christian princes, al which I haue read; and in them is to be seene nothing contrarie vnto christian doctrine, nothing wicked and vngodly, nothing iniurious to the church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of Frederike. But indeede I deny not the same to be fraught and full of pitifull complaints and lamentations, touching the auaricious ambition of the ecclesiasticall persons, and pertinacie of the bishops of Rome, and that he would receiue and take no satisfaction nor yet excuse in the defence of the right and priuiledge of the empire, which he maintained: also of their manifold and infinit conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him: and of the often admonitions which he gaue to the whole multitude and order ecclesiasticall, to attend vpon and discharge their functions and charges. And who that further is desirous to know & vnderstand the truth, and coueteth to search out the renowned vertues of magnificent princes, let them reade the epistle of Frederike dated to all christian princes, which thus beginneth: *Collegerunt principes, pontifices & Pharisæi concilium:* and another, wherein he perswadeth the colledge of cardinals to take vp the dissension betweene the emperor and the pope, which beginneth: *In exordio nascentis mundi:* and also another which thus beginneth: *Infallibilis veritatis testem:* besides yet another, *Adreges & principes orbis christiani:* with diuers others more, wherein may well be seene the princely vertues of this so worthie a peere: all which epistles collected together in the Latine tongue, the learned sort I wish to read, whereout they may picke no little benefit and commoditie to themselues. In his epistle last recited these are his words: *Non existimetis id me à vobis ideò contendere, ac si ex sententia pontificia priuationis maiestas nostra sit persulsa. Cùm enim nobis sit rectæ voluntatis conscientia, cùmq; Deum nobiscum habeamus, eundem testem inuocamus id nos spectasse, cùm totum ordinem ecclesiasticũ tum præsertim primores, neruis potentiæ dominationísque eorum succisis extirpatisq; tyrannidis radicibus, ad primitiuæ ecclesiæ conditionem & statum reuocaremus.* That is: Thinke ye not that wee so earnestly desire or craue this peace at your hands, as though our maiestie were terrified with the popes sentence of depriuation: when as God (vpon whom we trust and inuocat) is our witnesse, and iudge of our conscience, that when we went about to reforme the ecclesiasticall state, but especially the ringleaders of the same, and should restraine their power, and extirpat their great tyrannie, and reduce the same to the state and condition of the primitiue church, we looked for no lesse at their hands. For these causes peraduenture, those which had the gouernement of the ecclesiastical dignity, decreed and pronounced Frederike to be an enemie to the church: which (as I haue said) I leaue others to iudge thereof. Hitherto Pandolphus Colonucius.

Deserued commendation vpon the epistles of Frederike.

Frederike purposed with the hazzard of the imperiall state to reforme the church of Rome.

Frederike.

The popes church compared with Christ his church, are as like as black and white.

And doubtlesse examples to the contrary doe appeare, that Frederike was no enemie to the church of Rome, for that he both gaue large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great priuileges and immunities, which things by his owne constitutions, statutes and customs may bee perceiued and vnderstood. But rather contrariwise, that the bishops of Rome most filthilie recompenced the same his great liberalitie and princelie beneuolence againe, which hee gaue and bestowed vpon the same, as partly in the discourse of this history you haue heard: who notwithstanding they so molested and tired him with such and so many iniuries as you haue seene, he neuertheless forgiuing and pardoning al the same, for the great zeale he had to the common christian wealth (whereof he more forced, then of any other thing) sought by all meanes he might for to haue peace, although it were to his owne great hinderance. Therfore seeing he was of necessitie by the bishops of Rome prouoked to that war, if he did them any skath in reuenge of his imperiall dignitie, let them thanke their owne selues, which might otherwise haue remedied the same. Notwithstanding vpon this occasion diuers (both Italian and German writers, which at that time sought for fat benefices, and euer since euen vnto these our daies haue done the like, by flatterie rather to obtaine that which they hunted for, then to beare true and faithfull testimonie of things as they were indeed) toke great occasion to write and slander this good emperour. But let vs passe ouer these parasits, and returne to those, which although they themselues were of that calling, I meane of the ecclesiasticall order: yet notwithstanding, for that they rather preferred the studie of veritie, and to reuerence the truth before popish

Frederike sheweth himself no enemie but a friend to the church of Rome.

Selfe doe, selfe haue, the prouerbe is.

Hope of gaine alureth many to flatter and to write vntruths.

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popish authoritie, and flattering seruitude: greatly extolled and commended this good emperor Frederike. So did Nicolaus Culanus a cardinall in his writing affirme this emperor to be an Alter Carolus Magnus, both for his wisdome and also diligent regard to the commonweale. So also writeth Aegidius Biturigum the bishop, in his bookes of the institution and bringing vp of a prince, which he wrote to the French king, exhorting him and all others, to take a paterne of this most worthie and excellent prince: in commendation of whose worthie praise and vertue these verses are written on his tombe.

Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
Nobilitas orti possent resistere morti:
Non foret extinctus, Fredericus qui iacet intus.

Wherefore, insomuch as it appeareth by the approued writers, of whom I haue made mention; who and what maner of prince Frederike this emperor was, and for that he diligently laboured as well in the preseruation of the christian commonweale, as in the conseruation of the imperiall dignitie, procured to himselfe the great hatred and displeasure of the Romane bishops (who haue bin to all ỹ good emperors for the most part bitter foes and enemies) and with what wicked slanders and other iniuries both by them and by their ministers they continually molested him withall: this lesson ought to be ours, that hauing the same in our memorie, we imitat and follow his vertues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy fathers that will so be called, and bishops of Rome; desiring God that he will so guide the hearts of all kings and princes, that they may by his grace aduance and set forth his glorie, and reforme the corrupt and vicious manner and order of the church to all sinceritie and puritie both of life and doctrine.

These verses which héere insue were sent and written betweene the emperor and pope Innocentius the fourth, which for that to the learned they are both commodious and profitable, at the end of this historie I thought good to place.

Fredericus imper. Innocent. 4. Papæ.

Fata monent stellaque docent, auiúmque volatus,
Totius subitò malleus orbis ero:
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta,
Corruet, & mundi desinet esse caput.

Innocent. papa Frederico imper.

Fata silent, stellaque tacent, nil prædicat ales,
Solius est proprium nosse futura Dei:
Niteris incassum nauem submergere Petri:
Fluctuat; at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,
Quòd tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit:
Quod diuina manus potuit, sensit Iulianus,
Tu succedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.
Fre. fremit in mundo, de deprimit alta profundo;
Ri. mala rimatur, cuſ. cuspide cuncta minatur.

Fredericus Innocentio.

Fata monent stellaque docent auiúmque volatus,
Lapsurum te mox ad stygis antra nigræ:
Cymba Petri non est, sed Christi, qua natat vndis:
Fluctuat, at nusquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, tua scripta docent, peccata nefanda
Interitum ostendunt, exitiúmque tuum.
Strangulat Adrianum musca, annon ira tonantis?
Cogitat & de te sumere supplicium.
Carcere suspendit sese Benedictus, & alter
In stupro captus, saucius ense perit.
Syluestrum extinguit satan sceleratior ipse:
Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.
Innocuum te voce notas, cùm sis nociturus
Orbi terrarum christianóque gregi.

Fredericus Innocentio de integro.

Esses si membrum, non te caput orbis & vrbis
Iactares, cùm sis orbis & vrbis onus:
Nunc membrum non es, sed putre cadauer & vlcus,
Ense recidendum ridiculúmque caput.
A Daniele βδελυγμα, nefásque caputque malorum
Diceris, à Paulo filius exitij.
Nos solum Christum nostrum caput esse: malorum
Totius orbis te caput esse facis.
Et caput est vnum, quod Paulus dicit vbique;
Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
Corporis ergo caput monstrosi monstra parisque,
Monstra paris monachos, scorta nefanda foues.
Est tua religio stuprum, ira, superbia, cædes,
Error, delicia, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
Ex his ergò liquet Christum te spernere: Christo
Hostem esse inuisum, dedecorique Deo.
Rex tandem veniet cœlo delapsus ab alto,
Tunc non defendent te, sacra, missa, cruces,
Non in sublimi surgentes vertice cristæ,
Non diploma potens, non tua sacra cohors.

Nec diadema triplex, nec sedes sanguine parta,
Nullus honos soliỹ, purpura nulla tui:
Triginta argenteis Christum vendebat Iudas,
Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.
Corpora tu vendis Christi paruo ære, polúmque,
Cœlestes genios, sidera, iura, deos.

Certaine preachers in Suevia.

As yee haue heard of the iniquitie and raging pride of the popish church against their lawfull emperour: now shall yee heare (Christ willing) how God begineth to resist and withstand the corruption of that whorish church, by stirring vp certaine faithfull teachers in sundrie countries: as in the countrie of Suevia about the time of this emperor, Anno 1240. or neere vpon the same, where were many preachers, mentioned in the chronicle of Vrspergensis, and also in Crantzius, lib. 8. cap. 16. & 18. which preached frèelie against the pope. These preachers (as Crantzius saith) ringing the bels, and calling the barons in Hallis of Suevia, there preached that the pope was an heretike, and that his bishops and prelats were simoniaks and heretikes; and that the inferior priests and prelats had no authoritie to bind and lose, but were all seducers. Item, that no pope, bishop or priest could restraine men from their dutie of serving and worshipping of God, and therefore such cities or countries as were then vnder the popes curse, might notwithstanding lawfully resort to the receiuing of sacraments as well as before. Item, that friers, Dominike and Franciscan, did subuert the church with their preaching. And that the indulgence of the pope and his popelings was of no regard; so that remission which they did preach vnto them, they preached it not from the pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought heere to recite, whereby it may appeare how the resisting of the popes vsurped power and corrupt doctrine is no new thing in these daies in the church of Christ, &c.

Ex chro. Abbat. Vrsperg. Crantz. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Resistance against the pope no new thing in Christs church.

Arnoldus de noua villa condemned of heresie.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose vp Arnoldus De noua villa, a Spaniard, a man famouslie learned and a great writer, Anno 1250. whom the pope with his spiritualtie condemned among heretikes for holding and writing against the corrupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was, that Satan had seduced the world from the truth of Christ Iesus. Item, that the faith (which then christian men were commonlie taught) was such a faith as the diuels had; meaning belike (as we now affirme) that the papists doe teach onlie the historicall faith, which is the faith Historiæ, non fiduciæ. Item, that christian people (meaning belike, for the most part) are led by the pope vnto hell. Item, that al cloisterers are void of charity and damned: and that they all do falsifie the doctrine of Christ. Item, that the diuines doe euill in mixing philosophie with diuinitie. Item, that masses are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to sacrifice for the dead. Certaine other opinions there be, which the slanderous sects of monks and friers doe attribute vnto him; but (as they are wont in all other to do) rather vpon enuious taking, then of any iust cause giuen.

Vide librum de testibus veritatis.

Iohannes Semeca the glosse-writer of the popes decrees excommunicated.

And as this Arnoldus was condemned, so also the same time Johannes Semeca, the glosse-writer of the popes decrées, and prouost of Halberstat was excommunicated and depriued of his prouostship, for resisting pope Clement the fourth, gathering certaine exactions in Germanie; and therefore he appealed from the pope to a generall councell, and had many great fauorers on his side, till at last both the pope and he died.

Gulielmus de S. Amore.

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthie and valiant champion of Christ and aduersary of antichrist Gulielmus de S. Amore, a maister of Paris, and chiefe ruler then of that Vniuersitie. This Gulielmus in his time had no small adoe writing against the friers, and their hypocrisie, but especiallie against the begging friers, both condemning their whole order, and also accusing them; as those that did disturbe and trouble all the churches of Christ by their preaching in churches against the will of the ordinaries and pastors, by their hearing of confessions, and executing the charges of curats and pastors in their churches. All the testimonies of scripture that make against antichrist, he applieth them against the clergie of prelats, and the popes spiritualtie. The same Gulielmus is thought to be the author of the booke, which is attributed to the schole of Paris, and intituled, De periculis ecclesiæ: where he proueth by nine and thirtie arguments, that friers be false apostles.

The plaie of the gospell expounded, Goe and sell all and come follow me.

Moreouer, he doth well expound this saying of Christ (If thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me) declaring there pouerty to be inioyned vs of Christ, Non actualem, sed habitualem; not in such sort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but in inward affection of heart when need shall require. As though the meaning and precept of our Lord were not that we should cast away actuallie all that we haue: but that when the confession of the name of God and the glorie of Christ shall so require, that then we be readie to leaue and relinquish what things so euer for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth in vs after the like phrase, hatred of father and mother, and of our owne liues: he biddeth vs not to dishonor father or mother, much lesse to hate them: but that then, when case shall require, wee set all things behind the loue of Christ. Many other worthie workes hee compiled, wherein albeit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet not-

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Gulielm. de S. Amore condemned of the pope for an heretike.

withstanding he was by antichrist and his rabble condemned for an heretike, exiled, and his books burnt; whose heretical arguments, as they called them, that thou maist better iudge thereof, heere vnder I thought good to place.

Against false prophets with signes to know them by, in these his words do follow. For because these seducers (saith he) name themselues to be apostles, and that they are sent of God to preach, to absolue and dispense with the soules of men, by means of their ministerie, read the saying of the Apostle in his second epistle to the Corinthians, cha. 11. For such apostles are subtill and craftie workemen, disguising themselues to bee like the apostles of Christ. Therefore, we meane to shew some certaine infallible tokens and probable, by the which false apostles may be discerned from the true preachers & apostles of Christ.

The first signe and token to know a false frier and prophet by.

The first signe or marke is, that such as be true preachers do not enter into simple womens houses laden with sinne, and take them as it were captiue, as many of the false preachers do; as in the second epistle of S. Paul to Timothie the third chapter is manifest, saying: Of those sorts are they, which enter into womens houses, &c. Therfore those preachers which come into womens houses, to the intent they may take them captiue, be not true preachers, but false apostles.

True preachers doe not deceiue men with painted flattering words.

The second signe and token is, that those that be true preachers doe not deceiue simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their owne trash and traditions, as all false prophets doe, as in the last chapter to the Romans appeareth, saying: By their pleasant and sugred talk, and by their blessing and crossing they deceiue and beguile the hearts of innocent men and women. Glos. With gay glorious words they extoll and set forth their traditions, wherby they deceiue simple men. Very greatly do they deceiue the soules of simple men, which cause them to enter into their sect, which they terme religion. And they which before led a naughtie life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicitie; after their entrance, become subtill and false deceiuing hypocrits, entring together with the rest into poore mens houses: yea and oftentimes become worse then the others. Wherupon Matth. 22. Wo be vnto you Scribes and Pharisies, hypocrits which goe about, &c. Therefore they which doe this, are no true messengers but false apostles.

The third signe is, that true apostles take in good part when they be reproued.

The third signe is, that the true apostles if they be reproued, suffer the same patiently, 2. Cor. 12. saying: The tokens of my apostleship are accomplished among you, in all patience and sufferance, meaning that patience, which pertaineth to the maners of the preachers. Therfore they which suffer not correction or punishment, be no true apostles, but rather shew themselues to be no christians at all: 1. Cor. 12. No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghost. Glos. It is meet that christians should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselues to be reproued, and not to be holden vp with yea and nay. And also such men do shew themselues to bee carnal, and not spirituall at all, although they faine themselues to be spirituall: Gal. 3. Therefore am I become an enemie vnto you. Notwithstanding the glosse saith: No carnall man will be reproued although he erre. Wherfore, those preachers which suffer not correction, seeme not to be true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourth signe, is that true preachers commend not themselues.

The fourth signe is, that true apostles commend not themselues: 2. Cor. 4. For we dare not ioyne our selues, nor yet compare our selues vnto others which commend and boast many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all. Also true preachers although they be indeed praiseworthie for their good deserts, in the consciences of men are they praiseworthie, and not to the outward shew alone: 2. Cor. 3. We commend our selues (saith the apostle) to the consciences of all men. Then they doe not commend themselues in comparison of others. Wherefore the glosse saith vpon the same place: Those that deserue no commendation but in comparison of others, doe challenge to themselues other mens deserts and praise. Wherefore in the second epistle of S. Peter the last chapter it is said: Euen as our welbeloued brother Paul, according to the wisedome that God hath giuen vnto him, hath written vnto you. Glossa: The chiefest of the apostles hath heere forgotten his papall authoritie, and also his keies that were deliuered vnto him: for he is astonied as it were at the great wisdome giuen vnto his brother Paul. For indeed it is the maner of the elect children of God, to be more in loue with the vertues of other men, then with their owne. Wherefore in the second chapter to the Philippians it is written: Let those that are superiors esteeme of themselues in all humilitie. They therefore that doe the contrary, saying that their state or doings be better then other mens, although they bee preachers, yet are they no true apostles indeed, but false prophets.

The fifth signe is, that true preachers need no letters commendatorie.

The fift signe is, that true apostles need no letters of commendation: nor yet desire to haue themselues praised of men: as in the 2. Cor. 3. the apostle saith, We need not the letters of commendation of any man; that is to say, of false prophets.

The sixth signe is, that true apostles preach not vnlesse they be sent.

The sixt signe is, that true apostles preach not vnlesse they be sent, as in the tenth chapter to the Romans: How shall they preach vnlesse they be sent? Glossa: There be no true apostles but those that bee sent: for they haue no need of signes which are true witnesse bearers, but those that be not sent and doe preach are false prophets.

The seuenth signe is, when those false prophets preach that were neuer sent.

The seuenth signe is, forsomuch as false prophets haue their authoritie in their owne names: wherefore in the second epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians it is written; For we dare not boast of our selues or make comparison: Glossa: That is to say, with those that be false prophets, not taking their authoritie from God, but vsurping the same, desirous to beare rule, claiming in their owne name their authoritie. And therfore although peraduenture by presumption they say that they are sent of God, as all heretikes will say: yet notwithstanding, vnlesse they shall prooue their sending either by spirituall prophecie, as Iohn Baptist did, saying: I am the voice of a crier in the desert; as out of the prophet Esay in the first chapter of S. Johns gospel is alleaged; or else by miracles, as Moses did, which turned his rod into a serpent, and againe, from a serpent to a rod, as in the seuenth chapter of Exodus: they ought for to be excommunicated, till such time they cease from preaching. Yet notwithstanding, a miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimonie of their sending, for so much as they be done oftentimes and that of euill and wicked men: 1. q. 1. we may perceiue towards the end. But miracles ought to be suspected, for so much as our sauior saith in the three and twentith of Matthew, Then shall false prophets arise, &c. Therefore they which doe challenge authority in their own name, for so much as they haue not their authoritie from God, they are not true apostles but false preachers.

The eight signe is, that false prophets pretend great holines in superstition.

The eight signe is, that false prophets pretending great wisdome and holines to be in superstition, haue named their owne traditions to be religion, the which are rather to bee counted sacriledge or church robberie, and do vsurpe vnto themselues for due deserts of other men by boasting and bragging among strange and vnknown people. Wherefore the apostle speaking of false prophets in the second chapter to the Colossians, saith: According to the precepts of men, which hauing a face of wisedome consist in superstition, interlaced with humilitie. Glossa: That is to say, mingled with fained religion, that it might bee called religion, when in very deed it is nothing else but sacriledge, because it is contrary to all authoritie: that is, contrary to God himselfe, that any man should desire to haue gouernment of a multitude without publike commandement, as in Deuteronomium the three and twentith chapter; Thou hast entred into thy neighbors vineyard. Glossa: That is to say, Into the church of another bishop. May a man warne and admonish others, or els correct that congregation which is not lawfull for him to gouerne, nor yet to take so great a charge on him: No. And that it is not lawfull to enter into another bishops diocesse, it is apparant, because it is not lawfull for the archbishop so to doe. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, 6. q. 3. And also it is written 9. q. 2. throughout. Therefore those preachers which against God and his diuine scriptures do call their owne traditions religion, are not apostles, but false prophets.

The ninth signe is, that when they neither preach nor minister, yet liue vpon other mens labors.

The ninth signe is, by the authoritie which they haue: forsomuch as they be no preachers of the gospell or ministers of the sacraments, yet they will liue by the gospell, and not by the labor of their owne hands, against the text in the 2. Thes. 3. Neither haue we eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free cost. Glossa: Then those false prophets ought much more to liue by their labour, which haue not that authoritie which we ought to haue: that is to say, to liue by the gospell. And S. Augustine speaketh of this more expresly in his booke De opere monachorum, by these words: Those our brethren do claime to themselues (verie rashly as mee thinketh) that they haue any such authoritie, to liue by the gospell. If they be preachers of the gospell, I grant that indeed they haue such authoritie; if they be ministers of the altar, if they bee disposers of the sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselues this authoritie, as also manifestly to challenge the same; if at the least they haue not wherewithall to sustaine this present life, without labor of their hands. As though he would haue said; If they be not such maner of men, then haue they no authoritie to liue by the gospell. Therefore those preachers which haue no authoritie to liue by the gospell, or else minister the sacraments, because they haue no congregation whereby to take charge of soules; yet for all that will needs liue vpon the gospell: they be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The tenth signe is, that false prophets take that to them which perteineth to the word of God.

The tenth signe is, that false teachers reioyce more to bee commended themselues, then the word of God to haue the commendation and praise. But they that are true preachers and apostles, are farre otherwise minded, as to the Thes. 2. Not seeking the praise of men, &c. And heerein he toucheth those false prophets, which desire rather to bee commended themselues, then that the word of God which they preach should haue the commendation: but he is an apostle which not seeking the glorie of this present world, but for the glorie to come, doth abase himselfe, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to haue praise and to be commended of others, rather then that the word of God should haue the praise, bee no true apostles, but false prophets.

The eleuenth signe is, that false prophets doe preach for gaine, and not for Gods cause.

The eleuenth signe is, that true apostles doe preach only for Gods cause, and for the health of soules, and for no temporall gaine, as in the 2. Cor. 4. saying: We preach not our selues, &c. Glossa: Our preaching tendeth not to our glorie and gaine,

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gaine, but only to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ by those that are false prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in the Philip. 1. is said: Whether it be vpon occasion giuen, or else for the verities sake, let Christ be preached, &c. Glossa: False prophets do preach the gospell vpon some occasion, as either by seeking some commoditie at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honor, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they be readie and willing as it should seeme to beare and sustaine iniuries: yet they seeke not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in verie deed they do their owne commoditie and gaine. Whereupon, 2. Corinth. 12. Because I seeke not the things that be yours, that is to say, not your treasure, as gold and siluer, but only you your selues. Glossa: For otherwise it could by no meanes be gathered that they should vnderstand him to speake or meane of their substance, because he more esteemeth them then their money, to the intent that they might vnderstand his great good will towards them. Therefore these euil and naughtie preachers which preach for worldly gaine or honor, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles but false prophets. But it may be asked, how shall men vnderstand when these good fellowes preach for their owne vaine glorie sake? It may be answered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the 2. Cor. 11. Whosoeuer boasteth, let him boast and reioyce in the Lord. Glossa: Which thing to do cannot he by any meanes that hath not his authoritie from God. For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his owne glorie, and that may easily be perceiued. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such authoritie of him, that is to say, of his church or congregation, as to the Heb. 7. No man taketh to himselfe any dignitie, but he that is called of God as Aaron was. Glossa: He is called of God, that is lawfully chosen of the congregation.

The twelfth signe is, that false prophets do counterfeit to loue where they hate.

The twelfth signe or token of a false prophet, is, because such prophets do counterfeit themselues to haue greater care and loue to mens soules, then those that be their verie gouernours and pastors haue, although they haue no charge at all of them, against whom the glosse speaketh, and the 1. Thes. 2. We are become meeke and louing towards you, euen as the nurse which giueth her child sucke. Glossa: A woman nurseth other mens children for wages, and not for loue alone; but she giueth her owne sucke of verie loue without respect of money. Therefore those preachers which faine themselues to haue a greater loue and affection to the soules of men, then they that haue the charge ouer them, seeme not to be true apostles. The apostles study not for eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false prophets do them both, as in the 2. Cor. 11. If the simple and vneloquent man, &c. Glossa: The apostles were not eloquent, but false prophets are full of curious eloquence. Also vpon the same another glosse: The Corinthians were led away from the gospell by ouer nice eloquence: 2. Cor. 7. Let vs shew our selues before all men as the ministers of God. Glossa: The ministers of God do not flatter as false prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true apostles haue not their abiding in princes courts and noble mens houses knowing this saying of Christ in S. Matthewes gospell; Behold, those that are clothed with silkes, dwell in kings courts. And therefore true apostles are not conuersant in princes courts and noble mens houses. Glossa: Hard and strict life with the preaching of the gospell loueth not to come neere princes palaces and noble mens houses. Oftentimes it commeth to passe that courtiers are found great flatterers, therefore those preachers that haue their abode in princes courts, or that in any other place do vse to flatter, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth signe is, that false prophets do circumuent men to haue their goods, and care for nothing else.

The thirteenth signe is, that true apostles or messengers do not circumuent or subtilly go about to deceiue men, that they should giue vnto them their goods, either in their life time or else at the time of their death, as in the 2. Cor. 7. We haue falsly deceiued no man. Glossa: By the subtill and deceitful getting away of your substance as false prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours vnder pretence of great friendship. Also Matthew 22. Wo be vnto you Scribes and Pharisies, you hypocrites, which spoile widowes houses by your long prayers; which meane nothing else by your superstition, but that you may spoile and rob the people, as Luke 20; Which deuour widowes houses by dissembling of your long prayer. Glossa: The which make ouer long prayers, to the intent they may seeme more deuout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sicke and troubled with the burthen of their sinnes, whose prayers be turned into sinne, which neither are profitable for themselues nor anie other, but rather shall haue for making those prayers greater damnation, for so much as by the same they deceiue others: for by this that they receiue and take both gold and siluer, it appeareth that they preach not for soules health sake, but only for filthie lucre & gaine sake: Mat. 10. Be ye possessors neither of gold nor siluer. Glossa: If they then haue these things, they cannot seeme or be thought to preach for the health of the soule, but for lucres sake. And so saith Hierome vpon the prophet Malachie; Because some prophets tooke monie, their prophecie became diuination, ý is to say, their prophecie appeared not to be prophecie, but diuination, or inchantment: that is, that such prophecie procedeth not from God but from the diuel. And this appeareth in 1. q. 1. hauing this beginning, Nunquam diuinatio, &c. Therefore those preachers which circumuent & beguile men, to the intent ý they should giue them their goods, either in their life time, or after their death, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourteenth signe is, that false prophets cannot abide to haue the truth preached.

The fourteenth signe is, that false prophets when any veritie is preached, which for the most part they are not acquainted withall, or that toucheth them: then begin they to chase and barke against the same. Whereupon the apostle in the third chapter to the Philippians, saith: Behold the dogs. Glossa: Vnderstand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their vsage and conditions, barking against the truth, which they were neuer acquainted with. And so he compareth them right well to dogs, because dogs follow rather custome then reason: so false apostles do keepe the custome of the law, and do bite and barke against the truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. And also in the second epistle to Timothie, the fourth chapter, saying; They get them instructors according to their owne desires. Glossa: Which may teach them what things they themselues are willing to heare, because the truth seemeth nothing pleasant vnto them. Therefore those preachers which barke against the late reuealed truth, which toucheth them very neere, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept vnder, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fifteenth signe is, that false prophets do inforce them to heare that are not willing to heare.

The fifteenth signe is, that the true apostles do not inforce any to receiue or heare them which be vnwilling thereunto, but send them alway rather, lest they should seeme to seek after some earthly and transitorie thing: Matth. 10. Whosoeuer will not receiue you, get you out of that citie, and shake the dust from off your feet, &c. Glossa: That you may thereby shew that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore those preachers which striue and wrestle (as it were) to the intent they would be receiued and heard, are no true apostles, for so much as the apostle saith, 1. Corinth. 11. If any man appeare among you to be ouer contentious or full of strife, such custome haue we none, nor yet the congregation of Christ.

The fifteenth signe is, that false prophets do cause princes to hate and punish them that will not heare them.

The sixteenth signe is, that the apostles did not procure the indignation of those princes, with whom they were esteemed and regarded, against such persons as would not receiue them and heare them, according as we reade in the life of Simon and Jude the apostles. The chiefe ruler being very angrie, commanded a very great fire to be made that the bishops might be cast into the same, and all other which went about to defame the doctrine of the apostles of Christ. But the apostles fell downe before the emperor, saying; We beseech you sir let not vs be the authors or causers of this destruction or calamity; nor that we which are sent to be the preseruation of men, and to reuiue those that are dead through sinne, may be killers of those that be aliue. Therefore those preachers which seeke to stir vp the displeasure of princes against them (whose fauours now they enioy) that will not receiue and heare them, or rather whom they themselues hate, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The seuentéenth signe is, that false prophets do not know neither what God hath done, nor yet will do, as true prophets do.

The seuentéenth signe is, that the apostles of Christ haue not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in the Apocalypse 3. chapter: The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before. Glossa: Obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the world. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the church in the latter time which are prophesied before, or that they care not for them, or else if they know them not, they haue not eyes behind nor before, and no true apostles, therefore what time as they call themselues apostles, they are false prophets.

The eighteenth signe is, that false prophets do preach for money, and are not to be discerned from wolues.

The eighteenth signe is, that true apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, whereby they are discerned from wolues, that is to say, from false prophets: Acts 20. I haue desired no mans gold nor siluer. Glossa: By this are wolues discerned, for they desire such things. And againe in the same place; For those things which I had need of, and to those which were with me, these hands haue ministred. Glossa: This example also of labouring is a spectacle for bishops whereby they are discerned from wolues. For such as aske or beg of those to whom they preach, or set any other to aske or beg in their names, do seeme to commit simonie like Gehezi, of whom it is read in the 3. booke of Kings the fift chapter, that he craued certaine apparell of Naaman the Syrian, to whom his master Elizeus had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those garments vnwitting to his master. Whereupon Gregorie Nazianzen saith, 1. q. 1. Qui isti debetur. But some man perhaps will say, Cannot the preacher aske money or money worth of those to whom he preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered; If the preacher by authority preach and feed his flocke as a true pastor with the food of Gods word, hee may take money or money worth; but then it is not begging or crauing, but it is by authoritie, as the 2. to Timothie 2. chapter. It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and afore others receiue the commoditie of his increase. Glossa: He putteth the vertuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make merchandize of the gospell; and giueth him to vnderstand, that it is lawfull for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flocke, what things soeuer he hath need of, and doth it not

If the preacher do his dutie in preaching, he may take lawfully for his necessarie things.

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in begging or craning, but by good authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of Salomon, and S. Augustine, and reproued by diuers other holy men. Therfore it is manifest that the true apostles do not desire the temporall goods of them to whom they preach, neither do they beg or craue the same. They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or else that any other man asketh for them, or in their names, do not seeme to be true apostles, but false preachers.

The nineteenth signe is, that true apostles are patient in tribulation, neither do they render euill for good; Matth. 10. Behold I send you as sheepe among wolues. Glossa: They that occupie the place of preaching, ought not to procure any euill toward their brethren, as the example of Christ teacheth, 1. Pet. 2. saying; Who when he was reuiled, reuiled not againe, but did submit himselfe to him that iudged him vniustly. They therefore that suffer not iniurie, but rather do wrong themselues, are not true apostles, but false apostles.

The nineteenth signe is, that true apostles are patient in tribulation, neither do they render euill for good, as false do.

The twentith signe is, that true apostles at their first comming are euill intertained, as the Lord saith in the 24. of Mat. Ye shall be hated of all men for my names sake; but yet at the length such get the victorie, according to that saying of the first of S. John the 5. chapter; Euery thing that is of God ouercommeth the world. They therefore that in the beginning reioyce and are well intertained, but in the end are reiected, seeme not to be true apostles but false.

The twentith signe is, that true apostles at their first comming are euill intertained, as the Lord saith in the 24. of Mat. Ye shall be hated of all men for my names sake; but yet at the length such get the victorie, according to that saying of the first of S. John the 5. chapter; Euery thing that is of God ouercommeth the world. They therefore that in the beginning reioyce and are well intertained, but in the end are reiected, seeme not to be true apostles but false.

The twentie one signe is, that true preachers go not to preach vnto those which haue preachers appointed vnto them, because they haue not to reioice of a company belonging to another mans charge, as to the Romans the 15. chapter; I haue preached the gospell where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build vpon another mans foundation. And in the second epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians, the 10. chapter, hee saith: We are no boasters, nor busie in other mens matters. Glossa: Where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same chapter: Not hauing pleasure to boast of other mens labours, that is to say, of those which be committed to the gouernment of another man. Likewise Augustinus saith; Honor ought to seeke thee, and not thou honor. Also Chrysostome: Authoritie is in loue with such a man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and haue a desire to preach vnto the people committed to another mans charge, which is an office of honor, especially in councels, synods and great assemblies, also in kings and princes courts, and prelats palaces, are not true apostles, but false teachers.

The twentie one signe is, that true preachers build not vpon any other mans foundation.

Authoritie loueth them that refuse her, and yet abhorreth her not.

The twentie two signe is, that true apostles when they know themselues to do much good in the church and congregation of God; yet notwithstanding are not puffed vp with pride: Ezechiel 3. O sonne of man I haue made thy face as an adamant stone. The adamant stone when it draweth iron vnto it, is not thereby either lifted vp or altered. Likewise a true preacher when he draweth sinners vnto him by his preaching (whose hearts were as hard as iron) is neuer the more lifted vp or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke the 18. chapter, When ye haue done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are vnprofitable seruants: Psal. 115. Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs, but to thy name be giuen the glorie. They therefore that do arrogantly boast themselues of the fruit and benefit that they haue done in the church of God, saying: We haue giuen light to the vniuersall church, which was blind before our time, and we haue put out the flame of sin in the church of God (when perhaps they haue more furthered hypocrisie then either truth or veritie) they are not true prophets but false, of whom it is spoken in the Psalmes, The mouth of them that speake proud things, &c.

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The twentie two signe is, that true prophets are not proud and vainglorious, as false prophets be.

The twentie third signe is, that false prophets be alwaies men pleasers.

The twentie third signe is, that false prophets be alwaies men pleasers. Glossa: Seeking to please, because we haue not the pleasing spirit. Therefore those preachers that seeke the fauour of the world, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true apostles, but false.

The twentie fourth signe is, that true apostles when they haue meat and drinke they are contented, neither do they desire ouer daintie fare according to the saying of Mat. 10. chap. Eating and drinking those things that are set before them. Glossa: The gospell condemneth not altogether costly and delicat fare, yet so alloweth the same, that if we haue meat and drinke, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith contented. Therefore those preachers, which although that neither they be sent, nor haue authoritie to preach, and yet are offended when they haue not fine & delicat fare, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The twentie fourth signe is, that true prophets eat what is set before them, and giue God thankes, but that do not the false prophets.

The twentie fifth signe is, that true apostles do loue more the law of God then their owne estimation amongst their neighbours, according to that in the 7. chapter of the Prouerbs; Keepe my law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same vpon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart. Whereupon in the 119. Psalme; The law of thy mouth is dearer vnto me then thousands of gold and siluer. Glossa: Charitie doth more loue the law of God, then the desire of gold and siluer a thousand fold. He therefore that seeth the gospell of Christ troden vnder foot, which is the eternall glad tidings, to be taken away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and contemne the same, or else peraduentate consenteth vnto the same, to the outward appearance of the world; and yet because he will keepe his temporall dignitie and estimation, refuseth not to stirre vp strife and contention about the same, and so to be euill spoken of, seemeth not to be an apostle of Christ, but rather a false prophet, if he be a preacher.

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The twentie sixth signe is, that true apostles seeke not after such fine lodgings and wealthie habitations, where they may haue all things at their commandements; but rather such honest resting places where they may haue necessarie things for themselues, with their good wils of whom they haue it. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so readie and liberall in giuing, as to thinke the one doth him more pleasure in receiuing the gift, then the other doth in giuing him the same. According to that in the 10. of Matthew, saying: Into what citie or towne soeuer ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, & abide you with them so long as you tarie in the same citie or towne. Glossa: Your host with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be euill spoken of by reason of his infamie. Neither ought such men to run from house to house. But whom shall we call worthie of good report? Glossa: Him who knoweth better to do other men good, then to receiue a good turne of another. And this is he which giueth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commoditie. Also true apostles receiue nothing of such men as lie waltering in their sinnes, but rather of those that are washed and clensed from their sins, whereupon the 2. to the Cor. the 7. chapter; They haue giuen themselues first to the Lord. Glossa: Because they now amending their old errors and vicious manners haue vowed themselues vnto the Lord, and afterward gaue of that which they had to their brethren: for otherwise they ought not to haue taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that giue where there is no cause of reproofe in their doings, haue no iust cause to giue. Therefore those preachers that seeke how to come by daintie fare, & do receiue bribes and rewards of naughtie men that haue this world at will, to the intent that those preachers may couer and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtiltie, which giue indeed rather to remoue the shamelesse importunitie of the crauer, or else for auoiding of present shame, then for any loue they haue to God, are not true apostles, but false prophets, according to that in the 2. to the Cor. the 9. chapter; The Lord doth loue a willing giuer. Glossa: He that giueth for present shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacie of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: therefore he that hath respect to these things, doth not seeke the fruit and profit of the giuer, but the gift it selfe, as the apostle to the Philippians the 4. chapter, saith; Seeke not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giuer.

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The twentie sixth signe is, that false prophets are not contented with necessarie things, but look after superfluous.

The twentie seuenth signe is, that true apostles do not endeuour themselues to seeke and inioy the fruit of other mens labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the bellie is such mens god, according to that in the 2. to the Thessal. the 3. chap. We haue heard of some amongst you which walke inordinatly, not labouring at all, but liuing delicatlie or idlelie. Glossa: Of other mens labours, and deserue they to be fed? The discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing: for the bellie is their god, which prouide to haue more then necessarie dishes of meat. Therefore those preachers which so do, are no true apostles, but false.

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The twentie seuenth signe is, that those be false prophets, whose bellie is their god.

The twentie eight signe is, that true apostles do not reioyce only of the miracles or other excellent workes, which the Lord doth by them; but they reioyce rather of the saluation which they looke for from the Lord, then that by doing those miracles they desire any honor; according to that which is written in Luke the 10. saying: Reioyce ye not for that the spirits be subiect vnto you, but because your names are regiſtred in heauen. They therefore that boast of their owne miracles, or of any that belong vnto them, for this cause that they are saued by the doing of them, as many do say, seeme not to be true apostles, but false.

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The twentie eight signe is, that true prophets reioyce not in miracles, as false prophets do.

The twentie ninth signe is, that the true apostles do neuer seeke their owne glorie in this life, but the glorie of Christ; as in John the 7, He that speaketh of himselfe, doth seeke his owne glorie, but he that seeketh the glorie of him which sent him (that is, of whom he is sent) is a true apostle. Therefore those which seeke the things that pertaine to the glorie of this world, of the which one is; to be assistant to those that beare rule and authoritie, according to that saying of Boetius De consolatione; Those that do desire to be extolled, either they raigne and beare rule themselues, or else do desire to be neere about them that haue such dominion. Another is, they desire to haue the fame and victorie of that which they haue nothing at all deserued before God. Whereupon is written that saying of the apostle in the Gal. 5. Let not vs become desirous of vain glorie. Glossa: To be desirous of vain glorie, is, to haue victorie without any merit or desert, and those, I say, that do such things seeme not to be true apostles, but false.

The twentie ninth signe is, that true prophets seeke not their owne glorie, as false prophets do.

The

The thirtith signe is, that true apostles care not for the solemnities of men, neither their salutations, nor feastings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which loue and seeke the company and fellowship of men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seeme to be true apostles, but false.

The thirtie one signe is, that true apostles do not commonly resort to other mens tables, lest that they should for a meales meat become flatterers, as in the 2. Thess. 3. That we should giue an example to follow vs. Glossa: He that commeth oftentimes to another mans table being giuen to idlenesse, cannot chuse but flatter him which feedeth him; but Christs religion calleth men to libertie and to no such bondage: they therefore that resort oftentimes, and that of their owne minds, to other mens tables (liuing idlely) are not true apostles, but false.

The thirtie two signe is, that true apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which doctrine the Lord taught, Matthew the first, saying: Loue your enemies, do well to them which hate you; but false prophets do both hurt and defame their neighbors, according as S. Hierome 14. saith; The prophets of Hierusalem haue defiled the whole earth. Glossa: They are not contented only to hurt their neighbours, but also whom they before this time haue hated, they defame and speake euill of in euerie place they come: therfore those preachers which hate them whom they thinke are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The thirtie three signe is, that false prophets when they are examined and proued whether they be true apostles or liers, take that verie grieuously, and persecute all those that can proue them to be so, and also do stir vp and prouoke others to persecute the same men, which also ioyne themselues together by secular power, euen as certaine false prophets did in the primitiue church against the bishop of Ephesus: to whom the Lord said, Apoc. 2. I know, that is to say, I do allow thy workes and thy labour; that is, thy tribulation, because thou canst not away with those that be euill men. Glossa: But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expell them, and hast examined those which say that they are apostles, and are but liers, and also hast suffered this patiently. Glossa: The euils which these false prophets ioyned together by secular power do bring in, are not the doings of true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie fourth signe is, that true apostles go not to preach to those which are conuerted alreadie by other men, but rather do conuert those which are not yet conuerted, lest that they should build vpon another mans foundation, as S. Paul, Romans 15, saith: I haue laboured so, that from Hierusalem to Illyricus, I haue replenished the gospell in euerie place. Glossa: That is, I haue preached the same abundantly, in whom the great vertue of the holy ghost appeareth, because so many nations, that is, the Gentiles haue receiued the gospell by my preaching. But I haue preached the gospell there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build vpon another mans foundation. Glossa: I should not preach to those that were conuerted by another man. Also 2. Corinth. 10. We are not such as boast & glorie in other mens labours. Glossa: Where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinatly. Also in the same place, not thinking to boast where another man hath gouernment, but in those things which are put in experience. Glossa: Of other preachers. Because the apostle did preach to those to whom the gospell was neuer preached, that he might get praise by his owne proper labour. Therfore, those preachers which go not to that people which haue need to be conuerted, but to those which are conuerted alreadie, which haue apostles of their owne, that is to say, bishops and priests, and yet do boast ouer another mans flocke, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie fifth signe is, because true apostles when they are sent, go to their owne diocesse, and not to another mans diocesse, euen as Paul being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach, Acts 13. Separat Paul and Barnabas for the businesse which I haue chosen them vnto. Glossa: According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a teacher vnto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand vpon their feet; that is to say, those preachers which haue but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more readie to go which way soeuer it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those which be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we reade in Ezech. 2. After that, the spirit of the Lord set Ezechiel vpon his feet, In quam spem situs vnus tangitur, and he said vnto him: O sonne of man, behold I send thee to the nations which haue start backe from their profession, which haue gone from me, that is, to the Jewish heretikes, and to those nations which sometime haue been christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that obserue the law of Mahomet. Therefore, if such go to those that are alreadie instructed, and hauing both apostles, bishops, and priests of their owne; they go not into their owne diocesse, but into another mans diocesse, and are not true apostles, but false preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the church be in hazard and danger by such, vnlesse they be thrust out of the same betime; euen as Jonas, which when he was sent to Ninuie of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the hill; that is, to the infidels we spake of before. They go not to those infidels according to the commandement of the Lord, but they turne another way, take their iourney into Tharsis, which is interpreted, seeking after ioy and pleasure; that is, they go vnto those which receiue them with ioy and gladnesse, and do well prouide for them, that is to say, to godly and deuout christians: and therfore it is to be feared, lest the ship in which they be (that is, the church) be in great perill, vnlesse they be throwne forth. And therefore the apostle spake of such false prophets not without good cause, 2. Tim. 2. And shun thou those. Glossa: That is, such men as those be.

The thirtie sixth signe is, because true apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute vnto themselues any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul, Rom. 15, saith: I dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by me. Glossa: That is, I speake only those things (which by me) that is, by my ministerie Christ hath wrought. They therefore that boast of many things, and do attribute much vnto themselues which they neuer did, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie seuenth signe is, that true apostles do not applie themselues or leane to logicall or philosophicall reasons. Therefore those preachers which do indeuour themselues to such kind of reasons, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie eight signe is, that true apostles do not loue carnallie or after the flesh, but hate what thing soeuer doth resist them in the seruice of God, as Luke 14. He that doth not hate his father and mother, his sonne and sister, and also himselfe, he cannot be my disciple. Glossa: That is, he that doth not hate what soeuer doth resist or let him in the seruice of God, is not worthie to be a disciple, neither can he abide in that office. Therefore for so much as true preachers are the true disciples of the Lord, it must needs follow that those preachers which do promote their nephewes and kinsfolkes (how vnworthie soeuer they be) to ecclesiastical promotions and liuings, contrarie to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the seruice of God, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie ninth signe is, that true apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world: for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemie of God, therefore those preachers which purchase the friendship of this world are not true apostles, but false prophets. Therefore for so much as the scripture is infallible, as in the twentie fourth chapter of Matthew, saying: Heauen and earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for euer; and the holy Ghost which spake in the apostles cannot lie: for prophecie (for the most part) is not spoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the holie Ghost, as it is read in the first epistle of Peter, the first chapter: it remaineth, that all men, which are bound to defend the church, may rise vp in the defence of the same, according vnto that in the 24. chapter of the Prouerbs; Deliuer those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those which are drawen to destruction. Neither may he alleage vaine accusations, because it is said in the same place: If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of mens hearts, shall know it, &c. Whatsoeuer perisheth in the church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them at the day of iudgement; as Jacob confesseth to Laban, whose sheepe he fed, Genesis 31, I did restore all thy losse, and that which was stolne I made answere for. I will demand his blood at thy hands, Ezechiel 3. This is said to the pastor or prelat. But if the other things which we haue spoken of before could not moue the prelats and cardinals, this at the least should moue them; because that then the spirituall power which doth consist for the most part in the exercise of preaching, in hearing confessions, and enioyning of penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piece meale doth the wolfe deuour the poore and needie man: 3. quest. chap. 1. When the authoritie ecclesiastical therefore shall be quite taken from them and disposed to others, such as either by their order or apostolicall grant, do challenge to haue the same; then doubtlesse shall neither the iurisdiction of ciuill causes and pleadings, nor anie authoritie that such prelats haue yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporall goods of the church, any longer remaine amongst them. Shall such haue the temporall goods of the church which minister not the spirituall treasure thereof? 1. Cor. 9. Know ye not that they which kill the sacrifice, ought to eat of the sacrifice; and they that serue at the altar, are partakers of the altar? For as the bodie without the soule cannot stand, so corporall things without spirituall things cannot continue, 1. quest. 1. if any shall take away the same. Thus haue you had the 39 arguments, for the which both he the said Gulielmus was condemned, and his bookes burned.

In the dates of this Gulielmus, there was a most detestable and blasphemous booke set forth by the friers (mentioned also in Matth. Parisiensis) which they called Euangelium æternum, or Euangelium Spiritus sancti: That is; The euerlasting gospell, or the gospell of the holy Ghost. In which booke many abominable errours of the friers were contained, so that the gospell of Jesus Christ was vtterlie defaced, which this booke said, was not to be compared with this euerlasting gospell,

The thirtith signe is, that true prophets do not force vpon the solemne salutations of men, as false prophets do.

The thirtie one signe is, that false prophets resort to other mens boords, and flatter them for a meales meat, which true prophets do not.

The thirtie two signe is, that true prophets do not hate their enemies, as the false prophets doe.

The thirtie three signe is, that true prophets do not persecute men, as the false prophets do.

The thirtie fourth signe is, that true prophets preach to those which be not yet conuerted, which the false prophets do not.

The thirtie fifth signe is, that true prophets chiefly preach in their owne diocesse, and not in other mens.

The thirtie sixth signe is, that false prophets do attribute to themselues that which they neuer did.

The thirtie seuenth signe is, that false prophets do cleaue and leane to logicall and philosophicall reasons.

The thirtie eight signe is, that false prophets do loue carnally and not spiritually.

The thirtie ninth signe is, that false prophets do hunt after the friendship of this world.

Whatsoeuer doth perish in the church of God for want of preachers, shall be required.

A detestable booke of the friers, called *Euangelium æternum.*

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no more then the shell is to be compared with the kernell, then darknesse to light, &c. Moreouer, that the gospell of Christ shall be preached no longer but fiftie yeares, and then this euerlasting gospell should rule the church, &c. Item, that what soeuer was in the whole Bible, was in the said gospell contained. At length this friers gospell was accused to the pope, and so six persons chosen of the whole Vniuersitie to peruse and iudge of the booke: as Christianus canonicus Baluacensis, Odo de Doaco, Nicolaus de Baro, Iohannes de Sicca Villa Anglus, Iohannes Belim Gallus. Among whom this Gulielmus was one, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and diuellish booke. These sir, after the perusing of the booke were sent vp to Rome. The friers likewise sent their messengers withall, where they were refuted, and the errours of the booke condemned; but so, that the pope with the cardinals commanded the said booke to be abolished and condemned not publikely (tendering the estimation of the religious orders, as of his owne most chiefe champions) but that they should be burned in secret wise, and the bookes of the foresaid Gulielmus to be burnt withall.

The eternall and spirituall gospell of the friers condemned with much ado of the pope.

Besides other his bookes, two sermons we haue of his yet remaining, one vpon the gospell of S. Luke, of the Pharisie and the Publican, the other vpon the epistle read in the church on May day; wherein the first he resembleth the Pharisies to our monkes, and that he proueth by all the properties of the Pharisies described in the gospel. The Publican he resembleth to the laitie, such as for because the sooner they are reduced to acknowledge their sinnes, the more hope they haue of mercie. The other, because they stand confident in their owne righteousnesse, are therefore further from their iustification. In the latter sermon he setteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall vpon the church by these religious orders of monkes and friers.

Among the other besides of that age, which withstood the bishop of Rome and his antichristian errors, was one Laurence an Englishman, and master of Paris. Another was Petrus Iohannes a Pinozit, of whom the foresaid Laurence was about the yeare of our Lord 1260, who in his teaching, preaching and writing, did stoutly defend the part of the foresaid Gulielmus and the rest of his side against the friers. Against the which friers he wrote two bookes; one in the defence of William afore mentioned; the other vpon this argument and title: To beware of false prophets, &c. Certaine other things also he wrote, wherein by diuers proofes and testimonies he argued and proued that antichrist was not far off to come.

Laurentius Anglicus condemned of the pope.
Defensio Gulielmi.
Cauendum à pseudoprophetis.
The pope antichrist.
The synagogue of Rome to be great Babylon.
Ex Nicolao Emerico in libro suarum inquisitionum.
Petrus Iohannes burned after his death.

The other Petrus Iohannes was about the yeere of our Lord 1290, which taught and maintained many things against the pope, prouing that he was antichrist, and that the synagogue of Rome was great Babylon. He wrote vpon Matthew, vpon the epistles, and vpon the Apocalypse. Mention of this Petrus Iohannes is made in Nicolaus Emericus, in libr. Inquisitionum, &c. And saith moreouer that Michael Cesenas (of whom Christ willing shall follow hereafter) tooke of him a great part of his opinions; and because the pope could not burne him aliue, after his death he caused his bones to be taken vp and burned.

To these and with these aboue specified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who being borne of a right noble parentage, for deuotion sake was made a Dominike frier, about the same yeere of our Lord aboue touched, Anno 1290. This man, as appeareth by his writing, had diuers and sundrie visions, whereof part is annexed with the visions and prophecie of Hildegardis. His visions all tend against the spiritualtie of Rome, where in the first chapter he calleth plainly the pope an idoll, which hauing eyes seeth not, neither lusteth to see the abominations of his people, nor the excessiue enormitie of their voluptuousnesse, but only to see to the heaping vp of his owne treasure, and hauing a mouth speaketh not, but saith; I haue set good men ouer them (which is sufficient for me) to do them good either by my selfe, or by some other. And it followeth in the same chapter; Woe to that idoll, woe to the mighty and proud, who shall be equall in all the earth to that idoll? He that exalted vp his name in earth, saying: Who shall bring me vnder? Is not my house compared with the mightie potentats of the land? I am higher then dukes, knights on their horsebacke do seruice vnto me; that which my fathers had not before me, that haue I done to me. My house is strowed with siluer, gold and perle are the pauement of my palace, &c.

Robertus Gallus prophesieth against the pope.

Againe in the twelfth chapter and also in the first, vnder the name of a serpent he painteth out the pope, whom he declareth to extoll himselfe aboue measure, and to oppresse the few that be godly, and to haue many false prophets about him, which neglecting the word and name of Christ, do preach and extoll him only, obscuring the name of Christ. The church of Rome and the pope he describeth in these words: I was praying (said he) on my knees, looking vpward to heauen neere to the altar of S. Iames in Paris, on the right side of the altar, and saw in the aire before me the bodie of a certaine high bishop all clothed in white silke, who turning his backe on the east, lift vp his hand towards the west, as the priests are wont in their masse turning to the people, but his head was not seene. And as I was considering aduisedly whether he had any head or no: I perceiued a certaine head in him all drie, leane and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the spirit of the Lord said to me: This signifieth the state of the church of Rome.

The pope described.
The visions of Robertus Gallus.
The state of the church of Rome described.

Moreouer, the same author in his visions well describing the manner of the schole sophisters and Sorbonists addeth in this wise: Another day as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit: and behold I saw a man apparelled like to the other before, which went about hauing fine bread and excellent wine that hanged about him on both sides, and the same hauing in his hand a long and an hard flint stone, was gnawing hungerly vpon the same, as one being hungrie is wont to bite vpon a loafe of bread; out of the which stone came two heads of two serpents, the spirit of the Lord instructing me and saying: This stone purporteth the friuolous, intricat, and curious questions, wherein the hungrie do trauell and labour, leauing the substantiall food of their soules. And I asked what these two heads did meane: And he said, The name of the one is vain-glorie, the name of the other is the marring and dissipating of religion.

The schoolemen and the friuolous questions described.

Also, concerning reformation of the church, this vision he declareth: It hapned as I was (saith he) in the same citie in the house of a certaine noble man (a Britaine) and was there speaking with certaine; I saw a crosse of siluer very bright, much like to the crosse of the earle of Tholouse. But the twelues apples which did hang beside in the armes of the crosse were very vile, like the apples which the sea is wont to cast vp. And I said; What is this Lord Iesu? And the Spirit answered me: This crosse which thou seest is the church, which shall be cleare and bright in pureneesse of life, and shall be heard and knowne all ouer through the shrill voice of the preaching of sincere veritie. Then being troubled with the apples, I asked what these apples so vile did signifie? And he said; It is the humiliation of the church, &c.

The reformation of the church prefigured.

This godly man did forewarne (as in a certaine chronicle is declared) how God would punish the simonie and auarice of the clergie with such a plague that riuers should run with blood, &c. It is said that there is remaining a great volume of his visions which are not yet abroad, for these that be abroad are but a briefe extract out of his visions and reuelations.

The simonie and auarice of the clergie to be punished.

After that we haue thus long strayed in these forren stories of Frederike, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other countries, now after this sufficient digression, it is time that we returne to our owne countrie againe. Where, in following the continuation of time and course of the church, we will now adioyne to these good fathers and writers, the historie of the learned bishop of Lincolne named Robert Grosthead, a man famously learned (as that time serued) in the three tongues both Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew, also in all liberall sciences; whose works and sermons yet to this day are extant, which I haue seene in the Queenes maiesties librarie at Westminster. Wherein is one speciall sermon written and exhibited in foure sundrie scrols to the pope, and to other foure cardinals, beginning Dominus noster Iesus Christus, &c. Nicolas Triuet in his chronicle writing of this bishop, affirmeth that he was borne in Suffolke, in the diocesse of Northfolke: who giuing him the praise to be a man of excellent wisdome, of profound doctrine, and an example of all vertue, witnesseth, that he being master of arts, wrote first a commentary In librum posteriorum of Aristotle. Also that he wrote tractations, De sphæra, & de arte comput. and that he set forth diuers bookes concerning philosophie. Afterward being doctor in diuinitie, and expertly seene in all the three tongues, drew out sundrie treatises out of the Hebrew glosses, also translated diuers workes out of the Greeke, as namely the testament of the twelue patriarches, and the bookes of Dionysius, commenting vpon the new translation with his owne glosse: Hæc ille. Many other works and volumes besides were written by the said Grosthead, as De oculo morali, De dotibus, De cessatione legalium, paruus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Boetium, De potestate pastorali, Expositiones in Gen. in Lucam, with a number more, besides diuers epistles, sermons & inuectiues sent to the pope for his vnmeasurable exactions wherewith he ouercharged & oppressed the church of England.

The troubles of Robert Grosthead with the pope.
Ex Nic. Triuet.
Robert Grosthead a Suffolke man borne.
The commendation of Robert Grosthead.
The bookes and workes of Robert Grosthead.

This godly and learned bishop after diuers conflicts and agonies sustained against the bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederike, of Guliel. de sancto amore, of Nico. Gallus, and other after minded; at length after great labors and trauels of life finished his course, and departed at Bugden in the moneth of October, An. 1253. Of his decease thus writeth Matth. Paris, pag. 278. Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he neuer loued) was taken the holy bishop of Lincolne Robert, at his manor of Bugden in the euen of S. Dionyse, who was an open reprouer of the pope and of the king, a rebuker of the prelats, a corrector of the monkes, a directer of the priests, an instructer of the clerkes, a fautor of scholars, a preacher to the people, a perseruter of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings, &c. Hæc Matth. What a mall he was to the Romans, in the sequell hereof (Christ willing) shall better appeare. The storie is this:

Anno 1253.
The death of Robert Grosthead.
Mallens Romanorum Grosthedus.

It so befell among other daily and intollerable exactions, wherein pope Innocent was grieuous and iniurious (manifold waies) to the realme of England, hee had a certaine cosin or nephew (so popes were wont to call their sonnes) named Frederike, being yet yong and vnder yeares, whom the said Innocent

Innocent the pope would needs prefer to be a canon or prebendarie in the church of Lincolne, in this time of Robert bishop of the said church; and vpon the same directed downe letters to certaine his factors heere in England for the execution thereof. The copy of which letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune sending of God came to my hands, as I was penning this present storie written in the end of an old parchment booke, and otherwise rare I suppose to be found, as is this.

The vnreasonable letter of the pope.

Dilectis filijs archdiacono Cant. & magistro Innocent. scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti: salutem & apostolicam benedict. Cùm dilectus filius noster G. Sanct. Eustachij diaconus cardinalis dilecto filio Frederico de Lauania, clerico nepoti nostro, de speciali mandato nostro canonicatum Lincolnien. cum plenitudine iuris canonici duxerit conferẽdum, ipsum per suum annulum corporaliter & præsentialiter inuestiens de eodẽ, vt ex tunc canonicus Lincolnien. existat, & plenum nomen & ius canonici consequatur ibidem, ac præbendam, si qua vacauerit in ecclesia Lincol. à tẽpore quo dudùm literæ nostræ super receptione, ac prouisione faciendæ sibi in eccles. eadem de præmissis venerab. fratri nostro episcopo Lincoln. præsentatæ fuerunt, alioqui post vacaturam conferendã sibi donationi apostolicæ reseruarit: decernendo irritum & inane, si quid de præbenda huiusmodi à quoquam fuerit attentatum, nec non & contradictores & rebelles excommunicationis sententiam vbique promulgando, prout in literis eiusdem exinde de* constitutis plenius cõtinetur. Nos ipsius Frederici deuotis supplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodẽ cardinale factum est super hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem autoritate apostolica duximus confirmandũ. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fredericum, vel procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem possessionem prædictorum canonicatus & præbendæ, autoritate nostra inducatis, & defendatis inductum, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus aliquibus consuetudinibus vel statutis, iuramentis, vel confirmationibus sedis apostolicæ, seu quacunque alia infirmitate roboratis, vel quòd dictus Fredericus præsens non fuerit ad præstandum iuramentum de obseruandis cõsuetudinibus eiusdem eccles. consuetis; siue si prædicto episcopo vel capitulo ipsius ecclesiæ communiter vel singulatim: seu alijs quibuscunque personis à dicta sede indultum existat, quòd ad receptionem vel prouisionem alicuius compelli nequeant, siue quòd nullus alius in eorum ecclesia nemini prouidere valeat: vel quòd interdici, suspendi, aut excommunicari non possint, per literas apost. sub quacunque forma verborũ obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamsi totus tenor indulgentiarum huiusmodi de verbo in verbum in ijsdem literis sit insertus, siue quibus alijs indulgentijs quibuscunque personis, dignitati, vel loco, sub quacunq; forma verborum concessis à sede apost. vel etiam concedendis, per quas effectus huiusmodi prouisionis posset impediri aliquatenus vel differri. Tamen volumus ea de certa scientia, quantum ad prouisionem factam & faciendam Frederico prædicto in ecclesia Lincoln. viribus omnino carere. Cæterum, si aliqui prædicto Frederico vel procuratori super præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum, aliquatenus duxerint opponendum: illos ex parte nostra citari curetis, vt peremptoriè infra duorum mensium spacium post citationem vestram personaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem Frederico super præmissis legitimè responsuri. Non obstantibus priuilegijs, siue quibuslibet indulgentijs personis regni Angliæ generaliter vel cuiuis alij personæ, vel dignitati, vel loco specialiter à prædicta sede sub quacunq; forma verborum concessis. Quod non possunt vltra mare, seu extra ciuitatem vel diœcesin suam in iudicium euocari per literas apost. sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, quod priuilegium & indulgentias eisdem personis de certa scientia nullatenus volumus suffragari, & constitutione edita de duabus dictis in concilio generali non obstante. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, vestris literis tenorem præsentium continentibus fideliter intimetis. Quòd si non ambo his exequendis interesse poteritis, alter vestrum nihilominus exequatur. Datum Perus. 7. Cal. Febr. pontificat. nostri anno decimo.*

* Rectè dictum fortassis filio.

* Confectis.

Which forelaid letter is thus in English.

The popes vnreasonable letter.

Vnto our welbeloued sonnes the archdeacon of Canturburie, and to master Innocent our scribe abiding in England, greeting and apostolicall benediction. For so much as our welbeloued sonne G. of S. Eustace deacon cardinall, vpon our speciall commandement hath giuen and granted to our welbeloued son Frederike de Lauania (a clerke and our nephew) a canonship in the church of Lincolne with full power and grant of the same: inuesting him also corporally and presently with his owne ring in the said canonship, to be from henceforth canon of Lincolne, and to haue full power of the said canonship in the church, and a prebend when any shall fall in the church of Lincolne: from that time, since which our former letters of late, concerning this receiuing and prouision to be giuen to him in the said church, were presented and exhibited to our reuerend brother the bishop of Lincolne, or else after the next auoiding the said prebendship to be reserued to the apostolicall donation, and to be giuen to him, making it void and frustrat if the said prebendship shall be giuen to any other man beside, and also denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all them that shall rebell and gainsay the same, as in the letters of the said cardinall is more fully contained.

Excommunication abused.

We therefore gratiously inclined by the deuout supplication of the said Frederike, ratifying and gratefully approuing that which hath been done by the said cardinals in the premisses, haue thought good by the authoritie apostolicall to confirme. Wherefore we giue in commandement by our letters apostolicall to your wisedomes, that you will see the said Frederike (or his proctor in his behalfe) to be really and corporally possessed in the said canonship or prebend by our authoritie, and also defend the said partie being therein possessed, denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all such as shall withstand the same, all maner of customes or statutes to the contrarie notwithstanding, corroborated either with oth, or confirmations of the see apostolike, or by what stay or let soeuer; or whether that the said Frederike be not present to take the oth accustomed to be giuen for obseruing the customes of the said church, or whether it be giuen and granted by the said see to the foresaid bishop, or to the chapter of the said church iointly and seuerallie, or to what person or persons else, that no man by compulsion should haue admission or prouision for any person in their church whereby they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicat by the letters apostolicall obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, vnder what forme or words soeuer; yea although the whole tenour of the said indulgence bee inserted word for word in the said your letters, or by any other indulgences to what person or persons soeuer, of what estate, dignitie or place soeuer, vnder any manner or forme of words, granted hereafter by the see apostolike, by the which indulgences the effect of the said prouision may bee by any manner of waies hindered or deferred: yet of our certaine knowledge wee will that they shall want their strength in the prouision made or to be made for the said Frederike in the church of Lincolne. And if anie vpon the premisses or anie of them shall alleage against the foresaid Frederike, or his procurator, that you will cause them to be cited on our behalfe: so that they being cited peremptorilie, shall within the space of two moneths of your citation, personally appeare before vs there according to the law to make answere to the said Frederike vpon the premisses: any priuiledges or indulgences whatsoeuer giuen and granted either generally to the kingdome of England, or peculiarly to anie other person of what state, degree, and place soeuer, granted by the foresaid see, vnder whatsoeuer manner and forme of words for them not to be called vp beyond the sea, or out of their owne citie or dioceese by letters apostolicall, vnder whatsoeuer forme of words obtained, to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding. Al which priuiledges and indulgences, we wil in no case shall stand in any force or effect to the said parties. Moreouer, the day and forme of the citation we will that ye faithfullie do intimat vnto vs by your letters containing the tenour thereof, and if both of you cannot be present at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithstanding, that one of you doe execute the same without faile. Dated the 7. kal. Februarie, the 10. yeare of our popedome.

As there is no man which hath any eyes to see, but may easilie vnderstand in reading this letter of the pope, how vnreasonable his requests is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the church of God, in placing boyes and strangers in the ministerie and cure of soules, and also in making them his prouisors, to rauen vp the church goods: so is it no great maruell, if this godly bishop Robert Grosthead was offended therewith, who in my mind deserueth herein a double commendation, not onlie that he so wisely did discerne error from sinceritie and truth; but also that he was so hardie and constant to stand to the defence thereof against the pope, according as in this his answere to the pope againe may appeare, as followeth.

A double commendation of bishop Grosthead.

The answere of Robert Grosthead.

The answere of Robert Grosthead to the pope.

SAlutem. Pleaseth it your wisdome to vnderstand, that I am not disobedient to any the apostolike precepts, but both deuoutly and reuerently with the naturall affection of a sonne obey the same, and also am an vtter enemie to all those that resist such apostolike precepts, as a child zealous of his fathers honor. And truly I am no lesse then bound thereunto by the precept and commandement of God. For the apostolike precepts are none other, nor can be, then consonant and vniforme to the doctrine of the apostles, and of our Sauiour Christ being the maister and Lord of all the apostles: whose type and person, specially in the consonant and vniforme hierarchie of the church, the lord pope seemeth to beare (the same our Lord and Sauiour Jesus Christ, saying) Whosoeuer is not with me, the same is against me. Therefore, against him neither is nor can be the most diuine sanctitie of the see apostolicall. The tenour then of your foresaid apostolicall letter is not consonant to true sanctitie, but vtterly dissonant and disagreeing to the same. First, for that vpon the clause of this your letter and many such other letters like, which clause alwaies ye so much do vrge (*Non obstante*) induced and brought in vpon no necessity of any naturall law to be obserued; doth swarme and flow with all inconstancie, boldnesse, pertinacie, impudencie, lying, and deceiuing, and is also a sea of mistrust in giuing credit to no man. Which as it swarmeth with these, so in like manner with innumerable other vices which hang and depend vpon the same:

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mouing and disturbing the puritie of christian religion and life agreeable to the same, as also the publike tranquillitie of men. Moreouer, next after the sinne of Lucifer (which shall be in the latter time, to wit, of antichrist the child of perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth) there is not nor can be any kind of sinne so repugnant and contrarie to the doctrine of the apostles and holy scripture, and to our Sauiour Christ himselfe more hatefull, detestable and abominable, then to destroy and kill mens soules, by defrauding them of the mysterie of the pastorall office, which by the ministerie of the pastorall cure ought to saue and quicken the same. Which sinne by most euident places of the scripture such men are discerned and knowne to commit, which being in the authority of the pastorall dignitie, do serue their owne carnall desires and necessaries, with the benefit of the milke and woll of the sheepe and flock of Christ, and do not minister the same pastorall office and charge to the benefit and saluation of those their sheep. The same therfore by the testimonie of the scripture is not the administration of the pastorall ministerie, but the killing and destruction of the sheepe. And that these two kind of vices be most vile and wicked (although after a differing sort) and far exceeding all other kind of wickednesse, hereby it is manifest: for that the same are directly contrary to two vertues most chiefly good (although differing in themselues) and vnlike together. For that is called most wicked, which is contrarie to a thing most best. So much then as lieth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directlie against the deitie, which of himselfe is alwaies essentiallie and supernaturally good: the other is against the deification and the image of God in man, which is not alwaies, but by the participation of Gods lightsome grace essentially and naturally good. And for so much as in things being good, the cause of good is better then the effect; and like as againe in euill things, the cause of euill is worse then the effect of euil proceeding therof: hereby it is manifest, that the inducers of such wicked destroyers of Gods image and deification in the sheepe of Christ (that is, the church of God) are worse then those chiefe destroyers, to wit, Lucifer and antichrist.

And as in these degrees of wickednesse how much more excellent such be, who hauing a great charge committed to them of God (to edification and not to destruction) are more bound to keepe away and exclude such wicked destroyers from the church of God: so much is it also off that, that this holy seat apostolicall, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ hath giuen all maner of power (to edification as the apostle saith, and not to destruction) can command, or will go about any such thing, vrging vnto so great wickednesse, so odible, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and also so pernicious to mankind. For this should be a great defection, corruption, and abuse of the said seat and fulnesse of power, and an vtter separation from the glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a neere neighbourhood vnto the two most principall princes of darknesse, sitting in the chaire of pestilence, prepared to the paines of hell. Neither can any man, which is subiect and faithfull to the said see (and not cut away from the bodie of Christ, and from the said holy see) with sincere and vnspotted conscience obey such maner of precepts and commandements, or whatsoeuer other attempts proceeding, yea though from the high order of angels themselues, but rather ought of necessitie with all their strength to withstand and rebell against the same. Wherefore my reuerend lord, I like an obedient child vpon my bound dutie of obedience and fidelitie which I owe to both the * parents of this holy apostolike see, and partly for loue of vnitie in the bodie of Christ ioyned with the said see, do not obey but withstand and vtterly rebell against these things in the said letter contained, and especially which vrge and tend to the foresaid wickednesse, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holinesse of the holie apostolike see, and so contrarie to the vnitie of the catholike faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion determine any extremitie to me, because all my doing and gain-saying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the diuine precept, and honor due both to * father and mother. Briefely therefore repeating my words I say, that this holy apostolike see cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction: for this is the fulnesse of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But these which you call prouisions be not to edification, but to manifest destruction. The holy apostolike see therefore cannot nor ought to attempt any such thing, because that flesh and blod which cannot enter into the kingdome of God hath reuealed the same, and not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in heauen.

Power giuen to ministers to edification only, not to destruction.

Two principall princes of darknesse, Lucifer and antichrist.

* He meaneth either Christ and the church, or else Peter and Paul.

* Id est, both to Christ and his church.

Then followeth it in the storie both of Matth. Parisiensis, and of Florilegus, in these words: That when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, he fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce looke and proud mind, saying: What old doting frantike wretch is this, so boldly and rashly to iudge of my doings? By sweet S. Peter and Paul, were it not but that vpon our owne clemencie and good nature we are restrained, we would hurle him downe to such confusion, that we would make him a fable, a gazing stocke, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the king of England our vassall? and to say more, our manciple or page (to vse the very words of mine author) which may at our pleasure and becke both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to vtter shame? This when the pope in his great fury and rage had vttered amongst his brethren the cardinals, who were scarce able to appease the furious violence of the pope, with milde moderation of words they said vnto him; that it was not expedient for them to proceed against that bishop in such rigorous maner. For, said they, to confesse the truth to your holines, it is but verie truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemne him therefore. He is a catholike man, yea also a holy man; more holie and also religious then we our selues; a man of excellent wit, and excellent life; so as it is thought, among all the prelats he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not vnknowne both to the French and English clergie vniuersally, neither can our contradiction preuaile against him. The truth of this his epistle perhaps is knowne now to many, and shall stir vp many against vs: for he hath the name to be a great philosopher, and singularly seene in all the tongues, both Greeke, Latine and Hebrue: zealous in iustice, a reader of diuinitie in the schooles, a preacher amongst the people, a louer of chastitie, and a persecutor of simonie. These words spake L. Giles a Spanish cardinall to the pope, and others more moued by their conscience to speake. And this counsell they gaue to the pope, that he should dissemble and winke at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise perhaps some tumult might rise and spring thereof: especially seeing this is manifest and knowne to all men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the church of Rome.

Giles cardinall defendeth Robert Grosthead to the pope.

Not long after this (about the canicular daies) this reuerend and godly Robert bishop of Lincolne lying at his manor place in Bugden, fell grieuously sicke; and thereupon within few daies departed. In the time of his sickenesse he called to him a certaine frier of the preaching order, named M. John Giles, a man expert and cunning both in physike and diuinitie; partly to receiue of him some comfort of his bodie, and partly to confer with him in spirituall matters. Thus vpon a certaine day, the said bishop conferring with the foresaid M. John, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the pope, did grieuously rebuke and reprehend his fellow brethren the preaching friers, and the other order also of the minorits; that for so much as their order being planted in willfull pouertie of the spirit, to the intent they should more freely carpe and reproue the vices of the mightie, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharpely to rebuke and reprehend the same: the said friers contrarie to their profession did not boldly enough crie out and inueigh against the abuses of their superiours and men of power: nor did vncouer nor detect their faults and wickednesse; and therefore, said the bishop, I iudge them to be no better then manifest heretikes. And addeth moreouer (demanding of M. John) what is heresie: and that he should giue him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the frier did stay & pause, not remembring the solemne definition of that matter; the bishop thereupon inferreth, giuing this definition in Latine by the true interpretation of the Greeke word: *Hæresis Græcè, electio Latinè, est sententia humano sensu electa, scripturæ sacræ cõtraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defensa.* That is: Heresie is a sentence taken and chosen of mans owne braine, contrary to holy scripture, openly maintained, and stiflie defended. And this definition giuen, consequently he inferred, sharpely reprehending the prelats of the church, but especially the Romans, which commit the charge of soules vnto their kinsfolkes, being both in age vnworthie, and in learning vnsufficient. To giue (saith he) the charge of soules to a boy, is a sentence of a prelat chosen and taken of mans owne head, only for carnall and earthly respect, and also is contrarie to holie Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made ministers or pastors, which are not sufficient to driue away the wolues. And moreouer it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly borne abroad and commanded, with charts anbulled both with wax and lead; and finally, it is stiffely defended. For if any man shall dare to presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and excommunicated, and open war cried out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of an heretike doth agree, he is a very heretike. But euery faithfull christian man ought to set himselfe against an heretike as much as he may. Wherefore he that can resist him and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of Gregorie; He lacketh not conscience of secret societie, which ceaseth to resist open impietie. But the friers both Franciscans and Dominikes are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them haue the gift of preaching committed to them by their office, and be more apt to the said office, by reason of their pouertie: and therefore doe not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the apostle to the Romans, saying; Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent are worthie of death. Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the pope (vnlesse he cease from that vice) as also the same friers, vnlesse they shew themselues more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both worthie of death, that is perpetuall damnation. Item saith the canon decretall, that vpon this vice of heresie the pope both may and ought to be accused.

The godlie talke of Robert Grosthead in time of his sickenesse.

Definition of heresie.

The pope named heere an heretike.

The saying of Gregorie.

The pope accused of heresie.

Ex Matth. Paris. ad verbum.

Well sworne maister pope.

After

Certaine aphorismes or articles laid of Robert Grosthead against the bishop of Rome.

After this the vehemencie of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were somewhat longer; the third night before his departure, the bishop feeling his infirmity to grow vpon him, willed certaine of his clergie to be called to him, therby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Vnto whom the bishop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the losse of soules, through the auarice of the popes court, said on this wise, as by certaine aphorismes.

1 Christ came into the world to saue and win soules: Ergo, he that feareth not to destroy soules, may he not worthilie bee counted antichrist?

2 The Lord created the whole world in sixe daies, but in reparing of man he laboured more then thirtie yeeres. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that, about which the lord so long laboured, is not hee worthie to be counted the enemie of God, and antichrist?

The pope accused of his wicked clause, *Non obstante.*

3 The pope shameth not impudently to annihilat and disannull the priuiledges of his holy predecessors of Romane bishops, by this obstacle (Non obstante) which is not done without the preiudice and manifest iniurie of them. For in so doing he doth reproone and destroy that which so many and so holy men haue builded vp before, and thus seemeth he to bee a contemner of the saints. Worthilie therefore he that contemneth shall bee contemned, according to the saying of Esay: Woe to thee that doest despise, for shalt not thou thy selfe be despised? And who shall keepe his priuiledges, which so breaketh the priuiledges of others?

The pope accused for arrogating more then his due to him, and prooued not to be equall but inferiour to his predecessors.

4 The pope answering thereunto thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equall, hath no superioritie ouer his equall: Therefore, no pope hath power to bind me being pope as well as he. To this answer againe (quoth the bishop) It seemeth to me, that he that now presently is sailing in the dangerous seas of this world, and hee that is safely arriued in the hauen, hauing past all ieopardies, are not both like and equall. Grant that some popes be saued (God forbid any should say contrarie:) Then saith our sauior: He that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then John Baptist, a greater then whom did neuer rise amongst the children of men. Is not therefore some pope greater, being a giuer and confirmer of priuileges, then this that is aliue? Truely me thinks hee is greater, therefore he hath dominion ouer his inferior.

The pope accused for vndoing the acts and foundations of his predecessors. Prooued that the pope aliue is inferior to his predecessors before him, and therefore to haue no authoritie to infringe the priuiledges of other popes.

5 Doth not the pope thus say, speaking of all his predecessors for the most part: This our predecessor, and this our predecessor of most worthie memorie, &c. And againe, We (saith hee) cleauing to, or following the steps of our predecessors, &c. And why then do such popes as come after, destroy these foundations which their predecessors haue laid?

Prooued by the example of Benet, that men more ancient in time ought to be preferred in higher reuerence.

6 Many apostolike men comming after, haue confirmed some priuiledge being granted by others before; and be not many bishops being alreadie saued by the grace of God, to bee counted greater and better then one bishop which hath not yet attained, but standeth in danger to obtaine that which the other haue got alreadie?

7 Also other former fathers and bishops of the apostolical see, in preferment of time go before the others which in time come after. And those whom the estimation of ancient time doth aduance, such are we bound to esteeme and to haue in more reuerence. This did the holy man Benedict well consider, who in his rule preferreth such as came first in time, whatsoeuer men they were before them, which (albeit being more ancient in yeeres) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their superiors, and to haue the preheminence. Which being so (as it is) true and certaine, how commeth then this iniurious and rash presumption, which dare repeale and disanull the old priuiledges of many ancient holy bishops, in time and in reuerence going before them?

The pope accused for maintaining of vsurie.

8 Moreouer, and though many popes haue been grieuous to the church, yet this pope most speciallie hath brought it most into seruitude and manifold waies hath dammified the same. For these Caursini, these open vsurers, whom our holy forefathers and doctors, whom we haue seene, and namely our learned maister in France preacher, also the abbat of Flay a Cisstercian, maister Iacobus de Veteri, and maister Stephan, archbishop of Canturburie in the time of his banishment, and also maister Robert Curcun, with his preaching, banished out of France, for before that time these kind of vsurers were neuer knowne in England; the same Caursini, these wicked vsurers, I say, were by this pope induced, supported and maintained; so that if any doe speake against them, hee is miserablie tolled and trounsed for his labour, whereof partly Roger bishop of London hath some experience.

Against vsurers.

9 The world doth know, that vsurie is counted a detestable thing in both the testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the popes vsurers or exchangers, the verie Iewes crying out against them, being openly suffered in London to exercise their vsurie, to the great damage and detriment of all ecclesiasticall persons, but especially houses of religion, compelling such as bee in pouertie to counterfet and to put to their seales to forged writings, which is no lesse then to commit idolatrie and to abrenounce the veritie which is God himselfe. As for example: I borrow 100. marks for a yeere in stead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled to make my writing and to seale the same, confessing that I haue receiued and borrowed one hundred pounds, to bee repaied againe at the yeeres end to such a man, &c. And if it shall chance that your occupying be such, that within a month you bring againe the principall to the popes vsurer, hee will receiue no lesse notwithstanding then his full hundred pounds: which condition of vsurie is much worse then that of the Iewes. For to the Iew what principall you bring, hee will require no more then proportionallie for the commensuration of so much time, wherein his monie hath been out of his hands.

The craftie practise of vsurers.

The popes vsurers worse then the Iewes.

10 Moreouer, we haue seene and knowne the pope to haue giuen in charge and commandement to the friers preachers, and minorits, to inquire diligently for such as lie sicke and like to die, and so comming to them diligently to perswade them to make their wils and testaments fauorablie to the profit and subsidie of the holy land, and to take the crosse vpon them, that if they doe amend, they may wring them in the law; and if they die, they may wrest the monie from their executors.

Craftie subtiltie of the pope to get monie.

11 We haue knowne likewise and seene men that haue taken the vow and signe of the crosse vpon them, to bee sold vnto lay men, as sheepe and oxen were wont in time past to bee sold in the temple.

Men signed to the holy land, sold for monie like sheepe by the pope.

We haue seene with our eies the popes letter, in which we haue found this to be written: That they which bequeath any thing to the behoofe or subsidie of the holy land, shall receiue so much indulgence as they haue disbursed monie.

Remission of sinnes sold for monie.

12 Ouer and besides all this, the pope in diuers and sundrie his letters, hath willed and commanded prelats to receiue into ecclesiasticall benefices, and to prouide some such liuing in their churches, as shall be sufficient to such and such a stranger (being both absent and also vnworthie) which haue neither learning, nor yet the language of the countrie: whereby they are neither able to preach nor to heare confessions, nor to keepe residence for to refresh the poore and trauailers.

The pope accused to be iniurious to churches in his prouisions and reseruations.

13 Item, we know and haue seene our selues, that the pope hath written to the abbat of S. Albons, to prouide for one called John de Camezana whom he neuer saw, in some competent benefice. Whereupon, in few daies after, when prouision was made for him in a certaine church, worth fortie marks by the yeere and more, the partie being not therewith contented, complained to the pope; who then writing to the foresaid abbat commanded him to prouide for the foresaid M. John in some better thing, reseruing notwithstanding the gift of the former benefice to himselfe.

The pope accused to be iniurious to the abbat of saint Albons.

14 Againe, not long after came also to the house of the foresaid abbat, two other persons like begging vagabonds, bringing with them the popes letters: in the tenor whereof the abbat was commanded, that incontinent vpon the sight thereof, he should giue and disburse to the said persons for the expedition and dispatch of his affaires ten marks in hand, without any delay or sticking: the which persons vttering vnto the abbat proud and threatning words, he was faine to agree with them and send them away.

The pope accused for violent extortion.

15 Item, of men which are both holy and well learned, which haue left the world for the following of God in such order as they ought not to turne backe againe, the pope of them maketh his tolners and bankers to get in his monie: the which charge they are compelled against their wils to take vpon them, lest they should seeme to be disobedient, and so of spirituall men are made more secular then the most secular. And so the basenesse of their chimmers and scapillers which they weare, doth proue them to be liers: whilest vnder the habit of pouertie and humiliation there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation. And because no legat may be sent into England, but being first required of the king: the pope sendeth sophisticall legats and such as bee disguised and counterfet in apparell, and are garded with great might and power: neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof: For so many such dailie do come into the realme, that to heare the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to heare.

The pope accused for troubling and corrupting learned men of the spiritualtie with his temporall affaires.

16 Furthermore (as we haue seene our selues) the pope granteth for secular fauour, that a man may haue a bishoprike, and yet be no bishop conserrated, Sed electus sempiternus, that is, elect for euer. Which is as much to signifie, to haue the milke and the woll of the sheepe, and not to keepe the wolues away from the sheepe: to retaine the rents of a bishop, and not to discharge the function of a bishop.

The pope accused for vnlawfull dispensations.

And when this godly bishop had thus reproued these and such other detestable enormities of the court of Rome; as all kinds of auarice, their vsurie, their simonie, their extortion, all kinds of filthinesse, fleshlie lust, gluttonie, and their sumptuous apparell raigning in that court: then saith hee, this old verse may be trulie verified vpon it:

Eius auaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis;
Eius luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis.

All the world cannot suffice their greedie couetous mind,
Nor all the drabs and naughtie packs their filthie lusting kind.

Afterwards he went about more to prosecute, how the forsaid court like a gulfe neuer satisfied, euer gaping so wide, that

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that the floud of Iordan might run into his mouth) aspired how to vsurpe the goods of them that die vntested, and of legacies bequeathed without forme of law; and whereby more licentiouslie to bring this to passe, they vsed to ioyne the king to bee fellow and partaker with them in their spoiles, extortions, and robbing. Neither, saith he, shall the church bee deliuered from the seruitude of Egypt but by violence and force, and with the bloudie sword. And albeit, saith he, these be yet but light matters, yet shortly more great and grieuous things then these shall be seene.

Ex Mat. Paris.

The death of Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolne.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarsly could vtter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his tongue and breath began to faile, and so the organ of his voice being stopped, he made an end both of his speech and life. Ex Matthæo Pariensi.

And for so much as mention hath been made before of the insatiable auarice of the popes court by his inordinat prouisions and reseruations, it is testified by the said author Matthew Paris, that the foresaid Robert Grosthead being bishop of Lincolne, caused to be viewed and considered diligentlie of his clerks what the reuenues of forreners and strangers within England sent in by the pope, came to by the yeere, and it was found and euidently tried, that this pope now present, Innocentius the fourth, did impouerish the vniuersall church throughout christendome, more then all his predecessors from the time the pope first began. So that the reuenues of forreners and clerks placed by him heere in England, mounted vnto the summe of threescore and ten thousand marks and aboue, whereas the mere reuenues of the crowne came not to thirty thousand.

What the reuennes of the popes clerks here in England came to by the yeere.

Ex Cestrensi, lib. 7.

Of this Robert Grosthead writeth Cestrensis in his seuenth booke of his historie, that partly for that it grieued him to see the intollerable exactions of the pope in this realme, and partly because he refused to admit a certaine young nephue of the pope to be canon of his church (as hath been before recited) hee therefore writing vnto the pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his church, which neither knew themselues nor the tongue of the people, nor the charges committed vnto them: was called vp to Rome, and there excommunicatted, who then appealing from the pope, shortlie after departed, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two yeeres after his decease, the said pope Innocent being asleepe, a certaine bishop apparelled bishoplike, appeared vnto him, and striking him with his staffe on the left side, said, Surge miser veni in iudicium: that is, Rise wretch and come to thy iudgement. The nert day after, the pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staffe. This Robert though he was greatlie commended for his sanctimonie, and as Cestrensis saith, for his miracles: yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to bee ascribed in the catalogue of saints. And thus much out of Cestrensis concerning this matter. But Mat. Paris and the author of Flores historiarum, prosecuting this storie more at large, addeth this more vnto it and saith, that pope Innocent the nert yeere following, which was An. 1254. being passing angrie, contrarie to the mind of his brethren the cardinals, would haue the bones of the foresaid bishop of Lincolne cast out of the church, and purposed to bring him into such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be counted an ethnike, a rebell, and disobedient person through the whole world. And thereupon caused his letters to bee written and sent downe to the king of England, knowing that the king would gladlie serue him therein, to haue the spoile of the bishop and of his church. But in the night following the said bishop of Lincolne appeared vnto him as comming in his pontificalibus, and with a seuere countenance, sterne looke, and terrible voice speaking vnto him being in his rest, and smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke with the end of his crossestaffe thus said; O thou scuruie, lazie, old, bald, louslie, wretched, doting pope: hast thou purposed to cast my bones out of the church to the shame and slander of me? How commeth this rash wilfulnesse in thy head? It were meet for thee being thus aduanced by God, and honored, to make much of the zealous seruants of God, although departed. The Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to haue any more power ouer me. I haue written vnto thee in the spirit of humilitie and loue, that thou shouldest correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud eie and disdainfull hart hast despised my wholesome admonitions. Wo to thee that despisest, shalt not thou also be despised? And so the bishop departing from the pope, stricken, as is said, on the side, left him for halfe dead, and so lying in sorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his chamberlains being amazed, hearing these things, came running to the pope to know what him ailed. To whom the pope much troubled and vered in his spirit, said: that great terrors in his sleepe vehemently disturbed and molested him, in such sort that he thought he should neuer recouer it, nor bee restored to himselfe againe. Oh (saith he) how sore is my side, and how egerlie it vereth me, as being run through with a speare! Neither did the pope eat or drinke all that day, but fayning himselfe to be sicke of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the irefull hand of God (saith the storie) so left him not.

The pope stricken with the staffe of Grosthead bishop of Lincolne.

{Anno 1254}

Ex Mat. Paris. Ex Flor. hist. Senibalde papa miserrime.

The popes new and true stile giuen by Grosthead bishop of Lincolne.

The pope disquietted in his mind.

For after these wholsome admonitions giuen to him by the seruant of God, the pope not regarding them, but all set vpon war, suppression of his enemies, and secular affairs, gaue his mind wholie vnto them; and yet all his labors, counsels, and expences bestowed vpon them, could neuer prosper after that day in that he went about. For the pope the same time hauing war with the Apulians, all his armie fighting vnder the popes nephue their captaine, were slaine and confounded the number of many thousands: whose lamentable slaughter all the countrie of the Romans did much bewaile. The pope not yet quiet in his mind, directeth his iourny towards Naples, although sore vered in his side like a man sicke of a pleuresie, or smitten rather with a speare, neither could any physicke of his cardinals helpe him. For Robert of Lincolne (saith the story) did not spare him; and hee that would not heare him gentlie correcting him being aliue, his stripes did he feele when he was dead, so that he neuer after that inioyed any luckie or prosperous day, till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet night vntill the morning. And so continued he vnto his death, which shortly after insued he being at Naples. An. 1255. or as N. Triuet recordeth, An. 1254. And thus haue ye the whole discourse betweene Robert Grosthead and pope Innocent.

The reuenge of God vpon pope Innocent.

The popes armie vanquished and confounded.

The death of pope Innocent the fourth.

{Anno 1255}

In the which storie is to bee noted, gentle reader, that although in the storie of Cestrensis, of Matthew Paris, and of Flor. hist. it is expressie testified and reported, that the pope was smitten with the staffe of Robert the foresaid bishop of Lincolne; yet thou must wisely vnderstand, that howsoeuer Gods hand dealeth heere in this world in punishing his enemies, or howsoeuer the image of things not seene but fantasied, offer themselues to the secret cogitation of man, his senses being asleepe, by the operation or permission of God, working after some spirituall influence in our imaginations: certaine it is, that no dead man materially can euer rise againe or appeare before the iudgement day, to any man with his staffe or without his staffe, to worke any feat, after he haue once departed this life.

A note to the reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

After the death of this Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolne, great dissension fell betweene the archbishop of Canturburie Boniface, and the canons of the said church of Lincolne, about the right of giuing prebendships, and about the reuenues of the said church, in time of the bishops see being now vacant. Which right and power the archbishop claimed to himselfe, but the canons of that church (maintaining the contrarie side) stood against him, and for the same were excommunicated of the archbishop. Among whom one master Woolse resisting the archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made vp his appeale to Rome, where much mony on both sides was spent. At length after this Grosthead was elected Henrie Lerinton in the see of Lincolne.

Dissention betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the church of Lincolne.

Excommunication abused. Appellation made to Rome.

Henrie Lerinton bishop of Lincolne.

About which time the wicked Iewes at Lincolne had cruelly crucified, whipped, and tormented a certaine child named Hugo of nine yeeres of age, An. 1255, in the moneth of August: Ex Gualt. Gisburne. At length the child being sought and found by the mother, being cast in a pit; two and thirtie of those abominable Iews were put to execution. Whereof Mat. Paris reciteth a long story. The same or like fact was also intended by the like Iewes at Norwich twentie yeeres before vpon a certain child, whom they had first circumcised, and detained a whole yeere in custodie, intending to crucifie him, for which the Iewes were sent vp to the towre of London, of whom eighteene were hanged, and the rest remained long in prison: Ex Cestrens. lib. 7. Of this wicked Iewish people I find also in the booke Flor. hist. that about this yeere of our Lord 1255. they began first to be expelled out of France, by the commandement of the French king, being then in Palestina, warring against the Turks: by the occasion that it was obiected them by the Turke against him and other christian princes, for the retaining the Iewes amongst them, which did crucifie our sauiour, and warring against them which did not crucifie him. Ex Flor. histor. Of these Iewes moreouer king Henrie the same yeere, 1255. eracted to be giuen vnto him eight thousand marks in paine of hanging. Who being much grieued therewith, and complaining that the king went about their destruction, desired leaue to be giuen them of the king, that they might depart the realme, neuer to returne againe. But the king committed the doing of that matter vnto earle Richard his brother, to inforce them to pay the monie whether they would or no. Moreouer of the same Iewes mention is made in the storie intituled Eulogium. Of the Iewes in Northhampton, who had among themselues prepared wild fire, to burne the citie of London, for the which diuers of them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said citie of Northhampton, which was two yeeres before, about the yeere of our Lord 1252. Ex Eulogio. And for somuch as mention heere is made of the Iewes, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certaine Iew, who not long after this time about the yeere of our Lord 1257. fell into a priuie at Teukesburie vpon a sabbath day, which for the great reuerence he had to his holy sabbath, would not suffer himselfe to be plucked out. And so lord Richard earle of Gloucester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to bee drawne out on sunday for reuerence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Iew remaining there till monday,

A child crucified of the Iewes at Lincolne.

Ex N. Triuet. Ex Cestrensi, lib 7. cap. 34. Ex Flor. hist.

The Iewes expelled out of France.

A child circumcised of the Iewes, and kept a whole yeere to be crucified.

The Iewes ask leaue to depart the realme of England.

Ex Eulogio.

Iewes burned at Northhampton.

A Iew fallen into a priuie would not be taken out for keeping his sabbath day.

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day, was found dead in the dung.

And to note the blind superstition of that time, not onelie among the Iewes, but also among the christians, to omit diuers other stories, as of Walter Gray archbishop of Yorke, who comming vp to the parliament at London, An. 1255. with vnordinat fasting did so ouercharge nature, and pined himselfe, and (as the storie mentioneth) did so drie vp his braine, that he losing thereby al appetit of stomach, going to Fulham, there within three daies died, as in the compiler of Flor. hist. is both storied and reprehended. Let this also be adioyned, which the forenamed author, and in the same yeere is recorded of one named Peter Chareporre, who dying in France, An. 1255. left in bequest of his testament 600. marks for lands to be purchased to the house of Merton for God to be serued there perpetually *Pro anima eius, & omnium fideliu̇*, that is, For his soules health, and all faithfull soules. As who would say, christian faith were not the ordinarie means sufficient to saluation of faithfull soules, without the quire-seruice of the monks of Merton.

Superstitious fasting noted in Walter archbishop of Yorke.

Ex Flor. hist.

Superstition in seeking saluation by wrong meanes.

We haue heard it often complained before, how the vsurped power of the pope hath violently and presumptuouslie incroched vpon the church of England, in giuing and conferring benefices and prebends to his Italians and strangers, to the great damage and ruine of Christs flocke manifold waies. This violent iniurie and oppression of the pope, as by no lawfull and gentle meanes could be reformed: so by occasion and meanes inordinat about this time, it began somewhat to bee bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the collector of Flor. hist. recited: In the yeere of the raigne of this king fortie and foure, the bishop of London named Fulco, had giuen a certaine prebend in the church of S. Paul, to one master Rustandus, the popes messenger heere in England. Who entring into the profession of the Gray friers, and shortlie after dying on the other side of the sea, the pope immediatlie conferred the said prebend to one of his specials, a like stranger as the other was before. About the same instant it befell, that the bishop also of London deceased, whereby the bishoprike now vacant fell into the kings hands; who hearing of the death of the forenamed Rustandus, gaue the said prebendship, giuen of the pope before, to one John Crakehale his vnder treasurour; who with all solemnitie tooke his installation, vnknowing as yet that it was bestowed of the pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noised at Rome, forthwith commeth downe a certaine proctor named John Gras, with the popes imbulled letters, to receiue the collation of the benefice by his commission procuratorie giuen by the pope, wherein John Crakehale had been alreadie installed, as is aforesaid, by the kings donatiõ. This matter comming in trauise before Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, he inquiring and searching which donation was the first, finding the popes grant to be the former, gaue sentence with him against the king, so that in conclusion, the Roman clerke had the aduantage of the benefice, although the other had long inioyed the possession thereof before. Thus the popes man being preferred, and the Englishman excluded, after the partie had been inuested and stalled after the vse and manner, he as thinking to be in sure possession of his place, attempted with the rest to enter the chapter house, but was not permitted so to doe: whereupon the popes clerke giuing place to force and number, went toward the archbishop to complaine. This being knowne, certaine recluses pursued him, and so being compassed about, one in the thicknesse of the throng being neuer after knowne, suddenly rushing vpon him, a little aboue his eies so pareth off his head, that hee fell downe dead; the same also was done to another of his fellowes in flying away. This hainous murder being famed abroad, strait inquirie thereof was made, but the deed doer could not be knowne; although great suspicion was laid vpon Crakehale the kings chaplen, yet no proofe could bee brought. But most men thought, that bloudie fact to be done by certaine ruffians, or other light persons about the citie or the court, disdaining belike that the Romans were so inriched with Englishmens liuings, by whom neither came relefe to any Englishman, nor any godly instruction to the flocke of Christ. And therefore becaule they saw the church and realme of England in such subiection, and so much to be troden downe by the Romans and the popes messengers: they thought thereby something to bridle, as with a snaffle, the popes messengers from their vntemperat ranging into this land. Ex Flor. hist.

The popes iniurious to the church of England.

A prebendship of Pauls giuen both of the pope and of the king at one time to two seuerall persons.

Two Roman clerks going to complaine, were slaine by the way.

Heere by the way is to be noted, that vnto the death of this foresaid Fulco bishop of London, continueth the historie of Matthew Paris monke of saint Albons, which was to the yeere of Grace 1260. The residue was continued by another monke of the same house, but not with such like commendation, worthie to make any autentike storie, as I haue seene it noted in a written booke.

The storie of Mat. Paris heere ceaseth.

It were too curious and tedious in order to prosecute what happened in euery yeere, through this kings raigne, as how it was prouided by the king, that whosoeuer could dispend fiftéene pounds land by yeere, should be bound to make to the king a souldier, that watch should be kept euery night in cities, that whosoeuer was robbed, or otherwise damnified in any countrie, he that had the custodie should bee compelled to make vp the losse againe, or else to pursue the malefactor: which was

The popes donation preferred before the kings.

An. 1253. witnessing Flores hist. Item, how the king making his voiage into Vascon, his expenses were reckoned to mount to 270000. marks, beside thirtie thousand marks beslowed vpon his brethren by the mothers side, & besides other great gifts giuen abroad. By reason whereof, great tares and tolonies and tenths were required of his subiects: especially of the churchmen, who were wont to receiue tithes of others, now were constrained to giue tithes to the laitie: Flores hist. An. 1254. Item, how in the yeere next following, the Londoners offring one hundred pounds for a gift to the king with a pretious cup of gold, at his returne out of France, were shortly after compelled by the king to pay three thousand marks for the scape of a certaine prisoner being a clerke condemned: which clerke being granted of the king to the bishop, and hee hauing no prison sufficient for him borrowed of the Londoners to haue him kept in the prison of Newgat, who escaping thereout, they, as is said, were demanded this recompence aforesaid, An. 1255. Item, how the king greatly complaining of his debts the same yeere, required the whole tenths which should bee gathered in three yeeres, to be taken vp all at once. To whose request the nobles and commons agreed to straine themselues, so that the charter of their liberties and customs might bee ratified, and fully by him confirmed: and so for that yeere they were: Flores hist. Item, how pope Alexander the third to destroy the citie Mychera, with king Menfred the sonne of Frederike the emperor, sent forth the same yeere Octauianus his cardinall with a puissant armie, who comming to the citie with his siege, through the counsel of Marchisius one of ỳ chiefe captains, discharged a great part of his host, whereby the most of the popes armie was slaine and destroyed, almost all, saue onely the familie of Marchisius, An. 1255. Flor. Mat. Paris.

Pope Alexander the third maketh war.

The popes armie slaine.

Many other things during the time of this king might be congested, as the rising of Lewlinus king of Wales, and of the Welchmen against the king, and walking the land vnto the towne of Chester, who destroyed diuers of the Englishmens horsemen taken in the marish, with whom at length they fell to agreement by the meanes of Octobonus, that his successors should be called princes onlie of Wales, and should doe the king his homage: and the king of him to receiue three thousand marks. And this being established in writting, was confirmed by the popes seale, in the yeere of our Lord 1257. Ex Polychron.

Lewlinus king of Wales wareth against the king.

Lewlinus and the king concord.

Ex Polychro. l. 7.

About the same time, such famine oppressed the land and lacke of victuals, that a sum of corne was then sold for fire and twentie shillings, in so much that the pouerty was forced to eat nettle roots, thistell roots; and what soeuer they could get: Ex Eulogio. Although some refer this to the yeere 1262.

Ex autore Eulogij.

Heereunto moreouer might be adioyned, how pope Alexander abusing and mocking the kings simplicitie, made him beleeue that he would make his sonne Edmund king of Apulia, so that hee would sustaine the charges and cost thereof, to maintaine the war which thereto should appertaine. Whereby the king cast in a sudden hope, caused his sonne incontinent to bee proclamed king of Apulia; and vpon the same sent vp to the pope all the riches he could well make in his realme. And thus was the realme manifold waies miserablie impouerished to inrich the pope: Ex Flor. hist. About which season, Richard earle of Excester the kings brother, was made king of Almane by the electors.

Anno 1257

Pope Alexander to make shift for monie maketh the king beleeue his son should be king of Apulia.

Richard the kings brother made king of Almane.

Heere might be shewed moreouer and added to the stories aboue, how the next yeere following, which was 1259. as Nicolas Triuet writeth, the king entring into France, required the restitution of such lands in Normandie and Anion, as of old right were due vnto him, and wrongfullie withholden from him. But the French king againe alleaged saying, that the countrie of Normandie by old time was not giuen away from the crowne of France, but vsurped, and by force extorted by Rollo, &c. In conclusion, the king fearing and suspecting the hearts of his nobles, and looking for none other but for rebellion at home, durst not trie with them, but was compelled to agree with them vpon such peace and conditions as hee could get, which was this: That hee should haue of the French king thirteene hundred thousand of Turen pounds, with so much lands else as came to the value of twentie thousand pounds in yerelie rent: so should he resigne fullie and purely to the hands of the French king, all such lands and possessions which he had in France. Whereby the king giuing ouer his stile and titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to bee called duke of Normandie, or earle of Anion.

What ciuill discord worketh

Resignation of the earledom of Normandie and Anion.

Albeit it be true that Gisburne writeth, the king afterward repenting of his deed, did neuer receiue the monie in all his life, neither did he cease during his life to intitle himselfe duke of Normandie. But after him, his sonne Edward and his successor in their stile left out the title to bee called duke of Normandie, &c. Ex Gisburn.

Ex Gual. Gisburn.

Besides many other matters omitted, heere I ouerpasse also the sore and vehement conflict, not betweene the frogs and the mise which Homer writeth of, but the mightie pitched field fought in the yeere of our Lord 1259. betweene the young students and scholars of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, hauing no other occasion, as I read in Mat. Paris, but onelie the diuersitie of the countrie where they were borne. For the Northerne men

The conflict and skirmish betweene the Northerne Welchmen, and the Southerne men in Oxford.

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men ioyning with the Welchmen, to trie their manhod against the Southerne part, fell both parts together in such a broile, with their ensignes and warlike aray, that in conclusion diuers on both sides were slaine. This heauie and bloudie conflict during and increasing among them, the end was this: that the Northerne lads with the Welch had the victorie. After that furie and fiery fiercenesse had done what it could, the victorers bethinking at length with themselues, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment to fall vpon them, especiallie seeing the brother of Leolin prince of Wales, and sonne of Griffine, was newlie dead in prison, drawing their counsell and helps together, they offer to king Henry 4000. marks, to Edward his sonne 300. and to the quéene 200. to bée released of their trespasse. But the king answering them againe, that hee set more price by the life of one true subiect, then by all which by them was offered, would in no wise receiue their mony. And so the students without hope of peace, went home with small triumph, learning what the common prouerbe meaneth, Dulce bellum inexpertis. Notwithstanding, the king being then occupied in great affaires and warres, partlie with Leolin and the Welchmen, partly inwrapped with discord at home with his nobles, had no leisure to attend to the correction of these Vniuersitie men, which was, An. 1259. Ex Matt. Parisiensi. Likewise concerning the dissension following the next yéere after, in the Vniuersitie of Paris betweene the students there, and the friers, the number of whom then did so much increase, that the commons vneth was able to sustaine them with their almes. Also betwéen the Vniuersities both of Oxford & Cambridge, for a certaine prisoner taken out of prison by strength, and brought into sanctuarie the same yéere, as is testified in Mat. thew Paris, An. 1259. In like manner touching the variance betweene the archbishop of Canturburie, and the chapter of Lincolne. Againe, betweene the said archbishop of Canturburie, and the chapter and bishop of London; and how the said bishop at his consecration would not make his profession to the archbishop but with this exception, Saluis iure & libertate ecclesiæ Londinensis, quæ pro posse meo defendam in omnibus, &c: recorded in Flor. hist. All which wranglings and dissensions, with innumerable others raigning daily in the church at those daies, if I had so much leisure to prosecute them as I find them in stories remaining, might sufficiently induce vs to vnderstand what small peace and agréement was then ioyned with that doctrine and religion in those daies, during the state and raigne of antichrist.

Variance betweene the students and the friers in Paris.

Variance betweene the Vniuersitie of Oxford and Cambridge.

Variance betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the chapter of Lincolne.

Variance betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the chapter of London.

Ex Flor. hist.

Little peace in the popes church.

These with many such other matters more, which heere might bee discoursed and storied at large, being more forren then ecclesiasticall, for breuitie I doe purposely contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may séeme more curious to write vpon, then necessarie to be knowne.

Histories profitable for example.

This that followeth, concerning the pitifull and turbulent commotion betwéene the king and the nobles, which lasted a long season; because it is lamentable and containeth much fruitfull example, both for princes and subiects to behold and looke vpon, to sée what mischiefe and inconuenience groweth in common weales, where studie of mutuall concord lacketh, that is, where neither the prince regardeth the offending of his subiects, and where the subiects forget the office of christian patience, in suffering their princes iniuries by Gods wrath inflicted for their sinnes: therefore, in explaning the order and story thereof, I thought it not vnprofitable to occupie the reader with a little more tariance in perusing the full discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernicious to the publike weale.

The occasion of commotion betweene the king and the nobles.

And first to declare the occasions and first beginnings of this tumult, heere is to be vnderstood, which before was signified, how king Henrie married with Eleonor, daughter of the earle of Prouans a stranger, which was about the yeere of our Lord 1234, wherupon a great doore was opened for strangers, not onely to enter the land, but also to replenish the court: to whom the king séemed more to incline his fauour, aduancing them to more preferment, then his owne naturall English lords, which thing was to them no little grieuance. Moreouer, before was declared how the king by Isabell his mother, who was a stranger, had diuers brethren, whom hée nourished vp with great liuings and possessions, and large pensions of monie, which was another hart sore to diuers, and also an hinderance. Ouer and beside, hath also béen declared, what vnreasonable collections of monie from time to time, as quindecims, subsidies, tenths, mercements, fines, paiments, loues, and taxes, haue béen leuied by the king, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the lay sort, partly for maintaining the kings wars against Wales, against Scotland and France, to recouer Normandie; partly for helping the kings debts, voiages, and other expenses; partly for the kingdome of Apulia, which was promised the kings sonne by the pope; partlie for monying and supporting the pope in his wars against the emperour. By reason of all which sundrie and importable collections, the common wealth of the realme was vtterly exhaust, to the great impouerishment of more Englishmen. Neither did it a little ver the people, to sée the king call in so many legats from Rome euery yéere, which did nothing else but transport the English monie vnto the popes coffers. Besides all this, what variance and alteration hath béen betweene the king and his subiects about the liberties of Magna charta, and Deforesta, granted by king John, and after confirmed by this king, in the former councell holden at Oxford, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some péece of a cause, that the king considering and bearing in mind the old iniuries done of the lords and barons to his father king John before him, did beare some grudge therefore, or some priuie hatred vnto the nobilitie, to reuenge his fathers quarrell: but of things vncertaine I haue nothing certainely to affirme. This is certaine by truth of history, that the yeere next insuing, which was 1260. thus writeth Nic. Triuet, that the kings iustices called Itinerarij, being sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cause being alleaged, for that they were against the king in proceéding & enterprising against the forme of the prouisions enacted and established a little before at the towne of Oxford.

✣ In this yéere it pleased the king after sute to him made, to licence a Vniuersitie or academicall schoole to bee planted in the towne of Northhampton; and of a speciall fauour which he pretended to beare (and like inough did indéed) vnto the scholars that went there to seat themselues, and to prosecute the exercises of studies, wrote his letters mandatorie vnto the chiefe officers and others of the said burrow, in the said students behalfe; the tenor whereof followeth agréeing with the record.

Anno 1260

The kings letter to the maior, bailiffes, and others the inhabitants of Northhampton, in the behalfe of certaine scholars minded to plant themselues there as in an Vniuersitie.

Rex dilectis & fidelibus suis, maiori, balliuis, & cæteris probis hominibus suis de Northampton, salutem. Cum quidam magistri & alij scholares proponant, &c. In English thus. Turris Lond.

The king to his beloued and trustie the maior, bailiffes, and other honest men his subiects of Northhampton, greeting. Whereas certaine masters and other scholars doe purpose to tarrie in your towne corporat, there to exercise scholarlie discipline, as we heare: wee heereupon regarding the seruice of God, and the greater profit of our kingdome, taking in good part the comming thither of the said scholars, and liking well their abode there, doe will and grant that the said scholars in the said towne corporat vnder our protection and defence, doe safelie and securely abide, and there exercise and doe such things, as to such scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you and straitly charge you, that when the said scholars shall come vnto you, to tarrie in your said corporat towne, you receiue them courteouslie, and as becommeth the state of scholars vse them, not doing or suffering to bee done vnto them any impediment, molestation, or grieuance. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters patents to bee made. Witnesse the king at Windesore, the first day of Februarie, in the fiue and fortith yeere of his raigne.

Touching a Vniuersitie for scholars to be kept at Northhampton.

It befell moreouer in the same yéere, aboue other times (as Gualter Hemingford writeth) that a great number of aliens comming out of France and other prouinces, resorted into England, and had heere the doing of all principall matters of the realme vnder the king. Vnto whom the rewards and reliefs, and other emoluments of the land did most chiefly redound: which thing to sée, did not a little trouble and ver the nobilitie and baronage of England. In so much that Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, offering to stand to death for the liberties and wealth of the realme, conferred together with other lords and barons vpon the matter; who then comming vnto the king after an humble sort of petition, declared vnto him how all the doings of his realme, and his owne affaires, were altogether disposed by the hands, and after the wils of strangers, neither profitable vnto him, nor to the weale publike: for so much as his treasures being wasted and consumed, hee was in great debt, neither was able to satisfie the prouision of his owne house, but driuen to tallie for his owne cates, to no small dishonor vnto his owne state. And now therefore, said they, pleaseth your highnesse to be informed by our aduice, and to commit your house to the guiding and gouernment of your owne faithfull and naturall subiects, and we will take vpon vs to discharge your whole debt within one yéere, of our own proper goods and reuenues, so that wee within fiue yeeres may cléere our selues againe. Neither weill we diminish your familie, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; prouiding so for the safetie and séeing to the custodie of your roiall person, as your highnesse shall find and vnderstand our diligence most trustie and faithfull vnto you in the end.

Strangers hauing all the wealth of the realme vnder the king.

Ex Gualt. Gisburn.

The words of the nobles to the king.

To these words so louingly declared, so humblie pretended, so hartily and freely offered, the king as willinglie condescended, assigning vnto them both day and place where to confer and to deliberat further vpon the matter, which should be at Oxford the fifteenth day after Easter. At which day and place, all the states and lords, with the bishops of the realme, were summoned to appeare at the said towne of Oxford for the

The king graunteth to his lords.

A sitting of the king and lords at Oxford.

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The prouisions or lawes made at Oxford.

The king sweareth vnto the prouisions made at Oxford.

for the behalfe of the king and the realme conuented together. Where first of the king himselfe, then of the lords, an oth was taken, that what decrees or lawes in the said assemblie should be prouided to the profit of the king and of the realme, the same vniuersallie should be kept and obserued to the honor of God, and vtilitie of his church, and wealth of the realme. Besides these lords and the king, were also nine bishops, which swearing vnto the same, did excommunicat all such as should gainstand the said prouisions there made, the king holding a burning taper in his hand, and the lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

The kings brethren against the prouisions at Oxford.

There were at that present in the realme foure brethren of the kings (most part of them by the mothers side) which would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed priuilie vnto Winchester. The nobles hearing thereof, in all speedie wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the citie of Winchester and for ceablie keepe the same. Wherefore the lords preuenting their purpose, and seeing them stiffly to persist in their stubborne sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but returning to Oxford againe, prescribed to them these conditions, that they departing the realme should repaire to their owne lands and possessions, which they had beyond the sea: and that forthwith they should put this iniunction in execution. Notwithstanding that the king made for them great intercession, yet it toke no place. And because this should seeme to proceed of no speciall displeasure against them, they enacted moreouer, that all strangers and aliens of what state or condition soeuer, should forthwith auoid the realme in paine of death.

The prouisions of Oxford.

Diuers other prouisions the same time were ordained & stablished; that if any did hold of the king in whole or in part, and should chance him to depart (his heire being vnder age) the wardship of him should belong to the king, as hath partlie before been specified.

Exhibit. Gualt. Gisburnensis. God grant this law might take place againe. God grant the like law againe for the wealth of the realme.

Moreouer, it was there decreed, that the woll of England should be wrought only within the realme, neither should it be transported out to strangers.

Item, that no man should weare any cloth, but which was wrought and made onely within the realme.

Item, that garments too sumptuous shuld not be brought in nor worne.

Item, that all excessiue and prodigall expences vsed vpon pleasure and superfluitie, should be eschewed of all persons.

Diuers in this councell impoisoned.

Many other lawes and decrees (saith the author) in this assemblie were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fiftéene daies; and many of them were impoisoned, of whom was the abbat of Westminster, a man in that order, much commended. Also William brother to the earle of Gloucester: also the earle himselfe being impoisoned, hardly escaped with life, his haire and nailes falling off his bodie, whereof the author not long after was taken, and dulie executed at Winchester. In the meane time, the nobles considering those dangers and ieopardies, were constrained to breake off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of October next following to conuent together at London with weapō and harnesse, to prosecute and finish the residue that was in the said councell to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accomplished, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and so committed to execution.

The king repenteth of his oth.

Anno 1261

After the promulgation whereof many things therein displeased the king, and it began to repent him of his oth. But because he could not at that present otherwise chuse, he dissembled for a season. Thus time passing on, within a yeere following, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1261. the king seeing himselfe more and more to grow in debt, and not to bee relieued according to promise made, but especially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren taking it to stomach, sent vp to the pope, both for him and his sonne Edward to bee released of their oth made before at Oxford. The benefit of which absolution being easilie obtained (or rather bought at the popes hand) the king stepping backe from all that was before concluded, calleth another parliament at Oxford: where hee before the lords and nobles declared, how in the late councell of Oxford they had agreed among themselues for the common vtilitie of the realme and of the king, as they pretended, for the increasing of his treasure, and his debt to be diminished. And thereupon bound themselues with an oth, causing also himselfe and his sonne Edward to bee bound vnto the same. But now by experience proouing and trying the matter to bee otherwise then their promise was; and that they contrarie to their couenant made, sought not so much the profit of him and of the realme, as their owne, taking him not as their lord, but going about to bring him vnder their subiection as an vnderling; and for that moreouer his treasure greatly decreasing, his debts increased, and his princely liberalitie was cut short and troden vnder foot: they should not maruell therefore, if he henceforth would bee no more ruled by their counsell, but would prouide himselfe of some other remedie, such as hee might. And moreouer, as touching the oth wherewith he and his sonne stood bound vnto them, he had sent alreadie to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensation of the same, both for him and his sonne Edward also, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore hee required of them to be restored againe to that state and condition he had inioyed in times past.

The king releaseth to the pope to release him of his oth.

The popes absolution abused.

The answer of the nobles againe to the king.

To this againe gaue answer the state of nobilitie on the other side, being in the same place present: in the number of whom was Symon Mountfort earle of Leicester, Richard Clare earle of Gloucester, Humfrey Bonne earle Ferrence with a great number of barons, as lord John Fitz John, lord Hastings, lord Geffreie Lucie, lord John Welcie, lord William Segraue, Hugh Spenser, lord Robert Uespoint, with diuers and many more; whose answer to the king againe was this: That the prouisions made at the councell of Oxford (thereunto they were sworne) they would hold, defend and maintaine to their liues end: for so much as they did sound, and also were agreed vpon, both to the honor of God, to the profit of the prince, and stable wealth of the realme, &c. And thus parts on both sides discording amongst themselues, would so haue departed, had not certaine of the bishops comming betweene both, laboured betweene them to take vp the matter. By whose meane (saith Gualter Gilburne) and procurement, the determination of the cause was brought in compromise, and referred to Ludouike the French king to iudge betwixt them; who hearing both the allegations (saith he) like no equall iudge but a partiall friend, inclined wholly and fully to the kings sentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores historiarum saith, that by the mediation of discréet men, two were chosen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom the third also was annexed, who hearing as well what was brought of the kings part, as also what was answered of the other, should define betweene them both, and so peace was betweene them concluded till the comming of Edward. All this while as yet the popes absolution for the king, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought downe in solemne writing, neither was prince Edward as yet returned out of France into England.

The controuersie betweene the king and the nobles put in compromise.

At length, the writing of the kings absolution being brought from Rome, the king eftsoones commanded the same to bee published throughout the realme, and sendeth to the French king and other strangers for helpe; moreouer seizeth all his castels into his owne hand, reiecting the counsell of the lords, to whose custodie they were before committed; also remouing the former officers, as iustices, and the chancellor, with other placed afore by the lords, hee appointed new in their stead.

The pope releaseth the king of his oth.

To this foresaid absolution procured from Rome for the king and his sonne, Edward returning out of France, at that time did not giue his consent, but held with the lords. Who then putting themselues in arms, with a great power repaired vp to London, keeping there in the suburbs and places about, while the king kept within the towre, causing the citie gates to bee watched and lockt, and all within the said citie being aboue the age of twelue yéeres, to be sworne vnto him. But at length through the meanes of certaine comming betweéne, this tumultuous perturbation was somewhat appeased, at least some hope of peace appeared, so that the matter was taken vp for that time without war or bloudshed. Notwithstanding, some false pretenced dissemblers there were, which secretly disclosing all the counsels and doings of the lords vnto the king, did all they could to hinder concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpose of the lords came not to so good effect, as otherwise it might. Ex Flor. hist.

Wicked make bates.

Ex Flor. hist. in An. 1261.

✻ In this yéere the archbishop of Canturburie with his suffragans (after their wonted manner) standing against the king, had made their appeale to Rome: whereupon the king was faine to answer by proxe, as appeareth by this briefe note drawne out of record. *Rex constituit Iohannē Hemingford procuratorem suum in causa appellationis, &c.* The king hath appointed and made Iohn Hemingford his proctor in a cause of appeale which is mooued in the court of Rome, betweene the king on the one part, and the archbishop of Canturburie with his suffragans on the other part, about certaine ordinances, constitutions, and decrees lately in a councell prouinciall at London by them published, to the preiudice of the kings right, his dignitie royall, the liberties, lawes and customs of his kingdome.

Ordinances in a prouinciall councell at London against the kings right.

This matter no doubt was laboured verie diligentlie by the said John Hemingford, who was to that end authorised by the king to make his abode at Rome, during the time that any manner of processe was held and maintained against him, to the impeaching of his roialtie. Whereof the king had a speciall regard, perceiuing the wailwardnesse of his owne clergie, or rather rebellioulnesse in daring to decree and ordaine lawes against him. And therefore he was the more carefull to haue all matters depending in the court of Rome concerning him and his, to be earnestly followed. In so much as he ioyned to the foresaid Hemingford in the charge of procuration, one Roger Louell: vnto which two residing at Rome, the king sent his letters, charging them so to manage his affaires, as that nothing might passe to the derogation of his roiall title: the copie of the said letter followeth agreeing with the prototypon or originall.

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A letter of the king sent to his proctors at Rome *concerning a case of his in the said* court depending.

Turris Lond.

Against the proceedings in the court of Rome tending to the hurt and preiudice of the king.

R *Ex magistris Iohanni de Hemingford & Rogero Louell procuratoribus suis in curia Romana agentibus, salutē, &c. Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus nostris, &c.* In English thus.

The king to master Iohn of Hemingford, and Roger Louel his proctors pleading in the court of Rome, greeting. Forsomuch as vpon you our trustie and vowed seruants the defense of our right and honour doth lie; and (as we heare) certaine of our realme pleading in the court of Rome, doe mooue diuers matters to the preiudice of our right and honour, presuming and intending to preuaile against vs, we command you, and straitlie charge you, that on our behalfe you straitly forbid all and euery of them, that they presume not any further to vndertake such things as tend to the hurt of our maiestie, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbeare so to do, as they will auoid our indignation, and the perill of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and euery of you (so often as you shall see needful) to be made knowne, and thereupon by you or some of you to bee certified of the contemners of the same. Witnesse the king at Westminster the six and twentith of March, in the six and fortith yeere of his raigne.

Bishops going about to recouer benefices appropriat from religious houses.

Ex Florilego ibid.

In this present yeere also (as affirmeth the forenamed author) it was rumored abrode (as Flores historiarum reporteth) that all the bishops of England went about to recouer againe out of the hands of religious men, all such churches and benefices, (which were to them impropriated or appropriated: and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent vp to Rome both messengers and monie, nothing misdoubting to obtaine their purpose. But as little good fruit in those daies vsed to spring out of that see, so I doe not find that godlie suite and labour of the bishops to take any fruitfull effect. The same yeere died pope Alexander, after whom succeeded pope Vrban the fourth.

Pope Alexander dieth. Pope Vrban.

Anno 1262

A new release of the kings oth from Rome, with this epitaph:

Hic pudor Hypoliti Paridis Genasensis Vlyssis. Aeneæ pietas, Hectoris ira iacet.

Of the which pope Vrban the king also obtained (or rather renued) a new releasement from his oth made to the prouisions and statutes of Oxford. Which being granted, hee commandeth incontinent all the foresaid lawes and prouisions through England to bee dissolued and broken. This done, the king with the queene taketh his voiage into France, where he fell into great infirmitie of sickenesse, and the most part of his familie taken with the feuer quartane, of which many died. In the number of whom beside others, died Richard the worthie earle of Glocester and Hereford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare his sonne.

The Welchmen rebell.

The Welchmen this yeere breaking into the borders of England, did much annoiance in the lands of Roger lord Mortimer; but mightily againe by him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the inuaders. About which time, the king through some discreet counsell about him, inclined to peace and concord with his nobles, granting of his meere voluntarie will the constitutions and prouisions of Oxford to take place in the realme directing his commandement to euerie shire. Albeit the realme yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

The prouisions of Oxford againe granted by the king.

The kings palace at Westminster burnt with fire.

In the latter end of this yeere, the kings palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an euill prognosticat against the king. Ex Flor. hist.

Vsurie punished for taking aboue two pence a weeke in a pound.

In some English chronicles it is also recorded, that the same yeere, fiue hundred Iewes at London were slaine for taking vsurie more then two pence a weake for twentie shillings, being before forbidden by the king to take aboue that rate by the weeke.

Anno 1263

After this followeth the yeere 1263. in which the barons of England confederating themselues together, for maintaining the statutes and lawes of Oxford, and partly mooued with old grudge conceiued against the strangers (maintained by the king and the queene, and Edward their sonne, in the realme of England) ioyned powers in all forceable wise, and first inuaded the said strangers, namelie them which were about the king. Their goods and manors they wasted and spoiled, whether they were persons ecclesiasticall or temporall. Among whom, besides others, was Peter a Burgundian (bishop of Hereford a rich prelat) with all his treasure apprehended and spoiled: also his countriemen, whom he had placed to be canons of the same church. With like order of handling other aliens also, to whom was committed the custodie of diuers castels, as of Glocester, of Worcester, of Bridgenorth, were spoiled, imprisoned, and sent away. Briefly, whatsoeuer he was in all the land that could not vtter the English tongue, was of euery rascall disdained, and happie if he might so escape. By reason whereof it so came to passe, that a great number, as well of other forrenners, as especiallie religious men, and rich priests (which here had gathered much substance) were vrged to that extremitie, that they were glad to flee the land. In the catalogue of whom was one most principall, named John Maunsell, a priest notoriouslie growne in riches and treasures not to bee told, hauing in his hand so many and rich benefices, that neere no bishop of this realme might compare with him in riches. Who notwithstanding he kept with the king at London, yet was compelled priuilie to voide the realme, and was pursued by Henry the sonne of Richard king of Almaine. Certaine other strangers there were, to the number of 200. and more, which hauing the castell of Windsor, there immured and intrenched themselues, to whom at length prince Edward also adioyned himselfe.

The nobles rising against the strangers hauing the commoditie of the realme.

Peter of Hereford a Burgundian a rich bishop.

John Maunsell a rich priest.

The king againe agreeth with the nobles.

In the meane time while this stir was abroad, the king keeping them in the Tower, and seeing the greatest part of his nobles and commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the barons, and was contented to assent againe to the ordinances and prouisions of Oxford; albeit the queene by all meanes possible went about to perswade the king not to assent thereto: who as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord betweene the king and the barons. Insomuch that when as the said queene Elenor should passe by barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing vpon the bridge, with their exclamations, cursings, and throwing of stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to returne to the Tower againe. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued with the nobles and the king, the forme wherof was this. First, that Henrie the sonne of Richard king of the Romans should bee deliuered by the king and queene. Secondly, that the castles againe should be committed to the custodie of Englishmen, not of strangers. Thirdly, that the prouisions and statutes decreed at Oxford, should as well by the king, as by all others inuiolablie be obserued. Fourthlie, that the realm henceforth should bee ruled and gouerned not by forrenners, but by personages borne within the land. Fiftly, that all aliens and strangers should void the land, not to returne againe; except only such, whose abode should by the common assent of the kings trustie subiects be admitted and allowed.

The queene a great cause of this debate.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the king and the nobles.

Thus the king and the nobles ioyning together after this forme of peace aboue prefixed, although not fullie with heart, as after appeared, put themselues in armes with all their power to recouer the castel of Windsor out of the strangers hands. But Edward in the mid way betweene London & the castell, meeting with his father and the barons, entred communication vpon the matter. Which being finished, and he thinking to returne into the castell againe, by the policie of the earle of Leicester, and William bishop of Worcester, was not permitted to reenter. Whereupon the strangers within the hold (destitute of all hope to withstand the great force approching) rendered the castell vnto the king and the barons vpon this conuention: That with horse and harnesse they might be suffered safe to depart the land, not to returne any more. Which being granted, certaine of the barons conducted them in their iourny towards the sea side, and there they left them.

The castell of Windsor recouered out of the hands of strangers.

In the same yeere about the beginning of October, the king and queene made ouer to France, with Simon Mountfort and other nobles, to heare and stand to the arbitrement of Lewis the French king, concerning the controuersie betweene the states of England, and all through the procurement of Elenor the queene. For shee not forgetting the old contumelie of the Londoners, exclaming against her vpon the bridge, wrought alwaies what reuenge shee could against them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the French king, partlie hath been said before, and more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Some stories do ad moreouer, that the king continuing long in France, word was sent to him out of England, that vnlesse he returned againe to the realme, they would elect a new king. Whereupon the king returning out of France to Douer, would haue entred the castell, but hee was stopped. Wherfore the king in fierce anger and great indignation prepared his power towards London; where Simon Mountfort the worthie earle of Leicester, through a subtill traine was almost betrayed and circumuented in Southworke, by the sudden pursuing of the kings armie; had not the Londoners with more speed breaking bars and chaines, made way to rescue him, by the meanes of whom the earle at that time escaped the danger.

Manet alta mente repositum iudicium Paridis, &c. Virg.

The sentence of the French king, with the king of England against the barons.

Now to come to the sentence of the French king. Forsomuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been specified; he in a great frequencie both of French and English persons about him, considering and pensing the cause on both sides, betweene the king and the nobles; clearely and solemnelie pronounced on the kings side against the barons, ordaining that the king of England all this while had suffered wrong, and that hee should be restored againe to his pristine state, notwithstanding the prouisions made at Oxford, which hee ordained to be repealed and abrogated. Ex Flor. hist. Gisburn.

Ex Flor. hist. Ex Gisbur. & alij.

The sentence of the French king thus awarded, as it gaue to the king of England with his retinue no little incouragement, so it wrought in the nobles hearts great indignation; which, notwithstanding that partial decrement of the French king, sped themselues home out of France to defend themselues with all their strength and power. And not long after followeth also the king, by whose traine Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester (as is aboue recited) was well neere circumuented

Warr betwixt the king and the barons beginneth.

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uented in Southwarke. Then the king calling his councell together at Oxford (from whence hee excluded the Vniuersity of ſtudents for a ſeaſon, who were then at Northhampton, as you haue heard before) there conſulted, conferring with his friends and counſellors what way was beſt to be taken. And hearing that the barons were aſſembled in a great number at the towne of Northhampton, went thither with his hoſt and with his banners diſplaied, accompanied with Richard his brother king of Almaine, alſo with Edward his ſonne, John Comin of Scotland with many other Scots, John of Dalliolo lord of Galoway, Robert of Bruſe, lord Walter of Annand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmion, John of Maus, Roger of Laiburne, Henrie Perſie, Philip Baſſet, Roger of Mortimer, and William of Valence, and many others. Therefore the king commanded the barons, that were within, to yeeld vnto him preſently the citie and the pledges, or elſe hee would immediatlie deſtroy them. But they counſelling with the younger Simon De Monte forti, which by his fathers commandement had got the reſidue thither to take counſell together (for his father & the earle of Gloceſter were not yet come) boldlie and with one mind anſwered, that they would not obay the kings will, but would rather defend themſelues and the citie if neede were euen to the death. Which the noble men of the kings part hearing, ſent word againe, that at the leaſt they ſhould come to the wall of the citie to ſpeake to the king, if by any meanes peace might bee made. And they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed their counſell, and leauing their holds, came to the wall towards the medow, for there lay the king and his ſtrong hoſt hard by. But in the meane ſpace, whileſt diuers matters were reaſoned and intreated of betweene the king and the lords: the lord Philip Baſſet (which before was appointed to worke that feate) with mattocks and other inſtruments of iron and men prepared for the nonce, neere to the monaſterie of S. Andrew, did vndermine the wall of the citie: and by this meanes, the wall fell downe lightly, and there was made a great plaine, ſo that in one forefront there might haue gone together on a row fortie horſemen. And of this ſubtiltie the alien monks that were there, were thought to be the workers, becauſe they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that paſſed by ſaw this, and the kings banners were erected readie to enter in; there was a great howling made, and the noiſe of the people came to the eares of the barons, and they made ſpeed to reſiſt them: but it was all in vaine, becauſe they were alreadie preuented of a great company of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the middeſt of his enemies with Peter Mountfort, and a few that were with him, when Edward the kings ſon came, was by his commandement taken and led away priſoner. But the clerks of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford (which Vniuerſitie by the barons commandement was tranſlated thither) did worke againſt the kings men more hurt then the other barons, with their ſlings, long bowes, and croſſebowes: for they had a banner by themſelues, and that was ſet vp on high againſt the king. Wherewithall the king being greatly moued, ſware at his entring in, that they ſhuld all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them ſhaued their crownes, and they that were able ran away as faſt as they could. And when the king entred the citie, many fled in their armor into the caſtell; others left their horſe and harneſſe and ran into churches; and a few were ſlaine, and thoſe were of the common people; but there was not much bloudſhed, becauſe all things were done as vpon the ſudden. When the city was at length ſet in quiet, the king commanded his oth to bee executed vpon the clerks. But his counſellors ſaid vnto him: This be far from thee O king, for the ſonnes of thy nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdom were there gathered together into the Vniuerſitie; whom if thou wouldeſt cauſe to bee hanged or ſlaine, euen they that now take thy part would riſe vp againſt thee, not ſuffering to the vttermoſt of their powers the bloud of their ſonnes and kinſfolks to be ſhed. And ſo the king was pacified, and his wrath againſt the clerks was ſtaid.

In the ſame day, after little more then an houre, the kings hoſt aſſaulted the caſtel, and the new hold keepers were afraid, for that they had not victuals and other things neceſſarie for their reſiſtance, therfore they ſent immediatly meſſengers vnto the king, and yeelded themſelues to the kings mercie. There were taken that day theſe knights and barons vnder written: lord William de Ferrers, lord Peter Mountfort companion of the ſaid Simon de Mountfort the younger, lord Baldwin de Wake, lord Adam de Newmarch, lord Roger Bertram, lord Simon the ſon of Simon a valiant warrior, which firſt erected his banner againſt the king, lord Berengarius de Materuile, lord Hugo Gubium, lord Thomas Maunſell, lord Roger Botemlam, Nicholas Wake, lord Robert de Newton, lord Philip de Dribie, and Grimbald de Pauncefot. All theſe aforehand did the king take priſoners and many more, of whom he committed ſome to the lord Nicholas of Hauerſam to be kept in the ſame caſtell well defenced: ſome he led away with him, and ſome hee ſent to diuers caſtles, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be caſt into Windſor caſtle. And al theſe things as touching the taking of Northhampton, were done on the ſabbath day in paſſion weeke, being the third of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1264. and the king went forward euen to Nottingham, burning and waſting the manors of the lords and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increaſed his number.

When this ill lucke was told of them that there were run away to Yearle Simon, which was comming towards Northhampton with a great hoſt, he was in a great rage, & yet was not diſcouraged: but immediatly going to London, cauſed a chariot to be made him after the manner of litters or coches, wherein he might ride as though he were ſicke: for he ſemed himſelfe to be feeble and weake, whereas he was indeed a ſtout and valiant warrior: and there gathered to him other noble men that were confederat with him, earles and barons, euery one bringing with them their ſeuerall armies, and preparing their engins of wood, they went to beſeege Rocheſter: for the earle of Worceſter in the kings behalfe kept both the towne and caſtell. When they had gotten the firſt gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant knight Roger de la Bourne was wounded, and very ill handled. And whileſt they continued ſeege there a while, it was told them that the king was comming towards London with a mightie hoſt. And they ſaid one to an other, If the king at his comming ſhould take London, we ſhall be ſhut in as it were in a ſtrait corner: let vs therefore returne vnto London, that we may keepe in ſafetie both the place and the people. Therefore appointing certaine perſons to keepe the ſeege, they returned to London. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the citizens to meet him, not with flowers and palmes in their hands, but with ſwords & ſpeares. The king ſhunned them, and after he had the caſtell of Kingſton, which was the earle of Gloceſters, hee went from thence to Rocheſter, where after he had killed a few, he brake the ſeege, and from thence the king went to Tunbridge, and the towne and caſtell now being giuen vp to him, he tooke there the counteſſe of Gloceſter, and put her into an abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to go at libertie whither ſhe would. And he left for the cuſtodie of the caſtell and citie a great part of his hoſt to the number of aboue twentie picked out enſignes, for that it was commonly ſaid that the earle of Gloceſter would come out of hand to aſſault them. Which being done, he continued on his iourney to Wincheſter, where he receiued to peace the ſeamen of the hauen townes. And three daies after, vpon the ſunday following, he came to the towne of Lewis, and was receiued into the abbey, and his ſonne Edward into the caſtell. Then the barons ſent letters to the king the twelfth day of May, the tenor whereof followeth.

Vniuerſitie of Oxford remoued for a time to Northhampton.

Anno 1264

Earle Simon Mountfort faineth himſelfe ſicke.

Rocheſter beſeeged of the barons.

The nobles taken at Northhampton.

The king ſhunneth London.

Simon Mountfort the younger taken priſoner.

The ſcholars of Oxford ſtout againſt the king.

The ſtudents of Oxford ſpared.

The lords taken at Northhampton.

TO their moſt excellent lord Henry by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his barons and others his faithfull ſubiects, being willing to keepe their oth and fidelitie to God and him, ſend greeting and due obedience with honor & reuerence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifeſt, that ſome of your graces aſſiſtants haue reported to your maieſtie manie lies of vs, working miſchiefe, as much as in them lieth not onlie againſt vs, but againſt you alſo, and your whole realme: be it knowne to your hignes, that wee haue beene alwaies willing to defend the health and ſafegard of your perſon with all our power & fealtie due to your grace, purpoſing to vex to the vttermoſt of our power and eſtate not onelie our ill willers, but alſo your enemies, and the enemies of your whole realme. If it be your good pleaſure giue no credit to them, we ſhall be alwaies found your faithfull ſubiects. And wee the earle of Leiceſter, and Gilbert of Clare, at the requeſt of others, for vs and them haue put to our ſeales.

The letter of the lords to the king.

Theſe letters being read and heard, there was a councell called, and the king writ backe to them, eſpecially to the two earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, in maner & forme following.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, &c. To Simon Mountfort, & Gilbert de Clare, and their confederats. Forſomuch as by the war and generall diſquietnes by your means raiſed vp in our whole realme, and alſo the burnings and other hurtfull enormities, it appeareth manifeſtlie that you keepe not your fidelitie to vs ward, nor care anie thing for our health or ſafetie; and for that ye haue vnorderlie grieued our nobles, and others our faithfull ſubiects ſticking faithfullie and conſtantlie to vs (as you haue certified vs) we accounting their loſſe as our owne, and their enemies as ours; and ſeeing theſe my aforeſaid faithfull ſubiects for the keeping of their fidelitie, do aſſiſt vs manfullie and faithfullie againſt your vnfaithfulneſſe: we therefore care not for your fidelitie or loue, but defie you as our and their enemies. Witneſſe my ſelfe at Lewis the day and yeare aforeſaid.

The anſwere of the king to the lords.

Alſo Richard king of Almaine, and lord Edward the ſonne of king Henry writ to the barons in this wiſe.

Richard by the grace of God, king of the Romains alwaies Auguſtus, & Edward eldeſt ſonne of the king of England, and all the other barons and nobles conſtantlie and faithfullie in heart & deed cleauing to the foreſaid king of England, to Simon Mount-

The letter of Richard king of Almaine and prince Edward to the barons.

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Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singuler other their adherents in their conspiracie. By your letters which you sent to our lord the noble king of England wee haue vnderstãding that you defie vs, although before any such word, your defiance toward vs was apparant inough by your cruell persecution in burning our possessions, and spoiling our goods: We therefore giue you to wit, that wee all and euery one of vs, as your enemies, doe defie you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not cease, whersoeuer it shall lie in our power, to the vttermost of our force and might, to subuert your persons, and all that you haue. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we giue neither faithfull nor good counsell to our lord the king, you say not the truth. And if your lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirme the same in our lord the kings court, we are readie to get safe conduct for you to come to the said court, to trie & declare the truth of our innocencie, and the falsehood of you both, as forsworne traitors, by some man equall with you in nobilitie and stocke. All wee are contained with the seales of the foresaid lords, the lord Richard, and the lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid.

Both which letters being read, they drew nére to the king: for they were not farre distant from the place which is called Lewis. And for that there wanted to the kings store prouision for their horses, it was commanded them, on tuesday to goe forth to séeke for hay & prouender: which when they were gone forth, were preuented of their enemies, and most of them killed: but the residue returning, saw their enemies comming very earlie on the wednesday morning, and making outcries, stirred vp the king and his host to arme themselues. Then the barons comming to the full plaine, descended there, and girding and trimming their horses, made fit their harnelle to them. And there the earle Simon made the earle of Glocester, and Robert de Méere, and many other new knights. Which being done, he diuided and distinсted his host into foure seuerall battels, and he appointed noble men to guide and gouerne euery battell. And ouer the first battel were ordained captains, Henrie Mountfort the eldest sonne of the earle Simon, and Guido his brother, lord John de Bruch the yonger, and lord Humfrey de Bohun. Ouer the second battell, lord Gilbert Clare earle of Glocester, lord John the sonne of lord S. John, and lord William of Mountchersie. And ouer the third, in which ẏ Londoners were, at their requést, the lord Nicholas Segraue was assigned: which required also very instantlie, that they might haue the first stroke in the battell, at the aduenture, come what come would. But ouer the fourth battell the earle himselfe was captaine with the lord Thomas of Pinelkon. In the meane season came forth the kings host, preparing themselues to the field in thrée battels, of which Edward the kings sonne led the first, with the earle of Warwike, and Valence the kings brother: and the second the king of Almaine guided, with his sonne Henry: but the king with his nobles guided the third: and the fourth legion the king appointed not, by reason that he had left many of his chiefe souldiers behind him, to kéepe the castell and towne of Tunbridge against the earle of Glocester. And the most part of the kings armie were but yong men, for the king thought not that his barons had béene come so nigh hand. Their armies béeing on both sides set in aray and order, they erhorted one an other on either partie to fight valiantly: and after they buckled together, the battell was great, and many horsemen were ouerthrowne euen in a moment. But by and by Edward the kings sonne with his band, as a fierce yong gentleman & valiant knight, fell vpon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recule backe a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giuing backe, that the formost were slaine) ran many of them away, and taking water to passe ouer, were almost thrée score souldiers drowned, and a few of them being slaine, all the rest fled. Straightway the Londoners which had asked the first fight, knowing not how the battell went, tooke their héeles: whom Edward pursued with his band, killing the hindmost of them the space of two or thrée miles: for he hated them because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when she was caried by barge vpon the Thames, from the Tower to Windlor: as is before touched.

Whilest that prince Edward was thus in the chase of the Londoners, who had the vaward of the barons battell: in the meane time the maine battell of the barons set vpon the kings maine battell, of the which the king of Almaine the brother of king Henry had the leading, which being sone discomfited, and he with his sonne Henry and Robert de Brus, John Cowen, with diuers other Captaines taken prisoners, the reareward wherein the king himselfe fought, being immediatly so hardly beset, and seeing his knights and souldiers on euery side about him beaten downe and slaine, and diuers others of his souldiers to forsake the field & shift for themselues, thought good to take againe the towne, and so retired into the abbey from whence he came, shutting & rampering vp the gates, and caused the same to be stronglie warded with souldiers. To be briefe, the barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many men on either side slain, entred also the town of Lewis, pursuing in chase such souldiers as thither fled for succour.

The battell of Lewis betwixt the king and the barons beginneth.

Richard king of Almain with his sonne taken prisoners.

The kings maine battell at Lewis discomfited, and the king faine to take the Abbey.

In the meane time, prince Edward returning from the chase of the Londoners, as yee heard, who desired to giue the first onset, and espying the chariot of the earle Simon (which he caused purposely to be made for him) and the horses in the same, without either waggoner or any other to gouerne the same, fell immediatly vpon the chariot, and brake it all in péeces, and slew two burgesses that were within the same. But when he came nérer to the place where the bloudie battell had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and ouerthrow which in his ablence with great mortalitie and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dismaid, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting & incouraging his knights and souldiers, of whom he had a valiant compante, in battel aray he marched toward the towne: against whom came the barons againe with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a freth field and new battell, and many men slaine on either side. But at length, the earle de Warenia, with the kings two brethren, forsoke the field and fled: after whom went more then seuen hundred chosen souldiers, which were of their house and familie, who the same day came to Peuensie, and there tooke shipping ouer the sea. Also Hugh Bigot with diuers others fled, and left the valiant prince fighting in the field: which thing he also perceiuing, tooke the towne. And when he found not the king his father at the castell, he went from thence to the abbie where he was. In the meane season the towne was diuided in parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting of booties, neither could scarsely one of them know and discerne another whether he were his friend or enemy. But when within a while the barons had assembled some companie, they gaue an assault vpon the castell, thinking to haue rescued John Gifford and others whom the kings souldiers had taken prisoners and put therein. But the souldiers within defended manfullie the same, and in throwing out bals of wild fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the towne. Then the barons retired and left the castle, and purposed to haue set vpon the abby where the king and prince Edward his sonne was, which also was set on fire by the assault giuen to the castell: but yet it was shortly recouered and quenched. Then Edward the kings sonne perceiuing the bold enterprise of the barons, prepared with courageous knights and souldiers as were yet remaining and within the abbie, to haue issued out, and to haue giuen a new charge vpon them. But the barons perceiuing that, sent vnto the king messengers to intreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk and conclude of a further peace betweén them. This battell was fought vpon the nineteenth day of May, being the yéere of our Lord 1264.

The prince Edward returning from the first chase, findeth all together lost.

The prince fighteth a new battell.

Prince Edward also put to the worst and faine to take the towne.

The castle of Lewis beseged.

The next day, which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two preaching friers betweene the king and the barons, with certaine articles and demands of peace, so that with certaine others, these conditions were agréed on: that on the morrow being Friday, the prince should giue himselfe in hostage for the king his father and others of his parts. And Henrie the kings sonne of Almaine also should giue himselfe the like for his father. That those things which should be concluded vpon for the benefit and commoditie of the realme, and peaceable quietnesse thereof might be performed, and that all such prisoners as were taken on either side, should be frely ransomed and sent home.

A peace intreated betweene the king and the barons.

The two princes giuen in hostage.

The next day which was Saturday, the king discharged all his souldiers, and others that were with him in the abbie, licensing them to depart whither they liked. And furthermore, by the aduice of his sonne and the barons, he gaue commandement to those which he had appointed to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they should make no attempt to the preiudice or hurt of the barons; but in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart euery man to their houses and habitations. But they giuing no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to Brikstow, where they kept themselues in garrison, vntill the escaping of Edward the kings sonne out of prison. But first before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquished in battell, and that the Londoners in the forward were put to flight by prince Edward (by a messenger that escaped from the same) and that also the same Londoners were at Crowdowne, they set vpon them in the euening tide, and taking from them much spoile, slue also many of them.

The kings souldiers in Tunbridge after they had spoiled the Londoners at Crowdowne, kept themselues in garrison at Brikstow.

But when Roger Mortimers part began to decrease, and Simon the earles part on the other side to encrease, hee bare himselfe more stoute, for that both the king and all that was his, did depend vpon the good will and fauor of the earle, and led with him the kings sonne to such holds & castles as he thought to bee most strong; as though all were in his hands to doe as him liked; and kept the hostages more straitlie then hee was wont to doe. Insomuch that when it was blowne abroad that the kings sonne was kept as prisoner, diuers counselled him that were his friends, that he should desire to disport himselfe at the barriers, that the people might haue a sight of him. But he being narrowly garded as hee knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsell, and so did.

Earle Simon after this victorie beareth himselfe so stout that he impildneth the hostages of the king.

In this troublesome yeers, which was Anno 1264, as the Londoners with the nobles were thus occupied in warre and dissension, the malignant Iewes thinking to take vantage of

of that time with priuie treason conspired against the whole citie and state of the nobles, who being taken with the manner, were almost all slaine that dwelt in the citie of London.

* In this yeere also Boniface archbishop of Canturburie the sonne of Peter erle of Sauoie, and a stranger, hauing been certaine yeeres beyond the seas in disgrace with the king of England, vpon occasion of some misdemeanor belike (for he was, as Matthew Parker writeth of him, *Vt moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione cæteris archiepiscopis dissimilis*) howbeit the king being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with clergie mens insolencies, which for a while he might perhaps gainstand, but at last bare with them as supported by the court of Rome, did consult with his nobles about the returne of the said Boniface into England, conditionallie as followeth.

Acts passed in the kings councell touching the archbishop of Canturburies returne into England vnder certaine conditions.

Turris Lond. *ANno Domini 1264, mense Martio, in præsentia illustris regis Angliæ, de concilio procerum & magnatum eiusdem regni actum est, quod venerabilis pater Bonifacius Dei gratia Cantuarienſis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas in Angliam reuertatur, sub conditionibus infra scriptis, in regno pacifice moraturus. In primis igitur, &c.* In English thus.

In the yeere of our Lord 1264, in the moneth of March, it was enacted in the presence of the renowmed king of England, by the councell of the peeres and states of the said realme, that the reuerend father Boniface by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primat of all England, should returne into England, and abide in the realme peaceablie vpon the conditions vnderwritten.

1 First therefore it is enacted, that the archbishop at his returne doe without any difficultie release in forme of law his sentences of excommunication, published against all persons whatsoeuer, occasioning much trouble in the realme of England: but yet so, that they which shall be found excommunicate, be readie to make satisfaction for their excesses and defaults, and for the same receiue as they are bound by the canonicall commandements of the archbishop, in forme hereunder in the next article contained.

2 Secondly it is enacted, that in making amends for defaults done to churches and churchmen, within such places as are immediatly subiect vnto his iurisdiction, the archbishop may arbitrate according to the counsell of all his suffragans, or the greater and sounder part; and of waightie affaires belonging to the church and realme of England, may in time to come after his returne, order and dispose likewise by their counsell, and the counsell of other discreet men of the realme.

3 Thirdly it is enacted, that he bring with him maister Henrie * Mortimer archdeacon of Canturburie, and Pont Sabler his familiar clerks or household chaplens, and these clerks only being strangers borne, he keepe and retaine of his counsell and household.

* Henricus de mortuo mari.

4 Fourthly it is enacted, that other clerks whersoeuer, beneficed in the church of England, meaning and willing to returne with the archbishop, may safely returne and abide in their benefices, and dispend the church goods within the realme as they are bound, carrying or sending nothing out of the realme, vnlesse necessarie occasion, and allowed of the kings councell doe so require.

5 Fifthly it is enacted, that the archbishop or the clerks comming with him shall bring nothing with them in letters, message, or commandement, nor shall procure any thing else during their abode in this realme, either by themselues or by others, whereby any damage, danger, or prejudice may redound to the king or to any of his realme. And for memorie of the premisses, the seale of the said renowmed king of England is hanged vnto these presents.

By the whole councell.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the archbishop did not presently returne, but continued in Prouance and elsewhere, behauing himselfe imperiouslie as a prelate of the right Romish stampe. In the meane time many matters incident to his place were omitted and neglected, which personallie by him should haue been executed: but by reason of his absence the same were dispatched by deputation, and the same ordered likewise according to his owne fantasie, which he preferred before the kings authoritie and commandement. This to be true, the copie of a letter describing the contumacie of the said Boniface doth sufficiently testifie, the same being set downe agreeable to the prototypon.

A letter of the king to Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, charging him to returne into England, there personallie to discharge his archiepiscopall function.

Turris Lond. *REx Bonifacio Cantuarienſi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati, salutem. Licèt hactenus per patientiam pluries sustinuerimus electos in episcopos, abbates, ac prælatos alios in regno nostro, &c.* In English thus.

Against the archbishop of Canturburie in forren countries abiding.

The king to Boniface archbishop of Canturbury primat of all England, greeting. Although hitherto by patience wee haue suffered oftentimes bishops elect, abbats, and other prelats in our realme, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to passe ouer beyond sea vnto you, we thought not to receiue at your hands any such reward, as that against the right and custome of our realme, to the which we meane not by this our patience that preiudice shall any way bee procured or bred, you should attempt this to be followed. We do maruell therfore and are mooued that you, at the request of vs, haue refused to commit the examination of the election of our welbeloued in Christ master Walter Gifford late of Bathe and Wels bishop elect, and the confirmation of the same election, vnto some discreet persons of our realme, we hauing detained and as yet detaining the same Gifford against his will, that he might not repaire personallie vnto you: whereunto common right and the very custome of the realme ought to haue lead you vnrequested, whilest you abide out of the realme. Lest therefore our too much patience might breed in you a contempt, wee will you to vnderstand that henceforward we meane to beare lesse with such dealing, specially in these daies, wherein there is no safe passage for Englishmen vnto you through the parts of France, as it is reported. Wherefore wee thought good to desire your fatherhood and also to admonish you, giuing you moreouer in charge and commandement, and vpon the fealtie wherein you are bound vnto vs firmelie inioyning, that in respect of the forsaid election, and other ceremonies, you come personallie into England to execute your office and charge, or send some other in your roome; or at least procure and cause some discreet persons of our realme, whom you shall repute more meete for this matter, to serue the turne for you in this behalfe: lest if with contumacie you refuse to heare our requests and commandements the second time, which you are by dutie bound to obay, wee bee compelled to take indignation against you, as a contemner of the rights, liberties, and the customs of our kingdome, and so to proceed against you more sharplie by way of reuenge: neither will we suffer, if you shall do otherwise, that the reuenues of your said archbishoprike shall hencefoorth be conueyed vnto you out of our realme; but as you refuse the burthen, so wil we in like sort do what we can to withdraw hereafter the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our land. Finally we, if need shall be, are redie to giue you a sure and safe conduct. Witnesse the king at S. Pauls of London, the 25. of June, and the 48. yeere of our raigne.

Now after all this adoe, we read that at last Boniface returned, and becomming more holy towards his end, he went with other bishops to the king, requesting him that being mindfull of the decaie of his kingdome, by ecclesiasticall liuings bestowed vpon strangers, he would hereafter preferre learned and godly men of his owne nation. To whom the king answered that he would willinglie doe it. Wherefore I thinke it meete that you, which are a stranger and vnlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer bishop of Winchester, whom I haue preferred to such dignities onely for kindreds sake, should first giue example to others, and forsake your churches, and I will prouide other learned men to serue in them. Which answere of the king so pierced this Boniface, that he alwaies after liued a wearisome life in England. Wherefore perceiuing himselfe to be misliked of the king and the people, he desired to returne into his countrey. And thereupon first selling and felling the woods, letting out the archbishoprike, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great masse of money of the clergie of his prouince, he went with the curse of all men vnto Sauoy, where in the castle of S. Helens, after he had misgouerned the see six and twentie yeeres, six moneths, and sixteene daies from his consecration, being nine and twentie yeeres from his first election, he died the fifteenth kalends of August. And so ceased the troubles betweene the king and the said bishop, whose contumacie in stories, with others of the like brood, doth largely appeare in this booke.

Boniface his aduice disaduantageable to himselfe.

Boniface maketh spoile of the archbishoprike, he is hated, and dieth.

¶ But to leaue Boniface now dead, note ye this, that in this yeere, after the death of pope Urban, succeeded in the said yeere of our Lord, An. 1265, pope Clement the fourth: which Clement, as affirmeth Nic. Triuet. was first a married man and had wife and children, and was the sollicitor and counsellor to the French king; then after the death of his wife, was bishop intituled Podiensis, after that archbishop of Narbon, and at last made cardinall; who being sent of pope Urban in legacie, for reformation of peace, in his absence was elected pope by the cardinals. About this time florished Thomas of Aquine, reader at Paris among the Dominike friers, and Bonauenture among the Franciscan frers. Ex Nic. Triuet.

The death of pope Urban.
Pope Clement the fourth.
Pope Clement first a married man, and had a wife and children.
Thomas Aquin, Bonauenture readers at Paris.
Anno 1265

* Now after all the foresaid tumult and broile of the king and his barons to the veration of the whole land, it was thought meet and necessarie that all parties at variance should be reconciled. Whereupon it was concluded amongst them as followeth.

A forme of peace betweene the king and *his barons.*

Turris Lond. HÆc est forma pacis à domino rege & domino Edwardo filio suo, prælatis & proceribus omnibus, & cõmunitate tota regni Angliæ communiter & concorditer approbata, &c. In English thus: This is the forme of peace allowed of the king our lord, of the lord Edward his sonne, of all the prelats and peeres and the whole communaltie of the realme of England with common consent and agreement; to wit, that a certaine ordinance or decree made in a parlement holden at London about the feast of the nativitie of S. John Baptist last past, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace of the realme, and the same to continue all the daies of the said king our soueraigne lord, and the time of the lord Edward, after he shall be received as king, euen till the end and terme that shall be thought meet and conuenient. The said ordinance or decree is thus.

For the redressing of the state of the realme of England, let there be chosen or named three discreet and trustie persons of the realme, which may haue authoritie and power from the lord the king to chose or name in the kings behalfe, nine counsellors: of which nine, three at least by course or turnes may alwaies be present in the court. And let the lord the king by the counsell of the said nine, order and dispose of the keeping of castles, and the managing of all the affaires in his realme. Let the lord the king also by the aduice of the foresaid nine, appoint iustices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, greater and lesser in those matters that pertaine to the gouernment of his court and realme.

The choosers or namers shall sweare first, that according to conscience they will chose or name such counsellors, as they verily beleeue will be profitable and trustie in respect of Gods honor, the church, the lord the king, and his realme. The counsellors likewise and all the officers greater and lesser in their creation shall sweare, that to the vttermost of their power they will faithfullie execute their offices to the honor of God and of the church, and to the profit of the lord the king and his realme, without bribe or gift; meate and drinke which are commonlie wont to be set vpon the table excepted. And if so be that the foresaid counsellors, or some or any of them, in the charge to them committed (whether they be he or she) haue behaued themselues ill, or that vpon some other occasion such officers are to be changed: the lord the king by the counsell of the three former choosers or namers may remoue such as he shall see meet to be remoued; and in their romes by the same mens aduice may appoint and place other persons trustie and seruiceable.

And if so be that either the greater officers or the lesser doe disorderedlie demeane themselues in their offices, the lord the king by the counsell of the foresaid nine may displace them, and without delay by the same aduice set others in their roms. And if so be that the three first or chiefe choosers or namers, in the choice or naming of counsellors, or perhaps the counsellors in the creating of officers, or in other affaires of the lord the king and the realme to be ordered or done, shall be at disagreement, then whatsoeuer by consent of two parts shalbe concluded or decreed, let the same be firmely kept & obserued; so that of those two parts one be a prelat of the church in the businesse belonging to the church. And if it so happen, that two parts of the said nine in some matter disagree; then shall they for their variance stand to the ordinance of the three first choosers or namers, or the greater part of them. And if so be it seeme expedient by consent to all the prelats and barons, that some or one in place of some or one of the three first namers be put and appointed: then let the lord the king by the counsell of all the prelats and barons ordaine some others, or one other. And let the lord the king doe all the premisses by the aduice of the said nine in maner aboue mentioned; or let them doe it in the lord the kings behalfe and by his authoritie by this present ordinance, to continue and hold out till such time as this agreement made and afterwards sealed by the parties, be perfected by consent, or some other prouiso be had which the parties by consent shall iudge allowable.

This ordinance was made at London by the consent, will, and commandement of the lord the king, and also of the prelats, barons, with the communaltie then and there present. In witnesse whereof R. bishop of Lincolne, and H. bishop of Elie, R. earle of Norfolke and marshall of England, Robert de Vere earle of Oxford, Humfrey de Bohume, William de monte Canisio, and the maior of London to this writing haue set their seales. Acted in the parliament at London in the moneth of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1264.

Reformation of the church. It is also ordained, that the state of the English church shall be reformed into a state meet and conuenient.

It is also ordained, that the three choosers aboue said and counsellors, of whom mention is made in the said ordinance at London, and the keepers of castles, and others the kings bailiffs be homebred. And as for strangers borne, let them come, tarrie, and depart peaceablie, as well lainen willing to dwell vpon their possessions, as clergimen residing vpon their benefices.

No strangers to be keepers of the kings castels, &c. Merchants also, and all others, to further and see to their affaires shall come freelie, and tarrie peaceablie; but yet conditionallie, so they come without armor and a suspected multitude. And that none of them be received in any sort, into any office or bailiwike in the realme, or otherwise into the kings house & seruice be entertained. As for the charters of generall liberties and forrests granted vnto the homebred of late by the king, and the statutes made vpon reuoking of grieuances which the lord the king the third yeere past in euery shire by his letters patents hath caused to be published, with the commendable customs of his realme, & a long time allowed, be for euer obserued: and that it might be prouided how they may be better and more soundlie obserued: It is also prouided, that the lord the king, and the lord Edward, the barons & those that stand with them, let go all iniurie and rancor, so that they neither grieue, or suffer to be grieued by any of theirs, no one of them by occasion of things done in the hurlie burlie past; and also cause all their bailiffes at the vndertaking of their bailiwiks, that they shall grieue none by the occasion aforesaid, but shall doe iustice and right to euery body with equalitie. And let there be good securitie prouided how all these things may be firmlie obserued.

¶ When this agreement was dispatched, to set the realme in some quietnesse, a little leisure was allowed to loke into the losses and damages of the church, whereupon it was prouided as followeth.

Of the repairing of trespasses committed *against the church.*

It is prouided by common assent of the king, of the prelats, earles, and barons of the land, that the trespasses which are committed against the church of England, by reason of the tumults and wars that haue béene in this realme of England, shall be reformed and amended in this maner.

There shall be chosen by the earles and great estates of the land, with the liking and assent of the prelats, three bishops authorized, and hauing full power to establish and prouide for such reasonable amends as are to be made for the foresaid trespasses committed against holie church, so far forth as shall be fit and conuenient.

Those that shall be found excommunicated, shall be absolued in forme of right, by such as haue power and authoritie so to doe.

The authoritie of the prelats shall be established in this maner. First, it shall be faithfullie vndertaken by the earles, iustices, and the other laimen of the kings counsell, and other great barons of the realme, that all those things which the prelats that shall be chosen, shall reasonablie ordaine and appoint by way of reformation, they themselues shall obserue & fulfill, and shall doe their indeuor faithfullie to cause it to be obserued by others; and thereof they shall deliuer their letters patents.

Moreouer, vnto the prelats, after they shall be chosen, full power shall be granted by the king, and the communaltie, the earles, barons, & great men of the land, to ordaine those things which are needfull and profitable to the full reformation of the estate of holie church, to the honor due to the fealtie of our lord the king, and to the profit of the realme. And that the promise made by the king, and by the earles, and barons aforesaid, and by the other great men of the land may appeare to be made in good faith, they shall thereof make their letters patents; to wit of things that haue bin done a yeere past before the last Easter.

If any be found that will not stand to the ordinance and appointment of the foresaid prelats in the causes aforesaid, and according to the forme aforesaid, he shall be compelled thereunto by dome of holie church; yea if need be he shall be thereunto forced by the secular power. And that it may the better be done, the iustice shall haue a hundred or more of choice men at armes, or sargeants souldiers elect, to distraine the malefactors when by the said prelats he shall be required. Those souldiers to be sustained of the common goods of holie church, during the time they shall be imploied in that businesse. And this ordinance shall continue for a yeare or two, till such time as matters be quieted, and that the prouisions of the prelats, and the peace of the land be well obserued.

Prouided alwaies, that the profits of benefices of holie church belonging to aliens, and others that haue béen enemies to the land, shall be collected, and safely kept in the hands of the prelats, vntill such time as order be taken by common aduice what is to be done therewithall. And for the more assurance and further testimonie hereof, the king and the high estates of the land haue vnto this writting set their seales.

¶ Besides all this it was considered, that non residencie, being a default blameworthie, deserued reformation. Whereof the king hauing speciall regard, wrote his mind to the bishop of Hereford for the redresse of the same; whose letter because it is memorable, and conuenient matter therein contained for non residents of our time, we haue heere intertered according to the record.

A letter of king Henry the third directed to the bishop of Hereford concerning non residents.

R *Ex episcopo Hereford salutem. Pastores gregibus præponũtur, vt diei noctísque vigilias exercendo, &c.* Turris Lond. In English thus.

The

Against non residence of prelats.

The king to the bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting. Pastors or shepherds are set ouer flocks, that by exercising themselues in watching ouer them day and night, they may know their owne cattell by their looke, bring the hungerstarued sheepe into the medowes of fruitfulnesse, and the straying ones into one fold by the word of saluation & the rod of correction; and to doe their indeuor, that vnitie indissoluble may be kept. But some there be, who damnablie despising this doctrine, and not knowing to discerne their owne cattell from anothers, doe take away the milke and the wooll, not caring how the Lords flocke may be nourished: they catch vp the temporall goods, and who perisheth in their parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in maners they regard not: which men deserue not to be called pastors, but rather hirelings. And that we euen in these daies remouing our selues into the marches of Wales, to take order for the disposing of the garrisons of our realme, haue found this default in your church of Hereford, we report it with griefe; for that we haue found there a church destitute of a pastors comfort, as hauing neither bishop nor officiall, vicar nor deane, that may exercise any spirituall function & dutie in the same. But the church it selfe, which in time past was wont to flow in delight, and had canons that tended vpō daies & nights seruice, and that ought to exercise the works of charitie, they forsaking the church, and leading their liues in countries far hence, hath put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the losse of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and louers that will comfort her. Verily whiles we beheld this, and considered it diligentlie, the pricke of pitie did moue our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardlie wound our heart verie sore, that we could no longer dissemble so great an iniurie done to our mother the church, nor passe the same ouer vncorrected.

Non residents strictlie charged to be personallie incumbent and abiding vpon their cures: note.

Wherefore we command and straitly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you indeuor to remoue your selues with all possible speed vnto your said church, and there personallie to execute the pastorall charge committed vnto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certaintie, that if you haue not a care to doe this, we will wholly take into our owne hands all the temporall goods, and whatsoeuer else doth belong vnto the baronie of the same church; which goods for spirituall exercise sake therein, it is certaine our progenitors of a godlie deuotion haue bestowed thereupon. And such goods and duties as we haue commanded hitherto to be gathered and safelie kept and turned to the profit and commoditie of the same church, the cause now ceasing, we will seize vpon; and suffer no longer, that he shall reape temporall things, which feareth not vnreuerētlie to withdraw and keepe back spirituall things, whereunto by office and dutie he is bound; or that he shall receiue any profits which refuseth to vndergoe and beare the burthens of the same. Witnesse the king at Hereford, the first of Iune in the 48. yeare of our reigne.

An assemblie of ill disposed people called harlots, whereby may be gathered the antientnesse of that name.

About this time (as appeareth by course of record, & thereby may well be gathered) a redresse of certaine sects was intended, among which, one by name speciallie occurreth, and called the assemblie of harlots: a kind of people of a leaud disposition and vncivill. Of whose maners and life the king hauing beene informed, addressed his letters to the shiriffe of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted, and wherein they practised their euill conuersation: whose letter here followeth.

A letter of king Henrie the third to the shiriffe of *Oxfordshire, concerning the banishment of an* vnlawfull assemblie called harlots, out of that countrie.

Turris Lond.

Against an assemblie or meeting of men which called themselues harlots.

Rex vic. Oxon. salutem. Quia intelleximus quòd quidam, qui se harlotos appellant, vagi & otium fouentes, in diuersis partibus regni nostri, congregationes & conuenticula, nec non contractus illicitos, &c. In English thus.

The king to the shiriffe of Oxfordshire sendeth greeting. Because we vnderstand that there be certaine vagarant persons which call themselues harlots, maintaining idlenesse in diuers parts of our realme, most shamelesselie making their meetings, assemblies, and vnlawfull matches against the honestie of the church and good maners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer; we charge thee that on our behalfe thou forbid the said harlots hencefoorth in the said countries to make anie more such meetings, conuenticles, or contracts; or to presume according to their leaud maner and wonted fashion to rogue about our realme: and heereto thou shalt (if need be) bind them, as by law may be done. Wherein so behaue thy selfe in this behalfe, as we may commend thy diligence. Witnesse the king at Reading the 23 of Nouember, in the 48 yeare of our reigne.

What maner of persons these were, or what their conuersation was, it doth not further appeare: neuertheles by the premisses it may seeme to be some pretensed order of religion. And it is most probable that the reprochfull name of harlot had his beginning from hence.

To conclude with speciall matters of the church, wherein we haue made somewhat the longer delay, by occasion of such necessarie records as came to hand, & brought with them their necessarie vse; this one remembrance notwithstanding remaineth, no lesse noteworthie then the rest, and falling within the reuolution of the fortie eight yeere of this kings reigne, a yeere of great trouble, as by the premisses may be gathered.

You are therefore to note, that at this time the prelats of England stood vpon their pantophles, and tollie fellowes (I tell you) they would be knowne to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Aluredus de Lincolne, being, as is supposed, a baron of this realme, there is found (Inter alia) as followeth: *Quòd prædictus Aluredus tenuit quandam particulam parcæ de Dunetish & Tilei de abbate de Cerne, per seruicium tenendi stropem suum, quando abbas debet ascendere equum suum, & dare ei locum in comitatu quando præsens fuerit.* That is: That the forenamed Aluredus held a certain peece of the parke of Dunetish and Tileie of the abbat of Cerne, by seruice of holding his stirup when the abbat should take horsebacke, and to giue him place in the shire at such time as he should be present. The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giueth probable cause to coniecture that the occasion of this matter came by this meanes: viz. That whereas the said Alured was desirous to inlarge his parke, and could not so doe but by purchasing of part of some other ground next adioining, whereof the said abbat was owner: he was therefore constrained either to lacke that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my lord abbat; who like a lord (as you see) was content to let him haue his land, reseruing such seruice as is abouesaid. Wherein would be noted the pompe of prelats in those daies, and how neere they drew in imitation to the pope, in whose treading they traced.

But leauing these affaires of the church and churchmen, wherein we haue beene somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporall state. You heard before of a pacification concluded betweene the king and his barons in the yeere of our Lord 1264, the same hauing beene admitted by mutuall and common consent of the temporaltie and clergie. Nevertheless, as a sore not well searched and tented, but superficiallie and ouerlie skinned, doth breake out into a more dangerous botch; so it came to passe among the lords and barons, betwixt whom no such firme reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon insued after secret grudge and priuie hatred open armes and conflicts. For in this yeere 1265 the sonnes of Simon the earle, to wit, Henry, Simon, and Guido, being all puft vp, and with the pride of their successe elevated, did that which nothing contented the earle of Glocester: insomuch that he challenged Henry the eldest sonne of the earle Simon Mountfort at the barriers, to be tried at Northhampton. But that challenge was taken vp, lest some further inconuenience might haue risen thereof. But the earle of Glocester being moued therewith in his mind, sent vnto his father the earle that he should deliuer him such prisoners being noble men, as he tooke at the battell of Lewis; among whom the king of Almaine was named first. But he by countermand answered him, and said, that it might content and satisfie him, for that he had saued and preserued to him his lands, that day the battell was fought at Lewis; and that furthermore he would not send him such prisoners as he demanded; but that he himselfe kept more noble then they in the castell of Douer: among whom was John Ballet, which vndermined and burst downe the walles of Northhampton at that conflict, as is said before and specified.

Dissension betweene earle Simon and the earle of Glocester.

The earle of Glocester being herewith displeased, so soone as he heard this answer, sent incontinentlie to the lord Roger Mortimer, which alwaies tooke the kings part, desiring that they two might talke together touching the benefit and commoditie of the king. Who, doubting some deceit, desired sureties and pledges for his safe returne, and he would come and talke with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarlie, the earle of Glocester shewed him all that he was purposed to doe; and that further he lamented he had so much and greatlie offended the king: and that he would with all his power and abilitie make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the king againe to his kinglie dignitie, as much as he possiblie might. Therefore they sent secretlie to Robert the brother of the earle of Glocester, which was neere about the earle Simon, and made him to consent with them therein. And to worke this thing more circumspectlie, when opportunitie serued thereunto, Roger Mortimer sent vnto the kings sonne an horse excelling all others in fastnesse, vnto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw conuenient time thereunto. After which things thus contriued, prince Edward desired leaue of the earle to proue his courser against such time as he should ride at the tilt, as they might when they liked. Assone as he had gotten leaue, and that with galloping and ranging the field he had wearied diuers of their horses: at the last, getting vp vpon the horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a seruant on horsebacke comming toward him with two swords, he turned about vnto his keeper, whose name was Robert de Rose, and to others

The earle of Glocester and Roger Mortimer conspire togither against earle Simon.

Prince Edward escapeth from out of the custodie of earle Simon by a traine.

his plaifellowes that were with him, saying: My louing lords, thus long haue I kept you companie, and haue beene in your custodies: and now not purposing to vse your companies any longer, I betake you to God. And quicklie turning his horse about, put to the spurs and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far inough behind, and ouertake him they could not. At last, when they saw Roger Mortimer comming from his castell of Wigmore, accompanied with many armed men to meete him as before it was appointed, they returned againe home as wise as when they came forth. And when this ỹ princes escape was diuulgated, much people came vnto him out of euery quarter, with great ioy thereof. Amongst whom, the first was the earle of Glocester, and the other souldiers of the king, which had now long lien at Bristow, and thereabouts, and within a short space he had a great and a mightie host.

Which thing when the earle Simon vnderstood, he much doubted and mistrusted himselfe: and sending into Wales, he gat from thence a great many men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might, from euery part of England. He sent also Simon his sonne to the noble men of the north parts, that with all possible speede he might bring them with him: who with a great companie came with him, and at Kenelworth a while they staid, and there pitched their tents. But leauing Kenelworth for a certaine time, they went to Winchester, and spoiled the same, and then returned againe to Kenelworth. And when this by a certaine spiall was declared to Edward the kings sonne, who then was at Worcester, which he had gotten after he came from Glocester a little before; he prepared himself with his souldiers, in the night season to goe to the place where the spie should bring him, which was into a deepe valley, neere vnto the place where Simon and his companie had pitched. And when in the morning they were very earlie about to arme themselues, and prepare their horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies comming towards them. Then thinking that they had prepared themselues against their comming, and so had beene betrayed; they set forth in battell aray, marching forwards, till that they met certaine of their enemies straggling in long wings, thinking to haue gone a forraging, and to haue sought for victuals; whom they tooke, and with their freth horses new horsed their souldiers that had their horses tired with long trauell. And so marching forward, came verie earlie in the morning vpon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping; and laying lustilie about them, they slue diuers; some they tooke, the rest they put to flight; and fiftéene of their chiefest ensignes they tooke, with many other rich spoiles. But yong Simon himselfe lodged in the castell, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of August, An. 1265.

The earle Simon sendeth about, and in all hast gathereth a power.

The first enterprise of prince Edward after his escape by the meanes of a spie.

But when Edward heard that earle Simon was comming toward Kenelworth, to ioine with his sonnes battell, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at Eusham, where he diuided his host into three battels, he himselfe hauing the leading of one, the earle of Glocester the second, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came vpon their backs. The kings sonne Edward came northward, as though he came from Kenelworth to Eusham: and because he would not be descried, he caused his owne standards and ensignes to be taken downe, and yong Simons which he had taken before to be aduanced. But the earle Simons scurier, whose name was Nicolas, shewed the earle that such bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the same to haue beene Simon his sonnes power, not knowing of the ouerthrow which he had before, gaue small credit thereunto, till that the said Nicolas the better to view and descrie them, went vp to the abbey steeple of Eusham, where he might plainely discerne them all and their standards: for by this time they were mounted the hill which they labored to attaine, thinking to haue that vantage, when they should giue their charge as they had purposed: and had also aduanced againe his owne standards, and pulled downe Simons, whereby they were the more easier descried and knowne. Then he cried aloud to the earle Simon, and said: We are all but dead men: for it is not your sonne, as you suppose, that commeth, but it is Edward the kings sonne that commeth from one part, and the earle of Glocester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part. Then said the earle: The Lord be mercifull vnto our soules, forsomuch as our bodies and liues are now in their hands: commanding that euerie man should make himselfe readie to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wils to die for their lawes, and in a iust quarell. And such as would depart, he gaue leaue to goe their waies, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

The disposing of the princes battell against earle Simon fought at Eusham.

Prince Edwards host descried, whereat the earle was much abashed.

Then came vnto him his eldest sonne Henrie, and comforted him, desiring him to haue no despaire, nor yet mistrust in the good successe of this victorie, with other such chéerefull words. No my sonne (saith he) I despaire not: but yet, it is thy presumption, and the pride of the rest of thy brethren that hath brought me to this end you see: notwithstanding, yet I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarell. After words of comfort giuen to all his host, and the oration made

The words of earle Simon to his sonne.

as is the maner, they all armed themselues. The king also (whom the earle alwaies kept with him) he armed in an armor of his owne; and then diuiding their battels, they marched toward their enemies. But before they ioined, the Welshmen ran their waies, and thinking to scape ouer the riuer of Dée, were there some drowned, and some slaine. Then when the battels ioined and came to handie strokes, within short space many of the earles part fell and were slaine: and the king himselfe being stricken at, cried with a loud voice to them, saying: Kill me not, I am Henrie your king. And with these the kings words the lord Adam Honhawt knew him, and saued him. At whose voice and crie came also prince Edward his sonne, and deliuered him to the gard and custodie of certaine knights. In the meane season the earle Simon was hard bestead and beaten downe, and also slaine before Edward the prince came at him. Howbeit, before he fell, when as he fought for life, and Henrie his sonne, and other noble men on his part were about him, he brake out into these words vnto his enemies, saying: What, is there no mercie and compassion with you? Who againe answered: What compassion should there be shewed to traitors? Then said he: The Lord be mercifull vnto our soules, our bodies are in your hands. And so sone as these words were spoken, they mangled his bodie, and diuided his members, and cut off his head, which head Roger Mortimer sent vnto his wife. And not far off from him also was slaine Henrie his eldest sonne, the lord Hugh Spenser, the lord Radulph Basset, the lord Thomas de Heskle, the lord William Vandeuile, the lord John Beauchampe, the lord Guido Bailloser, the lord Roger Mowleie, and many other noble men besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battell was fought in the moneth of August, and continued from one of the clocke till it was night; in the which was not so much as one man on the earles part, of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battell lost his life, more than the lord John, who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten, that the same day being tuesday, at that instant houre, when the battell began, which was at one of the clocke at afternoone, there was such a darkenesse ouer all, such thunder and such tempest, that the like before that time was neuer seene, being very calme and faire weather both immediatlie before and after; which seemed (saith mine author) to giue a plaine demonstration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

King Henry almost slaine in the battell, at length known by his voice, and reskued by his sonne.

Earle Simons sonne, and many mo lords and barons slaine at this battell of Eusham.

After this great slaughter and ouerthrow, there was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the earle of Glocester, and others of his part. Heere by the way is to be considered, that the king although he was in the campe of the earle of Leicester, being then in custodie, and his sonne Edward with the earle of Glocester, yet the king was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said parliament the king was restored to his kinglie dignitie, which was before that time vnder the custodie of the barons. But after the battell was ended and done, certaine of them that loued the earle, vpon an old ladder, gathered vp such parts of his bodie as remained, and couering the same with an old gowne, brought it to Eusham, where they putting the same in a faire linnen cloth, buried it in the church. But not long after, by such as thought not themselues sufficientlie reuenged with his death (to wreake them of the dead corps) tooke vp the same and threw it in another place, saying, that he which was both accursed, and a traitor, was not worthie of christian buriall.

{Anno 1266}

A parliament summoned at Winchester, where king Henry was againe restored to his regalitie.

The same yeere also died Walter Cantilupus bishop of Winchester, after whom succeeded Nicolas of Elie, the kings chancellor.

The same yeere the king perceiuing that vnlesse the castell of Kenelworth were recouered, and the boldnesse of them restrained that kept the same, many euils and inconueniences might ensue thereupon, to the preiudice of his kingdome; for that the number increased euery day more and more, wasting and spoiling the countrie all about: therefore he gathered an armie and came downe to Warwike, where he a while tarried expecting the meeting and assembling of his marquesses and lords, with ensignes and other munition conuenable. Who when their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things readie, the morrow after Midsummer day he displaied his banner, and began his voiage, marching toward Kenelworth, and besieged the same. During which siege, by the aduice and counsell of the king, the popes legat, and other noble men, twelue persons were chosen which should haue ỹ disposing of those things that pertained to the state of the realme, & of those that had lost their lands and inheritances, who amongst other things made & established this one prouiso, that was commonly called Kenelworth decree: That all those which had lost their lands by atteindor (although yet not atteinted) should fine therefore at the kings pleasure, and take their lands of him againe; paying some three yeeres, some foure yeeres, some two yeers reuenues of the same, according to the qualitie of the crime and offence committed. All which prouises or prouisions were established & confirmed as well by the corporall oth, as by signement of the same with the hands and seals of all the prelats and clergie of England, there assembled for that purpose by the popes legat

Kenelworth castell besieged of the king.

Kenelworth decree against the disherited.

vpon

vpon the feast of All saints. When these things were thus finished, messengers were sent on the kings behalfe, as well to those that kept the castell of Kenelworth, as also to those that were assembled in the ile of Elie: willing them to come vnder the protection of the kings peace, and yeeld to the foresaid prouisoes, established by the twelue commissioners. Who all together answered and said: that they would in no wise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents not being called vnto it, and also for that the said decree was ouer strait and intollerable. Within short space after, great famin and pestilence chanced amongst them which kept the castell, insomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same: wherefore sone after, the king sending againe to them to yeeld the castell and take their pardons, they consulting together of their owne estate, thus answered the kings messengers; If it please the king and his counsell to permit vs to send our messenger to the lord Simon Mountfort, which is beyond the sea, that he may come by a certaine day to the defence of this his garrison and fort, and that in the meane space we be not disturbed by the kings army that hath inuironed vs, till the returne of our messengers: if by the day appointed he come not, we will yeeld vp the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limbe, and moueables.

Kenelworth decree gainsaid by diuers.

Kenelworth castell yeelded vp to the king, before the returne of the messengers out of France.

When the messengers were returned, and had declared to the king their answer; he consulting with his nobles about the matter, agreed vnto their petitions, and caused the truce to be proclaimed throughout all his campe, after that sufficient hostages were on either side giuen for the performance of the same: whereupon they set forward their messengers, as before was said they would. But after that, many of them within the castell being very greeuously vexed with the bloudie flix, and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoiance of those that were diseased, deliuered vp the castell before the returne of the messengers againe, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselues, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the rendering vp of the castell, the king committed the custodie thereof to his sonne Edmund, and so with his host departing from his siege, came vpon Christmas euens euen to Ditie, where hee with great solemnitie and triumph kept his Christmas during seuen daies, and from thence with his host came to Windsor, from whence after a few daies he marched towards Elie: in which iland hee besieged those which were disherited, and sharply also assaulted them.

The same yeere, pope Clement the fourth promoted master Walter Gifford bishop of Bathe, to bee archbishop of Yorke.

In which yeere also the church of England began to pay the tenths of all their reuenewes, as well spirituall as temporall, to the king, to continue for three yeers space: and this was done by the authority apostolicall.

The tenths granted to the king by authority apostolical.

Within a while after, the barons which were yet remaining, gathered themselues together againe: amongst whom John Daiuill (being a subtill and stout man of war) began to haue a name; and was wel esteemed amongst them; who al together did what mischiefe they might, and in the month of May they assembled at Chesterfield, vnder the said John Daiuill and the earle of Ferarence, vpon whom the kings souldiers, comming suddenly in the night, tooke them sleeping, and slew many of them. Then the said John Daiuill quickly arming himselfe came forth, thinking with more defence both to saue himselfe and to escape. Who in the way strucke the lord Gilbert Humfard such a blow with his demilance, that he feld both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus while the poore souldiers fought and were slaine, the barons fled away, and saued themselues. Also the earle Ferarence fled, and hid himselfe in a church; but being bewraied by a woman he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this, the king kept a parliament at Northhampton, where he disherited all those that tooke part with the earle Simon & all their children. Where also the popes legat Octobonus held a conuocation, and excommunicated all such bishops as had taken any part with Simon against the king: of whom diuers he sent vp to Rome, to be absolued of the pope; and further the said legat caused to be proclaimed certaine decrees, which he himselfe had made: and also the new grant of pope Clement, to the king and queene, of all the tenths for seuen yeeres to come. And shortly after, a tax also was fined vpon the country of Norfolk; to the gathering whereof Walter the bishop of Norwich was appointed. Ex Scala mundi.

A new assembly of the barons at Chesterfield, where they had the ouerthrow.

All the confederats of Simon Montfort with their children, disherited by the king.

Simon Montfort and his confederats excommunicated by the popes legat.

Tenths granted by the pope to the king and queene for seuen yeeres.

Anno 1267

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1267, king Henry besieged againe the castell of Kenelworth, from the seuenth day before the first day of July, vntill the beginning of December: whither came Octobonus the popes legat, by whose intreatie Henry Hastings deliuered the same vnto the king, which stoutly had defended the same and resisted the king, hauing pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods, and cattels. In which time also the barons againe assembled, with John Daiuill in the ile of Axioline, and so proceeded till they came to Lincolne, which they also tooke, and spoiled the Iewes, and slew many of them; and entring their synagogue tare and rent the booke of their law, and burnt the same, and all other writings & obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the king heard, he sent thither his sonne prince Edward: but as sone as they heard that, they fled into the ile of Ely, and fortified the same with bulwarks as strongly as they might, at euery entrance into the same. This was in the month of Aprill, when Edward the kings sonne came thither; who for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no meanes enter the iland, till at length by the counsell of the inhabitants of that prouince, hee caused with a number of workmen great trenches and ditches to be made, somewhat to conuay away the water: and so long vsed the counsell of them, in making bridges with planks and hurdles, till at the last they entred the iland; who as sone as they were entred, the barons fled to London, where they were of the Londoners well entertained. The rest which were in the iland yeelded themselues (amongst whom was Roger Wake, Simon the ponger, and Peches) sauing their liues and members. After this, both the king and Edward his sonne came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the citie by the barons and citizens for the space of forty daies. And Octobonus the legat (who for feare was fled into the tower) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length by the intreatie of the earle of Glocester, and other earls that were his friends, both the barons and citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the kings fauor. And foure bishops and eight other noble men were chosen, such as were at Couentry first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the king and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the forme of their peace and ransome. And proclamation was made vpon the feast of All saints, of perfect peace and accord throughout all the realme.

The Iewes spoiled and slaine at Lincolne.

The barons fortified the iland of Ely.

The ile of Ely assaulted and entred by prince Edward.

The king kept out of London forty daies by the barons and citizens.

A peace concluded betweene the barons and the king.

In the fifty and two yeere of this king Henries raigne, eight daies after the feast of S. Martin, he held a parliament at Marleberge, in the yeere of our Lord aboue recited; where by the aduice of wise and discreet men, and with all the consents of the nobles, he ordained and enacted diuers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the state of the realme and execution of common iustice, which are called the statutes of Marleberge.

The statutes of Marleberge.

The same yeere vpon S. Gregories day, Octobonus the legat called a councell at London, where were fiue archbishops, and a great number of bishops, abbats, and other prelats: which councell also within three daies brake vp againe.

A conuocation holden at London by Octobonus the popes legat.

The same yeere vpon S. Johns day the Baptist, Edward the kings sonne and diuers other noble men of England tooke vpon them the crosse by the legats hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the holy land, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. Which done, the legat the same yeere went out of England, not purposing after that to returne againe. This holy legat (saith mine author) which might well be resembled to Lynx the monstrous beast, whose quicke sight penetrateth euery thing, inrolled to perpetuall memory the valuation of all the churches in the realm of England so narrowly, as by any meanes possible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The same was he that made all the cathedrall and conuentuall churches to pay pensions; so that those churches which gaue not the vacancy of their benefices to their clerks and strangers, should pay vnto them a certaine yeerly pension, during the vacancie of the benefices which they should haue.

The legat departing out of England.

Valuation taken of all churches by Octobonus the popes legat.

Pensions out of cathedrall and conuentuall churches paid to the popes clerks.

The same yeere died pope Clement the fourth, after whose death the church of Rome was two yeeres vacant: and then was chosen an archdeacon cardinall, whose name was Thearduus, as he was taking his iourny into the holy land, and called him Gregory the tenth.

Pope Clement the fourth dieth.

Pope Gregorie the tenth.

Then also did Edmund earle of Lancaster and Leicester, and second sonne of king Henry, take to wife the earle of Albemarle his daughter, and the neece of the earle of Glocester: at which marriage was the king and the queene, and all the nobilitie of England.

The marriage of Edmund earle of Lancaster.

The same yeere was the body of S. Edward the king and Confessor, by Walter Gifford archbishop of Yorke and other bishops, intombed in a new and rich shrine of gold and siluer, beset with precious stones, in the presence of Henry the king of England. In which yeere also fell a great raine and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seene, which increased and continued the space of forty daies and more.

Edward the king and confessor shrined.

The same yeere died Walter de Langton, bishop of Sarum, the third day before the nones of January. After whom succeeded Robert of Northhampton, the dean of the same church. And because the sea of Canturbury was then vacant, he was confirmed by the chapter of Canturbury; which chapter had alwaies the iurisdiction in spirituall causes, during the vacancie of that sea, in as ample maner as the bishop himselfe had being aliue. After this, the bishop elect comming thither, thinking to haue had his consecration, was notwithstanding put backe for two causes: one was, for that there was present then no more but one bishop: the other was, for that all the other bishops had appealed, that he might not be consecrated to their preiudice: that is, by the authority of the chapter of Canturburie, saying that they would not be vnder the obedience of the monks.

The bishop of Sarum consecrated.

After

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After this, solemne messengers were for this cause sent to the cardinals of Rome, for that then the sea of Rome was vacant: who receiued answer, that during the vacation of that sea, the confirmation and consecration of the bishop elect, pertained to the foresaid chapter of Canturbury.

The death and slaughter of L. Richard the kings sonne of Almaine at Viterbium.

The same yeere also was the lord Henry, the son and heire of the lord Richard king of Almaine, and brother to king Henry the third, slaine at Viterbium, in a certaine chapell hearing masse, by the lord Simon and Guido the sonnes of the lord Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester.

During this kings raigne, there was made a great and generall expedition of diuers and sundry christian princes to Hierusalem, taking vpon them the Lords character, that is, the crosse: among whom was also Edward the kings sonne, vnto the which expedition was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme. And the month of Maie, the yeere of our Lord 1270, or as saith Florilegus, An. 1269, he set forward on his iourny.

Anno 1270

The death of Boniface archbishop of Canturbury. Adam Chelenden elected archbishop of Canturbury.

About the time when prince Edward was preparing his iourny, toward Asia, Boniface, of whom ye heard before, the archbishop of Canturbury, ended his life in the country of Sabaudia, going belike to Rome, or comming thence. After whose death the monks of Canturbury proceeding to a new election granted by the king, agreed vpon the prior of their house, named Adam Chelenden. But the king and his sonne prince Edward consenting and speaking in the behalfe of Robert Burnel their chancellor, did sollicit the matter with the monks, partly intreating, partly threatning them, to chuse the said Robert to be archbishop. Notwithstanding the monks being stout, would neither relent to their courteous requests, nor yet bow to their boisterous threats, but constantly persisting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the pope. Prince Edward being now on his iourny, and seeing himselfe thus frustrated of the monks, writeth back to the king his father; deuoutly praying and beseeching, in no wise to admit the election of the foresaid monks. And so passing to Douer with Henry, the sonne of Richard his vncle king of Romans, with their liues, tooke their passage in the moneth of August. After this, the prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the king to be archbishop, went vp to Rome.

Appellation from the king to the pope by the monks of Canturbury.

Adam Chelenden goeth vp to Rome.

In the meane time, the monks in the absence of their elect, ordained one Geffrey Pomerall to be their officiall, who seeing himselfe aduanced to that dignity, and bearing belike some old grudge against the prior of Douer, caused him to be cited vp to appeare in the chapter house of Canturbury. The prior of Douer seeing this citation to be preiudicial to him and to the church of Douer, whereas the monks of Canturbury haue no such iurisdiction (the sea of Canturbury being vacant) but that all things appertaining to that church, ought to be reserued whole to the consecration of the new archbishop, therefore, for the state both of him and of his church, he appealed vp also vnto Rome. But to returne to the archbishop againe.

Variance between the officiall of Canturbury, and the prior of Douer.

Appellation to Rome.

The second yeere after, Chelenden the foresaid archbishop elect, remaining all this while at Rome, at last resigned vp his election to the popes hand, being Gregory the tenth; who then gaue the same to Robert Kilwarby. Who then comming to Douer, restored againe the prior of that house, being before excluded vpon certaine causes. By these contentions iudge good reader of the religion of these men, and of these times. And now to returne to our former story.

Adam Chelenden resigneth to the pope. Robert Kilwarby archbishop of Canturbury.

About this time came out the great concordance by an English frier, called John Dernington. Ex Eulogio.

The concordance.

It was aboue declared, how a generall voyage being proclaimed to war against the Turks, and a subsidie being collected in England vpon the same: prince Edward with others was appointed to take their voiage, and now were onward in their iorney. Who at Michaelmas following, with his companie came to Egermorth, which is from Marsilia eight leagues westward: and there taking ship againe (hauing a merrie wind and prosperous) within ten daies arrived at Sunes at Tunicium, where he was with great ioy welcommed and entertained of the christian princes that were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French king, whose father Ludouicus died a little before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings Nauar and Aragon. And as the lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage, was slaine in a chapell at Viterbium hearing masse, by the lord Simon and Guido, the sonnes of the lord Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe and said: The prince of this citie, said they, and the prouince adioining to the same, hath been accustomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicilia euery yeere. And now, for that the same hath been for the space of seuen yeers vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuasion vpon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be iustly demanded, hath now according to our owne desires satisfied for the time past, and also paied his tribute before hand.

Then said he: My lords what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and haue taken vpon vs the Lords character to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should doe so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch the holy city Hierusalem. Then said they; Now haue we made a league with them; neither is it lawfull for vs to breake the same: but let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past, we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsell nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe well pleased therewith: but after that hee had made them a princely banket, hee went into his closet or priuie chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked mony which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next merrie wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships, left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and pitiously lamenting for the perill and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith prince Edward being somewhat moued with compassion, came back to the land, and receiued and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord. Within seuen daies after, they arriued in the kingdome of Sicilia, ouer against the citie Trapes, casting their anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their ships were of great burthen & throughly fraught. And from the hauen of the citie they sent out barges and botes to receiue and bring such of the nobilitie to land as would: but for their horses for the most part, and all their armor they kept still within board. At length towards the euening, the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mightie, insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides; and drowned there were of them at that tempest lying at anchor, more then an hundred and twentie, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked mony also which they had taken before likewise perished and was drowned. But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number thirteene, nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that, as it may be presupposed, he consented not to the wicked counsel of the rest. When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might. For of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500, besides the common souldiers, there were no more saued then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise. There was in that ship a good and wise matron (a countesse or an earles wife) who perceiuing the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the master of the ship, and asked whether in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to saue themselues? Who answered, that to saue the ship it was impossible, howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then said the countesse, For the ship force no whit, saue the soules therein, and haue to thee double the valor of the ship. Who immediatly hoising the sailes, with all force ran the ship a ground so neere the shore as possible was. Thus with the vehemencie of the weather and force he came withall, brast the ship, and saued all that was within the same, as the master of the same ship had shewed and said before.

The great expedition to inuade the Turk, stated by the concluding of a peace.

The great rage of the French king against the Turks turned into a mony matter.

The almesdeede of prince Edward to the poore souldiers.

A great shipwracke of the christians lying at anchor a little from Trapes. Mony euill got, as euill lost. *Non habet euentus sordida præda bonos.* *Ex scala mundi.* *Ex Gualt. Gisburn.* *Ex Flor. hist.*

Prince Edward and his men preserued from the tempest.

The integritie of prince Edward rewarded of God.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands; onely Edward the kings sonne remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saued and preserued. Then prince Edward (renouating his purpose) tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Easter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and tarried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this, he tooke with him six or seuen thousand souldiers and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth: and those that he there found he slew, and afterward returned again to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue set vpon them at some strait or other aduantage, were by the prince premonished thereof, and returning againe vpon them, gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cackhow, which was forty miles from Acra: he marching thither, set vpon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more then a 1000, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castell named Castrum peregrinorum, situat vpon the sea coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Acra. In the meane season, the king of Hierusalem sent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the christians; but they would not come, saying, they would keepe their owne land and goe no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they would come and ioine in aid with him. Who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to doe no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes

Prince Edward arriueth at Acra and taketh Nazareth.

The noble men of Cyprus shew their fidelitie to the prince and king of England.

gouer-

gouernors of their land, and that they ought alwaies to shew their fidelity to the kings of England. Then the christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or rode, and came as far as the fort called Vincula S. Petri, and to S. Georges: and when they had slaine certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came.

A grieuous deceit of the Saracens practised against prince Edward. *Ex Gib. Scala mundi.*

When thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him; they deuised among themselues, how by some policie they might circumuent him and betray him. Whereupon, the great prince and admirall of Joppa sent vnto him, faining himselfe vnder great deceit to become a christian, and that hee would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and vsed of the christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun, by writing againe: who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, saith mine author, was one Ex caute nutritus, one of the stony hearted that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this messenger came, and was of the princes seruants searched, according to the maner and custome what weapon and armor he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered to the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight daies after Whitsuntide, vpon a tuesday, somewhat before night; at which time the prince was laid vpon his bed bare headed in his ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

The messenger searched before he came to the princes presence.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by liked them well, drawing somewhat backe to consult thereof amongst themselues. In the meane time, the messenger, kneeling and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to the belt, as though he would haue pulled out some secret letters; and suddenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue stricken him into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arme. And being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground. With that the prince gat him by the hand, and with such violence wrested the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith in the forehead, and immediatly thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him. The princes seruants being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the buskling, came with great haste running in. And finding the messenger lying dead on the floore, one of them tooke vp a stoole, and beat out his braines; whereat the prince was wroth, for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumor hereof, as it was strange, so it soone went throughout all the court, and from thence amongst the common people: wherefore they were very heauy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the captaine of the temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poison, lest the venome of the knife should penetrat the liuely bloud, and in blaming wise said vnto him; Did I not shew your grace before of the deceit and subtiltie of this people? Notwithstanding, saith he, let your grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound; my life for yours. But straightway the surgeons and physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within a few daies after the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke; whereupon they that were about the prince began to mutter amongst themselues, and were very sad and heauy. Which thing he himselfe perceiuing, said vnto them; Why mutter you thus amongst your selues? What see you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one said to him; and like your grace you may bee healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering, saith he againe, restore health? Yea, saith the other, on paine of losing my head. Then, said the prince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good. Then said one of the physicians; Is there any of your nobles in whom your grace reposeth speciall trust? To whom the prince answered, yea, naming certaine of the noble men that stood about him. Then said the physician vnto the two whom the prince first named, the lord Edmund, and the lord John Moise: And doe you also faithfully loue your lord and prince? Who answered both, Yea vndoubtedly. Then saith he; Take you away this Gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, vntill such a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her out of the princes presence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then said they vnto her; Be ye contented good lady and madam, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season. Then vpon the morrow they cut out all the dead enuenomed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and said vnto him: How thereth your grace? We promise you within these fifteene daies you shall shew your selfe abrode (if God permit) vpon your horse backe, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subiects. When the great Soldan heard of it, and that the prince was yet aliue, he would scarcly beleeue the same; and sending vnto him three of his nobles and princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his gods to witnesse, that the same was done neither by him, nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground. You (saith the prince) doe reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderstood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an interpreter. Neuertheless, he honorably intreated them, and sent them away in peace.

The prince restored to health, and the Soldan forsweareth himselfe.

This when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the assumption of our lady (as we call it) returning homeward, and after seuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence trauelling through Palestina and Metmes, and so through the midst of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the pope honorably entertained: from thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the nobilitie, especially of the earle de Chalons, who sent vnto him and required him that he might breake a launce with him at the tilt in his country. Which thing to doe, for that the prince would not diminish his honor and fame (although he might haue well alleaged a sufficient cause and excuse by meanes of his trauell) yet he would not, but willingly consented thereunto: whereupon it was proclaimed, that prince Edward by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all commers at the tilt and barriers. Whereupon great assemblies were made in the country all about, and diuers, as well horsemen as footmen, had conioured amongst themselues and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armor aforehand, and drinking one to another in boun tokage of the spoile of them whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward in the meane time sent into England for diuers earles and barons, which came vnto him. When the day appointed was come, the prince had with him more then one thousand horsemen, which were knights, besides his footmen, but yet there was as many more on the other side both in horsemen and footmen. When the parties should meete, the French footmen which had before cõspired, began both to spoile, rifle, and kill. The Englishmen resisted and defended themselues both with bowes and slings, many of them they slew and draue them to the gates of their citie, the other they chased ouer a riuer, where many of them were drowned. In the meane season the earle with fiftie of his knights which followed him, came forth and ioined together so many for so many, and a long time together they tried it with their swords, laying one at another. At the last the earle perceiuing himselfe not able to match with him at the armes end, enclosed with him, and taking him about the neck, held him with his armes very strait. What meane you my lord (saith the prince) thinke you to haue my horse? Yea marry (quoth the earle) I meane to haue both thee and thy horse. Hereat prince Edward being ascorned, lifted vp himselfe, and gaue him such a blow, that therewithall he forsaking his horse, hung still about the princes necke, till that hee shooke him off to the ground. Herewith the prince being somewhat in a heat, left the preasse to take the aire, thereby to refresh himselfe. But when he saw the iniurie of the Frenchmen towards his men, and how they had slaine many of them, he then said vnto them, that they vsed rather the exercise of battell, then of torney. Spare you not therefore (saith hee) from henceforth none of them all, but giue them againe as good as they bring. Then they assaied to kill each other freely on either part, and let their swords walke.

The prince returneth out of Turkie into England againe.

A day of sport in France appointed, which turned to good earnest.

A conspiracie of the Frenchmen against the Englishmen.

Exercise of battell, in stead of barriers and torney.

And when by this time the English footmen were againe returned, and saw the conflict of horsemen, and many other Englishmen ouerthrowne, they put themselues amidst the preasse, some panching the horses, some cutting asunder the girths of the Frenchmens saddles, ouerthrew the riders and gaue them holy bread. Then when the foresaid earle was horsed againe by some of his men and amongst the throng, prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and coped againe with him; to whom he often spake and cried, that he should yeeld himselfe as vanquished: but that he would not doe. Notwithstanding, when his strength began to faile him, he was faine to yeelde himselfe vnto a simple knight, according as prince Edward him bad, and all the rest of his horsemen and knights fled and saued themselues. Howbeit, many of them in that place were slaine, and our men returned hauing the victory. But when after this they thought themselues to be quiet and at rest, they were killed by two and by three at once as they went in the streets of the citizens. Which thing when the prince heard, he sent for the maior and burgesses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediatly: for otherwise, of his knighthood he assured them, that vpon the morrow he would fire the cite, and make it leuell with the ground. Whereupon they

The victory of the prince and Englishmen against the earle of Chalons and the Frenchmen.

Prince Edward wounded and hurt with an inuenomed knife by the Turks messenger.

The prince in perill of death by reason of his hurt, is comforted of the physicians.

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they went their waies, and set watchmen in diuers places of the same to keepe the peace, by which meanes the prince and his men were in safety & quiet. Thus in this passime of tourning and barriers, much blood was spilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed: so that it is not called Torniamentum de Chalons, but Paruum bellum de Chalons.

From thence the prince came to Paris, and was of the French king honorably entertained: and after certaine daies, he went from thence into Vascónia, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

Prince Edward was in Vascónia at the time of his fathers death.

In the yeere of our Lord 1272, died pope Clement the fourth: after whom succeeded pope Gregory the tenth; who in the next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1273, called a generall councell at Lions, about the controuersie betweene the Greeke church and the Latin church, and for the vacancie of the sea apostolicall, &c.

Anno 1272

Pope Clement the fourth dieth.

Pope Gregory the tenth.

Certaine notes of other occurrents chanced in forren countries abrode, within the compasse of the yeeres and raigne of the foresaid king Henry the third.

HAuing thus accomplished the life and history of king Henrie the third, with such accidents as happened within this realme, I thought good to adioine vnto the same some other forren matters not vnworthy the note, incident in other countries during the time of the said king: namely from the yeere of our Lord 1217, vnto this yeere 1272, which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that euen from and about the beginning of this kings raigne, sprang vp the very welsprings of all mischiefe, the sects of monkish religions and other swarmes of popish orders, which with their grosse and horrible superstitions haue incumbred the church of Christ euer since.

First, to omit the repetition of pope Innocent the third, the great grandsire of that foule monster transubstantiation and auricular confession, with the friers Domonike, and Franciscan friers, Thomas Aquinas, Iacobus de Uoragine, Vincentius, with pope Honorius the third, coiner of the canon law, and the cardinall Hostiensis, as also Bonauenture, Albertus Magnus, with pope Urban the fourth, first founder of the feast of Corpus Christi, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Christ in the sacrament, besides Durandus and many more: followeth further to be noted, that the Tartarians about the yeere 1240, issuing out of Mulcouia into the parts of Polonia, made great waste in Christendome, so much the rather because the princes about Polonia being at variance amongst themselues, bled none other remedy for their defence, but heaps of masses, inuocation of the dead, and worshipping of images, which indeed did nothing relieue them, but rather increase their trouble.

Ex Annalibus Sileſiæ.

The Tartarians make great spoile in Christendome.

The next yeere following, the whole nation of the Scythians (muttering like locusts) inuaded the parts of Europe with two mighty armies; whereof the one entring vpon Polonia, made great hauocke and carried away many christians from thence captiues, the other ouerrunning Hungaria, made no lesse spoile there. Adde hereunto another fresh army of Tartarians, to the number of 5000000, who at the very same time ioining themselues together, entred into Mulcouia and Cracouia, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither sex nor age, noble nor vnnoble within the land. From thence passing to Vratislauia, made great spoile there also, and thinking there to win the castel, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and praiers of good people discomfited beyond all expectation of man, by thundering and lightning falling vpon them from heauen in most terrible wise.

The Scythians army like locusts.

The same yeere immediatly after Easter, another army of Tartarians were gathered against Lignicium, drawing neere to Germany; by the brute whereof, the Germans being put in great feare, were altogether dismaied, but yet not able to helpe themselues, by reason they lacked a good guide and gouernor amongst them. All which came to passe, specially by the mischieuous practise of the Roman popes, raising variance & discord among them. Notwithstanding Henry prince of Polonia and Silesia, gathering a power as wel as he could, did incounter with him; but in fine, his whole army was vanquished, and the king himselfe slaine. Notwithstanding which ouerthrow of christians it pleased God to strike such a feare into the hearts of the said Tartarians, that they durst not approch any further or neerer into Germany, but retired for that time into their country againe: who recounting their victory by taking each man but one eare of euery of the christians that were slaine, found the slaughter so great, as that they filled nine great sacks full of eares. Nevertheless, after this in the yeere 1260, the same Tartarians hauing the Mulcouits to their guides returned againe into Polonia and Cracouia, where in the space of three moneths, they ouerran the land with fire and sword euer to the coasts of Silesia. And had not the princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case, they had vterly wasted the whole land of Polonia and the coasts thereabouts.

King Henry slaine, and his army vanquished.

Nine sacks full of christians eares being slaine.

This yeere also in the moneth of Aprill, Richard king of Almaine died at the castell of Berkhamsted, and was buried at the abby of Hailes, which he built out of the ground. The same yeere also at Norwich there fell a great controuersie betweene the monks and the citizens, about certaine tallagies and liberties. At last, after much altercation and wrangling words, the furious rage of the citizens so much increased and preuailed, and so little was the feare of God before their eies, that all together they set vpon the abby and priory, and burned both the church and bishops palace. When this thing was heard abrode, the people were very sory to heare of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discommended the same. At the last, king Henry calling for certaine of his lords and barons, sent them to the citie of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chiefest malefactors; insomuch that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawne by the heeles with horses throughout the streetes of the citie, and after in much misery ended their wretched liues.

Richard king of Almaine dieth.

A great variance betweene the monks and citizens of Norwich.

Execution done at Norwich by the commandement of king Henry the third.

The same yeere Adam the prior of Canturbury, and bishop elect, in the presence of pope Gregory the tenth, refused to be archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the pope gaue the same archbishoprick to frier Robert Kilwarby the pronoll of the preaching friers, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canturbury the fourth day of March, by six bishops of the same prouince. The same yeere also at Michaelmas, the lord Edmund, the sonne of king Richard of Almaine, married the sister of Gilbert earle of Glocester. Also in this yeere of our Lord 1273, the sixteenth day before the kalends of December vpon S. Edmunds day, the archbishop and confessor, died king Henry, in the six and fifty yeer of his raigne, and was buried at Westminster, leauing after him two sons and two daughters, to wit, Edward the prince, and Edmund earle of Lancaster and Leicester, Beatrice and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the king of Scots. This king Henry in his life time began the building of the church and steeple at Westminster, but did not throughly finish the same before his death.

Adam prior of Canturbury, refuseth to be archbishop of Canturbury.

Robert Kilwarby archbishop of Canturbury.

The death of king Henry the third.

King Edward the first.

IN the time of the death of king Henry, Edward his eldest son was absent in Vascónia, as a little before you heard; yet notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby archbishop of Canturbury, and other bishops and nobles, he was ordained heire and successor after his father; who, after he had heard of his fathers death, returned home to his country, and was crowned in the yeere of our Lord 1274, who then laid downe his crowne, saying he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands pertaining to the same. This Edward as he had alwaies before been a louing and naturall child to his father, whom he had deliuered out of prison and captiuity: and afterward hearing both together of the death of his sonne, and of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father then for his sonne, saying to the French king (which asked the cause thereof) that the losse of his child was but light: for children might after increase and be multiplied, but the losse of his parent was greater, which could not be recouered: Robert Auesburie. So almighty God for the same his pietie to his father shewed, rewarded him againe with great successe, felicitie, and long raigne: insomuch that he being young, as he was playing at chesse with a certaine souldior of his, suddenly hauing occasion giuen, rose vp and went his way; who was not so sone voided the place, but incontinent fell downe a mighty stone from the vaut aboue, directly vpon the place where he sat, able to haue quashed him in peeces, if hee had tarried neuer so little more. In the preseruation of whom, as I see the present hand and mighty prouidence of the liuing God: so in the kings order againe, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension: for that he receiuing such a liuely benefit at the hand of the liuing Lord, going therefore on pilgrimage to Walsingham, gaue thanks not onely to our Lord, but rather to a rotten blocke. Ibidem. Of the gentle nature of this couragious prince, sufficient prose is giuen by this one example: that what time he being in his disport of hawking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell about his hawke; the gentleman being on the other side of the riuer, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the riuer was betweene them. With this answer the couragious blood of this prince being moued, vpon present heat he leaped straight into the flood, both of a swift stream & of a dangerous deepnesse, and no lesse hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his owne life, or neglecting the danger present, but hauing a good horse, ventureth his owne death to haue the death of his man. At length, with much difficultie recouering the banke, with his sword drawne pursueth his prouoker. Who hauing not so good an horse, and seeing himselfe in danger of taking, reineth his horse, and returning backe barehead vnto the prince, submitteth his necke vnder his hand to strike. The prince, whose feruent stomacke the water of the whole riuer could not quench, a little submission of his man did so extinct that the quarrell fell, his anger ceased, and

Edward the first.

Pietie to parents rewarded of God. *Ex Chron. Tho. Walsinghami.*

A miracle of God in preseruing king Edward.

False worship reprehended. God giueth the benefit, and a dumbe blocke hath the thanks.

Example of princely clemencie to be learned of kings and princes.

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Ex chron. Nic. Triuet. & Tho. Walsingami.

and his swoꝛd put vp, without any stroke giuen. And so both returned to their game, good friends againe. Auesb. Nico. Triuet.

Wales subdued.

In the first begining of his raigne, the king had much ado in Wales, where he had diuers conflicts with the Welshmen, whom at last he subdued and cut downe their woods, suppꝛessed rebellions, and vanquishing their kings, Lewline and his bꝛother, oꝛdained his eldest sonne Edward, boꝛne in the same country, to be pꝛince of Wales. This Lewlin captaine of the Welshmen here mentioned, rebelling against king Edward, asked counsell of coniuration, what euent should come vpon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should goe foꝛward boldly, foꝛ doubtlesse he should ride thꝛough Chepeside at London, with a crowne on his head. Which so came to passe. Foꝛ being slaine, his head was carried thꝛough Chepe, with a crowne of siluer to London bꝛidge. Whereby men may learne not to seeke noꝛ sticke to these vaine pꝛophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they traines of the diuell to deceiue men.

The kings first sonne: prince of Wales.

Vaine prophecies not to be sought to.

About this time was a great earthquake, and such a rot, that consumed a great multitude of sheepe in the land, thꝛough the occasion (as they say) of one scabbed sheepe that came out of Spaine. The king returning from Wales to England, oꝛdered certaine new lawes foꝛ the wealth of the realme. Among many other, this was one: that authoꝛity was giuen to all maiors, bailiffes, and other officers to see execution and punishment of all bakers making bꝛead vnder the size, with pilloꝛy. Of millers stealing coꝛne, with the tumbzell, &c. And within two yeeres after the statute of moꝛtmaine was first enacted, which is to meane, that no man should giue vnto the church any lands oꝛ rents, without a speciall licence of the king.

Punishment foꝛ bakers and millers.

The statute of moꝛtmaine first enacted.

Anno 1279

About which time also, being the seuenth yeere of his raign, 297 Iewes foꝛ mony-clipping were put to execution. In which same yeere began first the foundation of the blacke friers by Ludgate. And the towne of Boston was greatly wasted the same yeere with fire. The halfe penny and farthing began first to be coined the selfe time, which was the eighth yeere of his raigne. The great conduit in Chepe began the fourth yeere after to bee made, An. 1248. And the nexte yeere following, the new woꝛke of the church of Westminster (begun as is afoꝛe pꝛemonished in the third yeere of Henry the third) was finished, which was sixtie six yeeres in edifying. The Iewes were vtterly banished this realme of England the same time, foꝛ which the commons gaue to the king a fiftéenth, &c.

Blacke friers by Ludgate builded.

Boston blemished with fire.

The great conduit in Chepe.

Westminster church finished.

After that, the country of Wales was bꝛought in a full oꝛder and quiet, by the hewing downe of the woods, and casting downe the old holds, and building of new; which all was bꝛought to perfect end, about the 24 yeere of this kings raigne. Then ensued another bꝛoil as great oꝛ greater with Scotland, to the great disquiet of the king and the realme of England many yeeres after. This trouble first began by the death of Alexander king of Scots, who died without issue left aliue behinde him. Although Fabian in the 7. booke of his chꝛonicles affirmeth; that he left thꝛee daughters, the eldest married to sir John Baliol; the second, to Robert Bꝛuce; the third, to one Hastings. But this in Fabian is to be coꝛrected, as which neither standeth with it selfe, and is cléerely conuicted by the witnesse and histoꝛy of Rob. Auesburie, and also of Gisburne.

A place in Fabian corrected. Ex Tho. Walsingham & Gualtero Guisburnensi.

Foꝛ first, if king Alexander had left his eldest daughter married to sir John Baliol, then what controuersie might rise among the loꝛds about succession, néeding so diligent and anxious deciding by the king of England? Secondly, what claime oꝛ title could the king of Noꝛway haue to the crowne of Scotland, which was one of the challengers, claiming the said crown in the behalfe of Margaret, the néece of the foꝛesaid king Alexander her grandfather, if the eldest daughter of the father had been left aliue? Thirdly, what can be moꝛe plaine, when by the affirmance of the foꝛesaid stoꝛy is testified, that king Alexander had two wiues? Of the second thereof he had no issue. Of the first had two childꝛen: Alexander which died befoꝛe his father; and Margaret married to the king of Noꝛway, which died also befoꝛe her father, of whom came Margaret the néece of Alexander, and daughter to the king of Noꝛway afoꝛe mentioned. And she also died in the iourney betweene Noꝛway and Scotland, the fourth yeere after the decease of her grandfather. Wherefoꝛe, as this matter standeth most cléere, so let vs now returning from whence wee digressed, pꝛosecute the rest that followeth. After that Alexander thus, as is said, departed without issue, and also Margaret his néece in Noꝛway was deceased, the matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland (especially twelue by name) to whom the right of the crowne should next pertaine. After much variance among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the iudgement of king Edward of England: who after sufficient pꝛoofe made to the Scots and firme euidence, bꝛought out of all the ancient histoꝛies both of England and Scotland, testifying from time to time that he was chiefe head and Soueraigne of the realme of Scotland: first by necessitie of the law, and by all their consents toke full possession of the same. And that done, adiudged the right of the crowne to John Baliol, who descended of the daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, bꝛother to Dauid K. of Scot. in the daies of king Henry the second. This earle Dauid had thꝛée daughters, Isabell, married to Robert Bꝛuse; Margaret, to Allen earle of Galloway; and Ellen, to Henry loꝛd Hastings: Allen earle of Galloway had Ellen, married to Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, Constable of Scotland; and Doꝛuagile, married to John Baliol, father to Edward king of Scots.

Lacke of succession, what disturbance it woꝛketh in a realme.

The king of England pꝛoued by old recoꝛds, chiefe head and soueraigne of Scotland.

Anno 1291

When these things were thus finished in Scotland, and sir John Baliol as vtlost rightfull inheritoꝛ had receiued the crowne of Scotland at the hands of king Edward thankfully, and foꝛ the same, in the pꝛesence of the baronie of England and of Scotland, did vnto the said king Edward his homage, and sware to him fealtie: the Scots with their new king returned into Scotland, and king Edward remoued againe to England.

Sir John Baliol made king of Scotland by king Edward.

King of Scots doth homage to the king of England.

But not long after, the falsnesse of this Scotish king some appeared. Who repenting him of his homage done, vntruly foꝛsoke his foꝛmer oth and pꝛomise, and made warre against king Edward, thꝛough the counsell of the abbat of Pentos. Wherefoꝛe, the king with a great host sped him into Scotland, and in pꝛocesse laid siege to the towne of Barwicke, which the Scots did eagerly defend, not only to the discomfiture, but also to the deriision of the king and his English host. But in conclusion, the Englishmen pꝛeuailed and wan the towne, where were slaine of the Scots the number of twenty and fiue thousand. And while the king was there busied in winning other holds about the same, he sent part of his host to Dunbar, where the Englishmen againe had the victoꝛy, and slew of the Scots twenty thousand: Gisburne saith but ten thousand; so that vertie few were lost of the English company. The king with a great number of pꝛisoners returning into his realme, shoꝛtly after sped him ouer vnto Flanders, where he sustained great trouble by the French king, till truce foꝛ a certaine space was betweéen them concluded. But in the meane while that king Edward was thus occupied beyond the seas; the French king (reSoꝛting to his pꝛactised manner) set the Scots secretly against the Englishmen to kéepe the king at home. Which Scots making themselues a captaine named William Walets, warred vpon the boꝛders of Noꝛthumberland, where they did much hurt. At length the king returning from Burdeaux into England, shoꝛtly vpon the same toke his iourney into Scotland. Where meeting at Yoꝛke with his host, he marched into the realme of Scotland, winning as he went, townes and castels, till at length comming to the towne of Frankyth on Mary Magdalens day, he met with the power of Scotland, and had with them a soꝛe fight, but thꝛough Gods pꝛouidence the victoꝛy fell to the right cause of Englishmen: so that of the Scots were slaine in the field, as it is of diuers writers affirmed, ouer the number of thirty and two thousand; and of Englishmen, but barely xxbiij. persons. Whereupon, the king againe taking possession and fealty of the whole land, returned home.

Fall of Bamburgh castell.

Fallnesse iustly punished.

The Scots rebell againe.

The second voiage of king Edward into Scotland.

Anno 1298

And yet the false vntruth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but rose vp in a new bꝛoile: so that the king was inforced to make his power againe the yeere following into Scotland, where he so suppꝛessed the rebellion of the loꝛds and of the commons, that they swearing to the kings allegiance, pꝛesented themselues by great companies, and put them wholly in the kings grace and mercy: so that the king thinking himselfe to be in peaceable possession, and in a great suretie of the land, caused to be sworne vnto him, the rulers of the boꝛoughs, cities and townes, with other officers of the land, and so returned vnto Barwicke, and so into England, and lastly to Westminster.

Ex Fabiano. A notable victoꝛy against the Scots.

Anno 1299

The Scots sworne to the kings allegiance.

These martial affaires betweéne England and Scotland, although they appertaine not greatly to the purpose of our storie ecclesiasticall, yet so much by the way I thought bꝛiefly to touch, whereby the better it might bee vnderstood by these pꝛemisses, that which followeth in the sequell hereof. As the Scots were thus warring and raging against the king, and saw they could not make their party good, they sent pꝛiuily to pope Boniface foꝛ his aid and counsell: who immediatly sendeth downe his pꝛecept to the king, to this effect, that hee should hereafter surcease to disquiet oꝛ molest the Scots, foꝛ that they were a people exempt, and pꝛoperly pertaining to his chapell. And therefoꝛe it could not otherwise be, but that the citie of Ierusalem must néedes defend his owne citizens: and as the mount Sion, maintaine such as trust in the Loꝛd, &c. Whereunto the king bꝛiefly maketh answer againe, swearing with an oth, that he would to his vttermost kéep and defend that which was his right, euidently knowne to all the woꝛld, &c. Thus the Scots bearing themselues bold vpon the popes message, and also confederating themselues with the Frenchmen, passed ouer that yeere. The next yeere after that (which was 29. of the kings raigne) the said pope Boniface directeth his letters againe to the king, wherein hee doth vendicate the kingdome of Scotland, to be pꝛoper to the church of Rome, and not subiect to the king of England. And therefoꝛe it was against God, against iustice, and also pꝛetudiciall to the church of Rome, foꝛ him to haue oꝛ hold dominion vpon the same, which he pꝛoued by these reasons:

Ex Chron. Thom. Walsingham, Auesb.

The popes message vnto the king.

The kings answer to the pope.

The pope challengeth the realme of Scotland to be free from the dominion of England.

First,

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First, that when king Henry the father of this king, receiued aid of Alexander king of Scots in his warres against Simon Mountford, he recognised and acknowledged in his letters patents, that he receiued the same of king Alexander, not of any duty, but of speciall fauor.

Item, when the said king Alexander comming to England, did homage to the said king Henry; he did it not as king of Scotland, but only for certaine lands of Tyndall and Pereth, lying in England.

Item, where the said king Alexander left behind him Margaret his heire, being neece to the king of England, and yet vnder age; yet the tuition of the said Margaret was committed not to the king of England, but to certaine lords of Scotland, deputed to the same.

Moreouer, when any legacie was directed downe from Rome to the realme of England, for collecting of tenths or other causes, the said legacie toke no place in the realme of Scotland, and might well be resisted (as it was in king Alexander his daies) except another speciall commission touching the realme of Scotland, were coyned withall. Whereby it appeareth, these be two seuerall dominions, and not subiect vnder one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdome of Scotland first was conuerted by the reliques of the blessed apostle saint Peter, through the diuine operation of God, to the vnitie of the catholike faith.

Wherefore vpon these causes and reasons, pope Boniface in his letters to the king, required him to giue ouer his claime, and cease his wars against the Scotish nation: And to release all such both of the spiritualty and laity, as he had of them prisoners. Also to call home againe his officers and deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the grieuance of that nation, to the slander of all faithfull people, and no lesse preiudice to the church of Rome. And if he would claime any right or title to the said realme, or any part thereof, he should send vp his procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himselfe alleage, vnto the sea apostolike, there to receiue what reason and right would require.

Anno 1301

The king replieth to the pope.

The king, after he had receiued these letters of the pope, assembled a councell or parliament at Lincolne: by the aduice of which councell and parliament, he addressed other letters responsall to the pope againe: wherein first in all reuerend manner hee desireth him not to giue light eare to the sinister suggestions of false reporters, and imaginers of mischiefe.

Scotland all one with England.

Then hee declareth out of old records and histories from the first time of the Britaines, that the realme of Scotland hath alwaies from time to time been all one with England, beginning first with Brutus in the time of Helie and Samuel the Prophet: which Brutus comming from Troy to this Ile called then Albion, after called by him Brittannia, had three sonnes: Locrinus, to whom he gaue that part of the land, called then of him Loegria, now Anglia: Albanactus his second sonne, to whom he gaue Albania, now called Scotia: and his third sonne Camber, to whom he gaue Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

Brutus. Locrinus. Albanactus. Camber.

And thus much concerning the first diuision of this Ile, as in ancient histories is found recorded. In which matter, passing ouer the death of king Humber, the acts of Dunwalde king of this realme, the diuision of Belyn and Brene, the victories of king Arthur, we wil resort (saith the king) to more neerer times, testified and witnessed by sufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bizoto and other. All which make speciall declaration, and giue manifest euidence of the execution of this our right (saith he) and title of superioritie, euer continued and preserued hitherto.

And first to begin with Edward the senior, before the conquest, sonne to Aluredе king of England, about the yeere of our Lord 900, it is plaine and manifest, that he had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian the Scot writing that story in those daies, granteth, confesseth and testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state 23 yeeres. At which time, Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, hee made one Constantine king of that party, to rule and gouerne the country of Scotland vnder him, adding this princely word: That it was more honour to him to make a king, then to be a king.

Alias 907.

Twenty foure yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 947, Eldred king our progenitor, Athelstanus brother, tooke homage of Irise then king of Scots.

Thirtie yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessour tooke homage of Kynald king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroied by the deceit of his mother in law, but yet within memory.

Forty yeers after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, Malcoline the king of Scots did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done, the Scots vttered some peece of their naturall disposition, whereupon (by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor, thirty and nine yeeres after that homage done, that is to say, the yeere of our Lord 1056) Malcoline king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland giuen to Malcoline his sonne by our said progenitor saint Edward, vnto whom the said Malcoline made homage and fealtie.

Within fortie yeeres after that, William Conqueror entred this realme, whereof hee accounted no perfect conquest, vntill hee had likewise subdued the Scots: and therefore in the said yeere (which was in the yeere of our Lord 1068) the said Malcoline king of Scots did homage to the said William the Conqueror, as his superiour by conquest king of England.

Twenty and fiue yeers after that, which was the yeer of our Lord 1093, the said Malcoline did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that, was for his offences and demerits deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place: who likewise failed in his dutie, and therefore was ordained in that estate by the said William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcoline, and son to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seuen yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar king of the Scots, did homage to Henry the first our progenitor.

Thirty seuen yeers after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Matild the Emperatrice, as daughter and heire to Henry the first. Wherefore being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage: he refused so to doe, because he had before made it to the said Matilde, and thereupon forbare. After which Dauids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said Dauid made homage to the said king Stephan.

Fourteene yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1150, William king of Scots, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henry the seconds sonne, with a reseruation of their dutie to Henry the second his father.

Twentie fiue yeeres after that, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance, according to their naturall inclination, (king Henry the second then being in Normandy) knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fifteene yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first.

Fourteen yeeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king Iohn, vpon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the crosse of Hubert, then archbishop of Canturbury, being there present, and a maruellous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Twenty six yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1230, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret the daughter of our progenitor Henry the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who raigned in this realme 56 yeeres. And therefore betweene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to vs at our coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeeres. At which time, the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of our coronation, and there did hee his dutie as is aforesaid.

¶ Besides these letters of the king, the lords temporall also in the name of the whole communaltie and parliament, wrote another letter to the pope, answering to that, where as the pope arrogated to him to be iudge for the title of the realm of Scotland, which the king of England claimed vnto himselfe: which letter I thought good also here to annex, containing, as in the words of the same here followeth to be read and seene.

The lords temporall, and the whole Barony of England to the pope.

A letter of the lords temporall to the pope.

THe holy mother church, by whose ministery the catholike sea is gouerned, in her deedes (as wee throughly beleeue and hold) proceedeth with that ripenesse in iudgement, that shee will be hurtfull to none: but like a mother would euery mans right to be kept vnbroken as well in other, as in her selfe. Whereas therefore in a generall parliament called at Lincolne of late by our most dread lord Edward, by the grace of God the noble king of England: the same our lord caused certaine letters receiued from you to be read openly, and to bee declared seriously afore vs, about certaine businesses touching the condition and state of the realme of Scotland: wee did not a little muse and maruell with our selues, hearing the meanings concerning the same, so wondrous and strange, as the like we haue

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haue not heard at any time before. For wee know most holy father, and it is well knowne aswell in this realme of England (as also not vnknowne to other persons besides) that from the first beginning of the realme of England; the certaine and direct gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporall causes, from time to time belonged to the kings of the same realme of England, and realme of Scotland: as well in the times both of the Britaines, as also of Englishmen. Yea rather, the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fee to the ancestors of our foresaid lords kings of England, yea and to himselfe. Furthermore, the kings of Scots, and the realme, haue not been vnder any other then the kings of England, and the kings of England haue answered, or ought to answere for their rights in the foresaid realme, or for any his temporalities afore any Iudge ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of free preheminence of the state of his royall dignitie and custom kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid letters, this was the common agreeing and consent with one mind, and shall bee without faile in time to come by Gods grace: that our foresaid lord the king, ought by no meanes to answere in iudgment in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt: nor ought not to send any proctors or messengers to your presence: specially seeing that the premises tend manifestly to the disheriting of the right of the Crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrow of the state of the said realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customs and lawes of our fathers: For the keeping and defence of which wee are bound by the dutie of the oth made. And we will maintaine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength. And further, we will not suffer our foresaid lord the king to doe, or by any meanes to attempt the premises, being so vnaccustomed, vnwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, we reuerently and humbly beseech your holinesse, that ye would suffer the same our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world, sheweth himselfe catholike and deuout to the Romish church) quietlie to enioy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes aforesaid: without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnesse whereof wee haue set our seales to these presents, aswell for vs, as for the whole communaltie of the foresaid realme of England. Dated at Lincolne in the yeare of our Sauiour 1301. *& anno Edwardi primi* 28.

sent vnto London, &c. Sir Robert Bruse after this discomfiture, when hee had thus lost both the field and chiefe friends, The Scots againe subdued. seeing himselfe not able to make his partie good, fled into Norwaie, where hee kept his abode during the time while king Edward liued. When this noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yeelded thanks to God for his victorie, and so setting the land in a quiet, and an order, hee returned vnto London, which was the 35. yeare and last of his reigne, &c.

Now returning to that which I promised before touching the variance and grieuous dissension betweene Philip the French king, and pope Boniface the eight of that name: After the bishoprike of Rome had been long voide through the dissension of the cardinals, for the space of two yeares and three moneths; at length, pope Celestinus was chosen successor to pope Nicolas the fourth. Which Celestinus in his first consistorie, began to reforme the clergie of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other churches. Wherefore, he procured to himselfe such a hatred among his clergie men, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a reed by his chamber wall nightly admonished him, as it had beene a voice from heauen, that he should giue ouer his papacie, as being a burthen bigger then hee could wield.

A grieuous variance betweene Philip the French king and pope Boniface.

Pope Nicolas the 4.

Popedome vacant two yeers.

This pope Celestine after hee had sat sixe moneths, by the trecherie and falshood of this Boniface, was induced to giue vp and resigne his bishoprike, partly for the voice spoken of before, partly for feare: being told of certaine craftie suborned in his chamber, that if hee did not resigne, hee should lose his life. Who then after his resignation going to liue in some solitarie desert (being a simple man) was vilely taken and thrust into perpetual prison by pope Boniface: craftilie pretending that hee did it not for any hatred vnto Celestine, but that seditious persons might not haue him as their head to raise vp some stirre in the church. And so was brought to his death. Wherefore, this Boniface was worthilie called the eight Nero: of whom it was rightly said, He came in like a Fox, he reigned like a Lion, and died like a dog.

Pope Celestinus 5.

Crafty iuggling among popes and cardinals. *Ex Massæo.*

The 8. Nero.

This pope Boniface succeeding, or rather inuading after Celestinus, behaued himselfe so impertinently, that hee put downe princes, excommunicated kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Diuers of his cardinals he draue away for feare, some of them as schismatickes hee deposed and spoiled them of all their substance. Philip the French king hee excommunicated, for not suffering his mony to goe out of the realme, and therefore cursed both his and him, to the fourth generation. Albertus the emperour not once nor twice, but thrice sought at his hands to bee confirmed, and yet was reiected, neither could obtaine vnlesse firstwould promise to driue the French king out of his realme. In the factious discord in Italie between the Guelphs and Gibillines, which the part of a good bishop had beene to extinct; so little he helped to quench the smoake, that hee of all other was chiefest firebrand to increase the flame. Insomuch that vpon Ashwednesday, when Porchetus an archbishop came and kneeled downe before him to receiue his ashes; pope Boniface looking vpon him, and perceiuing that hee was one of the Gibillines part, cast his handfull of ashes in his eyes, saying: Memento homo quòd Gibellinus es, &c. That is: Remember man that a Gibelline thou art, and to ashes thou shalt goe. This pope moreouer ordained first the Iubile in Rome: in the solemnizing whereof, the first day hee shewed himselfe in his Pontificalibus, and gaue free remission of sinnes to as many as came to Rome out of all the parts of the world. The second day (being arrayed with imperiall ensignes) he commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice: Ecce potestatem vtriusque gladij: That is, Loe heere the power and authoritie of both the swords, &c.

V. Boniface 8.

The mischiefe of pope Boniface described.

Guelphes and Gibellines two factions in Rome.

Iubile first begun in Rome.

The pope claimeth and practiseth power of both swords.

From the which very yeare (as most stories doe record) the Turkes doe begin the first count of their Turkish emperours, whereof the first was Ottomannus, as you shall heare discoursed hereafter by Gods grace in the history of the Turks.

By this said pope Boniface, diuers constitutions extrauagants of his predecessors were collected together, with many of his owne newly added thereto, & so made the booke called Sextus decretalium, &c. By whom also first sprang vp pardons and indulgences from Rome.

Pope Boniface 8 author of the booke of decretals.

Romish pardons first begun by pope Boniface. *Ex Hist. Nic. Triuet.*

These things thus premised of Boniface the pope, now will I come to the occasion of the strife betweene him, and the French king. Concerning which matter, first I find in the history of Nicolas Triuet, that in the yeare of our Lord, 1301. the bishop of Oppanuham being accused for a conspiracie against the French king, was brought vp to his court, and so committed to prison. The pope hearing this, sendeth word to the king by his legat to let him at libertie. The French king not daring to the contrarie, looseth the bishop. But when hee had done, hee dischargeth both the bishop and the legat, commanding them to voide his realme. Whereupon, pope Boniface reuoketh all the graces and priuiledges granted either by him or his predecessors before to the kingdome of France: also not long after thundring out

Anno 1303. The yeare following, which was from Christ, Anno 1303. the said pope Boniface the eight of that name, taking displeasure with Philip the French king; did excite king Edward of England to warre against him, promising him great aide thereunto. But he (as mine author saith) little trusting the popes false vnstable affection toward him well proued before, put him off with delaies. Ex Rob. Auesb. Whereupon, the French king fearing the power of king Edward whom the pope had set against his friendship; restored vnto him againe Malcone, which hee wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance heere mentioned betweene the pope and the French king, how it began first, and to what end it fell out; the sequell hereof (Christ willing) shall declare, after that first I haue finished the discourse begun betweene England and Scotland.

The pope setteth king against king.

Ex R. Auesb.

Another Scotish rebellion happeneth.

In the yeare 1303. the foresaid William Maleis, which had done so many displeasures to the king before (continued still in his rebellion) gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the king: till at length, the yeare following he was taken, and sent vp to London, and there executed for the same. After which things done, the king then held his parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the bishop of saint Andrewes, Robert Bruse aboue mentioned, earle of Dunbarre, earle of Arles, and sir John Comming, with diuers other: The which voluntarilie were sworne to be true to the king of England, and to keepe the land of Scotland to his vse against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Bruse, who, as is said, married the second daughter of earle Dauid, forgetting his oth before made vnto the king; within a yeare or two after this, by the counsell of the abbat of Stone, and bishop of saint Andrewes, sent vp vnto pope Clement the fifth, for a dispensation of his oth made: insinuating to him, that king Edward vexed and grieued the realme of Scotland wrongfully. Whereupon the pope wrote vnto the king, to leaue off such doings. Notwithstanding which inhibition of the pope, the king prosecuting his owne right, after he had the vnderstanding of the doings of the Scots, and of the mischiefe of Robert Bruse, (who had slaine with his owne hands sir John Comming, for not consenting with him and other lords at his parliament) areared his power and strength of men, preparing himselfe toward Scotland: where he ioyning with the said sir Robert and all the power of Scotland in a plaine, neere vnto saint Johns towne, put him to flight and so chased the Scots, that of them were slaine to the number of 7. thousand. In the which victorie, such bishops and abbats as were taken, he sent them to the pope; the temporall lords and other Scots hee

The pope dispenseth with due and true obedience of subiects towards their prince.

The popes inhibition neglected in England.

Another rebellion of the Scots repressed.

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Philip the French king excommunicated.

the sentence of his curse against him. Moreouer, citeth all the prelats, all diuines, and lawyers both ciuill and canon, to appeare personally before him at Rome, at a certaine day, which was the first of Nouember. Against this citation, the king againe prouideth and commandeth by straite proclamation, that no maner of person should export out of the realme of France either gold, or siluer, or any other maner of ware or merchandise, vpon forfetting al their goods, and their bodies at the kings pleasure: prouiding withall, the waies and passages diligently to be kept, that none might passe vnsearched. Ouer and besides, the said French king defeated the pope in giuing and bestowing prebends, and benefices, and other ecclesiasticall liuings, contrarie to the popes profit. For the which cause, the pope writeth to the foresaid king in forme & effect as followeth,

Boniface bishop and seruant to Gods seruants, *to his beloued son Philip, by the grace of God, king of* France, greeting and Apostolicall blessing.

Ex lib. Stephani Auferij.

BOniface the seruant of Gods seruants, &c, feare God, and obserue his commandements. We will thee to vnderstand, that thou art subiect to vs both in spirituall things, and temporall. And that no gift of benefices or prebends belongeth to thee: and if thou haue the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reserue the profits of them to the successors. But if thou haue giuen any, we iudge the gift to be void, and call backe how far soeuer thou hast gone forward. And whosoeuer beleeueth otherwise, we iudge them hereticks.

Vnto this letter of the pope, king Philip maketh answere againe in maner and order as followeth, which is this.

Philip by the grace of God king of France, *to Boniface not in deeds, behauing himselfe* for pope, little friendship or none.

A letter of king Philip of France to pope Boniface.

TO Boniface bearing himselfe for chiefe bishop, little healthor none. Let thy foolishnesse know, that in temporall things we are subiect to no man, and that the gifts of prebends, and benefices made and to bee made by vs were and shall bee good, both in time past and to come. And that we will defend manfully the possessor of the said benefices, and we thinke them that beleeue or thinke otherwise, fooles and mad men. Giuen at Paris the wednesday after Candlemas, 1301.

After these aforesaid and other writings passing to and fro, betweene the French king and the Pope: within a peare and a halfe after, the king summoneth a parliament, sending downe his letters to his sheriffes and other officers to summon the prelats and barons of the realme, vnto the said court of parliament, according to the tenor of the kings letters hereafollowing.

A parliament summoned by K. Philip at Paris.

PHilip by the grace of God king of France, &c. Whereas we would take counsell with the prelats, barons, and other our faithfull, about waightie matters and hard, and such as belong greatly to our right and touching our honor, state, liberties and lawes of this our realme, churches, and ecclesiasticall persons, and would also go forward and proceed in the foresaid matters according to their counsell: Wee command you, that ye diligently in our behalfe require and straitly charge all the prelats in your bailiwicke, and also all and singuler abbats and priors of the same your foresaid bailiwicke, (to certaine of the which we haue directed downe our speciall letters for the same cause) that as they fauour our honor, the good state both of the realme, of themselues, and of the church, they repaire to vs in their owne persons, all lets and delaies set aside, and all other businesse left off. Shewing to them moreouer, that wee can iudge none of them to be either to vs faithfull subiects, or friends to the realm, which shall faile herein, or withdraw himselfe in the foresaid businesse, counsels, and helpes in time. Wherein if peraduenture any shall slacke or refuse to resort and come toward vs within eight daies from the time of this charge giuen by you, or your commandement: That then, you to seise all his temporall goods into our hand, and so seised to hold them vntill you receiue other commandement from vs. Giuen at Paris the monday before the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, in the yeare of our Lord 1303.

A declaration of master William Nagareta, *made against Pope Boniface the eight, with his* appellation also made at Paris, afore the king and his counsell in the *church of Paris.*

The appeale of Nagareta made against pope Boniface the 8.

Ex Registro.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of our Lord 1303. Indictione secunda, the 12 day of March, and the ninth yeere of the popedome of the most holy father the L. Boniface the 8. by Gods prouidence pope; and in the presence of vs common notaries, and witnesses written vnder, the noble man master William Nagareta knight (a worshipfull professour of the lawes) standing afore the most excellent prince the lord Philip, by the grace of God most noble king of France; spake with liuely words, and gaue in writings these things that follow.

There haue been false prophets among the people, as there haue been also among you false teachers, &c. Saint Peter the glorious prince of the Apostles, speaking to vs by the spirit, told vs things to come; that likewise as there were false prophets aforetime, so there should come among you false teachers, bringing in sects of destruction: by the which the way of truth shall be defaced: and couetously they shall make merchandise of you with fained words; and further addeth, that such masters did follow the way of Balaam, of Bosor, which loued the reward of wickednesse, and had his bridled Asse to correct his madnesse, which speaking in a mans voice did stop the foolishnes of the Prophet. All which things as they be shewed to vs by the greatest Patriarch himselfe: your eyes see them fulfilled this day according to the letter. For there sitteth in saint Peters chaire the master of lies, causing himselfe to be called Boniface .i. a well-doer, where he is notable in all kind of euill doing, and so both he hath taken to himselfe a false name; and where he is not a true ruler and master, he calleth himselfe the lord, iudge, and master of all men. And comming in contrarie to the common order appointed by the holy fathers, and also contrarie to the rules of reason, and so not entring in at the dore into the Lords sheepefold, is not a shepheard nor hireling, but rather a theefe and robber. For he (the true husband of the Romish church yet liuing) deceiued him that was delighted in simplicitie, and enticed him with fained flatterings and gifts to let him haue his spouse to bee his wife, against truth, which crieth: Those whom God hath coupled, let no man separate: and at length laying violent hands vpon him, persuading him falsly that thing which the deceiuer said to come from the holy spirit; was not ashamed to ioyne to himselfe with wicked practise that holy church, which is mistresse of all churches, calling himselfe to her husband, whereas he cannot bee: for Celestinus the true Romish bishop, agreed not to the said diuorce, being deceiued by so great subtiltie; nothing is so contrarie to agreeing as errour and deceit, as mans lawes beare witnesse, that I need not to speake of his violence. But because the spirit inspireth where he will, and he that is led with the spirit, is not vnder the law, the holy vniuersall church of God, not knowing the crafts of that deceiuer, stumbling and doubting whether it came from the holy Ghost that Celestinus should leaue off his gouernment, and the sinnes of the people deseruing it, for feare of a schisme, suffered the foresaid deceiuer: although according to the doctrine of our Lord, by his fruits hee might be knowne, whether he came to the said regiment by the holy Ghost or otherwise: his fruits (as it is plainely here written beneath) are now manifest to all men, by which it is apparant to the world, that hee came not in by God but otherwaies: and so came not in by the sheepefold. His fruits are most wicked, and his end is death; and therefore it is necessarie that so euill a tree (according to the Lords saying) should be cut downe and cast into the fire. This cannot auaile to his excuse, which is said of some men, that is, that the cardinals did agree vpon him againe, after the death of the said Celestinus the pope, seeing he could not bee her husband, whom it is manifest that he defiled by adultery, her first husband yet liuing, and shee being worthie to haue the promise of mariage kept vnto her: therefore, because that which is done against the Lord, turneth to the wrong of all men: and specially in so great a mischiefe, by reason of the consequence by which shee is iudged of the people both a woman adultres or defamed: I, like a bridled Asse by the power of the Lord, and not by the voice of a perfect man, being not able to beare so great a burthen, take in hand to rebuke the madnesse of the said false prophet Balaam, which at the instance of king Balaac. 1. of the prince of diuels, whom he serueth, and ready to curse the people blessed of the Lord, I beseech you most excellent prince, and lord Philip by the grace of God king of France: that like as the angell of God in time past met in the way with a sword drawne, the prophet Balaam going to curse Gods people: so you (which are vnwilling to execute iustice; and therefore like the angell of the Lord, and minister of power and office) would meet with a naked sword this said wicked man, which is far worse then Balaam, that he performe not that euill which he intendeth to the people.

An insurrection against the placing of Boniface 8. in the papall see.

The pope well compared to Balaam which was wont to curse Gods people for reward of money.

First, I propound that the foresaid man, that nameth himselfe Boniface, is no pope, but wrongfully keepeth the seate which he hath indeed to the great dammage of all the soules of Gods holy church. I say also, that his entring was many waies faultie, and he entred not in at the dore, but otherwaies, and therefore is to be iudged a thiefe and a robber.

Articles propounded against pope Boniface.

2 I propound also, that the said Boniface is a manifest heretick, and vtterly cut off from the body of the holy church, because of many kinds of heresies, which are to bee declared in conuenient time and place.

3 I propound also, that the said Boniface is an horrible simonicall, and such a one as hath not been sithence the beginning of the world: and the mischiefe of this sin in him is so notorious to all the world (which thing is manifest to all that will plainely vnderstand) insomuch that he being openly slandered, said openly that he could not commit simony.

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The nature of this pope and all popes by his image painted out.

4 I propound also, that the said Boniface being wrapt in infinite manifest hainous sinnes, is so hardened in them, that he is vtterly not possible to be corrected: and lying in dungeon of mischiefe so deepe, that hee may not bee suffered any longer without the ouerthrow of the state of the church. His mouth is full of cursing, his feet and steps are swift to shed blood. He vtterly teareth in pieces the churches, which he ought to cherish, wasting wickedly the goods of the poore, and making much of wicked men that giue him rewards: persecuting the righteous, and among the people not gathering but scattering, bringing in new sects of destruction that haue not been heard of. Blaspheming the way of truth, and by robberie thinking himselfe equall to the Lord Jesus Christ which is blessed for euer. And he being most couetous thirsteth for gold, coueteth gold, and by some deuice getteth gold of euery people: and vtterly not regarding the worshipping of God, with fained words, sometimes by flattering, sometimes by threatning, sometimes by false teaching, and all to get money withall, he maketh merchandise of vs all; enuying all things but his owne, louing no man, nourishing warre, persecuting and hating the peace of his subiects. Hee is voted in all vnspeakeable sinnes, contrarying and striuing against all the waies and doctrines of the Lord. He is truely the abomination of the people which Daniel the Lords prophet described.

The pope thinks himselfe equall with Christ.

Abominatio desolationis papa.

Therefore I answere, that lawes, weapons, and all the elements ought to rise against him, which thus ouerthroweth the state of the church; for whose sins God plagueth the whole world. And finally, nothing remaineth to him being so vnsatiable to satisfie him withall, but onely the vnsatiable mouth of hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing for euer. Therefore, seeing that in a generall councell it so becommeth, and I see this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and all men: I aske and require, as instantly as I can, and beseech you my lord and king aforesaid, that ye would declare to the prelats, doctors, people, and princes your brethren in Christ, and chiefly to the cardinals and all prelats, and call a Councell. In the which (when this foresaid wicked man is condemned) by the worshipfull Cardinals, the church may be prouided of a shepheard: and for that Councell I offer my selfe readie, lawfully to pursue the foresaid things. And whereas the said man being in the highest dignitie, in the meane time cannot be suspended of his superior, therefore hee ought to bee taken, suspended indeed for the things aforesaid, seeing his state is called into iudgement, by the meanes aforesaid.

I beseech and require the said cardinals by you, and I presently require them and the church of God, that this wicked man being put in prison, the Church of Rome may bee prouided of a vicar, which may minister those things that shall appertaine, vntill the church of God be prouided of a bishop, vtterly to take away all occasion of a schisme. And lest the said wicked man should let and hinder the prosecuting thereof, I require these things of you my lord king aforesaid, affirming you to bee bound to doe this for many causes. First, for the faiths sake. Secondly, for your kingly dignitie, to whose office it belongeth to root out such wicked men. Thirdly, for your oth sake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realme, which the foresaid tauener vtterly teareth in pieces. Fourthly, because ye be the patron of the Churches, and therefore yee are not bound onely to the defence of them, but to the calling for againe of their goods, which the foresaid Dian hath wasted. Fifthly, ye following the footesteps of your ancestors, ought to deliuer your mother the Romish church, from so wicked a band, wherein by oppression shee is tied and bound. I require that a publike instrument may be made of these requests by the notaries here present, vnder the witnesse of the worshipfull men that be here present. These things were done and spoken as is aforesaid at Paris in the kings house of Lupara.

After this protestation of master Nagarcta, immediately insued the appeale of the king, pronounced and published against the said Boniface, in forme as followeth.

The appeale made by the king and the louers of the realme against Boniface.

The appellation of the French K. and Nobles against pope Boniface.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of our Lord 1303. *Indictione prima*, 13. day of June, and the ninth yeare of the popedome of Boniface pope the 8. By the tenor of this publike instrument bee it vnto all men knowne, that the most noble prince and lord Philip by the grace of God, king of France, the famous and reuerend fathers in Christ, archbishop and bishops, religious men, abbats and priors here vndernamed, in the presence of vs common Notaries here vnder written, especially called and required for this purpose, as it is contained in the subscriptions here vnder, the famous and noble men, the lord Lewes, sonne of the French K. Guido of S. Paul, and Iohn Drocen earles, and William of Plesiano lord of Vitenob knight; Moued as they said with a feruent faith, with affection of sincere loue and zeale of charitie to bee shewed to the holy Romish church, and hauing pitie from their heart, on their mother the vniuersall church, which, as they said, is oppressed dangerously vnder the rule of the said lord Boniface, and suffereth outragious defacing and losse: and pitying the right faith (as they say) in which stands the saluation of soules, and which (alasse for pitie) in their times miserablie pineth away, and perisheth for the lacke of wholesome gouernment of the church through all christendome: and earnestly taking paines, as they said, for the repairing and enhaunsing of the catholike faith: especially seeing it was necessarie for the same church, for the foundation of the faith, and health of the soules, that none should rule the fold of the Lords flocke, but the true and lawfull sheapheard: and also because the same church was the spouse of Christ that hath no spot nor wrinkle, all errour, offence, wickednesse and wrong should be put away, and saluation, peace and quietnes through Gods mercie might bee procured to the whole world, which, they say, lyeth in warres and darkenesse by the wicked deeds, cursed workes, and hurtfull examples of the said Boniface: They said and laid against the said Boniface, heresie, and other diuers horrible and cursed faults, wherein they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriously reported, the king himselfe being present, with archbishops, bishops, and other prelats and churchmen (which were assembled for to intreate of their own matters, and matters of their churches) beside barons, earles, and other noble men, whose names are vnder written.

The said William propounded and obiected against him, swearing by the holy Gospell of God which hee corporallie touched, that he could proue all and euery the premises to be true. And the said William of Plesiano sware further this oth, that hee beleeued hee could proue the premises, and that hee would pursue to the full end against the said Boniface in the generall Councell, where, when, and afore whomsoeuer of right it ought to be done: requiring earnestly the said lord K. as a champion of the faith, and defender of the church; that for declaring of this truth to the praise of Gods name, to the increase and promoting of the catholike faith, to the honour and wealth of the vniuersall church and of all christian people, and the congregation of the said generall Councell, that he would helpe and bestow his profitable labour, with souldiers and other like, for the loue of men, and zeale to iustice (because his kingly house was euer a ruler of the truth) and that he would earnestly require the archbishops, bishops, and other prelats, and that hee would be effectually instant with them. The earles and knights themselues besought earnestly many of the same prelats (as they were pillers of the church and the faith) that they would helpe and effectually bestow their labour to the calling and assembling of the said councell, by all waies and meanes lawfull, according to the ordinances of the holy fathers and decrees of the canons. But when the prelats heard and fully vnderstood such obiections, oppositions, and requests, as is aforesaid; and considered that such a matter not onely was most hard, but needed wise counsell, they departed out of the same place. But on the Friday next following, the 14 day of the same moneth of Iune, the foresaid lord king being present, and also the lords, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and many witnesses here vnder written the same time being present, and in the presence of vs common notaries here subscribed, and being specially called and required for this purpose: the foresaid William of Plesiano knight said, propounded, affirmed, obiected, and read, as was contained more fully in a certaine paper which hee held in his hand, whose tenor was after this sort.

I William of Plesiano knight, say, propound, and affirme, that Boniface which now ruleth the Apostolicall see is a ranke heretike in heresies, and by heresies, outragious deeds, and wicked doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to bee true, I beleeue I am able to proue: or else, such things as these shall be sufficient to proue him a full heretike, in a conuenient place and time, and afore whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I sweare on the holy Gospell of God presently touched of me.

First, that hee beleeueth not the immortality of men and of christian soules, but thinking much like as the Sadducees did beleeue, that there is no euerlasting life, and that men can not get at the length ioy, but all the lot and part of comfort and gladnesse to be in this world: and by this meanes hee affirmeth, that it is no sinne for the body to liue daintily in all dainties. And out of the abundance of this leuen he was not ashamed to say and openly to confesse, that hee had rather bee an asse or a dogge, or any other brute beast, then a French man; which thing hee would not haue said, if hee beleeued a Frenchman had a soule that could enioy euerlasting life. This thing hee taught many men, which knowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in these things.

Pope Boniface had rather be a dog then a Frenchman.

2 Also, he beleeueth not faithfully, that by the words ordained of Christ, and spoken ouer the host, after the fashion of the church by a faithfull priest that is lawfully ordered, the body of Christ is be there: & therefore it commeth to passe, that hee

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giueth no reuerence to it (no not a little) when it is lifted vp of the priest, yea he riseth not to it, but turneth his backe to it, and makes himselfe and his seat to be honored where he sitteth, rather then the altar where the hoste is consecrate: and hee is commonly reported to doe this.

3 Also, hee is reported to say that whoredome is no sin, no more then rubbing of the hands together, and thus commonly runs the voice and brute.

4 Also, hee said often, that to thrust downe the king and Frenchmen (if it could not be otherwaies done) he would ouerthrow himselfe, the whole world, and the whole Church. And when he had said so, some that stood by said, God forbid, he answered God grant. And when good men that heard the words replied against him, that hee should not say so, because the Church of God and all Christian men should suffer great slander so: he answered, I care not what slanders soeuer come, so that the Frenchmen and their pride bee destroyed: for it is necessarie that slanders and offences come.

5 Item, he called againe and allowed a booke made by M. Arnold of Newcon, containing and smelling of heresie, condemned by the bishop of Paris and reproued by the masters of diuinitie, and burned openly by Boniface himselfe; and in the full consistorie of Cardinals being likewise reproued, condemned and burned, yet he allowed it being written againe, and containing the same fault.

6 Item, that hee might make the most damnable remembrance of him perpetuall, hee caused his images of siluer to be set in the Church, by this meanes bringing men to Idolatrie.

7 Item, he hath a priuate priuell, whose counsell he vseth in all things, and through all things.

8 Item, he said once that if all men were on one side, and he on another, they could not deceiue him neither in law nor in deed, which thing could not be done except hee vsed a diuelish Art: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9 Item, hee is a witch, asking counsell at sothsayers both men and women, and thus he is commonly iudged.

10 Item, he said openly, that the Romish pope could not commit simony, which is heretticall to say. This is a sinne reproued as well in the old Testament, as in the new, and generally in the holy Councels. Also he is wont to make merchandise of prelats liuings, dignities, superiorities, and benefices, to the which holy orders bee necessarilie ioyned: and of absolutions and dispensations, like as vsurers and merchants vse to buy and sell common things in the market, and of this the common brute reports him.

11 Item, he letteth with all his might amõg Christian men the speciall embassade of Christ, made to his owne sonnes, saying: Peace I leaue to you, and soweth discord and wars: Wherefore once it was said afore him, that certaine parties would friendly agree after a good sort, but hee letted the peace: and when the other part did humblie beseech him, that he would giue licence to agree (he said) he would not: yea if the sonne of God or Peter the Apostle would come downe into the earth and command him; he would say, I will not beleeue thee.

12 Item, because the French nation (being manifestly a most Christian nation) followeth not his errours in the faith: he reckoneth and openly calleth all and euery of them Paterniani.

13 Item, he is infect with sodomiticall sinne, keeping with him boyes for Concubines, and of this fault hee is most commonly and openly reported.

14 Item, he hath caused many murthers of clerkes to bee done in his presence, and commending it reioycing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the first by his seruants, as oft as he saw them smiting, he said, smite, smite: by which example many were slaine.

15 Item, when he had condemned a certaine Noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be giuen him at the point of death, desiring it and being penitent: saying, that the Sacrament of penance was not necessarie to saluation.

16 Item, he compelled certaine priests to shew vnto him the confessions of men, and hee published them openly afterward contrarie to the will of them that were confessed, to their shame and confusion, and compelled them to redeeme their sinnes. Insomuch that once hee deposed a certaine Bishop of Spaine, for the faults that hee confessed to a certaine Cardinall, confessing vnto him a certaine priuie horrible fault vnder Benedicite, and compelled the Cardinall against his will to declare his confession: and yet afterward hee restored the same Bishop againe to his place for a little money. Wherefore he is thought to play the heretike in the Sacrament of penance.

17 Item, he fasteth not on the fasting daies, nor Lent, but eateth flesh indifferently, and without cause suffereth his household and friends to eate, saying, it is no sinne. Doing in this thing against the generall state of the holy church.

18 Item, hee oppressed the order of the Cardinals, and hath oppressed the order of blacke and white monks, of gray Friers and preachers: and said oft, that the world was destroyed by them, and that they were false hypocrites, and that neuer god could chance vnto any that would bee confessed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would keepe them in their house, and he neuer said good word of any prelate, religious man, or clerke: but euer rebuketh and slandereth them, taking away their good name, and to compell them to redeeme their faults, he is glad of their accusations: and this is the common voice and report of him.

19 Item, of old time hee going about to destroy the faith, conceiued a hate against the French king, euen to the abhorring of the faith: because of the light of faith which is there, and because of the great witnesse and example of Christianitie, is and hath been there. And before hee had this seate he is proued to haue said, that if hee were Pope, hee would rather ouerthrowe all Christendome, but hee would ouerthrowe and destroie the Nation, which he calleth the pride of the French.

20 Also, he is reported, that when the Embassadors of the king of England, in the name of the said king did require and intreat for the tenth of the Realme of England to bee giuen him: hee answered, that hee would not giue them the tenth, but on this condition, that he would make war with them against the French king. And besides this, he is reported to haue giuen great summes of money to certaine persons, to hinder that peace should not bee betwixt the saide kings. He himselfe also with all his might hath letted it, by messengers, letters, and otherwaies that he could, yea by giuing bribes.

21 Item, he is reported also to haue commanded Fridericke which keepeth the Ile of Cicill, that if he would betray Charles the king and breake the peace which he made, and sweare that he would keepe with him, and would stir against the king, and kill the Frenchmen: that then hee would giue him aide, helpe and counsell, and for so doing he would giue and grant him the said kingdomes.

22 He confirmed also the king of Almaine to be Emperor, and said openlie that he did it to destroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of the Frenchmen: which say, that they are subiect to none in temporall things. Wherein saith he, they lied on their heads, declaring moreouer, that whosoeuer (yea if it were an angell from heauen) would say, that all kings of the world were not subiect to the same king of Almaine, he were accursed. Pope Boniface enemie to the Frenchmen.

23 Further, he brake the agreements of peace betwixt the king of Almaine and the French king: in which, either of them should haue their owne saued. And what encrochings soeuer had been on either side, should be brought to a due state, and vnder an oath orderlie giuen and taken: hee is reported to haue commanded the same king of Almaine, that he should not keepe these conditions of peace, but be an enemie, and goe about to sow debate among christian men. Pope Boniface an enemie to peace.

24 Item, he is openlie reported, that the holie land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of faith: and that he suffered this for the nonce, and denied to giue aide to the christians which defended it: spending the treasures and money of the Church (which should haue beene bestowed on that vse as the patrimonie of Christ) in persecuting of faithfull Christians and friends of the Church, and therewith would enrich his friends.

25 Item, he is openlie reported to vse simonie, not onely in bestowing of benefices, but in giuing of orders, and making dispensations. He hath set to sale all benefices of the church, and would bestow the church commonly on him that would offer most: and he made his seruants prelats of the church, not for wealth of the faith, nor to thrust downe infidels, but to oppresse the faithfull, and to enrich his kindred by the Church goods and of the patrimonie of him that was crucified: and presumed to make them Marquelles, Earles, and Barons, and was not afraid to build them strong holds, rooting out and oppressing many noble men and other.

26 Item, it is commonlie reported, that he hath diuorced many marriages lawfullie made, to the contempt, hurt, and slander of many: and he did promote his nephew to a cardinalship, being married, vnlearned, and altogether vnworthie to liue; and openlie married one that was diuorced, and compelled him to make a vow of chastitie, and after that he is reported to haue had two bastards by her, and so goeth the common brute of him.

27 Item, he is commonlie reported, that he handled vngentlie his Predecessour Celestinus of holie memorie, leading a holie life (peraduenture knowing in conscience that he could not forsake his Popedome, and therefore Boniface himselfe had no lawfull entrance to the Sea) and prisoned him, and there quicklie and priuilie caused him to die. And of this the common brute and report is through all the world, that he caused many and great learned men living a regular life (which disputed of this, whether hee might renounce the Popedome or not) to be set in prison, and there to die. Pope Boniface a murderer of his predecessor.

28 Item, he is reported to haue railed at religious persons leading a regular life, without a reasonable cause to the world, to the slander of many.

29 Item, he is reported to haue said that he would within short time make all the Frenchmen either Martyrs, or forsakers of their faith.

30 Item,

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Item, he is commonlie reported, that he seeketh not the health of the soules, but the destruction of them.

These things being propounded and read, the same William protested, said, declared, appealed, and added these words, reading them in writing:

The protestation of William Plesiano.

I William of Plesiano knight, protest that I do not propound nor speake the foresaid things for any speciall hate of Boniface himselfe (for I hate not him, but his foresaid euill deeds) nor I seeke not his iniurie nor slander, nor any mans else: but I speake it for the zeale of the faith, and for the deuotion that I haue to the holie church of God, and the holie Romish see, as well for those things that I haue seene and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likelie presumptions gathered of the foresaid things, and many diuers other things to be declared in his due place and time. And I sweare by the holie Gospell of God (which I touch with my hand) that I beleeue him to be a ranke heretike, and that I also beleeue that the foresaid things and such other, may proue against him such things as shall be sufficient to proue him an heretike, according to the state of the holie fathers. I sweare also that I will pursue against him by the lawes, the foresaid things in the generall councell that shall bee assembled, in a place that shall be safe and sure for me, to the honour of God, and increase of the christian faith, sauing the right honour & state of the holie Apostolicall see, in all things. Wherefore, earnestlie and with reuerence, I require you my lord the king (to whom belongeth the defence of the holie mother the Church, and the catholike faith, for of that ye shall make account in the last iudgement) and you my lords the Prelates which be the pillers of the faith, and which ought to be iudges of the foresaid things, together with other reuerend fathers, the catholike prelates of the holie church, in the generall councell to be assembled: that ye would procure and take diligent paine that a generall councell may be gathered in a fit and safe place, and conuenient time, afore which the foresaid things may be propounded, brought forth, and proued against the said Boniface, as is premised. And I earnestlie also require you my lord king, that ye would require the same prelats present and absent, in what countrey soeuer they be, or to whom it belongeth: and that ye would effectually induce them manfullie to labour, and to require other faithfullie, that the foresaid councell for the foresaid matters might be gathered in such sort as is aforesaid. And because so long as this is deferred to proue, I suspect Boniface himselfe, lest hee beeing angrie and moued for the foresaid things against me and my partakers, procurers and helpers, my friends and familiars, should goe about by some meanes, whereby to stay and stop my good purpose and theirs for going forward: therefore, by these writings afore you my lord the king, and diuers Prelates, and afore your common notaries here present, I prouoke and appeale to the said holie generall councell Apostolicall and catholike that shall be, and to the holie apostolicall see, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earnestlie require, once, twice, and thrice, that testimoniall letters may be giuen me from you: supposing my selfe, my followers, fauourers, familiars, friends, my procurers, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be vnder the protection and keeping of saint Peter and Paul, and the said holie councell to be assembled by the holie Romish see, and the Catholike Apostolicall pope that shall bee: sticking neuertheless and willing to sticke to the appellation and appellations, processe and processes made hereupon, by the noble man master William of Nagareta knight, in as much as they shall be found and made lawfull, and yet not forsaking this present appellation.

Pope Boniface proued an heretike.

When these things were thus read and done, the foresaid king answered and required the foresaid prelats, prouoking and appealing and making request, prouocation and appellation, as is contained in the paper vnder written, both there and then with other prelats: which things all are more fullie contained in these writings following, and were read to them that heard it, whose tenour is such.

The kings answere. The appeale of Philip the French King from the Pope.

Wee Philip by the grace of God, hearing and vnderstanding the obiections propounded by our beloued faithfull knight, W. of Nagareta, against Boniface now hauing the regiment of the Romish church: although we would gladlie couer with our owne cloke, the filthie parts of such a father: yet for the loue of the catholike faith and great deuotion that wee beare to the holie Romish and vniuersall church our mother, and all faithfull men and spouse of Christ, following the steps of our ancestors, which doubted not to shed their owne bloud for the increase and defence of the churches libertie and the faith: and coueting to prouide for the puritie of the faith and state of the church, as also to auoid the hurt of the generall slander, beeing not able to passe ouer any longer the premisses with winking and dissembling, and my conscience driuing to the same, seeing this estimate and opinion of him in these matters, is not rashlie of vs conceiued, but vehementlie and plainlie increased, by many and continuall cryings of credible men, and great authoritie oft and oftentimes beaten into vs, fearing moreouer the destruction of the faith, both of vs and of all other subiects, and specially of Kings and princes of the world, which ought to reproue negligence, which acknowledge that we haue receiued power giuen vs from the Lord, to the promoting and increasement of it; wee agree to your requests in this behalfe, and to the calling and assembling a councell for the glorie of God (sauing the honour and reuerence that is due to the holie Romish church in all things) whereby the truth may appeare in the premisses, and all error auoided: that the state of the vniuersall church and all christianitie and the matters of faith, and the holie land may be prouided for, and the slanders and ieopardies hanging ouer vs may be withstanded: we be readie and offer our selues gladlie, as much as in vs is, to bestow our labour & diligent paine thereabouts. Earnestlie requiring & beseeching in the mercifull bowels of Iesu Christ, you archbishops and other prelats here present, as children of the church and pillers of faith, called of the Lord to the promoting, increase and preseruing thereof, to care for the same; that with all diligence ye would giue heed, as becommeth you, and effectuallie you would labour by all waies and fit meanes, to the calling and assembling of this councell, in which wee intend to be personallie present. And lest the said Boniface, which hath boldlie and wrongfullie many times threatned to proceed against vs, stopping and hindring our purposes and intent: lest any of his works of darkenesse (if there bee any) should come to light, directlie or indirectlie hindring the calling and gathering of this councel: or lest any state being in the same realme that will indeed proceed against vs, or our state, churches, prelates, barons, and other faithfull vassals, our subiects, our lands, or our realme, and the state of the realme; by abusing any spirituall sword, in excommunicating, suspending, or other waies by any meanes for vs and our well willers, and them that will follow vs: we prouoke and appeale in writing to the foresaid generall councel (which wee instantlie desire to be called) and to one lawfull chiefe Bishop that shall be, or to any other to whom we should appeale: and yet not going from the appellation made by M. William of Nagareta, to whom we sticked then, and also yet stick: requiring earnestlie a witnes of our appellation of you prelates and notaries, expressedlie to renew such prouocation and appellation when and afore whom it shall be thought meet to you.

Then the Archbishops within written, Bishops, Abbats, and Priors, answered the premisses (as it is found in the acts) prouoked and appealed, agreed to and protested, and made prouocation, and appellation, agreement and protestation, as is contained more fullie in a certaine paper there openlie and plainely read, whose tenour followeth with these words.

The protestation of Prelats.

We Archb. of Nicosen, Remen, Senoren, Narbonen, Turonen, and bishops of Landuiren, Belnacen, Catolacen, Antisiodoren, Meldimen, Nurmen, Carnoten, Aurelianen, Ambiauen, Morinen, Silanen, Andegauen, Abricen, Constant, Ebroicen, Lexonicen, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonicen, Auicen, Masticoren: And we abbats of Cluniac, premostraten of the greater monasterie of the court of S. Dionyse in France, Camped S. Victors, S. Genoueue, S. Marten, Landinoen, Figiacen, & Bellicen in Lemociuio, and frier Hugh, visitor of the houses of the order of knights of S. Iohn in Ierusalem in France, & the father prior of S. Martin in the fields, hearing these things which were said, propounded, & obiected yesterday, and to day by you the lords, earles, & Wil. aforesaid, against the lord Boniface the 8. and pope, being moued with such sayings, purposes, assertations, and your othes, your request and other lawfull causes: and were compelled by need, considering that the matter of our faith which is Christs, is handled in the premisses: Wee that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenance of the faith of soules of the realme, although vnworthy, yet coueting to withstand the ieopardies that hang ouer vs by reason of the premisses & other causes, thinking the calling & gathering of the said councel profitable & necessarie that the innocency of the L. Boniface himselfe may clearely be discussed, as we desire (our consciences bearing witnes) that it may be determined on him by the Councel, touching such things as are laid against him, & that may be done which they decree according to the Canons: Wee answer you our lord king, and you our Lords, Earles, and William, that (the honor and reuerence of the holie Romish church saued in all points) we agree to your due requests in this behalfe for the calling of the councell, and are readie to giue help and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the said Councell, according to the decrees of the holie fathers, and to the lawfull orders of the Canons: not intending by any meanes, to make parties of this matter, nor to sticke to any that maketh parties. Yet lest the said Boniface being moued or prouoked by these things, as we feare by likelie coniectures and threatnings made against vs for the foresaid things, that hee will proceede against our parish Churches and our subiects by some meanes, or cause to proceed against vs by some authoritie of his owne or others by excommunication, suspension, interdicting, deposing, depriuing, or by some other meanes and colour sought to some impeachment or trouble of the said Councell: and that wee may sit in the same Councell to

iudge and doe all other things, that belong to the office of Prelats: that our friends that sticke to vs and would sticke to vs in all things may remaine safe, for our selues, our parish churches, our subiects and them that sticke to vs, or would sticke to vs in this behalfe: wee prouoke and appeale in writing to the foresaid councell, that is to bee gathered, and to him that shall bee the true and lawfull highest bishop, and to him or them to whom of right wee should appeale to, and earnestly require our appellations, committing vs, our parish churches, our subiects, friends, and them that sticke to vs, our state and theirs, our right, goods, to the godly defence of the foresaid councell, and of him that shall bee the true and lawfull highest bishop: and wee protest to renew this appellation, where, when, and afore whom, it shall bee thought meet.

This was done at Paris at Lupara in the chamber of the said lord our king, Indictione prima, the ninth yeare of his popedome, the daies of thurlday and friday aforesaid, these noble men beeing present; The lords of Auia and Bolone, the lords Martins and other earles named afore, Matthew Dotera, Peter the lord chamberlaine, Philip the lord of Wirtmos, and Henrie of Bologne knight, and also M. Philip archdeacon of Benigem, Nicolas archdeacon of Remeti, William treasurer of Anioy, Philip Bealspeare, Rainold of Bourbon and John Montagre, and many moe both clerkes and other specially required and called to bee witnesse to this.

After these things thus in the parliament decreed and agreed, the prelats of the clergie consulting with themselues what was to be done in so doubtfull a matter: and dreading the popes displeasure, for this which was done already, to cleare themselues in the matter contrued among themselues a letter to the pope, partly to certifie him what there was done, and partly also to admonish him what hee should doe: the tenor of which their letter contained these words following.

The forme of a letter which the prelats of France as well secular as religious sent to Boniface, that hee should cease his enterprise, wherein he proceeded against the king.

To the most holy Father and their deerest beloued Lord, the Lord Boniface the chiefe bishop of the holy Romish church and the vniuersall church: his humble and deuout archbishops, abbats, priors, conuentuels, deanes, prouosts, chapters, conents and colledges, of the cathedrall and collegiate churches, regular and secular of all the realme of France, being gathered together, doe offer most deuout kissings of your blessed feet.

The letter of the French prelats to pope Boniface.

WE are compelled, not without sorrow of heart and bitter teares to signifie vnto your holinesse, that the most famous Prince our most deare lord Philip, by the grace of God, the noble king of France: when hee heard and saw the Apostolicall letters sealed, which were sent to him of late, from your behalfe by the worshipfull man the cardinall of Narbo your notarie and messenger, and were presented by the same cardinall to him, and certaine other of his barons. Vpon the sight and perusing of which so bloodie letters being read and declared to them sitting by him: both our lord the king and the barons themselues were highly moued with great maruelling and great trouble. Insomuch that the said our lord the king by the aduice of his barons, commanded to be called afore him the other barons then absent, and vs also: that is to wit, All archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, conuentuals, deanes, prouosts, chapters, conuents and colledges, as well of cathedrall or collegiate churches, regular and secular, and also all the Vniuersities and communalties of the townes of his realme: that wee prelates, barons, deanes, prouosts, and two of the learnedst of euery collegiate and cathedrall church, should appeare personallie, and should procure the rest likewise to appeare, by their stewards, officers, and sufficient proctors, with full and sufficient commission at the appointed place and terme. Further, when wee and the other Ecclesiasticall persons aforesaid, and also the barons, stewards, officers, and proctors, and other of the comminaltie of the townes that were thus called: and when according to the forme of the foresaid calling by the kings commandement, wee stoode afore the king this Wednesday, the tenth of this present of Aprill, in saint Maries church in Paris: Our lord the king caused to bee propounded openly and plainely to all men, that it was signified to him, from you among other things by the foresaid cardinal and letters: that for his kingdome (which hee and his ancestors hitherto doe acknowledge they hold of God onely) now ought in temporalties to be subiect to you and hold of you, and that yee were not content with these so maruellous and strange words, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any dwellers within the same realme, but that ye went about to put them in practise. And that yee called to appeare afore you the prelates of the said realme, and doctors of diuinitie, and such professors of both lawes, as were borne within the said realme, for the correcting and amending of such excesses, faults, arrogancies, wrongs, and harmes, as ye pretend to bee done to the ecclesiasticall prelates and persons ecclesiasticall both regular and secular, abiding within the realme and elsewhere, by our lord the king himselfe and his officers or bailiffes, by his peeres, earles, barons, and other nobles, with the communaltie and people of the said realme: To the intent, by this meanes, the foresaid realme might bee made strong, with precious iewels and durable treasures, which are to bee preferred before the bucklers or any armour of strong men, that is to say, by the wisedome of prelats, and wise men, and others: through whose ripe faithfull counsell, and circumspect foresight, the realme might be ruled and gouerned, the faith might be stablished, the ecclesiasticall sacraments might bee ministred, iustice might bee executed: which by them being robbed of their goods and riches, and vtterly spoiled, is in a doubtfull case, and in ieopardie of miserable decay, and for euer to be destroyed.

Among these and diuers other griefes, which were done by you and the Romish church, to him, to his realme, and the French church, both in reseruing and wilfull ordering of archbishopriks, bishopriks, and bestowing of great benefices of the realme vpon strange and vnknowne persons, yea and oft vpon suspect persons, neuer being at the churches or benefices aforesaid. By reason wherof the decaie of Gods worship ensued, the godly wils of the founders and giuers are defrauded of their godly purpose: the accustomed almes-giuing is withdrawne from the poore of the said realme, the pouerishing of the realme followeth, and churches runne in danger to bee defaced, while they remaine destitute of seruice: the prophets being taken away, and the fruits of them that serue them, bee appointed to the commoditie of strangers. And while prelates haue not to giue, yea to reward men for their deserts: noble men (whose ancestors founded the churches) and other learned men, cannot haue seruants: and that for these causes, deuotion began to bee cold, there was none at these daies that would stretch out a liberall hand towards the churches, and furthermore by the premises an euill example was giuen. Also hee complained of new taxes, of pensions, newly laid on the churches, of immeasurable bondages, exactions, and diuers extortions with other preiudiciall and hurtfull nouelties, by which the generall state of the church is changed, in giuing suffragans, as helpers to the higher prelats, whereby neither the bishops themselues nor the suffragans can doe their duties, but for them they might runne with gifts to the Apostolicall see. He complained also of diuers causes and some articles long since, but true in the time that they were prefented, that were done and bee done continually: and also not purposing to suffer so great a disheriting of him and his successours from the realme, and so manifest a griefe, they could not suffer any longer the euident losse of the honour of him and the realme, and said: that hee was certaine, that it was knowne to the whole world, and that he did maintaine in this matter a iust cause, as he had learned by the agreeable sentence of doctors in Diuinitie, and masters of both lawes, that were borne within his realme and others, which among the doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned sort and more famous. Therefore he required vs, all and euery one, both prelats and barons, and other earnestly as our lord: he prayed and gently begged as a friend, to consult and take diligent paine, that hee might ordaine wholesome things, both for the keeping of their old libertie, the honour and state of the realme and of the inhabitants thereof, for the easing of the griefs aforesaid, for redressing of the realme and the French church, by our counsell and his barons, to the praise of Gods name, the encrease of the catholike faith, the honour of the vniuersall church, and promoting of Gods religion: specially seeing such griefes were done by his officers and others of the realme, to the churches and churchmen, for the which hee purposed a remedie of wholesome correction, afore the comming of the foresaid cardinall, and would now haue put it in execution effectuallie, but that he might be thought to haue done that for feare, or at your commandement, which thing yee cannot ascribe to your selfe. Furthermore, he would spend not onely his goods, but also his realme, yea his children if the case required: and therefore wee should regard to bee readie with counsell and helpe in season as wee are bound by the dutie of fidelitie in these things: wherein it is manifest, that as all and euery mans case is handled, generallie and particularly their case is promoted, and euery mans owne interest is touched. And then he demanded by and by to bee answered plainely and finally in these things, of all and euery one.

Then the barons sitting aside with the officers and procters aforesaid, at the length after they had taken counsell, comming to our foresaid lord the king, and praising greatly, and heartilie thanking him, for his laudable purpose and good will, answered with one voice: that for those things they were ready, not onely to spend their goods, but offered the same goods, riches, and also their persons to death, and not to flee any kind

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kind of torment. And said further with one voice, that if our foresaid lord the king would (as God forbid) suffer, or else willingly passe ouer those, they themselues would in no case suffer it.

Then when answere was asked of vs afterward, although we desired longer respite of deliberation of the king himselfe our lord, and of the greatest of the aforesaid barons, and that for this intent; that in the meane while the popes letters might haue come to our lord the king, wee answered that we would not offend against the libertie of the realme, or by some means to innouate things contrary to the kings honour in this behalfe.

Wee went about also to informe him with many godlie words, with earnest persuasions, and with many kinds of help, and by sundry waies to bring him to keep the speciall bond of vnity, which is known to haue continued to these present daies, betwixt the holy Romish church, and his predecessours. But when we were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrary mind, from thenceforth he should be manifestly counted for an enemie of the king and the realme: We considering warily, and seeing plainly, that except our lord the king, and the barons aforesaid were content with our answere, beside other dangers and great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and that the deuotion both of the Romish and French church, and also the whole obedience of the laitie, and all the people from thenceforth should be taken away without recouery, not without great feare and doubt, we thought good to answere thus:

That we would helpe our lord the king with due counsell and conuenient helpe for the preseruing of his person, and of his earthly honour, and the libertie and lawes of the said realme, like as wee were (certaine of vs) by the duty of allegiance bound to him, which hold of him dukedomes, earledomes, baronies, fees, and other noble parts of the said realme, by the forme of the oth, as all other doe: yet wee made humble sute to the same our lord the king, that seeing wee were bound to obey the popes holinesse and your holy feete, he would suffer vs to goe according to the tenor of your foresaid calling.

Then on the kings and barons behalfe followeth answere; that in no case they would suffer vs to goe out of the realm, and that by no meanes they would beare to be handled so dangerously, yea rather to be altogether wasted.

Then we considering so great an anger, and trouble so ieopardous, and so great that none could be greater, both of the king, the barons, and other lay people of the realme: and now knowing plainly, that the old enemy of peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his fall with sowing of darnell, to breake the vnity of the church, by troubling of peace; would breake charity, and infect the sweetnesse of good works, with the poison of bitter enuie, and would ouerthrow mankind vtterly, and would trouble with wickednesse the band of louely vnitie, and singular friendship, which hitherto haue had a happie increase betwixt the Romish church & our Lord the king, and his predecessors, and the realme, to the praise of the highest God, the increase of christian faith, and the setting foorth the honour of the church, of the king and the realme. But now (alas) a doore was open to the lamentable breaking and pitifull separating of great offences to rise on euery side, dangers are attempted against churches and churchmen, to spoile their goods and riches, with ieopardie of life, seeing that the laitie now doe abhorre and vtterly flee the obedience of clerks, vtterly banishing them from their counsels and doings, and haue taken courage to condemne the Ecclesiasticall censure and processe. All which ieopardies, with other sundry & diuers dangers (which neither tongue is able to tell, nor writing can declare) wee seeing at hand, thought good in this point of greatest necessitie, to runne with weeping voice, and lamentable sighes to the circumspect wisdome of your holinesse. Beseeching your fatherly mildenesse, and humbly praying you, that some wholesome remedy may be prouided in the premisses. By which, the sound profitable agreement and mutuall loue, which hath continued so long time betwixt the church, the King, and the realme, might bee maintained in that old sweet concord; the state of the French church might continue in godly and quiet peace: that yee would vouchsafe to foresee how to withstand the dangers and offences aforesaid: that we and our states may be prouided for, by the foresaid commandement of your calling, by the studie of your Apostolicall wisdome, and fatherly loue. The Almightie preserue your holinesse to his holy church a long time.

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the yeere of our lord 1304. In the which yeere, about the nativitie of our Ladie, came a garrison of harnessed souldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French king, partly by the cardinals of Columpna, whom the pope before had deposed, vnto the gates of Aruagium, where the pope did hide himselfe, because hee was borne in the towne. The captaines of which army was one Schaira, brother to the foresaid cardinals: and another William de Longareto, high Steward to the French king. Who inuading the popes towne, and finding the gates open, gaue assault to the popes frontire: where the pope with his nephew a marquesse, and three other cardinals were immured. The townes men seeing all their intent and strength to bee bent against the pope, caused the common bell to bee rung, and so assembling themselues in a common councell, ordained Adulphus, one of the chiefest rulers of the towne for their captaine, who (vnknowing to them) was a great aduersary to the pope. This Adulphus bringing with him Reginaldus de Supine, a great Lord in Campania, and the two sonnes of John Chitan a noble man, whose father the Pope had then in prison; at length ioyned with the French company against the pope, and so beset his palace on euery side. And first, setting vpon the palaces of the three Cardinals, which were then chiefe about the Pope, rifled and spoiled all their goods. The Cardinals by a backe doore hardly auoided their hands: but the Popes palace, through munition and strength of the Marquesse, was something better defended. At length, the Pope perceiuing himselfe not able to make his partie good, desired truce with Schaira and his company, which was to him granted, from one till nine. During which time of truce, the Pope priuilie sendeth to the townesmen of Aruagium, desiring them to saue his life: which if they would doe, hee promised so to inrich them, that they should all haue cause neuer to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answere againe, excusing themselues, that it lay not in their abilitie to doe him any good, for that the whole power of the towne was with the Captaine. Then the Pope all destitute and desolate, sendeth vnto Schaira, beseeching him to draw out in articles, wherein hee had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the vttermost. Schaira to this maketh a plaine answere, signifying to him againe, that hee should in no wise escape with his life, except vpon these three conditions. First, to restore againe the two Cardinals of Columpna his brethren, whom he had before deposed, with all other of their stocke and kindred: secondly, that after their restitution, hee should renounce his papacie: thirdly, his body to remaine in his power and custodie. These articles seemed to the pope so hard, that in no case hee would agree vnto them: wherefore the time of truce expired, the Captaines and souldiers in all forcible meanes bending themselues against the Bishop, first fired the gates of the palace, whereby the army hauing a full entrance, fell to rifle and spoile the house. The Marquesse vpon hope to haue his life, and the life of his children, yeelded him to the hands of Schaira and the other Captaine: which when the Pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, through windowes and dores, at length with much adoe they brake into the Pope, whom they intreated with words and threats accordingly. Vpon this he was put to his choice, whether hee would presently leaue his life, or giue ouer his papacie. But that hee denied stiffely to doe, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue; Eccle col, eccle cape: That is, loe here my necke, loe here my head; protesting, that he would neuer while he liued renounce his popedome. Then Schaira went about, and was readie to slay him, but by certaine that were about him, hee was staied: whereby it happened that the Pope receiued no harme, although diuers of his ministers and seruants were slaine. The souldiers which ranged in the meane time through all the corners of the Popes house, did lade themselues with such treasure of gold, siluer, plate, and ornaments, that the words of my author (whom I follow) doe thus expresse it: Quòd omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra vnum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio asportatum, & de palatijs trium cardinalium, & Marchionis. That is, that all the kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasurie in a whole yeare, as then was taken and carried out of the Popes palace, and of the palace of the three Cardinals, and the Marquesse. Thus Boniface bereaued of all his goods, remained in their custodie three daies. During which space, they had set him on a wilde and vnbroken Colt, his face turned to the horse taile, causing the horse to runne and course, while the Pope was almost breathlesse. Moreouer, they kept him so without meat, that he was thereby neere famished to death. After the third day, the Aruagians and people of the towne mustering themselues together (to the number of tenne thousand) secretlie braak into the house where the Pope was kept, and so slaying the keepers, deliuered the Pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the towne, gaue thanks with weeping teares to the people for his life saued: promising moreouer, that forsomuch as he was out of all his goods, hauing neither bread nor drinke to put in his mouth, Gods blessing and his, to all them, that now would relæue him with any thing, either to eat or drinke. And here now to see what pouertie and affliction can worke in a man: The Pope before in all his pompe and most ruffling wealth was neuer so proud, but now was as humble and lowly, that euery poore simple man (as mine author testifieth) might haue a bold and free accesse to his person. To make the story short, the Pope

Anno 1304 Pope Boniface beseeged.

Pope Boniface brought to a strait.

Three conditions put to the pope.

Here may all kings by the French king learne how to handle the pope.

Boniface chuseth rather to die, then to giue ouer his popedome.

Ex R. Aluerd. The excessiue treasures of the popes house noted.

A prety handling of the pope.

The pope deliuered out of prison.

What pouerty and affliction can doe in plucking downe the pride of man.

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in that great distresse of famin, was not so greedy of their victuals, as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon, the women and people of the towne came so thicke, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the popes chamber was too little to receiue the offering, insomuch that when there lacked cups to receiue the wine, they powred it downe on the chamber flore, not regarding the losse of wine to win the popes holy blessing. Thus pope Boniface being refreshed by the towne of Aruagum, toke his iourny from thence, accompanied with a great multitude of harnessed souldiers to Rome, where he shortly vpon the same, partly for feare which he was in, partly for famin, partly for sorow of so inestimable treasure lost, died. After whom succeeded Benedictus the 11. of whom these verses are written: *Are nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem peruerte, maledic, malefac, maledicte, &c.* And thus haue ye the whole story of pope Boniface the 8. author of the Decretals. Which story I thought the more diligently to set forth, that all the Latin church might see what an author he was, whose lawes and decretals so deuoutly they follow.

Pope Benedictus 11.

Now after the long debating of this matter betweene the French king and pope Boniface, let vs proceed in our English story. About this time, in the daies of king Edward, the church of Rome began daily more and more to rise vp and swell to high in pride and worldly dominion, that no king almost in his owne country could doe any thing, but as pleased the pope, who both had, and ruled all in all countries, but chiefly here in England: as partly by his intollerable tallage and pillage before signified may appeare, partly by his iniunctions and commandements sent downe, also by his donations and reseruations of benefices and church liuings; also in deposing and disposing such as him liked, in place and office to beare rule. In so much, that when the king and the church of Canturbury in their election had chosen one Robert Burnel bishop of Bathe, to be archbishop of Canturbury, pope Boniface of his owne singular presumptuous authoritie, ruling the matter after his pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust in another named John Pecham. For among all other, this hath alwaies been one practise of the court of Rome, euer to haue the archbishoppe of their owne setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the king and other, whatsoeuer need should happen. To this John Pecham, pope Boniface directed downe a solemne bull from Rome, as also vnto all other quarters of the vniuersall church. In the which bull was contained and decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and christian obedience; that no church, nor ecclesiasticall person, should hencefoorth yeeld to his king or temporall magistrate, either any giuing or lending, or promising of tribute or subsidie, or portion whatsoeuer, of the goods and possessions to him belonging; but should be cleerly exempted and discharged from all such subiection of tallage or subuention to be exacted of them in the behoose of the prince and his affaires. Which decree manifestly rebelleth against the commanded ordinance of God, and the apostolicall canon of Saint Peter, and all other examples of holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth spirituall men more then temporall from obedience and subiection of princes: so if it chance the prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruell in oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to be exempted, but to beare the common burthen of obedience, and to pray to God to turne and moue the princes mind, and so (with praier and patience, not with pride and disobedience) to helpe and amend that which is amisse. Concerning the bull of Boniface, if any there be that either do not credit the same, so to containe, or would for his mind see and reade the same, the words thereof here follow.

The kings election in his owne realme frustrate.

John Pecham archbishop of Canturbury.

A point of practise in the court of Rome.

Ecclesiasticall persons exempted by the pope, for not paying tribute to the king.

The pope proceedeth against the manifest word, in setting the clergy free from the kings tributes.

The copie of the popes bull, wherein the clergy is exempted from giuing tribute to kings and princes.

Ex Chron. Rob. Gisburnensis.

BOnifacius, &c. *Ad sempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis, laicos infestos oppido tradidit antiquitas. Quod & præsentium experimenta temporum manifestè declarant, dum suis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum & adillicita sua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo sit eis in clericos ecclesiasticasue personas, & bona interdicta potestas. Quinimo ecclesiarum prælatis, ecclesijs ecclesiasticisq; personis regularib. & secularibus imponuntur onera grauia, ipsos talliant, & eis collectas imponunt, & ab ipsis suorumque prouentuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, seu vicesimam, vel quamuis aliam portionem, quotam exigunt & extorquent, eosq; moliuntur multipariè subijcere seruituti, suæque subdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter referimus, nonnulli ecclesiarum prælati, ecclesiasticaque persona trepidantes, vbi trepidandum non est, transitoriam pacem quærentes, plus timentes maiestatem temporalem offendere, quàm æternam, talium abusibus non tam tamerariè, quàm improuidè acquiescunt, sedis apostolicæ authoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obuiare volentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio* Apostolicæ authoritate statuimus: quòd quicunque prælati, ecclesiasticaue personæ, vel seculares, quorumcunque ordinum condarionis, seu status, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam, decimam, vicesimam, seu centesimam suorum & ecclesiarum suarum prouentuum vel bonorum laicis soluerint, vel promiserint, vel se soluturos excesserint, aut quamuis aliam quantitatem, portionem, aut quicquam ipsorum prouentuum vel bonorum æstimationem vel valorem ipsorum subuentionis, subsidij, vel doni nomine, seu quouis alio timore, vel modo, vel quæsito colore absque autoritate sedis eiusdem: Nec non imperatores, reges, seu principes, duces, seu comites, vel barones, potestates, capitaneas, officiales vel rectores quocunque nomine censeantur, ciuitatum, castrorum, seu quorumque locorum constitutorum vbilibet, & * quis alius cuiuscunque præeminentiæ conditionis & status, qui talia imposuerint & exegerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes sacras depositæ ecclesiarum vel ecclesiasticarum personarum vbilibet * arestauerint, sayserint seu occupare præsumpserint, vel arestari, saysiri, aut occupari mandauerint, aut * occupata, saysita, seu arestata receperint: nec non omnes qui scienter in prædictis dederint consilium, auxilium, vel fauorem, publicè vel occultè, eo ipso sententiam excommunicationis * incurrunt. Vniuersitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint ecclesiastico supponimus interdicto: prælatis, & personis ecclesiasticis supradictis in virtute obedientiæ & sub pœna depositionis districtè mandantes, vt talibus absq; licentia expressa dictæ sedis nullatenus acquiescant. A supradictis autem excommunicationis & interdicti sententijs nullus absolui valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo absque sedis Apostolicæ autoritate & licentia speciali, &c.*

* Quinis, pro quisquis, barbarismus Apostolicus.

* Flores Attici ex ipso Helicone desumpti. Irisomrie rhetorica.

* Tauri cornu, Ware the bulls horne.

* Apostolica autoritas frustra obtenitur, vbi Apostolica scriptura cõtemnitur.

This bull being directed (as is said) from Rome to the archbishop of Canturbury, and likewise through the whole vniuersall church, vnder the popes authority; it chanced not long after, the king held his parliament at Saint Edmundsbury, where was grãted to him of all cities and boroughs an eighth, and of the commõs a twelfth of their goods. Only the clergy by vertue of his bull, stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the king. This answer not well pleasing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themselues vpon the matter; and after long aduisement, so to giue him answer thereof against the next parliament, which should be holden the next Hillary terme at London.

The clergy denieth to giue tribute to the king.

In conclusion, the parliament came, the clergy persisteth still in the deniall of their subsidie, alleaging the popes bull for their warrant and discharge. Whereupon the king likewise secludeth them from vnder his protection & safegard of his lawes. And as concerning the archbishop of Canturbury, aboue mentioned, because he was found more stubborne then the rest, and was the inciter to the other, he seazed vpon all his goods, and caused an inuentory of the same to be inrolled in the exchequer. Notwithstanding, diuers of the other bishops relented some after to the king, and contributed the fifth of their goods vnto him, and were receiued againe to fauor.

The clergy secluded from the kings protection.

The archbishop of Canturbury for his stubbornnes, had his goods confiscat to the king.

In the life of this kings father, it was declared before how the said king Henry the third, father to this king, after diuers wars and commotions had with his barons, had granted certaine liberties and freedomes written and contained in Magna Charta, and in Charta de foresta. Concerning which matter, much businesse happened in this kings daies also in the realme, betweene the king and his barons and commons. The occasion was this: A packe of woll which before paied but a marke to the king, was now by this king raised vp to forty shillings. After this, the king hauing a iourny to make into Flanders, sent to his barons and diuers other to giue their attendance, and seruice in the same, which they refused and denied to doe. Notwithstanding (the king persisting in his purpose) with such a power as he had, prepareth toward his iourny. To whom being in his way at Winchelsey, the foresaid earles and barons, and commons, sent certaine petitions contained in writing vnder the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbats and priors, earles & barons, with the communaltie of the realm. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their lord the king to redresse and amend certaine greeuances among them. And first declared in the name of the whole commons, that the premonition or writs directed to them for their attendance vpon his grace into Flanders, was not sufficient: for that there was no certaine place in the said writs specified vnto them whither to come for making their prouision, and preparing money and other things according to the same. And if the place had been to them signified, yet because none of their ancestors euer serued the king ouer into Flanders before, the commons therefore thought themselues not bound to any seruice in that country. And albeit they had been so bound thereunto, yet they were not able to doe it, being so heauily oppressed with so many tallages, tares, tolles, customes, and prices of corne; otes, tinne, woll, leather, oxen, kine, flesh, fish, &c. And besides all this, hauing no pennie of wages giuen them to releeue their charges: Ouer and besides, the lacke of the kings wages not paied them, their owne pouertie like an heauie burthen did so miserably lie vpon them, that some of them had no sustentation, some of them were not able to till their owne ground. They alleaged moreouer, that they were not now handled after the old

The variance betweene king Edward and his barons and commons.

Petitions of the barons and commons to the king.

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side lawes and customes of the land, as their ancestors were wont. Many also found themselues grieued in that they were not vsed according to the articles contained in charta magna, nor againe that the Charta de foresta, was not obserued nor kept as was wont to be. Wherefore most humbly they besee-ched the king, both for his owne honor and for the wealth of his people, that of these things they might finde redresse. For the custome moreouer of woll, the whole commons bewailed to the king their griefe, in that for euery packe of woll, was fi-ned to the king xl.s. and for euery sacke of tosed woll, seuen marks: The which woll of England, as it doth rise vp to the value of halfe the realme: so the tollage of the same surmoun-teth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole land. And be-cause therefore the commons wished the honor and preseruati-on of their king, (as they were bound to doe) they thought it not good for his grace to saile ouer to Flanders, vnlesse he had better assurance of their fidelitie, especially at this time the Scots being so busie: who if they began to rebell, he being at home in his land, much more were they like to stir, he being a-broade out of the land. And that not only for the Scots, but also for that the like perill was to be doubted of other forraigne na-tions and kingdomes, which as yet were in no firme peace with England, &c.

Magna Charta. Charta de foresta. Custome for wooll.

The kings answer to the petitions of the barons and the commons.

To these petitions, the king said that he could as yet make no resolute answer, for that his councell, some was gone ouer already to Flanders, some were yet at London. Notwith-standing, at his returne againe from Flanders (which he tru-sted should be speedily) they should then heare his answer, and know more of his mind concerning the same. In the meane time this he required of them, to keepe good rule at home while he was forth. What answere the king had minded to make them at his returne, it is vncertaine, which peraduenture had turned to a bloudy answer: but occasion serued otherwise, and turned all to agreemen. For the Scots with their Captaine William Waleys aboue specified, in the time the king being absent, inuaded the realme with such violence, that prince Ed-ward the kings sonne, who was left to rule in his fathers stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the earle of Hereford, the earle of Northfolke, high marshall of England, earle of Essex high Constable, with other earles, ba-rons, knights, and esquires, to intreat peace and concord be-twéene his father and them. Who comming vp to London with 1500 well armed souldiers, and obtaining the gates of the citie with their owne men, fell at length to agreement with the prince, vpon composition to haue the Articles of Magna Charta, and of Charta de foresta, confirmed, and that by his meanes and mediation they might be assured of the kings dis-pleasure to be removed from them. The which foresaid articles of Magna charta, with the other articles adioined withall, here follow vnder written.

Humfrey Bonne, Roger Bigot.

First, no tollage or subsidie by the king or his heires to be imposed or leuied hereafter within the realm of England, with-out the common assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbats and other prelats, earles, barons, knights, burgeses, and commons of the realme.

The articles contained in Magna charta.

Item no taker or seruitor of the king or of his heires hence-forth within this realme, to take graine, woll, leather, or any goods of any man, without the will and consent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any pack of woll.

Item, to be granted by the king and his heires after him, both to the clergy and laity of this foresaid realme: to haue and to inioy their lawes, liberties and customes, in as ample man-ner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrées or statutes shall hereafter be made and set forth contrary to these foresaid articles, the same to stand void and of no effect for euer.

Agreement con-cluded and sea-led between the king and his barons.

Besides these articles also, in the same composition was contained, that all grudge and displeasure betwéene the king and the barons for not going to Flanders ceasing: the earles and barons might bee assured to be receiued againe into the kings fauor.

The moderate and good na-ture of king Edward noted.

These things thus agréed vpon, and by mediation of the prince also confirmed and sealed with the kings seale his fa-ther: so was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no lesse strength of the realme against their ene-mies: and most chiefly to the commendation of the gentle and wise nature of the king; who as he was gentle in promising his reconcilement with his subiects, so no lesse constant was he in kéeping that which he had promised.

Rob. Winchel-sey, archbishop of Canturbury.

After the death of John Pecham archbishop of Canturbury, aboue mentioned, who in the parliament had resisted the king in the right of certaine liberties pertaining to the crowne, touching patronages and such church matters: succéeded Ro-bert Winchelsey, with whom also the king had like variance, and accused him to the pope for breaking the peace, and toke part with them that rebelled against the king about bla-ges and liberties of the realme. Wherefore, the king being cited vp to the court of Rome, was there suspended, by the meanes of the said archbishop, directed his letters againe to the pope, taken out of the parliament rolles, where I finde diuers let-

K. Edward was troubled with two arch-bishops of Can-turbury.

ters of the king to pope Clement, against the said Robert arch-bishop of Canturbury, the contents whereof here followeth videlicet qualiter idem. And as this king was troubled in his time with both the archbishops, John Pecham, and also Robert Winchelsey, so it happened to all other kings for the most part, from the time of Lanefranc us (that is from pope Hilde-brand) that euery king in his time had some businesse or other with that sea. As William Rufus, and Henry the first were trou-bled with Anselmus; Henry the second with Thomas Wec-ket; king Richard and all England with William bishop of Ely, the popes legat; king John with Stephan Langthon; king Henry the third with Edmund archbishop, called saint Edmund. Polic. lib. 7. Likewise this king Edward the first, with John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey aforesaid. And so other kings after him, with some prelat or other: whereby ye haue to vnderstand, how and about what time the church of Rome, which before time was subiect to kings and princes, be-gan first to take head aboue, and against kings and rulers, and so haue kept it euer since.

The church of Rome and Ro-mish prelats set against kings and rulers.

Kings of Eng-land commonly troubled with archbishops of Canturbury.

By this John Pecham afore mentioned, was ordained, that no spirituall minister should haue any more benefices then one, which also was decréed by the constitutions of Ot-to and Otobonus, the popes legats the same time in Eng-land.

Pilets to haue but one be-nefice.

About the beginning of this kings raign, after the de-crease of Walter archbishop of Yorke: William Wicewan-ger succéeding in that sea, minding to go on visitation, came to Duresme to visit the church and chapter there. But the cler-gie and the people of the citie shut the gates against him, and kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance. The arch-bishop let flie his curse of excommunication and interdiction against them. The bishop of Duresme againe with his cler-gie, despised all his curssings, grounding themselues vpon the constitution of Innocentius the fourth, De censibus & exacti-onibus. And so they appealed to Rome, saying: that he ought not to be receiued there, before hee had first begun to visit his owne chapter and Diocesse, which hee had not done. For to say the words of the constitutions: We ordaine and decrée, that euerie archbishoppe that will visit his prouince, first must procure to visit his owne Church, Citie, and Dio-cesse, &c.

Variance be-twéen the arch-bishop of Yorke and the clergy of Duresme.

Among other things in this king to be noted, that is not to be passed ouer; that where complaint was made to him of his officers, as iustices, maiors, sheriffes, bailiffes, escheters, and such other, who in their offices abusing themselues, extortioned and oppressed the kings liege people, otherwise then was ac-cording to the right and conscience: the said king not suffering such misorder to be punished, did appoint certaine officers or inquisitors, to the number of twelue, which inquisition was called Traibaston, or Trailbastoun: by meane of which inqui-sition, diuers false officers were accused, and such as were of-fenders were either remoued from their place, or forced to buy againe their office at the kings hand; to their no small losse, and great gaine to the king, and much profit to the common-wealth.

Inquisition made against ill rulers and false officers.

Trailbastoun.

In the chronicle of Robert Amesbury, it is recorded of the said king, that he being at Amesbury to see his mother (who was then in that monastery professed) there was a certaine man that fained himselfe blind a long time, brought to the pre-sence of the said Alinore the kings mother, saying, how that he had his sight againe restored at the tombe of king Henry her late husband, insomuch that she was easily perswaded in the miracle to be very true. But king Edward her sonne, know-ing the man a long time to be a vile dissembler, and a wicked person, vsed to lying and craftie deceiuing, dissuaded his mo-ther not to giue credit to the vile vagabon, declaring that he knew so well of the iustice of his father, that if he were aliue, he would twice rather plucke out both his eies, then once re-store him one. Notwithstanding, the queene the mother remai-ning still in the former fond perswasion, would heare or beleeue nothing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her sonne, that shee bid him depart her chamber; and so he did. By the example whereof may easily be conceiued, how and after what sort these blind miracles in those daies, and since haue come vp among the blind and superstitious people. For had not the king here been wiser then the mother, no doubt but this would haue been rung a miracle, and percase king Henry him made a saint.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walsingham.

A false miracle wel spied out of the king.

But as this was a fained miracle, and false no doubt, so in the same author we reade of another manner of miracle, sounding more neere the truth, and so much the more likelie, for that it serued to the conuersion vnto christian faith: to which vse properly, all true miracles doe appertaine. The miracle was this. In the raigne of this king, and the latter yeere of his raigne, Cassanus king of the Tartarians (of whom commeth these whom now wee call Turks) which fighting against the Souldan king of the Saracens, in the plaine of Damascus, slew of them a hundred thousand of Saracens: and againe at Babylon, fighting with the said Souldan, slew him in the field, and 200000 of his Saracens, calling vpon the helpe of Christ, and thereupon became christian. This Cas-sanus I say, had a brother a Pagan, who being in loue with the

Ex eodem chron.

A true miracle.

Victory against the Saracens.

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the daughter of the king of Armenia a christian woman, desired of her father to marry with her. Whereunto the king her father would not agree, vnlesse he promised to be a christian. Notwithstanding, the other being stronger in power & threatning to get her by war; the king at length was forced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the child being borne betwixt them was ouergrowne, and all rough with haire, like the skin of a beare. Which child being brought to the father, hee commanded it to be throwne into the fire and burned. But the mother desiring first to haue the child baptised, caused all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the sacrament of holy baptisme receiued; incontinent was altered and turned from all his hairie roughnesse, and seene as faire and smoth skinned as any other. The which thing after the father saw and beheld, was christened himselfe and all his house, &c.

Merton colledge builded in Oxford.

In the raigne of this king, Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, builded Merton colledge in Oxford. In whose raigne also liued Henricus de Gaudano, Arnoldus de villa noua, Dantes, and other mo. And Scotus called Duns. Who in his fourth booke of Sent. Dist. 18. complaineth of the abuse of excommunication and of the popes keies. Whereas before, excommunication was not vsed, but vpon great and iust causes, and therefore was feared: now, saith he, it is brought forth for euerie trifling matter, as for not paying the priests wages, &c. and therefore, saith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the same king, about the beginning of his raigne, was the yeere so hot and so dry, that from the month of Maie vntill the month neere of September, fell no raine: insomuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people in their reckoning of yeeres, did count the time from the said dry yeere long after.

I. Scotus, Duns.

Pope Clement 5. The popes court translated to France.

After pope Benedictus aboue mentioned, succeeded pope Clement the 5. who translated the popes court to Auinion in France, where it remained the terme of 74. yeers after. At the coronation of this Clement, was present Philip king of France, Charles his son & duke John duke of Britanny, with a great number of other men of state and nobility. At which coronation they being in the middle of the pompe or procession, a great wall brake down and fell vpon them: by the fall whereof, duke John with twelue other were slain, king Philip hurt and wounded, the pope stricken from his horse, and lost out from his mitre vpon his head a carbuncle, esteemed to the value of 6000 florence. Plat. de vit. Pont. By this Clement was ordained, that the emperor, though he might bee called king of the Romans before, yet he might not inioy the title and right of the emperor, before he was by him confirmed. And that the emperors seat being vacant, the pope should raigne as emperor, till a new emperor was chosen. By him the orders of the Templaries (who at that time were too abominable) was put down at the counsell of Vienne, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi, assigning indulgences to such as heard the seruice thereof. And as pope Bonifacius afore heaped vp the booke of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium, so this Clement compiled the 7. booke of the decretals, called of the same Clement, the Clementines. In the time of this pope, Henricus the 6. of that name emperor, was poisoned in receiuing the sacrament, by a false dissembling monke called Bernard, that fained himselfe to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the popes legat. The emperor perceiuing himselfe poisoned, warned him to flee and escape away: for else the Germans would sure haue slaine him; who although he escaped himselfe, yet diuers of his order after that with fire and sword were slaine.

A carbuncle in the popes mitre valued at 6000. Florences.

Emperor no emperor, except he were confirmed by the pope.

The Templaries put downe.

The feast of Corpus Christi.

Septimus decretalium, called the Clementines.

Henricus 6. emperor poisoned in the host.

As this pope Clement the 5. had well prouided now (as ye haue heard) against the empire of Rome to bring it vnder his girdle, insomuch that without the popes benediction, no emperor might take the state vpon him, &c. now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. Where he first exerciseth his tyrannie and power of excommunication against Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, an. 1306. declaring him as a schismatike and heretike, because he neither would, nor durst suffer the Grecians to make their appeale from the Greeke church to the pope, neither would acknowledge him for his superior, &c. Whereby it may appeare, that the Greeke church did not admit the popes superioritie as yet, nor at any time before. Saue onely about the time of pope Innocent the 3. an. 1202. at what time the Frenchmen with their captaine Baldwinus, earle of Flanders, ioined together with the Venecians, were set against the Grecians, to place Alerius to the right of the empire of Constantinople, vpon condition (as writeth Platina) to subdue the Greeke church vnder the church of Rome. Which Alerius being restored, and shortly after slaine; the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained the space of 58. yeeres, till the comming of Michael Paleologus in the daies of pope Gregory the ninth, who restored the empire from the Frenchmen, vnto his pristine state againe. During all which time of the French emperors, the Greeke church was subiect to Rome, as by the decretals of Pope Gregory the ninth may appeare. Then followed after this, that the foresaid Michael emperor of Constantinople, being called vp to a councell at

Paleologus emperor of Constantinople excommunicated with all his adherents by Pope Clement, for not suffering the Grecians to appeale to Rome.

Anno 1306

Platina in vit. Innocentij.

When and how long the Greek church was subiect to Rome.

Note the practise of the Romish prelats.

Lions by pope Gregory the tenth, about the controuersie of proceeding of the holy Ghost (as is aboue specified) and obedience to the church of Rome: there, because the said Michael the emperor did submit himselfe and the Grecians to the subiection of Rome (as testifieth Baptist Egnat.) he thereby procured to himselfe such grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of buriall. The sonne of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus aboue mentioned: who, as ye haue heard before, because he was constrained by the Grecians, not to admit any appellation to the bishop of Rome, was accursed by the popes censures for an heretike. Whereby appeareth, that the Grecians recouering their state againe, refused all subiection at this time vnto the church of Rome, which was the yeere of our Lord 1327, &c. After this Clement the 5. followed pope John the 22. with whom Ludouicke the emperor had much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded pope Benedict the 12. Which Benedict vpon a time, being desired to make certaine new cardinals, to this answereth againe: that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world. For this world (said he) is for these cardinals that be made already. Ex scripto Engethusensis. And thus much of the popes: now to returne a little backe to the kings story againe.

Ex Baptist. Egnat. Rom. princ. l. 7.

The Greeke church denieth subiection to the church of Rome.

In the yeere of our Lord 1307, which was 34 of the raigne of this king, in the beginning of Hillary Terme, the king kept a parliament at Carliel, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles and ancients of the realme, concerning the manifold and intollerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and exactions of money by the popes legat William Testa (otherwise termed Mala Testa) lately brought into the realme of England. The comming of which William Testa was vpon this occasion, as followeth: Pope Clement, who as yee heard before, had translated his court from Rome into France, where he had been archbishop before, because he contemned to come and remaine at his owne sea: the Princes of Rome thought him therefore vnworthy to inioy Peters patrimony. And so by that meanes falling into barenesse and pouertie, liued onely of such money of bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other thifts and gifts. So that by this meanes, partly of bishops and other religious men and persons, partly vnder the name of courtesie and beneuolence, partly vnder the pretence of borrowing; hee had within the first yeere 9500. marks of siluer, all his other charges and expenses, which he largely that yeere bestowed, clearly borne. Besides this, he sent moreouer the foresaid legat William Testa into England with his buls: in the which hee reserued the first fruits of the first yeere of all churches being vacant at any time, or by any man within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and also the fruits of abbies and priories within the said realmes, &c. Whereupon the king with his nobles, seeing the inconuenience and harme thereof ensuing to the whole realme: in the foresaid parliament holden at Carliel, withstood the said legat, charging and commanding him by the assent of the earles and barons, that henceforth he should abstaine from all such exactions. And as concerning his lord the pope, he would direct certaine his messengers vnto him, purposely for the same matter appointed: by the which ambassadors, the king wrote vnto the foresaid pope, declaring and monishing the pope, as right and reason was: that he should not exact the first fruits of churches and abbies, by his predecessors and noble men of the land, founded for the honour and maintenance of Gods seruice, for almes and hospitalitie: which otherwise in so doing, should all bee ouerthrowne. And so by this meanes, the pope at that time changed his purpose as concerning abbies. But after that, the fruit of English churches was granted to the king for two yeeres; in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid churches, &c.

Ex Chron. Nic. Trimt.

The popes exactions complained of in the parliament.

First fruits first brought in by the pope.

King Edward withstandeth the pope and his legate.

First fruits of abbies denied to the pope.

First fruits for two yeers granted to the king.

During the which parliament afore specified, as men were talking many things of the popes oppressions, which he began in the English church, in the full of the parliament; suddenly fell downe, as sent from heauen, among them a certaine paper, with this superscription.

An epistle of Cassiodorus to the church of *England, concerning the abuses of the* Romish church.

Ex vetusto Chronico Albanensi.

TO the noble church of England, seruing in clay and bricke as the Iewes did in time past vnder the tyranny of the Egyptians: Peter the sonne of Cassadore a catholike souldier, and deuout champion of Christ, sendeth greeting, and wishing to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receiue the reward of libertie.

To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee O daughter Ierusalem? to whom shall I match thee, O daughter of Sion? Great is thy perturbation, like vnto the sea. Thou sittest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heauinesse. Thou art giuen vp into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without helpe of one to lift thee vp: for the Scribes and Pharisies sitting

sitting vpon the chaire of Moyses, the enemies of the Romans are as thy heads and rulers: inlarging their garded philacteries, and seeking to be inriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heauie burthens, and not able to bee borne vpon thy shoulders & of thy ministers, and they set thee vnder tribute, (which of old time hast been free) beyond all honestie or measure. But maruell not thereat, for thy mother, which is the ladie of people, like a widow hauing married and coupled her selfe to her subiect, hath appointed him to be thy father: that is to say, the bishop of Rome, who sheweth no point of any fatherly loue towards thee. Hee magnifieth and extendeth to the vttermost his authoritie ouer thee: And by experience hee declareth himselfe to bee the husband of thy mother. Hee remembreth oft with himselfe the propheticall saying of the Prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great booke, and write therein quickly with the penne of a man; Take the spoile, rob quickly. But is this it which the Apostle saith, that hee was appointed for, where hee writeth thus? Euery bishoppe taken from among men, is appointed for men in those things that belong to the Lord: not to spoile, nor to lay on them yeerely taxes, nor to kill men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sinnes, and to sorrow with them that bee ignorant and doe erre. And so wee reade of Peter the Fisher (whose successour hee boasteth himselfe to be) that after the resurrection of Christ, hee returned with other Apostles, to the office of fishing: who when hee could take nothing on the left side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ, turned to the right side, and drew to the land a net full of fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministery of the church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the diuell is ouercome, and plenty of soules bee lucrified and wonne to Christ. But certainly, the labour on the left side of the ship, is farre otherwise: for in it the faith stumbleth, heauinesse beareth rule, when that thing that is desired by seeking, is not found. For who is so foolish to thinke, that hee can both at one time serue God and man, and to satisfie his owne will, or to sticke to the reuelations of flesh and bloud, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtlesse, that shepheard that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring Lion, and seeking whom hee may deuour. And now behold, I say, O daughter, the deedes of him that is called thy father, such as haue not been heard of before: hee driueth away the good shepheards from the sheepfold, and placeth in their stead bishops, to rule, but not to profit (his nephewes, cosins, and parents) some that know no letters, and othersome dumbe and deafe, which vnderstand not the plaine voice of the sheep, not curing their wounds that bee hurt of the wolues: but like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other men haue sowen, whose hands moreouer be alwaies ready in their baskets and pouches, but their backes are turned from their burthens. By which thing it is manifest, that the priesthood is cleane changed at these daies, the seruice of God decaied, almes diminished and brought to nought, the whole deuotion of kings, princes, and christians, is banished. May not this be thought wonderfull in the eies of all men, that whereas Christ commanded tribute to bee paied to kings for him and for Peter, he now goeth about dominion of his stile, to subdue to him both realmes, and princes of realmes (against his will, whose vicar hee saith he is, and who refused the realmes and iudgements of the world) which this bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which hee in his stile writeth to bee his? Alacke, O daughter, what doth he yet more against thee? marke, hee draweth from thee whatsoeuer pleaseth him, and yet hee thinketh not himselfe content, to haue the tenth part onely of thy goods from thee; except he haue also the first fruits of the benefices of the ministers, wherby hee may get a new patrimony, as well for himselfe as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wils of the first founders. Ouer and beside all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and stipends for his legats and messengers, whom hee sendeth into England, which not onely take away the feeding and clothing of thee & thine, but also teare in pieces like dogges your flesh and skinnes. May not this prince be compared to king Nabuchodonoser, which destroied the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the siluer and golden vessels thereof? The very same doth this man also; he robbed the ministers of God his house, and left destitute of due helpe. In like manner doth he: Truly they be better that are killed with the sword, then they which be pined with hunger: for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrennes of the earth. O daughter, all they that passe by the way, let them haue pitie and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker then coales, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more knowne in the streets: thy foresaid ruler hath placed thee in darknesse, and hath giuen thee wormwood and gall to drinke. O Lord, heare the sorrow and sighings of thy people, behold Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid man is more indurate then the heart of Pharaoh. For hee will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he scourgeth them not onely miserably vpon the earth, but also after their death, he intendeth to incroch the goods of all christians vnder the name and title to die intestate, or making no will. Therefore let the chiualry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in times past, directing their greedy eies on the realme of England, labored with all their power how to bring the same vnder their subiection. But it is to be feared, lest the new deuices and practise of this new enemy, supply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the realme, and spoiling of the churches goods, the realme shall be brought into such inability, that it shall not be able to helpe it selfe against the enemy. Therefore, O daughter, and you the ministers thereof, suffer not your selues to be led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the christian king and the powers of the realme, which haue indued thee with great benefits, and you also which are indued with their benefits, doe labour with all your power how to resist the deuices, conspiracies, arrogancie, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person: who not for any zeale of God, but for the inriching of his parents, and for his owne kindred (exalting himselfe like an eagle) by these and such other exactions goeth about after another kind of extortion to scrape vp and deuoure all the money and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled simplicitie of the realme in this behalfe doe bring vtter subuersion, and afterward be compelled to seeke remedy when it is too late: I beseech the Lord God of hosts to turne away the vaile from the heart of that man, and to giue him a contrite and an humble minde, in such sort as he may acknowledge the waies of the true God, whereby hee may bee brought out of darknesse, and be inforced to relinquish his old sinister attempts: and that the vineyard which the Lords hand hath planted, may bee repleniished continually with the Preachers of the word. Let the words of the Lord prophecied by the mouth of Ieremy, stirre vp your minds to withstand and resist the subtill practises of this man, by the which words the Lord speaketh: O thou pastor which hast scattered my people, and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold I will come and visit vpon thee, and vpon the malice of thy studies: neither shall there be any of thy seede which shall sit vpon the seat of Dauid, neither which shall haue power any more in Iuda. So that thy nest shall become barren, and vtterly subuerted, like Sodome and Gomer.

And if he being terrified by these words, doe not leaue off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make restitution of those things which he hath receiued, then let all and singuler persons sing for him being indurat, to him that seeth all things, the psalme 108. *Deus laudem, &c.* For truly as fauour, grace, and beneuolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so againe the gentle benignitie of man being too much oppressed and grieued, seeking to bee deliuered and freed from the same, striueth and searcheth to haue the truth knowen, and casteth off that yoke by all meanes possible that grieueth him, &c. *Hec Cassiodorus.*

What effect this letter wrought in them to whom it was directed, is not in story expressed. This by the sequell may bee coniectured; that no reason or perswasion could preuaile, but that the pope retained here still his exactions, whatsoeuer was said or written to the contrary notwithstanding.

A parliament in France assembled, wherein is discussed, the iurisdiction ecclesiasticall, how farre it extendeth.

And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in England: now to slip a little into the matters happening the same time in France, vnder the raigne of the foresaid king Philip aboue mentioned: forsomuch as about this time, an. 1307. was commenced a parliament by the said king of France, against the pope, touching the iurisdiction both temporall pertaining to princes, and ecclesiasticall belonging to the church; I thought it not vnprofitable for the reader to heare and learne the full discourse and tractation hereof, according as we haue caused it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true copie and records of Peter Bertrand bishop of Eduenen, and chiefe doer and prolocutor in the said parliament vpon the popes side, against the king and state temporall.

Anno 1307.

For so much as the high prelat of Rome, otherwise called Antichrist, being then in his chiefe ruffe, extolling himself aboue all princes and potentates of the world, as in other countries, so also in France extended his vsurped iurisdiction, aboue the princely authority of the king, claiming to himselfe full gouernment of both the states, as well secular as also ecclesiasticall; the king therefore not suffering the excessiue proceedings of pope Clement the 5. aboue specified, directeth his letters mandatory to the prelats and barons of the realme of France, to conuent and assemble themselues together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the yere aboue prefixed: The tenor of which letters of the king directed to the prelats, followeth in this forme and maner.

The summons of a parliament by Philip the French king.

The letter of Philip king of France, to the bishops and prelats.

PHilip by the grace of God king of France, to our welbeloued bishop of Eduens, greeting and salutation. Reuerend Father in God, right trusty & welbeloued, we greet you wel. The more sight and knowledge you haue in diuinitie and the holy Scriptures of God, with the practise and experience of other good qualities and vertues: you know the better a great deale, how that the clergy and laitie of this our realme (as members of one body) ought to cleaue and sticke together: and how by their

their helping hand, vnity and peace ſhould be maintained of all, and the contrary eſchewed and auoided, euery ſtate contenting it ſelfe, and not incroching one vpon another. And becauſe we are aduertiſed, how that our barons and officers (as well in time paſt as of late) haue diuerſly in diuers points iniuried you, as ſemblably you and yours in many cauſes haue wrongfully dainaged them: by occaſion whereof, the knot of vnitie and concord, which ought to haue flouriſhed among you, is quite looſed and vndone. To the end therefore by Gods grace ſome good reformation and redreſſe may be had herein: Wee moſt ſtudious of vnitie & concord require you, and by theſe our letters command you, to appeare perſonally before vs at Paris the 15. day of December next enſuing the date hereof, and there before vs to make relation of ſuch wrong as ye haue receiued at the laities hands. And we likewiſe ſtraitly charge and command you our barons, bailiffes and officers, not to faile, but to make your perſonall appearances before vs, the day and place aboue written, and there to exhibit before vs a bill of ſuch complaints, wherewith you burden our prelats and clergie, with their officials: that we with our counſell conſulting thereupon, with due regard may ſee redreſſe therein: whereby perpetuall loue and charitie may euer hereafter raigne and remaine among them for euer. Giuen at Paris the firſt day of September, an. 1329.

The parliament conuented.

At the day in the letters aboue ſpecified, the prelats and clergy aſſembled themſelues before the king at his palace in Paris, that is to wit, the lord Bituricen, the lord of Auritan, the lord Turonen, the lord Rothom, and the lord Senon, all archbiſhops: the lord Beluacen, the lord Cathalen, the lord Laudun, the lord of Paris, the lord Nouionon, the lord Carnoten, the lord Conſtan, the lord Andegauen, the lord Pictauen, the lord Melden, the lord of Cameracen, the lord of S. Feri, the lord Brioce, the lord of Cabulion, & the lord of Eduen, all biſhops. Where after due reuerence done vnto the kings grace, there ſitting in his owne perſon, with his barons and councell about him; a certaine noble and wiſe perſon, lord Peter de Cugnerijs, (being one of the kings counſell) roſe vp and openly in the parliament houſe ſpake in the kings behalfe on this wiſe, taking for his Theame, Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei, Deo: which is to ſay; Giue and render vnto Ceſar which is his, and vnto God which is Gods: which hee very artificially proſecuted and applied, diuiding it into two parts. Firſt, that obedience and reuerence is due vnto the king. Secondly, that there ought to be a difference betweene the iuriſdiction of the clergy and laity, ſo that ſpirituall matters ſhould be defined and ordered by the prelats and ſpirituall men, & temporall cauſes ruled and determined by the king, his barons and temporall men. Which all he proued by many reaſons both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the anſwere of the biſhop of Eduen: finally he concluded, that the clergy ought only to deale and haue to doe with ſpirituall matters; in defence whereof, the kings highneſſe would ſtand their good lord and maintainer. His oration being ended, he repeated certaine words in the French tongue, which imported that the kings will and pleaſure was in ſome points to renew the temporall ſtate and iuriſdiction: and therewith exhibited a certaine bill in French, whereof alſo he gaue a copie to the prelats, containing certaine points and articles vnder written, the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertaine to the order and iuriſdiction of the ſpiritualty, but onely to the temporalty, complaining that the clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the ſame. But notwithſtanding the premiſſes, and for all this his complaint, he ſaid that the prelats ſhould haue time to conſult and deliberate thereupon with the king. The copie of which articles, with anſwer enſuing vpon the ſame, and the greeuances of the kingdome of France, wrought by the clergie, and exhibited to the king, hereafter followeth.

Lord Peter ſpeakes in the parliament.

The theame of his oration.

The oration diuided into two parts.

Obedience to the king.

Difference betweene the iuriſdiction of the ſtate temporall and eccleſiaſticall.

Articles in the parliament propounded, concerning the iuſt complaints of the laity againſt the clergy.

Cauſes reall.

1. Firſt, the cognition of cauſes reall, whether they touch poſſeſſion or their proprietie or not, by common law appertaineth to the iuriſdiction temporall. But the prelats with their officials, to the end to infringe the temporall iuriſdiction, take vpon them the determination of ſuch cauſes reall, eſpecially concerning poſſeſſion and all other interdicts.

2. Item, when a temporall man is ſued by any clerke or ſpirituall man for the poſſeſſion of his land, obtaining an adiornament of the ſecular power, in the cauſe of noutte or otherwiſe: the prelats officials ſtopping hereby the temporall iuriſdiction, at the inſtance of the clerke calleth by proceſſe before them, both the ſecular iudge and the party, inhibiting them to proceed any further in the cauſe, vnder paine of excommunication and forfaiture of a certaine ſum.

3. Item, although the ſecular iudge haue the cognition of all lay mens matters (except in ſpirituall cauſes) yet will the biſhops officials at the inſtance of any party, call ſuch before them. And if the temporall men doe except againſt their iuriſdiction, alleaging the incompetencie of the iudge, or elſe if they require the cauſe to be remitted to them (vnder whom they are) as the right iudges, yet doe the Officials refuſe this to doe, yea and by excommunication compell the parties to proceed before them.

Prelats intermeddle in temporall mens matters.

4. Item, the biſhops officials at the inſtance of the clerks, alleaging that they are iniuried in matters of inheritance by a lay man, call by proceſſe the laity. And if it be alleaged that thoſe cauſes ſtand vpon reality, being ſo indeed, and for that conſideration the cauſe to be remitted to the temporall law: this notwithſtanding, the Officials prohibit them vnder paine of excommunication, or ſome great forfet, not to proceed but before them.

5. Item, the Biſhops Officials take vpon them to heare the plea of ſuch contracts, as either be conceiued in writings or made by word of mouth in the temporall law, ſending out their monition of excommunication againſt them that ſtand bound concerning the ſame contracts.

6. Item, the biſhops and prelats decree prouinciall councels and ſynodall ſtatutes, enacting and ordering therein many things to the high and great preiudice of the temporall iuriſdiction, wherein they ought to haue no cognition at all, neither to intermeddle themſelues therewith.

7. Item, the foreſaid Officials take vpon them, before Notaries to ſweare perſons for performance of contracts and bargaines (made by them in places vnder the iuriſdiction temporall) concerning the ſale of inheritance or otherwiſe; incroching thereby vpon their iuriſdiction, when verily they haue nothing to doe with any contracts and obligations, but with ſuch as are made and agreed vpon within the compaſſe of their owne ſeat and iuriſdiction.

8. Item, the ſaid Officials of their meere office, call before them the laity, to anſwer to ſuch matters of correction as ſhall be laid to their charge, the cognition whereof, as they ſay, doth appertaine vnto them. And when the ſaid perſons doe appeare before them, and deny the crime obiected againſt them, the Officials detaine them and put them in priſon, although in ſuch caſes they are to be releaſed; and that impriſonment appertaineth only to the temporall power, and not to them.

Ex Officio.

Impriſonment pertaineth not to the clergie.

9. Item, in the caſes aforeſaid, although by making of their purgations and other the proceſſe therein, they be found cleere of that which is laid to their charge, and are acquitted; theſe yet the ſaid Officials will in no wiſe diſcharge & diſmiſſe them, before they haue to the vttermoſt paied for the writings and proceſſe in that behalfe, a good peece of mony, when by law it ought to be done gratis, and for nothing.

10. Item, it muſt not be forgotten to talk of the ſentence of excommunication, which is decreed by vertue of one only citation, ſo often times as a man faileth in his appearance.

11. Item, mention is to be made of thoſe kind of obligations Deniſi. Whereby a man is excommunicated by and by, if he make not paiment at the day preſired, although he be not able ſo to doe.

12. Item, whoſoeuer by vertue of excommunication in the biſhops court is excommunicat, and he ſo excommunicat, doe not ſatiſfie the ſumme due about the excommunication, by and by the ſum is doubled. And the ſecular power charged by the Biſhops or their Officials, that they vnder paine of excommunication compell the excommunicat by attaching their goods, to pay the ſaid ſum, and not to miſſe a iot: which monition, if the laitie refuſeth to put in execution, they themſelues are then excommunicat, and in no wiſe to be abſolued, before they diſburſe that mony, the which the principall excommunicat perſon ſhould haue paied.

13. Item, if the baliffes, headborowes, or other the kings officers & iudges of the temporaltie, receiuing the foreſaid monitions, do put the ſame in execution, and finde thoſe that be excommunicat, to be beggerly and nothing worth; the ſaid officers are bound at their owne proper coſts and charges, to reſort to the biſhops ſea or conſiſtory, whereſoeuer it is, and there to take a corporall oth, that the parties excommunicat, are nothing worth. This if they faile, thoſe officers are ſure to be excommunicat, and thereby inforced to diſburſe the due of the firſt excommunicat perſons.

14. Item, if two lay men be in ſute together before a temporall iudge, about an action either reall or perſonall, and one of them after conteſtation of law, and great proceſſe therein, do appeale vnto an eccleſiaſtical iudge, he will preſume then to detaine before him the plea of ſuch caſes and actions, both reall and perſonall, cauſing by vertue of his monitions and authoritie, the temporall iudge to ceaſe and leaue off from medling therein: which if the ſecular iudge obeieth not, he is pronounced excommunicat and compelled to make ſatiſfaction; by occaſion whereof, the temporall iuriſdiction is much annoied and cleane loſeth the prerogatiue thereof; becauſe by law no man may appeale from a ſpirituall iudge, to the temporall law.

Action reall, perſonall.

No man may appeale from a ſpirituall iudge to the temporall law by the popes diuinity.

15. Item, if a lay man, inhabiter of any of the kings townes, procureth his debter, being alſo a lay mã, to be arreſted by vertue of ſecular iuſtice in that place; and he which is ſo arreſted appealeth, and cauſeth alſo his creditor to be arreſted, the officials will take vpon them to heare this matter: and if any thing be attempted concerning the appeale, they miſſe not to demand coſt and ſatiſfaction both of the iuſtice, and alſo of him to whom the arreſt was made. And if any of the princes retinew compelleth them to reſiſt this iniurie, they are ſtraightwaies pronounced excommunicat.

16. Item, if the ſaid Biſhops haue a number of Officials vnder them, whom they terme deanes of the clergie, which vſually

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Deanes of the clergie

suallie causeth all sorts of people through the kings dominions onelie by word of mouth to come afore them, and that sometime without commission: when that in euerie diocesse there ought only to bee but one seate or consistorie, wherein matters should bee heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth diuers times, that manie are wrongfully and without cause cited, and to the end, that they may pay money enough, to rid themselues thereof: which is to the no small preiudice of the kings maiesties subiects and the temporall iurisdiction.

17 Item, the said rulers of the clerkes, seale vp the houses of their clergie, which are situate in the kings townes, and other of his noble mens villages, to the preiudice of the kings maiesties iurisdiction, and other of his nobilitie: for that in such kind of places the bishops haue no such kind of iurisdiction.

Maried clerks.

18 Item, the said prelats or their officials, do presume to seale vp the moueable goods of maried clerkes, and of merchants, where in such cases, the order thereof appertaineth to the temporall law.

19 Item, they compell the laytie to put in suretie to answere clerkes before them in the spirituall court, yea and chiefelie the kings owne seruitors.

20 Item, they presume to heare and haue the cognition of actions, which are reall, or at leastwise mixt, that is, both reall and personall.

21 Item, the said prelats go about to haue cognition of such temporall mens matters as dwell in hospitals, almes houses, and the kings peculiars, and in villages of his subiects, although the plea thereof appertaineth to the king himselfe, and his subiects: forbidding vnder paine of excommunication and great forfeits, no man so hardie to commence any sute against any of them, but before themselues, in paine of a great summe of money.

22 Item, to the end the clergie and ecclesiasticall rule should be multiplied, they confer a number of Tonsures to children vnder age, some of them being sonnes of bondmen, other some bastards borne, yea and to many more maried folkes insufficient, vnable and vnlearned.

23 Item, they do cause by the gouernors of their clerkes, widow women to be inforced and defiled, and will haue the discussing thereof: as in like manner, they will determine the matters of pupils, applying their goods when they died, as they do the goods of them which die intestate, to their owne vse, the cognition whereof belongeth to the king himselfe: because those kind of persons with their goods are ward to the king and vnder his tuition.

Gimmes to get money.

24 Item, they procure through the said deanes of the clergie, of malice, temporall men of the kings dominions or other where (without all order of law) to bee apprehended: obiecting against them that they haue strayed from some article of christian faith, and therewith shut them vp: when that their imprisonment appertaineth to the king, while they be conuicted thereof.

25 Item, they exercise their iurisdiction in all places, hauing no regard, neither to the kings peculiar townes, nor yet to his subiects: but runne in euerie hole, when by law they ought to haue no iurisdiction, without their owne limits and precinct.

26 Item, when these prelats or their officials by vertue of their monitions do charge the kings officers and his iustices to execute any thing; if they do not performe that, which is prescribed vnto them, the forfeit (which the monition containeth) is taken: yea and excommunication denounced. And this is a new inuention sprung vp of late amongst them, much to the preiudice of the king and his subiects.

27 Item, when the bishops or their officials do prosecute a matter of office before themselues against any temporall man, and haue no proofe thereof; they compell many of the laytie to be deposed therein what they know, hauing no respect whether they be the kings burgesses, or no, or what they be; and yet will they not allow any charges and expenses for their paines taken in that behalfe. But if they appeare not at their day, they are sure to be excommunicat.

28 Item, if malefactours be apprehended by any of the kings iustices, and indicted of theft, and he (whose goods they were which were stolne) commeth before the kings sheriffes and proueth them to be his, and therefore the matter to be ordered by them: if afterward the bishops or their officials affirme the said felon or malefactor to be a clerke, they will by vertue of their decrees or monitions compell the kings sheriffes to restore and bring in the stolne goods: and if they do it not, they are pronounced excommunicate.

29 Item, if it happen the kings sheriffe or bayliffe to take an offender for his offence, and he affirmeth himselfe to be a clerke: although he neuer tooke any kind of tonsures or orders, wearing no habit appertaining thereunto: yet the bishops or their officials will cause the detainers of them by their censures to deliuer vnto them the said malefactour as their clerke.

30 Item, if it happen the kings sheriffe or other his iustices to take a theefe or murderer, which beareth a clerkes marke and tonsure, and therefore deliuereth him to the clergie to be ordered: it shall not be long before he be acquitted by them, although he afterward recognise his fact; yea and notwithstanding his fellowes and partners of that office being meere temporall, receiued iustice for the same, and appeached him thereof; and so the like malefactors to be incouraged thereby to commit after the like.

31 Item, if any complaineth and saith that he is spoiled, by and by the officials will decree a monition against the spoiler: by vertue whereof, some one of the deanes of the clergie shall monish him, to restore the things comprised in the monition, and also minister to him an oth whether he hath not spoiled the plaintiffe of such things, as he saith he was spoiled of. But if he refuse to take an oth before him, then the deane will straightwaies seale vp the monition, and excommunicat him, and by no meanes shall be absolued before he restore and satisfie the contents in the monition, whereof the plaintiffe said first he was spoiled of.

32 Item, if any for his offence be cast into prison by the secular power, although at the time of his taking hee weare temporall habit, and was in no orders, but all the daies of his life liued like a temporall man: yet if he shall auouch and vow himselfe to be a clerke, to the intent to haue more expedition at the clergies hands, and to escape vnpunished; the clergie will incontinent giue to the laytie in commandment to restore vnto them the malefactor, or else suspension to be denounced throughout the whole townelhip where the said malefactor shall be so imprisoned. And for auoiding the ieopardie which might arise of the said sealement; the secular iudge of necessitie is compelled to deliuer them the offender, to the great preiudice of the kings temporall iurisdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertaine, in case of resort and prerogatiue. *Resortum.*

33 Item, when any offender is deliuered by the temporall magistrates to the clergie, as their clerke; his friends will make sute to the bishops officials for him, and compound with them; by reason whereof they dismisse them vnpunished, and so do worse and worse, although their fact was neuer so notorious.

34 Item, so soone as any maried clerke being a merchant or of whatsoeuer other science he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the secular iudge: the said clerke obtaineth of the officials a monition, bringing with them some prelat, who doth inhibit the secular iudge vnder paine of 100. or 200. markes, yea and of excommunication too, not to proceed further, nor to meddle in such causes, and not to molest such parties, neither in bodie nor goods: But if the iudges obey not, they shall bee suspended from hearing of masse in that place, although the matter concerneth the fact of merchandise.

35 Item, the said officials grant citations without number against the laytie in cases of warranties personally to ascite before them persons vnknowne. But if they be knowne, it is contained in the citation, that in no wise, and that vnder a great paine, he cause his aduersary to be called before a secular iudge, during the returne of the citation.

36 Item, when one is excommunicated in any place, the officials grant out personall citations against them, which do participat and are conuersant with the excommunicat: causing a whole countrey by the space of eight miles about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the partie so excommunicat (sometime by 40. sometime 60. yea and sometime by a 100. at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they do not participat nor keepe companie with their friends the excommunicats. Whereby insueth that many honest, old and ancient men, for auoiding of troubles and expenses, do pay some twelue pence, some two shillings. By occasion whereof many vines are vnlooked to, much ground vntilled, yea and many good men constrained to lay the key vnder the doore, and run away.

37 Item, the said officials do burden many persons of good name and fame, to be blurers: whereby they are constrained to agree with them, for auoiding the infamie that thereby might insue.

38 Item, the foresaid officials call by citation afore them, the honest wedded (as well man as woman) charging them, that they haue committed adulterie to the perpetuall infamie of their husbands and wiues. And for nothing else but by extortion to wring money from them.

39 Item, mention must be made of the multitude and number of proctors, which eat and deuour vp all the world with their citations: catching vp clients, and keeping abroad in the countrie courts and assises, who for money returne not the citations, which by extortion they receiue of them which are cited.

40 Item, there bee manie other grieues and enormities, which the Chapters, Abbats, Priors, Prouosts, and other ecclesiasticall persons in the realme of France, practise against the people. As when they cause to be cited before them, many of the kings burgesses, and other in diuers places being priuiledged: that is to say, Baiocenses, Manmectans in Britaine, Ligoonis, Walticons, with other more. But specially the

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prouost of hospitals, vse more commonly this tricke, then any other do: whereby the people is much indamaged, and will be euery day more and more, if remedie be not had therein.

41 Item, ecclesiasticall magistrates labour to haue cognition of causes of iniurie, in whatsoeuer cause it be: whether the iniurie be committed by word or fact. Likewise, they take vpon them to heare the causes of married clerkes, and of their wiues although they both vse merchandize. And if at any time such couples be taken by the secular magistrates, the officiall causeth a suspension to be denounced in that parish, by force of the councell Siluanecten.

42 Item, they challenge to haue cognition concerning widowes goods, both moueable and vnmoueable. And if it happeneth at any time that a merchant widow, in any of the kings peculiars by way of rest, procureth any temporall man to be conuented before the secular iudge: and the matter so far trauised, that he should haue been condemned by the sentence of the secular iudge, and then come to the eare of the ecclesiasticall magistrates, how and before whom the widow did conuent him: the said temporall iudge shall be constrained, to withdraw the same. And by their monitions and censures to correct the same: and this oftentimes happeneth.

43 Item, many of the tenants and inhabiters of the bishops lands, calleth one another to the court of the officials, by a kind of appellation: by vertue whereof, the officials take vpon them to proceed in the same, and to haue cognition thereof, to the preiudice of the temporall iurisdiction of our soueraigne lord the king.

44 Item, if any man be apprehended by secular iustice in shedding of blood: by them if he be lay, he is to be ordered: if he be a clerke he is to be restored to the ecclesiasticall iudge. But whether he be a temporall man or clerke that is so taken, and appealeth to the officials court; they will be so bold to haue cognition thereof, requiring herewith amends of the secular court, which enterprised the foresaid apprehension. If this be suffered, the malefactor shall neuer be punished. For by and by they will appeale, and immediatly after the appellation flie and auoid away.

The clergie preiudiciall to common iustice.

Ex officio.

45 Item, when they cause many of office, to be cited before them, they will admit them to haue no proctors: to whom when they come at the day of appearance, they obiect the crime of vsury. And except they answere as the promoters will themselues, they are trodden vnder feet (although they be meere lay) and shall not be dismissed, before they fine euen as the officials list themselues, although they be no vsurers. But if any be vsurers, they take of them satisfaction and bribes: and so be permitted to vse their vsurie, no lesse then before. So that, they may haue their old fees and bribes.

Vsurie craftilie obiected by the clergie against lay-men.

46 Item, they procure their officers to apprehend clerkes in whatsoeuer soile they be found: albeit by iustice, they may appeale therefrom. But if by any they be let of their wil herein, they do forthwith by sentence of excommunication, cause them to desist therefore.

47 Item, as oftentimes as any temporall magistrate doth apprehend any person, which afterward being required of the clergie, is quietly deliuered vnto them: yet for all that, the officials cause those magistrates to be denounced excommunicat by law.

The prelats make the church a den of theeues.

48 Item, the prelats giue order of tonsures as well to men of thirtie yeares as vpward, as also to married men, when they come vnto them, for feare of imprisonment and punishment due vnto them for their criminall offences, before committed: And this is oftentimes put in practise.

49 Item, if it happen any of the kings seruants or any other to be excommunicat, and would faine be absolued, being glad to pay reasonablie for the same: the clergie will not receiue but such satisfaction, as shall please them, whereby many of them remaine still excommunicat.

50 Item, when two persons haue been at strife and law together for the possession of land, and the matter contentious be put into the hands of the king by some seruant or officer of the king, for the taking vp of the matter: then do the prelats admonish the one part, not to trouble the other which is in possession. Otherwise if he do, they do excommunicat him.

51 Item, the foresaid prelats, deanes, chaplaines, and other the rout of the clergie, put the kings officers to so much trauell and expences in trying out the kings vsurped iurisdiction, as they tearme it; that oftentimes many of them spend and consume in the trauell of the right and title thereof, all that they haue and more too.

52 Item, if any secular iusticer in a true and iust cause, at the request of the partie, putteth in his helping hand concerning the inheritance of clerkes: the ecclesiasticall iudges and their ministers, send out monitions in writing against the said iusticer: yea vnder paine of excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leaue off: Enioyning him further to suffer the other partie quietly to enioy the said things. Otherwise they denounce him excommunicat, and shall not be absolued before he haue well paid for it, euen as pleaseth maister official to the high preiudice of the authoritie of our soueraigne lord the king.

53 Item, the ecclesiasticall magistrates, so some as they heare any rich or fat cob to die, or thinke that he will not liue long: send out forthwith letters vnder seale to their chaplaine, commanding him in any wise not to presume to burie him, although he made his testament, and receiued the rites of the church. And when afterward, the friends and kinsfolkes of the dead resort vnto them to know the cause of their inhibition; they declare vnto them that he was an vsurer, and that he kept not the commandements of holy church: and so long keepe they the corps of the dead vnburied, while the friends of him buy it out with good store of money, heaping and hoording by these meanes abundance of riches.

Note this practise of officials to get money.

54 Item, if there be any violent shedding of blood in any churchyard, whereby the interdict taketh place: the clergie causeth a certaine imposition to be leuied of the parishioners there, for the salarie towards the reparing thereof. Although some of the parishioners be of an exempt iurisdiction: yea and although he which shed the blood be able to pay the whole taxe which they leuied and more too.

55 Item, certaine chaplaines affirme to haue certaine apostolicall priuiledges, by vertue whereof they may appoint what iudges they will (yea and oftentimes of their owne house) and so be iudges in their owne cause, which is plaine against the law. Whereby oftentimes it happeneth, that after great processe and expences had and made in any great cause of inquest (more often about realtie then otherwise) when they haue notice by the procters and aduocats that they shall haue the foile therein; they reuoke forthwith those named iudges, and so the kings subiects are damaged, and can haue no iustice nor redresse at their hands.

56 Item, if any temporall man call a clerke before a secular iudge in a case of inheritance: the ecclesiasticall iudge procureth a stop to be made therein, attributing to themselues the cognition thereof: and so by adiourning and remouing, the lay man is constrained to make satisfaction.

57 Item, the clergie challengeth the cognition of such causes as married clerkes being merchants and artificers do commence: when by law it doth appertaine to the temporaltie, especially about the trade of merchandise.

58 Item, they oftentimes make interdictions in many of the kings townes and holds, and cause the diuine seruice to cease: against the priuiledges granted by many of the high bishops of Rome to our soueraigne lord and maister the king.

59 Item, to and for the maintenance and keeping of their temporalities, they appoint bailiffes and other officers: who if they do offend, may not condignely be punished according to law and iustice.

60 Item, the ecclesiasticall iudges haue promoters belonging vnto them: who when any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cause to be made, that no man shall worke or do any thing for him that is excommunicate: whereby the lands and vines are oftentimes vnlooked to and vntilled, to the no small preiudice of the king and his common people.

61 Item, the foresaid promoters cause citations to be made out, by vertue whereof they call in one citation, twentie, thirtie, fortie persons to appeare, for participating with such interdicted persons: taking of some ten, of othersome twentie shillings, as much as they be able to make: whereby the common people are much oppressed.

62 Item, the ecclesiasticall iudges cause all the aduocats of their courts to be sworne, that none shall retaine them of their counsell against any of them, without their licence: whereby oftentimes the poore man quitteloeth his right, and the kings cause is delayed: because his solicitours cannot freely retaine counsell, without speciall licence.

63 Item, they will make inuentories of their goods which die intestate, or without making of Will: and will haue the possession of their goods, as well moueable as vnmoueable in their owne hands to distribute to the heires, or to whom they list.

64 Item, the execution also of testaments they take to their owne hands, taking inuentories of dead mens goods, and keeping and disposing them to the heires after their pleasure. And haue officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

65 Item, they will not giue credit (sometimes) to testaments made before witnesse, vnlesse they be first by their owne officials approued.

After he had thus spoken, the prelats required to haue time to answere thereunto. Whereupon was appointed for the same the Friday next insuing. On the which day, the bishop Eduen, and archbishop of Senon elect in the name of the whole clergie, answered for them all before the king, holding his parliament as that day at Vicenas, and thus he there propounded: For so much as the lord Peter Cugner of late propounding against the church of France, toke to his theme that is written in the 22. of Matthew: Render vnto Cesar, that which is Cesars, and vnto God that which is Gods: by which words he said, two points were to be noted: First the reuerence and subiection of the prelats, that they ought to haue to the king their soueraigne: Secondly the diuision of the temporall iurisdiction from the spirituall. The which first part he proued out of the first epistle of Peter in the second chapter, where

Bishop Eduen and archbishop of Senon elect procurators for the prelats.

Repetition of the lord Peters oration aboue touched, pag. 324.

where it is written: Submit your selues vnto euerie creature, for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the superiour, or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are sent of him: for the punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that do well. The second point he proued by the words of our Sauiour Christ in the two and twentith chapter of Luke, where the Apostle saith: Lord behold, here are two swords. And he said vnto them, it is enough, signifying by the two swords the two iurisdictions. And in likewise out of the seuentéenth of Matthew, where Christ would pay tribute for him and Peter. Giuing hereby an example, how that ecclesiasticall persons were bound to pay and yeeld to the temporall power the temporalities; which also is proued in the 11. quæst. prim. cap. Si tributum, & cap. magnum.

Luke 22.

Matth. 17.

Two gifts giuen, priesthood, empire.

And further, because this is proued by mans law, where it is said, two great gifts are bestowed, priesthood and empire: the priesthood to rule ouer matters diuine, the empire to beare domination ouer humane matters. Wherby he cõcluded, that when these iurisdictions are distincted of God; the one being giuen and limited to the church, and the other to the temporalitie: that in no wise the church ought to intermeddle, or to haue any thing to do with the temporall iurisdiction. For it is written in the two and twentith of the Prouerbs, You ought not to passe the old limits and bounds, which the forefathers haue set. And well by the way hée bringeth in this word, old and ancient: Because customes brought in to the contrarie, bée of no force, but rather are counted abuses and corruptions. Neither can prescription take place, for that ius fisci is imprescriptiple, neither can the king abrogat from himselfe such law, nor renounce his right, prouing the same by many chapters contained in the 10. Distinct. Wherefore séeing the king at what time he was crowned, sware not only not to alienate or infringe the lawes of his realme, but also to call in such lawes as were alienated and vsurped either by the church, or by any other: the king was bound by his oth to reuoke the same abuses.

Prou. 22.

Dist. 10.

In especiall hée did exhibit many articles in writing, wherein (as hée said) the church did vsurpe vpon the iurisdiction temporall. To answere these premisses with conciling of the places (vnder protestation what soeuer I say or shall say) it is not to ground or make any finall iudgement or determination herein: but only to informe the conscience of our soueraigne lord the king and his assistants héere assembled, alleaging the first epistle of Peter the second chapter, where hée saith: Feare God and honor the king. By which words, the holy Apostle Saint Peter teacheth vs two things. First, that loue, feare, and obedience, is due vnto God for the mightinesse and puissance of his Maiestie; saying, Feare God. Secondly, how speciall honor and reuerence is due to the king, for the excellencie of his dignitie; saying, Honor the king. But note you by the way, how the Apostle placeth his words: First hée saith, that feare is due vnto God, because principally and in chiefe we ought to feare God: For if the king or any other should command things cõtrarie to God, we ought to haue no regard therof, but to contemne the king and feare God. For it is written in the fifth of the Acts of the Apostles; We ought rather to obey God then men: and also in the seuenth chapter of Machabées the second booke, where it is said, I will not obey the commandements of the king, but the law.

1. Pet. 2.

Acts 5.

2. Mach. 7.

The reason wherof S. Augustine giueth both in the Glosse vpon the Romans, and also in the 11. quæst. 1. Hée that resisteth the superiour power, resisteth the will and ordinance of God. But put case thou art commanded to do that which thou maist not do, or not to do that which thou oughtest to do. Doubtlesse, thou must neglect the lesser power, and feare the higher, learning the degrées of worldly things.

11. Quæst. 1.

As for example, be it so that a proctor commandeth thée any thing, which (if the same be against the Proconsull) thou oughtest not to follow it. Yea and further, put case the proconsull commandeth one thing, the emperour another, and God willeth the third: Thou must not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power: For they may threaten thée with prison, but God may threaten thée with hell fire: they may slay and kill thy bodie, but God may send thée bodie and soule to perpetuall hell fire. And therefore worthily it is put first, feare God. And héere the place in the last of Ecclesiasticus is to be adioyned, where it is written: Feare God and kéepe his commandements.

Feare of God standeth in three points.

And me thinketh that man is bound to feare God chiefelie in three sorts. That is to say: First in the bountifull bestowing of his gifts and benefits. Secondly, in the euident promoting of his seruants: and lastly, in the full rendring and restoring vnto man that is his.

First, I say in the bountifull, &c. and for this cause the emperour Iustinian writeth: Although there is nothing to bée accounted good, which doth exceed and is too great, yet for a prince to bestow accordingly vpon the church, it is verie good. For why, the king and emperour is bound to bestow so much the more substance, how much the more God hath giuen to him, and to bestow the same both frankelie, and especially to famous churches, wherein the best and greatest measure is of the lords gifts, that is, a great gift. And to this end Gregorie enacteth a law, cap. 1. de extra. de donationibus, that no bishop ought in manner to prescribe this law to himselfe, to thinke himselfe bound to giue, when he giueth freely: and vnlesse he increase in giuing still, to thinke that he hath giuen nothing.

Wherefore Abel, as appeareth in the 4. chapter of Genesis, who offered of the best to the Lord, was blessed of God. And therefore other kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both spiritually and temporally blessed of him: As we reade of Iosua, Dauid, Salomon, and others in the booke of the kings: and therefore it is so written in the 18. of Numbers: And ye shall separate vnto the Lords treasurie, things that be chiefest and most principall. As likewise Dauid saith in the first of Paralipomenon last chapter: I haue giuen all this with a glad heart, euen with a good will, and now haue I had ioy to sée thy people which héere are present, offer with a free will vnto thée. And no maruell, for Dauid saith in that place: For of thy hand we haue receiued all, and to thée we giue. And therefore it séemeth to me, that because the kings of France and barons of the same, more then any other haue giuen to God and his church: therefore they were happie and blessed aboue all other kings, and the more they did giue to God, the more they receiued at his hands.

Numb. 18.

1. Paral. cap. vlt.

What benefit commeth by giuing to the church.

Examples whereof we haue of Clodoue, Charles, and S. Lewes: the more one giueth to God, the more he receiueth of him: For he in the first of Luke hath promised, Giue and it shall be giuen vnto you. Wherefore, a gift that a prince bestoweth vpon the church is rendred againe with triple encrease, and that no lesse in time of warre then in time of peace. I say in warre time, because victorie proceedeth of no other but only of God, for it is written in the 1. Machabées the third chapter: The victorie of the battell standeth not in the multitude of the host, but the strength commeth from heauen. And likewise, in the seuentéenth chapter of Exodus it is declared, that when Moses held vp his hands, Israel had the victorie: but when hée let downe his hands, Amaleck had the victorie. To this end also serueth the last chapter of Machabées 2. Where Iudas being at the point to haue the victorie, thought he saw Onion and Jeremie (which had bén high priests and verie vertuous men) holding vp their hands toward heauen, and praying for their people and all the whole citie, &c. Likewise in peace time now, the long daies of the king and of his sonnes, their peace, prosperitie, and obedience (by the prayer of the church) is maintained and supported in the realme. For as long as Salomon was bent and giuen in building the house of God, so long he had peace: who thus in the sixteenth chapter of the Prouerbs teacheth vs: When a mans waies please the Lord, he maketh his verie enemies to be his friends: And also in 1. Esdras the first chapter, where it is read, how the priests were commanded to offer sweet sauours to the God of heauen, and pray for the kings life and his children. And well therefore may it be called a gift both sauourable and irrewocable, whereby victorie is giuen, life granted, and peace with securitie conserued. To serue therefore God, and liberally to giue toward the worshipping of him, is the chiefest signe and token of diuine feare and loue. Ecclesiast. chap. 2. Ye that feare the Lord, beléeue him, and your reward shall not be emptie.

Time of warre.

2. Mach. 3.

Exod. 17.

Time of peace.

Prou. 16.

Esdras 6.

Ecclesi.

Secondly, concerning the feare of God, I do you to vnderstand, that among the precepts of the Lord, the first and chiefest commandement of the second table is, To honor thy father. Which precept is verie well expounded to the Hebrewes in the twelfth chapter. Where it is not only meant of the fathers of our bodies, but also of the father of spirits. For as spirituall things farre excéede temporall matters: so much more a great deale the spirituall seruice is bound to reuerence the spirituall father, and to be in subiection vnto him, that hée may liue. And that the priests and prelats be the spirituall fathers, it is proued in the fourth book of the kings, the sixth chap. Where the king of Israel called Elizeus father, saying: My father shall I smite them? Vnto this effect serueth the tenth of Luke, where our Sauiour said to the Apostles (whose successours the bishops are) He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me. Also in the first to the Thessal. the fourth chapter, Hée that despiseth you, despiseth not men but God. Wherfore Iustinian the emperour in another place saith: We haue great care to the church of God, that therein may be true doctrine and integritie of priests life. Which hauing, we trust that for our great gifts we shall receiue such rewards at Gods hands, both as be durable, and shall remaine: yea and also that hitherto haue not happned. Blessed Saint Hierome in his register writing to a certaine emperour, which is also to be séene in the decrées, Decret. 11. quæst. 1. saith: Let not the emperour disdaine priests, but haue speciall regard on them for his sake whose seruants they be: and so let him rule ouer them, that due and condigne reuerence be giuen vnto them. For they in diuine Scriptures are sometime tearmed Gods, sometimes named Angels, Exodus 22. Then shall both their causes come before the gods. Also Malachie the second, the priests lips should bée sure of knowledge, that men may séeke the law at his mouth: For hée is a messenger of the Lord of hosts. And therefore is it no maruell, if we should vouchsafe to honour them, when God himselfe in his speech attributing to them honour, tearmeth them Gods and Angels. And héere is to bée noted,

The second part of feating God.

Hebr. 12.

Honoring of spirituall fathers.

4. Kings 6.

Luke 10.

1. Thess. 4.

11. Quæst. cap. 1. Sacerdotibus.

Exod. 22.

Malach. 2.

Honor to be giuen to priests.

how Constantine the emperour, when certaine of his subiects presented vnto him libels accusatorie against the bishops, receiued them at their hands. But calling before him those bishops which were accused therein, cast in their sight those libels into the fire, saying: depart you hence and discusse these matters within your selues: For it is not conuenient and méete that we iudge Gods, because it is written: God stood in the synagogue of Gods, and in the middest of them hée did iudge Gods. In which chapter it is declared, how that the Pagans who worshipped golden and woodden gods, attributed great honor to the priests: What maruell is it then, if the godly and great and christian emperours doe honor and reuerence the priests of the true God? And doubtlesse, it is their dutie so to do. And it is reason which the lord Peter the last day said, in this point: That there are two powers, priesthod and dominion, the one spirituall, the other temporall: which no lesse differeth one from the other, then the Sunne from the Moone, the heauen from the earth, and gold from lead. And therefore if honor is due to be giuen to the lesser power, by them that bée vnderneath him: he that is chiefe of the higher power, of right god dutie is to be honored, and reuerenced of all vnder him, as expressely is declared, Cap. Solit. Dema. & ob. In which chapter answere is fully made to the allegation of the lord Peter (alleaged by him to make for his purpose) that is to say: Be yée subiect to all creatures for Gods sake, &c. There hée speaketh of the subiection which standeth vpon the merit of vertue, and not vpon the dutie of necessitie. For else if hée should speake of the subiection which is by dutie of necessitie: then must it néeds follow, that euery bishop ought to be subiect to euerie beggerly rascall in the citie of Paris. For the text is, Be yée subiect to all humane creatures: but a rascall is a humane creature: *Ergo*, bishops must be subiect to a rascall. Of the dignitie of a bishop Ambrose talketh in his pastorall. The honor, saith he, and the maiestie of a bishop is without all comparison. If you compare it to the royaltie of a king, it is euen as you would compare mettall or lead to the beautie of gold. For that is to be séene,, that kings and princes stooping vnder the knées of priests, and kissing their right hand; thinke themselues to be defended by their prayer. And because the kings of France haue more then other, honored and reuerenced the prelats, they haue aboue all other flourished and prospered. It is said in Eccles. 4. He that honoreth his father, shall reioyce in his sonnes. And it followeth there, Hée that honoreth his father, shall liue a long life. This is therefore the signe of the feare of God. And as it is written in Eccles. 4. He that feareth God honoreth his parents.

Thirdly I say, that a man ought to feare God, in the full reuerencing and reshoring vnto man that is his: For he that doth not giue to another that is his, but goeth about to vsurpe, doubtlesse he feareth not God. Contrarie, he that reshoreth all againe, he is said to loue and feare God. Ecclesiast. 18. He that feareth God will do good things. And in the Psalme, I haue béen afraid of thy iudgements, and haue done iudgement and iustice. For as the lawyers say, which is true: A thing may be made mine diuers waies, as by succession, commutation, prescription, or any other acquisition, either by law or custome: And so of the rest. And whereas the Lord Peter the last day, by distinction of iurisdiction temporall and spirituall, endeuoured to proue that hée which had spirituall iurisdiction, ought not to haue temporall; otherwise there were no distinction thereof, but rather a confusion of iurisdictions: I will therefore proue the contrarie, that these iurisdictions are compatible both in one person, especially in an ecclesiasticall man. And this will I proue by the law of God, by the law of nature, canon law, ciuill law, by custome and priuiledge. But first I alleage, that accidentall formes some of them are so distincted, that they are not cleane contrarie, but dislike, as whitenesse and sweetnesse. Other formes there be which are so distincted, that they are cleane contrarie one to the other, and are not compatible in one subiect. For one contrarie expels another, and importeth the negatiue of the other. Wherefore those things be contrarie, which one from another are most of all distant and disagreeing, and in one susceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the philosopher teacheth in the Predicaments. But those formes which are so distincted, that they be not contrarie but dislike; are compatible in one subiect, as quantitie and qualitie, which being distincted in respect of their Genus generalissimum, yet may be in one person. And fortitude and temperance being vnder one kind of morall vertue, are found to be in one man, as Logicke and Grammar, which are also species and kinds in one genus, viz. of intellectus. Therefore it is no good argument: These formes be distincted, *Ergo*, they be not compatible in one subiect. And therefore that the iurisdictions temporall and spirituall are so distincted, that they are not contrarie but compatible, it is euident hereby, because things contrarie be so that the one cannot be ordained to concurre with the other, but rather confoundeth and destroyeth the other: but in this case iurisdiction temporall is ordained for the spirituall, and contrarie, the spirituall for the temporall. Or rather, the one so dependeth of the other, as the clearenesse of the Moone doth of the brightnesse of the Sunne. Also the one iurisdiction so helpeth and comforteth the other, that there is no contrarietie in them. And therefore it is no good consequence, because they are distincted: *Ergo*, they are not compatible in one person. This also is to be proued de facto. For the earth is the Lords, and the plentie of the whole vniuersall world, and all that dwell therein. It is proued in likewise by this reason. For if the iurisdictions were not compatible; it should follow, that no ecclesiasticall person should haue any iot of temporall iurisdiction: neither land, tower, castle, lordship, or any other thing else, which is most absurd: and so by this meanes it should follow, that no ecclesiasticall person should bée in subiection vnto the king, which were to the great derogation of the kings maiesties crowne and dignitie. It must néeds bée therefore that these iurisdictions bée compatible, notwithstanding the distinction of them one from another. And thus for answere to all these reasons, by the which lord Peter proued the distinction of these iurisdictions.

These things premised, thus I proceed further to proue that a person ecclesiasticall, which hath iurisdiction spirituall, may also haue temporall iurisdiction: and that the iurisdiction temporall may bée in an ecclesiasticall person, I will proue it by the Scriptures: and first out of the old testament: to the euident probation whereof, it is to bée vnderstood: That God, after the creation of the world and man, euen vnto Noes time, would gouerne the world himselfe as king by the ministerie of Angels. By reason whereof hé gaue and pronounced sentence himselfe against Cain, Genesis the fourth. Noe also which offered burnt offerings vnto the Lord, and built an altar, as teacheth the eight of Genesis: (which thing appertained onlie vnto the priests) had the gouernment and rule of all things, as well spirituall as temporall, which were in the Arke of Noe. Melchisedech in likewise, the which was the priest of the most high God, and also king of Salem, as appeareth in the fourteenth of Genesis, and had both the iurisdictions in his owne hands. For Magister Historiarum, in the said fourteenth of Genesis declareth, that all the first begot of Noe, euen to Aarons time were priests: which at meales and offerings blessed the people, and which only had the Ius primogenituræ, whereby the regiment of others was due vnto them. Moses in like manner (of whom it is said in the Psalme, Moses & Aaron in sacerdotibus eius) consecrated Aaron and his children to bée priests, which Aaron did iudge the whole people in temporall matters, yea and that in causes of inheritance and meere reall, as appeareth in the seuen and twentith chapter of Numbers, and many other places. To which purpose serueth the seuenteenth chapter of Deuteronomie: where it is said; If a matter be too hard for thée in iudgement betwixt blod and blod, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague and plague; then shalt thou rise and go vp to that place, that the Lord thy God hath chosen: and shalt come to the Priests, the Leuites, and to the Iudge then being, and shalt aske, who shall shew vnto vs the truth of the iudgement; and follow their sentence. And if any man presumptuously shall refuse to obey the priests commandements and decrée of the iudge, the same shall die. Behold how manifestly it doth appeare, how not only the iudgement appertaineth to a priest, betwéene plague and plague, concerning the circumstances and irregularitie of the law: but also betwixt blod and blod, in matters criminall: yea and betwixt plea and plea in ciuill matters: Which thing doth appeare to be in many iudges out of the booke of Judges. For Samuel, which was both a prophet and priest, was appointed iudge of long time ouer the people in matters temporall: And when the people desired a king, the Lord was highly offended with them, and said vnto Samuel: They haue not refused thée but mée, that I should not be king ouer them. Furthermore, as long as kings among the people of God, vsed the aduice and counsell of priests and bishops; it was well with them and their kingdome: But when they forsoke and left the counsell of bishops and priests, then was their kingdome diuided, and finally they brought into captiuitie. In which captiuitie, the people were altogether gouerned and ruled by the priests and prophets, as by Esdras and Nehemias: And last of all by the meanes of the Machabées, the kingdome and gouernment was deuoluted and brought vnto the priests hands, who were the kings and captaines ouer the people: and had the gouernment as well of spirituall matters as of temporall, as is read in the first booke of Machabées the second chapter: Of Mathatia and his sonnes, videlicet, of Juda, Machaby, Jonatha, Simon, and John the son of Simon: which in all spirituall and temporall matters, were gouernours ouer the people of God. Moreouer, the first chapter of Jeremie declareth, which was one of the priests, after this manner: I haue set thée ouer the people and kingdomes, that thou maist root out, breake, destroy, and make waste, and that thou maiest build vp and plant, Ierem. capite primo. Besides this, in time of Judge Eliach, a priest in like maner had the iudgement of temporall matters. And so much concerning the proofe hereof, out of the old Testament.

Secondlie, I proue my former proposition by authorities taken out of the new Testament. For Christ had not only by diuine nature both the powers, whereby hée created all things of nothing, and by consequence was God of all, but

Two powers, temporall and spirituall, and what difference betweene them both.

De mai. & obed. cap. Solit.

Double subiection vpon merit of vertue, and vpon dutie of necessitie.

The authoritie of a bishop and a king compared.

The pride of the prelacie.

Stoop kings. Eccles. 4.

Eccles. 4.

The third part of fearing God.

Eccles. 18.

A thing made mine diuers waies.

Sixe proofes.
1. Diuine law.
2. By the law of nature.
3. By canon law.
4. By ciuill law.
5. By custome.
6. By priuiledge.

Formes being dislike and not contrarie, may be compatible in one subiect.

Exodes out of the old Testament.

Melchisedech was both king and priest, Ergo, the pope may haue both iurisdictions. Genes. 14.

Deut. 17.

Samuel was iudge in temporall matters, Ergo, the pope may haue both iurisdictions.

1. Mach. 2.

Ierem. 1.

Proofes taken out of the new Testament.

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but also by his humanitie had both powers. For hée was the priest, secundum ordinem Melchisedech (as it is said in the Psalmes, and also is alleaged to the Hebrewes) which had both in his vesture and thigh written: King of kings and Lord of lords. By this vesture or thigh was meant his humanitie, which was ioyned to his Diuinitie, as the garment is to him that weareth it. He said of himselfe in the last of Matthew: Giuen is vnto me all power both in heauen and in earth. As also to the Hebrewes the first chapter, Whom hée made and constituted heire of all vniuersal things. And likewise in the second chapter to the Hebrewes: Hée hath made him not much inferiour to the Angels: hée hath crowned him with glorie and honor, and hath set him aboue the workes of his hands: Thou hast put all things in subiection vnder his feet, sheepe and oxen, and all the whole cattell of the field. When therefore it is said, hée made all things subiect to him; hée excludeth nothing as the Apostle there saith. Whereby it is apparant, that as concerning his humane nature, in the which he was made lesse then the Angels, all things were subiect to him. Also this appeareth in the second chapter to the Philippians: He humbled himselfe, wherefore God exalted him, &c. And it followeth, that in the name of Iesus should euerie knée bow, both of things in heauen and of things in earth, and of things vnder the earth. Behold héere, that by nature by which hée did humble himselfe, hée was exalted because euerie knée should bow downe to him. This in like manner hath Saint Peter in the tenth chapter of the Acts, where hée saith, hée was constituted of God the iudge ouer the quicke and the dead: And hée speaketh of the nature which God raised vp the third day, as the whole Scripture proueth. And likewise Saint Peter had this power giuen him, whom Christ constituted and made his vicar, who also condemned by sentence iudicially Ananias and Saphira for lying and stealing: Acts chapter 5. Paul also condemned a fornicatour conuicted, 1. Corinthians 5. And that Christ would the correction and iudgement of such matters to appertaine to his Church, a text in the eightéenth of Matthew expressely declareth, where it is said: If thy brother trespasse against thée, go and tell him his fault betweene him and thée: if hée heare thée, thou hast wonne thy brother: But if hée heareth not, then take with thée one or two, that in the mouth of two or thrée witnesses all things may be established: if he heare not then, tell it vnto the congregation: if hée heare not the congregation, take him as an heathen man and a Publican. Verily I say vnto you; whatsoeuer you bind on earth, the same shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer you lose on earth, the same shall be losed in heauen. Behold how expressely it is commanded, that whensoeuer in any matter one offendeth the other, he being first charitablie admonished, the matter must bée published and referred to the order of the church and congregation. But if the offender do not obey and heare the admonition, hée is to bée taken as an heathen and a Publican: which is as much to say, like one that is excommunicat by the church and congregation, so that hée may haue no cõmunion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Christ, this séemeth much to proue it, where in giuing the reason hereof, hée immediatly addeth: Verily I say vnto you, What soeuer, &c. (where note this terme distributiue, whatsoeuer) so as the apostle argueth to the Hebrewes the second chapter, that if hée ordained all things to be subiect vnto him, hée excludeth nothing vnsubiected. Wherefore thus I may argue; If all things that the church and congregation doth lose, be losed, and euery thing that the church bindeth is bound: There is nothing that the church may not lose and bind. Or by logicke thus I may reason: There is nothing bound by the church, that is not bound in heauen: which argument is good by a certaine rule of logicke which saith: that contraries if the negation be put after, are equiualent. For euery thing and nothing, whatsoeuer thing, and no manner of thing, bée contrarie one to the other. And so nothing not, is as much to say, as all things. Secondly, I do proue it out of another text of Saint Luke, chapter 22. Which place alleaged to make for his purpose, I will strike him with his owne weapon. For where he said, that by the two swords the two powers temporall and spirituall were to be vnderstood, it was so indéed: but to whose hands would he (I pray you) haue these two swords committed? Truly to the hands of Peter and other the Apostles, &c. But the holy father the pope succéeded Peter, and the other Apostles, the bishops disciples, curats, parsons, as in the Glosse appeareth, Luke 10. whereby thus I argue: That by the two swords, the two powers are meant: But Christ willed those two swords to bée put into the churches hands: *Ergo*, hée would likewise the two powers. But you may replie and say, that Christ did reprehend Peter because hée strooke with a temporall sword and cut off an eare, saying vnto him, put vp thy sword, &c. Which reason is of no force. For Christ did not will Peter to cast away quite from him the sword, but to put it into the scabard and to keepe it, giuing to vnderstand thereby, that such power, although it be in the churches hands: yet the execution thereof (as much as appertaineth to bloodshedding in the new law) hée would haue to appertaine to the secular iudge: notwithstanding yet perhaps, according to the discretion and will of the clergie.

Thirdly, I proue this by the intent of Saint Paul in the

Apoc. 19. Christ by his humane nature had both powers.

A.

Psalme 8. Hebr. 2.

Philip. 2.

Act. 10.

B.

Act. 5.

C.

Matth. 18.

D.

E.

Omnia terminus distributiuus.

F.

Luke 22.

G.

H.

1. Corinth. 6. where he saith: that they which haue secular businesse, and contend one against another, ought to be iudged by the Saints. And that they should iudge therein, therefore hée made this argument: Know you not that the Saints shall iudge the world? And if the world be iudged by you, are ye not good enough to iudge small trifles? As though he would say, do yée not know how that yée shall iudge the Angels? How much more then may you iudge things secular? And it followeth: If you haue iudgement of secular and worldly matters, take them which are despised in the church and congregations, and make them iudges. Neither doth it make any thing against, because the Apostle in the same place inferreth: Ad verecundiam vestram dico: I say it to your shame. For that is to be referred to those, where hée saith, Appoint those which are despised. Wherefore the Apostle speaketh ironiously in this matter, as meaning thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the iudgement of the despised which be in the church, then to the iudgement of those which be out of the church.

1. Cor. 6. I.

Ergo, the rather to resort to the iudgement of the wise, who remaine in the church and congregation. Wherefore the Apostle by and by added when he said, I speake to your shame: What not one wise man amongst you that can iudge betweene brother and brother? Meaning thereby that there was some. By these therefore and many other like reasons it appeareth (which for breuitie I omit) that both the powers may be in an ecclesiasticall mans hand: and that an ecclesiasticall man is Capax both of the temporall and spirituall iurisdiction. Nor is it anie matter if it be obiected, that Peter and other Apostles and Christ himselfe, vsed little this temporall power. For in them was not the like reason as now is in vs, as is proued in the 22. quest. 1. cap. and in many other places of the law. The Apostles at the first beginning toke no receit of lands and possessions, but the price only thereof; which now the church with verie good reason doth receiue: and that to the great merit both of the giuer and offerer, as it appeareth of Constantine and others: In the which foresaid 1. cap. the reason of diuersitie is well proued. For that the Apostles did foresee, that the church should be among Gentiles, and not only to be in Iudea, &c. And further, at the beginning Christ and his Apostles were wholie bent and giuen, to our health, salvation and erudition: little sticking or standing vpon the exercise of euerie churches iurisdiction, hauing regard to that which is written in the first chapter to the Corinthians: All things are lawfull vnto men, but all things are not expedient. And likewise in the eight chapter of Ecclesiastes it is read, that euerie thing hath his time. But now (through the grace of God) the whole people of the realme of France haue submitted themselues to the Christian faith; worthilie therefore the church is occupied about ministring of iustice and punishing of vice: for peace shall be the worke of iustice, Esay the 33. chapter. And in these iudgements this only is to be considered, that the life of man bée reformed, &c. Thus you see, how this our conclusion somewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Now will I proue it by naturall law and reason, and first after this manner: Hée séemeth most fit to play a good iudges part, which followeth néerest God: for properly God is the ruler and director of all iudgements, who saith, Prouerb. capite octauo, By me the law-maker shall decrée iustice and iust things: but ecclesiasticall persons, follow nert to God, and bée neerest him: For that they bée elected of God into a peculiar people, whereof it is said, 1. Peter 2. You are a chosen generation, a royall priesthood, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, that you should shew the vertues of him that called you, &c. *Ergo*, it is most fit that persons ecclesiasticall, and churchmen, should iudge of such matters. Moreouer, none doubteth, but that the correction and punishment of sinne, belongeth to ecclesiasticall persons; wherefore, when such things be not committed without sinne and offence of the one partie, it is euident that the church may haue cognition thereof. Also, whoso hath power to iudge of the end, hath also power to iudge of things ordained to the end; for the consideration of the things ordained to the end resteth of the end. When therefore the bodie is ordained for the life and soule, and temporall things for spirituall, as to the end: the church which doth iudge of spirituall things, may in like manner lawfullie iudge of temporall things. All which is sufficiently confirmed In extra. c. Iudicijs. Where it is said, that the Accessarie followeth the nature of the principall, which appeareth sufficiently by example. For so much therefore as these two iurisdictions bée compared to two lights, that is to say, to the Sunne and to the Moone, and all the whole clearenesse and brightnesse of the Moone both in forme and vertue, dependeth of the Sunne, and in the Sunne: And that the brightnesse of the Sunne is not of the Moone, or in the Moone, it is plaine, that spirituall iurisdiction which is compared to the Sunne, hath in it both in forme and vertue, the iurisdiction temporall: and not contrarie. Manie other like reasons might bée brought in. But for that the time wareth short, I will omit them.

K. 22. quæst. 1. cap. Futurum.

Esay 33.

M. Probation, by ciuill law and reason.

Thirdly, I proue by the ciuill law, Auth. Desse. Iud. § Si tamen ix. col. where it is said, If a secular iudge be suspected, let the bishop of the citie be ioyned vnto him. But if hée bée negligent, then let the whole iudgement bée referred to the

bishop. In like sort Theodosius the emperour enacted such a law, that whatsoeuer suter being plaintiffe in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after contestation of law, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to sentence: if the plaintiffe had once chosen the court and iurisdiction of the holy sée; there without all doubt, though the defendant resisted and dissented, the matter before the bishops and other ecclesiasticall iudges should bée determined and ended. Which law afterward Carolus the great, who was king of France, confirmed in these words: Wee will and command that all our subiects, as well Romans and Frenchmen, as others vnder our dominion whatsoeuer, bee by law and custome henceforth bound and charged to keepe this for a perpetuall and prescript law: That whosoeuer began or commenced a sute, &c. as is aboue mentioned, &c. 11. quæst. 1. Quicunque, &c. 2. But you may obiect and say, that this law is abrogated, as the Glosse séemeth there to touch. But all will not serue: For although this law is not redacted into the bodie of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But surely it is a priuiledge honorablie granted to the whole vniuersall church, which the emperour cannot take away no more then any other libertie of the church. By the canon law also this priuiledge is confirmed, extra. de iud. c. timor Nouil. and moreouer séemeth to be confirmed by the ciuill law, C. de sacrof. Si ecclc. priuilegium: although it be not expressely, but generallie named. And so it is cleare by the ciuill law, that such iurisdiction doth pertaine to ecclesiasticall persons. By canon law in like manner in places infinite: Distinct. 22. cap. Omnes Patriarchæ. 2. quæst. 5. cap. Si quis presbyter. 11. quæst. 1. cap. relatum. 25. distinct. cap. ecce. Extra de iudicijs. Nouit. De compententi foro. cap. licet. With many other places infinit; yea and further the canon law so farre proceedeth, that whosoeuer goeth about by custome to interrupt or hinder any hauing such iurisdiction, incurreth sentence (ipso facto) of excommunication, as is proued cap. quoniam intelleximus de immunitate eccle. lib. sext. Which is most plaine by the notorious custome, time out of mind, in the daies of the good and christian princes, where to violate such custome, it is plaine sacriledge: 11. quæst. 1. tit. 1. &c. 2. For by law, custome winneth and gaineth iurisdiction, especially to him that is Capax thereof: yea and further, custome (time out of mind) is amongst all persons in place of written and confirmed law. Now seeing the church of France, hath in common vsed with the temporaltie to iudge and decrée both of actions personall and reall touching the church: it is plaine, that such custome winneth iurisdiction to it. Ergo, &c. But the lord Peter auouched, that the custome could not preuaile in this case, because héere lacked true dealing. Besides, the said law is called imprescriptible; for that it is Ius fisci. But this maketh nothing against vs. For the church of France rather challengeth this law by custome, then by prescription. Which custome séemeth rather to be brought in of the frée will and election of the people, frequenting more the ecclesiasticall Consistories, then the secular courts. Besides this, custome in that it hath been oftentimes decided in iudgement contradictorie, (manie of the barons dissenting, and not consenting thereunto) is much thereby confirmed. This custome I say of the church, hath béen fast established by the consent and assent of the prelats, and then confirmed by the kings of France your predecessours, and so peaceablie obserued of the church.

Probation by the canon law. N

Custome.

Iudicium contradictorium.

And yet may the church challenge this by prescription; For that there are but three things which are required in prescription: that is to say, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. And it is without doubt that the churches both purely haue, and in time past had a good title, as appeareth by the priuiledge granted of Theodosius the emperour, and confirmed by Charles; who gaue in commandement, to kéepe the same inuiolablie; which title it hath both by diuine, naturall, and humane law, as before is mentioned. Wherefore it must néeds haue true dealing, when so many great and cleare titles are knowne to condescend therunto. Also there concurreth such continuance of time, that euen against Ius fisci, it is prescriptible. For it hath not only continued by the space of 100. yeares, but also more then six hundred yeares last past. Neither is this alwaies true, that this law is imprescriptible, especially of the church; the which in as much as it appertaineth to the spiritualtie, is not subiect to the king, but is much more noble, and far excelleth: Euen no lesse then the Sunne doth the Mone, gold, lead, and heauen, the earth. And this is certaine, and no lesse reason, that the higher and equall may duely prescribe law against him, that is either equall or lower in degrée. As one king may do to another. Wherefore it appeareth, that the church may prescribe this, although it were Ius fisci, as indéed it is not.

Three things pertaining to Prescription: 1. Titulus. 2. Bona fides. 3. Temporum continuatio.

Ius fisci.

The church not subiect to the king.

Finally, this is proued by priuiledge granted by Carolus the great king of France, as before, and by Ludouike the second, and by Philip your vncle, and Ludouike and Philip your kinsmen, which priuiledges we haue héere readie to shew. But perhaps you will say, that these things cannot agrée: that the church hath this iurisdiction, both by law, custome, and priuiledge, which all cannot well hang together. For if the church haue it by one of these, it should follow that the church lacketh it by another. But this may I answere two manner of waies: First, that the priuiledge may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: the other as a confirmatiue and declaratiue of the old law; and this way it may well be agréed: which distinction may also take place in custome. Wherefore it may thus be answered, that although this iurisdiction is due vnto the church by law, it appertaineth also vnto the same by priuiledge and custome; but yet not by such kind of custome and priuiledge, which inducеth a new law; but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any will replie, demanding wherefore the church of France should more challenge this, then any other churches in other realmes, which haue no such prerogatiue: I can soone answere them. If the kings of France (whom God with singular grace, honor, and priuiledge, farre aboue all other princes, hath blessed and indued them for three speciall causes, to wit, for their great faith and deuotion vnto God, for their honor and reuerence to the church, and for their good iustice shewed vnto the people) haue granted to the church speciall liberties, or haue permitted those which before were granted, peaceable to bée kept and obserued: why then they should haue them, it is no maruell. Yea and further, their deuotion vnto the church hath béen such, that the nérer the churches were vnto them, the more liberties they enioyed: and yet had these princes neuertheless therefore, but rather the more: which is euident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobilitie both of the king, and his realme.

The French king more bound then other in three things: 1. Faith to God. 2. Honor to the church. 3. Iustice to the people.

I haue oftentimes heard of other, how that foure or fiue things doe especially nobilitate and adorne this realme.

Fiue things doth nobilitate the realme of France.

First, their sincere and inuiolable faith: for it was at no time read, that the kings of France (since the receiuing of the faith) did euer swarue from the same.

Secondly, the nobilitie of blood, which descended from Priamus the king of the Troians, and successiuely from Carolus and other royall kings.

The blood of France came out of Priamus king of Troy.

Thirdly, the vnitie and peace of concord, which especiallie aboue all other raigned and flourished in the realme of France.

Fourthlie, the solemnitie and pompe of the prelats and clergie.

Fiftly, the good disposed readinesse of the barons and subiects to obey.

If therefore the prelats of this realme should not haue this law and priuiledge, but should be depriued thereof; then should the king and his realme lose one of his noble estates, whereby they are highly magnified (I meane the braunerie, solennitie, and royaltie of the prelats). For then, they should not only bée neither pompous nor royall, but more beggerlie and miserable then any other, the most part of their liuing consisting herein. I doe conclude therefore, to bé proued both by diuine law, naturall law, canon law, ciuill law, custome and priuiledge; that the right of determining such temporall matters of the church, may of right appertaine to the church of France: and so I returne the lord Peters theme against himselfe. Besides this, will I propound that which is most plaine and manifest: that whatsoeuer things be offered vp to the church, and are conuerted to the dominion and propertie of the same, bée Gods and appertaine to him: for so much as they are said, to be dedicated and sanctified by him, as sufficiently throughout the Leuites may appeare: as is declared in the 21. cap. 1. regum, concerning the bread offered to God, where it is said: I haue no common bread vnder my hands to eate, but holy bread. Wherefore, it was not lawfull for the laitie to eate of the same bread, but in time of great necessitie: which is also proued in Daniel the fifth chap. where it is read: Because king Balthazar and his lords with his quéene, drunke in the golden and siluer vessels, which his father Nabuchodonoser had taken out of the temple of Jerusalem; in the same verie houre there appeared fingers as it had béen of a mans hand, writing right ouer the candlestick vpon the plaine wall in the kings palace: And the king saw the palme of the hand that wrote, and that which was written was Mane, Thetel, Phares: the interpretation whereof is this, as there it appeareth: Mane, God hath numbred this kingdome and brought it to an end: Thetel, thou art weighed in a balance and art found too light: Phares, thy kingdome is dealt in parts, and giuen to the Medes and Perses. The verie selfesame night was Balthazar the king of the Caldes slaine, and Darius succeeded in the kingdome of the Medes: the Monarchie of the Assyrians being then translated vnto the Medes. Whereby it appeareth, that those things which are offered vp to the church, belong to God, and so dedicated to him, that no lay man may vse them: which if they doe, they must looke to receiue vengeance at Gods hand, as Balthazar did. These things now ended, I will argue out the lord Peters theme (which was) Giue vnto the emperour, that is the emperours, and vnto God, that is Gods. But this iurisdiction, which (as I proued before) is diuerslie conuerted to the dominion and propertie of the French church, is now Gods; and therefore to bée reserued to and by him. Wherefore, whensoeuer anie goeth about to take away the same: the good and godly ought to re-

Obiection.

Iudicium contradictorium.

1. Regal.

Daniel 5.

resiste

Ambrose in calleth to obay the emperour.

were as Ambrose did to the Gothen souldiers sent to him by the emperour, which was to this effect: If the emperour (quoth he) had requested that which had been mine, I would not haue denied him, albeit that whatsoeuer I haue, all is the princes: But because hee demandeth those things which belong to God (wherein hee hath no right or interest) I had rather hee should imprison mee, yea and cut off my head, then to condescend to his request therein: alluding to the historie of Nabaoth, which is to be seene in the 21. chapter, 3. Reg. How Nabaoth the holy man, possessor of his vineyard, was requested by the king to giue vp his vineyard: who made answer, I will not giue vnto thee the inheritance of my fathers: at which answere the king was maruellously offended: wherefore (quoth Ambrose) if Nabaoth would not deliuer his vineyard, shall we deliuer to you the Church of Christ? No, God forbid that I should deliuer you Christs heritage. Nabaoth did not deliuer the vineyard, nor surely will I deliuer Christs Church. And further he addeth a good saying: I can neither diminish, nor adde any thing to the church of God, for that I take not vpon me the charge of keeping it: besides this, it is my duetie and office to consult with the high emperour of saluation, in this matter what is to bee done: and doubtlesse I may not deliuer any thing to him, nor yet hee receiue any thing of me, as is prooued 24. quæstione vltimo capitè conuenior. qui. Wherefore by these and the like reasons it appeareth, that not onelie iurisdiction spirituall (as the Lord Peter falslie hath suggested) doth belong to God: but also, all other kind of iurisdiction whatsoeuer touching the Church: whether it be by law, custome, or priuiledge: insomuch that neither may wee surrender the same to any, nor yet may the king at our hands take the same. Further the Lord Peter affirmed, that Christ for example sake did pay tribute; which is vntrue, as appeareth in Genesis the fortie eight chapter. For the land of priests were free from paying of all kind of toll and tribute. And if the lord Peter well considered the seuenteenth of Matthew, hee should haue found there, how that Christ did not only pay tribute for example sake: but rather prooued, how hee was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude therefore, the children be free: but yee pay, to auoid slander and offence: wherefore the text saith: Lest wee should offend them, goe to the sea, &c. But peraduenture it may bee answered, that by the example of Christ (to auoid offence) yee ought to pay. But this is vntrue, because there is double offence of the weakelings and of the Pharisies: for as concerning the offence of the weaklings, which commeth of ignorance and not of malice, some things are to bee omitted for a time, while they bee better instructed: as the Apostle saith to the Romans in the fourteenth chapter. But for the offence of the Pharisies, which commit and offend of a pretensed malice; there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ saith in Matthew 16. Where to his disciples saying: Doe you not know how that the Pharisies hearing this word are offended? answered: Behold, suffer them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind: For that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of little ones. But now is the offence of the Pharisies: Wherefore, then it was not to bee paid for auoiding of offence: but now not so. Now therefore it is apparant that the third token of the feare of God consisteth in the whole true reuering of goods: And of him, which hath such feare whereby he reuered to God his owne, it is spoken of in Eccle. 15. chap. The seed of the man that feareth God shall bee brought to honour: but the seed which transgresseth the commandement of the Lord shall be shamed. And thus it fully appeareth, how louing feare and obedience is due vnto God, for the excellencie of his maiestie: because the words be: Feare God.

Nabaoth denieth to the king his vineyard.

3. Reg. 21.

Offence how it ought to be auoided.

Rom. 14.

Matth. 16.

The third note of the feare of God.

Eccles. 15.

Secondly I doe say, that especiall honor and reuerence is due vnto the king, for his dignitie sake: which followeth in the theame. Now it is said, Honour the king. I will alleage the 10. of Ecclesiast. where it is specified: In the middest of the brethren, the ruler is holden in honour among them. Wherefore it seemeth to me, y there are 2. kinds of honors, one which proceedeth from the lips, and that is named flatterie, whereof it is spoken in Matth. the 17. chap. This people doth honor mee with their lips, but their hearts are farre from mee. There is another kind of honour which is reall, and commeth from the heart. And this is the very true honor indeed, wherewith the king ought to be honored. But me thinketh that he doth really, and de facto in very deed honor the king; which wisheth and counselleth him, to keepe and do these things, whereby his dominion is beloued, his roialty not diminished, his honor and fame preserued, and his conscience not burthened: and he that perswadeth him contrary to these, I thinke doth not honor the king. To proceed therefore further: I say first, that he doth de facto honor the king, who perswadeth him those things, wherby he may be beloued of his subiects. For a prince ought to studie rather to be beloued, then feared. And what more greater treasure can a prince wish, then to haue the hearts of his subiects? According to the saying of Seneca: The loue of the citizens, is a fortresse inuincible, and a bulwarke not saytable. What thing is more to be wished for? what better then to liue and raigne, euery man willing and reioycing thereof? And in my opinion, there is nothing which causeth more a prince to bee beloued, then if hee keepe and maintaine his ancient liberties, and bring in no alteration: Wherefore it is said in the 22. capter of Prou. Thou shalt not remoue the land markes, which thy forefathers haue set. This place the Lord Peter alleaged to make for himselfe: which I will proue to make against him, and that by this reason, He ought not to transgresse the old limites and bounds which the fathers haue set: For nouitie and alteration doth ingender discord. And for this cause in making of new alterations there ought to be both euident vtilitie, and vrgent necessitie. If therefore the prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predecessours; he shall not be of his Realme beloued, as it appeareth by Roboam in the 11. chapter of the 3. Reg. All which likewise is to be seene in the Chronicles, how that by these meanes many kingdomes and dominions were translated from nation to nation, and from their owne native regiment to the rule of strange people. And now for this time certaine it is, that your grand predecessors Charles the great, Saint Ludouick, Philip the faire, Ludouick and Philip his sonnes, with many others, haue sealed and confirmed this libertie of the Church. Wherefore for a man to counsell and perswade your highnesse to spoile the Church of any thing: it is euen the next way to spoile and vndoe you selfe, and to bereaue you of that, by which your dominion is beloued. And for this cause I thought good to put your grace in remembrance of the 20. of Matthew, where it is written: Remember the workes of your forefathers, which they haue done in their generations, and you shall receiue great glorie and renowme for euer. Note heere your highnesse by the way, how that king Philip grandfather to Saint Lewis, fostered and kept in his realme Saint Thomas archbishop of Canturburie: who for that hee stoutly defended the liberties of his Church, was banished out of England. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and maintaine your owne prelates, in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your graces predecessors, according to the saying of Gregorie in 25. quæst. cap Si. If I should destroy and pull downe those things which my predecessours haue built and ordained, I should not bee called a builder and maker, but iustlie accounted a strop good and puller downe, as the voice of the Lord saith: Euerie kingdome divided within it selfe shall bee confounded: All knowledge and learning diuided one against the other, shall bee destroyed. In another place he saith: It is ouer sharpe, and against all good manner and ciuilitie (vpon what reason and excuse so euer) to breake and subuert those things which are well ordained: or by his example, to teach others at their pleasures to dissolue old constitutions. Marke here a storie about a castle which was giuen to Saint Remige, to the Churches vse, by Clodoup the king, which afterward king Pipine desired to haue by exchange and recouerie. To whom the said Saint Remige appeared in his dreame, and highly blamed him therefore, saying: A better man then thou gaue it mee, and yet wilt thou take it away from me? And with that hee smote him, who the next day was found all blacke. Since which time, no king of France durst euer lie in that Castle. Verily therefore hee doth not honour the king, which giueth him counsell to passe the old limits that his old fathers did set. Yea rather the kings maiestie ought to say vnto them, which is written in Saint John eighth chapter; I do honour and glorifie my Father; that is, in keeping the liberties of the Church, as they did which granted them: but you haue dishonoured mee, in counselling mee that, which seemeth best to please your selues, as it is written in Ecclesiast. 4. The worship of a mans father is his owne worship, and where the father is without honor, it is the dishonour of the sonne.

Honour of the king.

Eccles. 10.

Two kinds of honors. Matth. 17.

Double honor, with lips and with heart.

A prince rather to be beloued then feared.

Seneca de clemētia ad Neronem. Sentence.

In alteration what is to be considered.

Prouerb. 22.

3. Reg. 11.

Matth. 20.

25. Quæst. 2. cap. Si.

Marke heere a fable.

A dreaming fable.

Iohn 8.

Eccles. 4.

Secondly I say, that hee truelie doth honour the king, who counselleth him: whereby his power and dignitie is not diminished. For as it is great honour to the kings highnesse to encrease and augment his power: so is it as much dishonour for him to diminish any iot thereof. And therefore, the Emperours were wont to call themselues victorious, of augmenting and encreasing their common wealth. And to say that you and your predecessors could not grant these things to the Church, it were too too absurd, and to the too much derogation of your Maiesties most honorable estate. And therefore you (most soueraigne Lord) who hold and possesse so ample right and title in the realme of France, both by election and inheritance; not to grant and leaue this to your posteritie, it were to the great debasing of your maiesties honour, crowne and dignitie. Yea if it were (as God forbid) it would follow, that your predecessors liued continuallie in sinne: yea and further, it were as much to say (which were too vile) that blessed S. Lewis, by whom all France is beautified, could not be iustly canonized.

For as the Lord speaker declared, if he toke his oth at his coronation both to alienate nothing, and also to cal in that which was before alienated, which is inseparable from the crowne: it should follow that he was forsworne, and consequently committed deadly sin, & so could neuer be canonized, which is too too absurd to bee talked of. And if replie be made, that hee might haue repented: It is soone to bee answered: That his sinne is read of, but of his repentance it is not found, as it is said of Salomon

Salomon. But put case it be true that the lord Peter said, then it must nedes follow, that your grace could bestow nothing, neither countrie, town, nor tower. And yet there be few, which willinglie would not receiue them, notwithstanding their allegiance and homage, which they pretend to your highnesse. Keepe therefore and confirme (most renowned prince) that which was granted by your noble progenitors: otherwise, your royall honor shall decrease, that it may bee verified in you which is read of, in the 11. to the Rom. I will honor my ministerie. Rom.11.

Thirdly, I doe affirme, that hee rightfullie honoreth the king, which perswadeth him that, whereby his honor and renowne is preserued. For in matters of weight, and of great importance, next after conscience wee must haue regard to name and fame, as it is written in the 22. of Prou. It is better to haue a good name, then riches. A good name farre passeth all things, and is aboue siluer and gold. And Saint Augustine saith, two things are necessarie for thee, conscience and name: Conscience for God, and name for thy neighbour. And therefore it is written in the 4. chapt. of Eccle. Labour to get a good name, for that will continue surer by thee, then a M. great treasures of gold. A good life hath a number of daies. Which renowne and name, the Lord (who annointed your grace with the oile of gladnesse) hath in so little time more abundantlie blessed you withall, then any other prince; wherfore you ought to be more vigilant and carefull, how to keepe and enioy the same still: For it is no lesse vertue, to keepe that which is gotten, then to seeke and get: whereby not onely while you liue, but also when you are dead, your glorious renowne may liue for euer: yea and farther, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or foile should creep into that your so great renowne: alluding that to your grace, which is said in the tenth of the Prouerbs, &c. The memoriall of the iust shall haue good report, &c. Beware therefore most noble prince, and take heed that in your daies and time, the liberties of the Church bee not taken away (which God forbid) or diminished in any iot. For if your glorious name should be blotted therewith, there be thousands, which would chronicle the same to perpetuall memorie. Wherfore most Christian prince, if such (as trusted after their death for no other life, but onelie for fame and renowne) liued a life most godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Christians, which looke after another life, by our well doings heere, to win vs a perpetuall name and memorie after our death? And you besides, if you should dishonour your name and fame; what a matter were it? considering how the kings of France, were euer counted the most christian princes, and most bountifull towards the Church, giuing examples to other princes, how to enrich their churches and liberties therof. And now especiallie, if your grace, the church in some places being in great persecution (which God forbid) should shew light to other to pull and take away that which was giuen by your forefathers to the Church; what might the world say? For then by the like reason, might the Emperour depriue the church of all, which was giuen to it by Constantine the emperour. Also other kings would doe the like in their realmes. God forbid that your highnesse should giue such example. And for my part, I would rather wish my selfe to bee dead, then giue you such counsell, that in so pernicious and naughtie a matter, you should bee example to other: especiallie, when the kings of France your predecessors, were defenders alwaies against such as went about to take away the liberties from the church: which is the office of a king. Hieronymus saith vpon Jeremie, which is found also in the 24. quæst. 5. cap. Regnum & C. princeps, after this manner: Let the princes of the world know and vnderstand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the church which they take vpon them to keep. Note you also, and reade some examples out of stories and Commentaries, what regard the kings of France had in obseruing those things; and see you by their example, to follow and doe the like: and then shall it bee verified in your grace, which is written in the 37. chapter of Eccle. A wise man shall obtaine honour amongst his people: As also in the third of the same: Hee that honoureth his mother, is like one that gathereth treasure together.

Who honoreth the king.

Prou.22.

Conscience and good name.

Eccles.4.

24.q.5.cap. Regnum.

Eccles.37. Eccles.3.

Fourthly I say, that he indeed doth honour the king, which perswadeth him to doe that whereby his conscience is not hurt. For aboue all things a Christian man ought to beware how to doe that thing, which should bee a grudge vnto his conscience, because the life is more then is meat: Mat. the 6. chap. And assuredlie I beleeue, that your grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherewith your conscience should bee burdened, for all the worlds good: and that iustlie. For the more miraculouslie God hath called your highnes to ỹ state of a K. and hath endued you with his grace: so much the more care ought you to haue, and take heed that you offend him not. Nor is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, hee will not bee the more grieuouslie displeased with you, as hee was with Saul, 1. King. chap. 15. Consider therefore most soueraigne Lord, that at what time you were crowned, you sware onelie these things following, and no other. First, that you would defend and maintaine the canonical law, priuiledge and iustice, granted to the bishops and the church: and as much as in you did lie, to enlarge and amplifie the same. Also that by your arbitrement, all christian people at all times should keepe the true peace of God and his Church. Also that you should forbid to all nations, all kind of sacrileges, spoilings, and iniquities. Also that in all kind of iudgements, you should will and command equitie and mercie. Also that throughout your whole territorie and iurisdiction, you should sincerely with all your endeuour, studie to exterminate and rut off from the Church, the noted heretickes: which all, and no other, your maiestie sware to fulfill, at the time of your Coronation: vnder the leaue and correction of the Lord Peter, which affirmed you were sworne to none other thing besides. Now therefore, seeing it is a canonicall priuiledge of the Church, and in the heart of the whole Cano. 6. qu. 1. Quicunque item habens, incorporate: when also by custome which is canonicall, it came in, that the church and spiritualtie, may haue cognition in a number of cases, against which diuers articles haue been here laid in: If this amongst the laitie should not bee obserued in the church, your graces conscience thereby might somewhat bee burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole Christendome should keepe the true peace of God and his church: much more haue you to procure the same amongst your owne Barons and people, who euermore were all one with the Church. And alwaies where any Church was in honor and estimation, there were belonging to it, twentie stout barons and knights: whose office, as it was to defend the Church, so was it the part of the Church to pray for them, and to offer sacrifice for them vnto God. And to this end, that blessed S. Lewes so much laboured in his time: who when the greatest barons of his realme had confederate to suppresse these liberties of the Church, and had consulted to giue him (to that end) the hundreth part of their goods, would neuer condescend thereunto, but alwaies dissuaded them therefrom: and finallie by his authoritie, sealed and confirmed these liberties of the Church. Consider heere your maiestie, how that pope Innocentius at that time proceeded against those Barons, &c. I dare be bold to say, that if there should be now dissension betweene the prelates and barons: it would not bee long before the communaltie would vsurpe to rule and beare domination. As by experience it hath been seene in many places, and likewise by practise wee of late time might haue seene: at what time the people Romaking the spiritualty in the parts of Campania and Burgundie, at last rose and made in euery towne a king; and therewithall caused the officers which brought citations and absolutions, from the pope and other, to be well banged: and not long after, made insurrection against the lords temporall, and serued them with the like sauce: vntill that by the kings power they were suppressed, & many of them hanged. And this doubtlesse was in the daies of Lewes last king of that name. Truelie the noble men ought not to bee grieued with that that the Church is possessed withall. For that there be few of them, who haue not their brothers and kinsfolks, which liue and are maintained by the goods and reuenues of the Church. Amongst whom if they should diuide their inheritance, perhaps they would bring a little to nothing at all. Let the barons also consider how that there are but few, which beleeue not in the church. For the Church is one, as in the first of Canticum; My Doue and dearling is one. Wherefore without great perill of transgression can they not persuade and counsell such liberties of the church to be abrogated and taken away.

The 4. honouring of the king

Matth.6.

1.King.15.

The oth of the French kings.

Arg. by the possessions of the church many brethren and kinsmen of the nobles be maintained.

Ergo, such possessions are not to be grudged at.

To beleeue in the Church, is not in our fault.

That therefore your Maiesties conscience may remaine pure and immaculate: pleaseth it your highnesse by your authoritie, to seale and confirme this good ancient and Canonicall priuiledge. And contrary attempts, (if any be made by way of proclamation or otherwise) to reuoke and call them in. And further, to keepe your mother the church of France in her ancient franke choice, libertie, and customs. And then by you in all things God shall bee glorified and honoured: to whom be honour and glorie for euer and euer, Amen. Who then will honour you, as is said, 1. Reg. 21. Whosoeuer shall honor me, I will crowne him with that glorie, in which consisteth the true honor, and is granted to none vnworthie. Whereunto also none is admitted but worthie, as blessed Saint Austen saith: which honor, grant he vnto you and vs, who is blessed world without end, Amen. And because a bill of many articles was exhibited, whereof part did infringe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction: to the defence therof, we will according to the fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus stand euen to the death. where it is said: For the truth striue thou vnto ỹ death, and God shal fight for thee against thine enemies. Some other of them containe onely abuse, which we beleeue none such to be. But if there be, we will see redresse therein. Therefore for the honour of God, for the vnburdening of our consciences, for the kings maiesties reuerence, and for the peoples profit and peace: All wee here assembled, haue concluded to see remedie, that the aforesaid abuses, if any such be, shall be left. to the quietnesse of the people, and praise of almightie God. To whom be honor and glorie world without end, Amen.

1. Reg. 21.

To the bill of articles exhibited.

Another sitting in the parliament.

The next Friday following, being the 29. of December, the

Another daies sitting in the parliament.

the prelats assembled themselues againe together at the kings palace in Paris, where the reuerend father the lord Peter Bertrand, by Gods permission bishop of Eduen, spake openly there before the king, sitting with his counsellors and Barons about him: taking to his theame that which is written in the 18. of Genesis, O Lord bee not angrie, that I speake yet more, &c. The which he applied to this end: that for the maiesty of the king, the prudencie of his counsell, and insufficiencie of himselfe (considering the weightines of the cause) hee trembled and was afraid to speake: yet neuertheless, trusting vpon his accustomed clemencie, toke to him audacity, and presumed that which was appointed to him by the prelats. Beginning with the 89. psalme: Lord thou art our refuge, &c. Which hee prosecuted in extolling the king his person, and his miraculous attaining to the crowne of France: preaching further, how he ought to be the champion and defender of the faith: all which he proued in few words by many reasons and authorities. Afterward, he touched those propositions which were propounded by the foresaid lord Peter of Cugner, and for no other only cause as he protested, but to informe the conscience of his soueraigne lord and king, and to aduise his grace concerning the same: Not going about to make any finall iudgement, determination, or answer, whereby either sentence, order, statute, right to any man, or other processe, might thereof ensue or bee grounded. And namelie he first beginning with the theame of the lord Peter: first affirmed (Render vnto the Emperour, which is the Emperours, and vnto God which is his; Mark. 12.) By which words was signified the obedience and subiection to the king, with the difference of the spiritualtie from the temporaltie; whereof the first member is proued by the 1. Peter 2. Where it is said; Be yee subiect to euery humane creature, &c. Also by the Cap. solite, extra. de maio. & ob. And by the c. nouit extra, de iudicijs cap. de sacerdotibus 10. q. 1. with the notes about the same. Moreouer, as touching the distinction of both iurisdictions: whereof the lord Peter proued the temporall iurisdiction to pertaine to secular men, the spirituall to the clergie, by the words of our Sauiour Christ, Luk. 22. where he said: Behold two swords. Also for that Christ did pay tribute; Teaching thereby, how that the temporalties were to be reserued to the temporall men: Mat. 17. 11. q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.

Bishop of Eduen again speaketh.

Matth. 2. Mark 12.

In like manner by the law of Iustinian, where it is written, that two great gifts were ordained and granted of God: a bishoprick, and a kingdome: The first, to beare rule ouer Gods matters, the other ouer worldlie things, &c. And said moreouer, that these two be the cases which in no wise could be altered or changed. Prou. 20. de Tionmo. lib. 1. & vlt. And affirmed also, that of such princely right, the king could not abrogate and depriue himselfe. For that it was imprescriptible, appertaining to the crowne and his regall seat, (considering how hee toke his oth at the time of his coronation) not only not to breake or alienate the lawes of his realme, but also to restore and reuoke such as were broken and alienated. To which these his reasons it was answered, that the iurisdiction and determination of ciuill causes (whereabout the controuersie now standeth) belongeth to the church, both by Gods law and mans law. By Gods law it proued was, euen from Adams time to Christs comming: per Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro, compe. And from Christs comming, to Peters time and his successors. 22. di. c. omnes patriarchæ. Math. cap. 16. But how the church in the realmes of catholike princes, attained vnto this right and interest which at this present it doth enioy, the law proueth: 2. q. ca. 5. Si quis. Presbyter. 11. q. 1. Relatum 25. dist. Ecce. Which also is confirmed by the emperors in the bodie of the law, ff. 3. ¶ Si causam. col. 9. 23. q. vlt. c. his, & a quibus. The canon furthermore teacheth, how that S. Peter commanded all the princes of the earth and others, to obay and giue place to the bishops: c. omnes, extra. de maior. & ob. 16. dist. duo sunt. Wherefore it was concluded, that in no wise this right is to bee separated and taken away from the church. And albeit in the realmes of tyrannous princes, this state of the church is violated and not kept: yet in this blessed realme of France, it hath been alwaies euen to these daies dulie obserued: c. nouit. extra. de iudicijs. This iurisdiction, the lawes of Theodosius the emperour and Carolus the great, hath also confirmed: extra. de iudicijs. c. nonne. all. 11. q. 1. quæcunque, &c. fe. iurisdictio. c. expresse. Where it is mentioned, that the same Carolus king of France (and emperour) especiallie constituted the said law. And likewise to speake of custome, it hath been knowne from time out of mind, the same to haue belonged to the church of France: He therefore which shall go about to violate this law, committeth sacrilege, 11. q. 1. ca. 1. & 2. And let not the kings maiestie maruell, if that in this most noble realme of France this prerogatiue bee due vnto the church: As when hereby, his power and nobilitie is beautified. Anth. vt iud. sine quoquo suffra. fi. in principio Col. 2. Besides this, our soueraigne lord the king, at what time he was crowned, was sworne by the Euangelists to keepe and obserue this canonicall priuiledge of the church. Further, the Barons who in a manner are all sworne to the church, swore fidelitie to the same: by which oth of fidelitie, they are bound to keepe these liberties and rights of the church. When therefore euery oth which tendeth not to the perdition of the soule, is to be kept: a fortiori that oth which is taken in the fauour of the church, is much more to be obserued: c. Si vero extra. de iure iurando. 22. quæst. 4. c. vlt. Besides this, blessed Ludouicke, Philip of Arragon, Philip the faire, Ludouicke, Carolus the great, and Philip; confirmed these priuiledges, customes, and liberties of the Church, which all were sworne at their coronations, as before, &c. These things considered, who can aduise the kings maiestie without damning of his owne soule, contrarie to these liberties granted and so confirmed to the Church? To whom belongeth great reward, whosoeuer bestoweth any thing vpon the Church: Antho. de non alie. at permut. re. ecce: § si minis col. 3. Neither maketh it against vs where it is said, that there are two swords, &c. Neither yet the distinction betweene the bishoprick and kingdome. Because it is true that there are two swords, the power whereof is left to the Churches hand, although the execution of the materiall sword is committed to the temporall and secular men: Matth. 26. where Christ saith to Peter: Conuert and put vp thy sword into the place. But as touching the distinction betwixt the bishoprick and kingdome, indeed it is true, almuch as appertaineth to the end and to the execution of bloud, but not concerning the beginning and subiect: for that in one subiect, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before proued. To that point where it is said that Christ paied tribute: it is answered, that not therefore he paid it, because hee ought or was bound thereunto: because it is certainelie true, that the sonnes of the king (as he was) ought not to pay; but this hee did to auoid offence: yea also the clergie is not bound hereunto, Esdræ 1. & vlt. Wherefore, such things doe not inferre a consequence. Neither yet maketh that against vs where it is said: that the king our soueraigne lord and maister cannot abdicate from himselfe this right, especiallie for that he was sworne thereunto at the time of his coronation, &c. For it is answered, that he may well abdicate the same. And how doth hee abdicate the same from himselfe, which he giueth and bestoweth to God and the church? The land is the lords. And doubtlesse, to giue, is nothing else, but to render to God and the church their owne: for then by that reason, the gift giuen to the Church by Constantine is naught and nothing worth; which is false: and this is proued 16. dist. ca. Const. Wherby it appeareth, that an Emperour and king may alienate things of the empire: ff. de legatis i. l. apud Iulianum § vlt. nor yet hereby the empire or kingdome is damaged: for that the thing returneth to the pristinat state, ff. de pactis l. vnus § pactus 35. dist. ab exordio. Furthermore, by this reason propounded, all the kings of France which euer were (and especiallie blessed Ludouicke) should bee spotted: for if that were true (as God forbid) then all they were periured and died in mortall sinne, which is too too absurd. Last of all, it hurteth not where it is said: that such things are imprescriptible. It is true indeed, they cannot of subiects, or otherwise then of the Church bee prescribed: but in this cause wee talke not of subiects. Also seeing they may bee alienated, they may bee prescribed, especiallie (the kings thus consenting, who confirmed the same so long a time) which excludeth all right both fiscall and Ecclesiasticall. The prelats therefore all with one consent, agree and affirme to the same as a veritie to bee maintained and defended. Beseeching the kings maiestie their lord, both for his soules health, and peace of the Church, to maintaine the same, and keeping the liberties of the Church. Desiring him to consider what commoditie daily hee receiueth by the church, and that his church neuer failed him yet, when he had need of the lattie, shewing the dangers and examples of them who did to the contrary. Further, hee beseeched his highnesse to weigh how entirely his lord the pope doth and hath loued his person and realme: Affirming, that neuer any placed in the seat of Peter, loued better his realme, then hee doth. Alleaging the text of Eccl. 6. where it is said: Stand in the multitude of the priests, and beleeue them with thy heart.

22. q. 4. cap. Si vero.

Matth. 26.

Why Christ paied tribute.

Eccles.

After this in the said session, the foresaid bishop of Eduen prolocutor inferred many things beside, and answered particularlie to the articles aboue specified, and exhibited by the lord Peter in writing to the king and parliament. Which, because they touch more the subtiltie of the law and stiles of the courts, then are necessarie to this our historie, and because we would not burden the volume withal, containing no great profit in them, we haue heere of purpose for breuities sake omitted them, passing to the next sitting, which was the next friday next following the same, as ensueth.

Speciall answeres to the articles premised by bishop Eduen.

The next Friday after this, the prelats assembled at Micenas before the king, to heare their answer: where, the foresaid lord Peter of Cugner (being prolocutour for the king) spake on this wise, taking for his theame: I am peace vnto you, do not feare, &c. Which he prosecuted, monishing that they should not bee troubled in any thing that there had been spoken. For that the intent and mind of the soueraigne lord their king was, to keepe the rites of the Church and prelats, which they had by law and by good and reasonable custome: Where, betweene the first and second conclusion, he went about to proue, that the cognition of ciuill causes ought not to appertaine to the Church: For that such things were temporall and ought to pertaine to the temporaltie, as spirituall things to the spiritualtie

Another daies sitting in the parliament.

11. q. 1. cap. 1. & 2.

16. Dist. cap. Constantinus.

35. Dist. cap. ab exordio.

86. Dist. cap. rum ad verum. Shauing of priests crownes wherefore, 12. quest. 2.

altie. And besides his other reasons he alleaged the 86. dist. declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the clerks crowns were shauen; in signe that they should be free from all worldlinesse, and forsake all temporall things. Alleaging to that end the 12. q. 2. Furthermore hee declared, that the bishops had cognition in certaine cases expressed by law. Wherefore, these said cases, ministred a certaine rule against them, alleaging for the proofe thereof, De reg. iuris ff. de lega. 1. L. ticie textoris. Also hee affirmed, that by reason of sinne, the decretall Nouit. could not make for them. For the same did speake of the king of France his state, which hath no superiour: but in other persons it was (hee said) otherwise. And these things thus being proued, then said hee, and concluded: That neuertheless, their lord and king was readie to heare the information of them, which would instruct him of any custome: and those customes which were good and reasonable hee would obserue. Which answer, because it did not seeme to please and suffice the prelates, incontinently the bishop Eduen answered for them all in manner following: First, commending the good and generall answer, he spake in this wise: The prince of the people (said he) shall be praised, for the prudence of his talke, commending therewith as touching the former good generall answer of the king, his purpose and talke propounded. But as concerning the words of the lord Peter, which engendred and brought darkenesse and obscuritie, and might giue occasion to their temporall lords, to breake and infringe the rites and customes of the church: Wherefore his answer seemed not full and plaine to the prelats. Speaking moreouer to the said Peter, hee alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her sonne: Sonne why did you so to vs? And so prosecuted the same, both maruelling with himselfe, and yet couertly complaining of his answere. Afterward answering to those things which the lord Peter affirmed, and first to the chapter, Ad verum, he said, that it was before answered, touching the diuision of the two iurisdictions, that they may be in one subiect as before is proued. Neither doth let it which the lord Peter said, these two iurisdictons could not be in one subiect, because that things which be in themselues diuers, and be vnder one Genus, as a man and an asse, cannot bee in one subiect. But if they were vnder diuers kinds, as whitenesse and sweetnesse in milke, they might be well in one subiect. It was answered, that this rule was not true: because iustice and temperance are two diuers vertues, and vnder one kind, and yet be in one subiect. Besides these differing species, a man and an asse be not compatible in one subiect. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shauing of the crowne, it was answered, that the crowne did betoken rule and excellencie: and the shauing did signifie, that they ought not to heape vp store of temporall things, so to applie their hearts thereunto. But that the temporall things ought to be subiect to them, and not they to the temporaltie, as is proued in the said chapter, duo sunt genera. Also as concerning the thing, which was talked of de regula: he answereth, that this maketh for the church, as before was proued: yea also, the custome doth make the rule for the church. Also laws in al kind of sense doe alwaies except the custome. And therfore, his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the lord Peter spake about the decretall Nouit. That the case was onely in the kings person, yet for all that it is expressly said in the same text of euery christian man. And although their law doth speake onelie of the pope, yet the same is applied to all bishops in their dioces.

The bishop findeth fault with the kings answere.

Wherefore the said bishop concluded and beseeched the king that it would please his grace to giue vnto them a more plaine and comfortable answere: and that they might not depart from his presence all pensiue and sad, whereby occasion might be giuen to the lattie to impugne the rites and liberties of the church: And that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conscience of their soueraigne lord and king. In the end it was answered to them in the behalfe of the king, that his mind and intent was not to impugne the customes of the church.

The gentle answere of the king to the bishops.

The Sunday following the bishops assembled themselues againe before the king at Vicenas, where the lord bishop of Eduen repealed their last supposition, with the last answer made vnto them in the behalfe by the king, when the bishop of Byturien had giuen them to vnderstand how the king willed them not to feare: For that they should suffer no hinderance or damage in his time, yea and would defend them in their rights and customes, because it should not be said that he would giue ensample to other to impugne the church, assuring them, that euen the kings grace him willed so to declare vnto them. The said lord bishop of Senon in the name of the whole prelates gaue humble thankes to the king therefore, and the said bishop of Senon beseeched that such proclamations which were made to the preiudice of the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, might be repealed, and called in. Hereunto the king himselfe answereth with his owne mouth, that they were not published at his commandement, neither did hee know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdlie, the bishop proposed that those abuses which the temporaltie complained of, should be so ordered and reformed, that euery man should bee well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the kings highnes, that he would of his gracious goodnesse giue them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the lord Peter in the name of the king: That if the prelats and bishops would ses reformation of those things which were to be amended (whereabouts he would take respite betweene this and Christmas next following) his grace would innouate nothing in the meane season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reforme that which was amisse, his maiestie would appoint such order and remedie, that should be acceptable both to God and his subiects. After this, the prelats had leaue of the king to depart and went home.

The finall answere of the king to the prelates.

A briefe recapitulation of the bishops answere, with certaine notes answering to his popish reasons vnto the reader.

Notes vpon the bishops answere pag. 330. col. 2.

THe answer of bishop Eduen in the name of the other prelats, to the oration and articles before obiected by the lord Peter, consisteth in two parts. First, in declaring the feare due to God. Secondly, the honour due to the king. Whereof the first is, the feare of God (he saith) consisteth in three things. 1. In giuing to God. 2. In honouring his ministers. 3. In restoring that which hath been taken away, &c. The 2. which is, the honouring of the king, he saith, consisteth in a double sort, that is: In words only, wherein is flatterie: And in deed: which againe he diuideth into 4. members: First, when a man counselleth a king to that whereby his dominion his loued. 2. When the king is counselled to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminished. 3. Thirdly, when the king is counselled to that, wherby his fame and renowne is maintained. 4. Fourthly, when a king is counselled to that, wherby his conscience is not wounded, &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like breuitie to recite the reasons and arguments in order, wherby he proueth the premisses, with the subdiuision of euery member and part thereof. Wherein the studious reader may note both the subtile proceedings of these popish prelats, and also the feeble & impotent ground wherupon they build. Whose building (as by this discourse and many other may appeare) wholly and finally tendeth to this, to maintaine their liberties, pompe, and estimation aboue all other secular princes and persons.

Feare of God consisting in three things. 1. In giuing. 2. In honoring. 3. In restoring.

Honour to the king, double.

In word flattering, in deed effectuall.

Honour effectuall standeth in foure points. 1. In maintaining the kings loue. 2 In maintaining his dignitie. 3. In maintaining his good name. 4. In maintaining his conscience.

First, as concerning feare to be giuen to God, which hee diuideth into three parts, in giuing, in honoring, and restoring: for the first, hee prooueth that princes ought to giue largelie and without measure to the church by these arguments.

Pa. 327. col. 1.

By the testimonie of Iustinian: Although nothing is good which is too much, yet, &c. pag. 327. col. 1. I answer, that in the time of Iustinian, goods then giuen to the church, were the goods of the poore. Wherein was vsed faithfull distribution, voluntarie giuing, and necessarie charitie. But now in our popish churches, reuenues and lands giuen, neither are distributed to the poore: and yet are men compelled against their will to giue still. And againe, so little necessitie is now to giue to such, that the most wealth of realmes almost is in their hands and houses: insomuch that they flowing in such wealth, are now waxen so proud, that kings can scarse beare any rule for them, as was prooued before, pag. 320. col. 1. that the popes renenues heres in England, mounted to more then three times double the stint of the kings crowne. Wherefore by the counsell of Iustinian, it was so then, and then might stand, *quòd Religio peperit diuitias:* But now as the time is altered, so that counsell holdeth not, *postquam nunc filia deuorauit matrem:* That is, after that the daughter hath deuoured the mother. Finally concerning mens giuing to the church in these our popish daies, foure faults I note:

Pa. 361. col. 2.

Religio peperit diuitias: nunc filia deuorauit matrem.

4. Incommodities that come in giuing to the church.

First, that they giue superfluously more then sufficient is to necessitie of life.

Secondly, that they giue to such as abuse it wickedly.

Thirdly, that in giuing to them that need not, noble men in meane time defraud their poore neighbours, which need indeed, and yet doe not complaine.

Fourthly, because of this title of giuing, men haue vsed, and yet do vse to put great hope of saluation therin, contrary to the testament of God in Christs death, wherof examples are before.

Pag. 327. col. 2. Abel offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God. Ergo, euery great man, that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best hee hath vnto the church. Answere: This argument as it is farre fet: so it is soone answered, wherein three notes are to be obserued.

Pa. 327. col. 2.

3. Things to be noted, in offering to God, & to the church.

First, that he which offereth vnto the church of God, doth not therein offer vnto God immediatly as Abel did.

Secondly, neither is this to be granted, that he which offereth to all churchmen, offereth by and by to the church of God. For many times the churchmen are one; and the church of God is another. Laurence the martyr, shewing forth the church of God, brought out the poore of the parish, and not of the priests of the church. pag. 65. col. 1.

The third note is this: that if noble persons should offer vnto God (by the example of Abel) that which is the best and fattest of the flocke: then should they offer vnto the Lord, of their flocke only, and not of their lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught therby to offer to God, neither cattell nor lands, but that which is the very best, that is, their owne bodies

bodies for a liuely sacrifice to God. Hee that offereth vp to God a proud heart, and killed it with the axe of humilitie, giueth vnto him the best and fattest bullocke he hath in all his flocke. With like reason also I answer the place of Num. 18. and of Paral. cap. vlt. that to offer vp, or to separate vnto the Lords treasurie, is not now to giue to priests and chaplaines of the church, which peraduenture haue more then they doe well occupie: but to giue liberally to the communion of Saints, which are needy, and are the true treasury of the church indeed, as Laurence the true treasurer said, supra, pag. 65. col. 1.

Rom. 12.

Pa. 327. col. 2.

Pag. 327. col. 2. By Gods commandement wee are bound of duty to honour our temporall fathers. Ergo, by the same dutie wee are bound much rather to honour our spirituall fathers, that is, priests and prelates. Answer. A father in common speech is diuersly taken, as by age, by nature, by office. And to all these we of dutie, are bound to yeeld honour, reuerence, obedience, submission, albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our fathers and mothers: so aged men and elders haue also their honour and name of fathers: So Magistrates and spirituall teachers in their kind, haue their honour and reuerence. And saint Paul saith, that such are worthie of double honour, *qui benè præsunt; & qui laborant in sermone.* But in this two things are to bee noted, wherein this honour consisteth, and how farre it extendeth: These spirituall fathers of the church, thinke they bee not honoured enough, vnlesse kings and emperours giue and surrender vnto them all the temporall rule and gouernement, to doe what they list, and none to controll them. And vnlesse noble men and subiects indue them with temporall lands and possessions, so much as they would haue. And this they call honour, which they define onely by giuing temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giuing spiritually, as to haue a reuerent opinion of their ministration, to yeeld a prompt obedience to their doctrine, to reuerence them as the ministers of God, and not to despise, defame, or molest their persons, whereof saint Paul also about the same place speaketh, writing to Timothie: Let no man despise thy youth, &c. Also to Titus, Let no man despise thee, &c. And this is to honour our spirituall fathers.

1. Tim. 5. Two things to be noted in giuing honour, wherein consisteth honour giuing to priests.

1. Tim. 5. Titus 2.

Qui benè præsunt.

Secondly, to consider how far this honour extendeth: as no man doth deny, but these pastours are worthie their double honour, which rule well; so if they administer not their office well, they are vnder the ouersight of the king, bearing the temporall sword, worthie of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honor in them that rule well, how farre it doth extend: if it bee compared to the honour due to our parents, case of necessitie will soone decide it. For be it, that our parents, on the one side, and pastor of the other, stand in extreame need of the sonnes supportation, wherein he can helpe but the one: nature, I suppose, will and ought sooner run, and the word of Christ wil sooner driue vs to our father, then to the priests Corban. Mark. 7. So that this distinction here may haue place: that as the one standeth vpon merite of vertue, so the other standeth vpon meere dutie of necessitie.

How farre honour giuen to priests extendeth.

Marke 7.

Pa. 328. col. 1.

Pag. 328. col. 1. These iurisdictions temporall and spirituall are compatible in one person. Answer. I grant *pro ratione subiecti:* That is, in the subiect it selfe there is no cause to the contrarie, but these vocations may bee exercised both of one person, as they haue bin of the pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary formes also) and yet the popes person hath been able to sustaine them both. But now heere is to be considered, not what the nature of the subiect is able to beare by Logicke, but what order is taken herein by the wil of God, whose order is this: That they, which with Peter are called to the feeding of the flocke, should leaue their fishing nets, and fish for men: and that they which labour in the warfare of the Lord, should not intangle themselues with the businesse of this life, whereby they may bee more free to please him, whose souldiers they are: Tit. 2. &c.

Tit. 2.

Pa. 328. col. 1. Two formes not contrary may be compatible in one subiect.

Pag. 328. col. 1. The iurisdictions temporall and spirituall, are so distincted that they are not contrary, &c. Answer. And what let is there then, but our Queene, now, and other kings hereafter may haue the gouernment of both states, aswell Ecclesiasticall as temporall? Seeing both the formes being compatible, may concur both in one subiect: why not as well in the person of the king, within the realme, as in the person of the pope without the realme?

Pa. 328. col. 2.

Pag. 328. col. 2. God after the creation of the world, &c. vnto Noes time, &c. Answer. If God vnto Noes time gouerning the world as king, gaue sentence himselfe against Cain (as wee say) how then did he that by the ministerie of angels? If he did it by the angels his ministers: whether is more like then that to make for the pope, or rather for kings and princes, whom the scripture thrice in one chapter calleth the ministers of God to execute punishment to him that doth euill, Rom. 13?

Rom. 13.

Pa. 328. col. 2. Not was a priest, and had both iurisdictions in the Ark.

Pag. 328. Noe also which offered, &c. Answer. If offering of burnt sacrifices to God doe make a priest, then was Caine also, Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and all patriarchs priests. If he had both temporall and spirituall iurisdiction vpon them, which were in his Arke: I maruell why he did not curse them the disobedient crow that returned not to him againe.

Pag. 328. col. 2. Melchisedech likewise, &c. Answer. Melchisedech properly did beare a figure of Christ, both king and priest, and of none other.

Pa. 329. col. 1. A.

Pag. 329. col. 1. A. I haue giuen to me, &c. Answer. That Christ hath all power giuen him, no man doubteth: but yet the same Christ saith, that his kingdome is not of this world: Neither would he be made a king in this world, &c. *Non eripit mortalia, qui regna dat cælestia, hymn. &c.*

Pa. 329. col. 1. B.

Pag. 329. col. 1. B. Whom Christ made his vicar, &c. Answer. Here in one line be two lies. For neither had Peter the very same power in heauen and earth as Christ had, neither was he the vicar of Christ.

Pa. 329. col. 2. C.

Pag. 329. col. 1. C. As the offence of Ananias and Saphira was not temporall but spirituall: so did Peter kill them not iudicially, that is, as a temporall iudge, but spirituallie, that is, by the power of the spirit, which spirit wrought by him, not as by a iudge, but as a minister. And although this act of Peter was extraordinarie for a singular example: yet notwithstanding let any prelate with the like power of spirit, so doe, and none will blame him.

Pa. 329. col. 1. D.

Pag. 329. col. 1. D. And so likewise the condemnation of Paul against the Corinthian, was only spirituall and not temporall.

Pa. 329. col. 1. E.

Pag. 329. 1. E. must be referred to the order, &c. Answere, Christ would these causes to be referred to the hearing of the Church, for spirituall admonition, but not for temporall iurisdiction of the prelats.

Pag. 329. col. 1. F. All things that the true church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but first let the pope proue his church to be the true church, and himselfe to be the vniuersall head thereof, and then let him claime the keies.

Pa. 329. col. 1.

Ibid. The two swords doe as much signifie the two regiments: as doe the two fishes wherewith Christ did feed foure thousand persons.

Ibid. Christ bad Peter put vp his sword, and not to cast it away: Ergo, the church may haue the temporall sword. Answer. God giue you good morrow, I haue brought you a capon.

Pag. 329. col. 2. I. Know ye not the saints, &c. Answer. Saint Paul here willing the Corinthians to plead their matters not before the heathen, but before the saints, meaneth the faithfull of the congregation: not onely prelats.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

K. In them was not the like reason, &c. Answer. I grant, for Christ and true Christians is one thing: antichrist and his church is another thing.

Ibid. As yee say, the Apostles had no leasure to take lands and possessions, for preaching: but now, for lordly loitering you haue leasure enough.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Pag. 329. col. 2. M. They are most fittest to beare temporall rule, which follow neerest to God. Prelats of the clergie follow neerest to God. Ergo, Prelats of the clergie are most meetest to beare temporall rule.

Resp. If God here bee taken for that God, which is called the bellie: I grant they seeme to follow neerer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their owne fruites, life and doctrine, and Esay also would deny their minor, and say, that this people draweth neere to mee with their lips, but their heart is farre from me.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Pag. 329. col. 2. You are a chosen generation, a royall priesthood, &c. Answer. This place of Peter was written not only to persons ecclesiasticall, but to the whole congregation of the Saints dispersed, as the words following may declare: *Qui olim non populus, &c.*

And thus much concerning French matters, which because they be Ecclesiasticall, and beare with them some vtilitie to the diligent Reader (such as list to search, note and obserue the acts of men, and course of religion) I thought therefore here to place and adioyne next after the other contention before proceeding betweene Philip the French king and pope Boniface. Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of peeres and time, I am not ignorant that this foresaid parliament thus summoned and commenced against the French prelats, falling in the yeere of our Lord 1329. was to bee referred rather to the raigne of king Edward the second. Of whom now remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in order of history to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his father giuen to him in the time of his departing. The yeere of our Lord 1307. and the last yeere of the king, the foresaid king Edward in his iourney marching toward Scotland, in the North fell sicke of the flire, which increased so fiercelie vpon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his earles and barons, he caused them to be sworne, that they should crowne his sonne Edward in such conuenient time after his death as they might, and keepe the land to his vse, till hee were crowned. That done, hee called before him his sonne Edward, informing and lessoning him with wholesome precepts, and charged him also with diuers points vpon his blessing: first that hee should bee curteous, gentle, vpright in iudgement, faire spoken to all men, constant in deede and word, familiar with the good: and especiallie to the miserable to bee mercifull. After this, hee gaue him also in charge, not to be too hastie in taking his crowne, before hee had reuenged his fathers iniuries stoutly against the Scots: but that hee should remaine

Anno 1307.

The sicknesse and death of king Edward.

Godly lessons and precepes giuen to the young prince.

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The king commandeth his bones to be caried in the field against the Scots.

remaine in those partes to take with him his fathers bones, being wel boiled from the flesh, and so inclosed in some fit vessel, should carrie them with him till he conquered all the Scots: saying, that so long as he had his fathers bones with him, none should ouercome him. Moreouer, he willed and required him, to loue his brother Thomas, and Edmund: also to cherish and tender his mother Margaret the Quéene. Duer and besides, he straitlie charged him vpon his blessing (as he would auoide his curse) that he should in no case call to him againe, or send for Peter Gauestон: which Peter Gauestон the king before had banished the realme, for his naughtie and wicked familiaritie with his sonne Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsell. For the which cause, hee banished both Peter Gauestон vtterly out of the realme, and also put the said Edward his sonne in prison. And therefore so straitlie charged his sonne, in no wise to send for this Gauestон, or to haue him in any case about him. And finallie, because hee had conceiued in himselfe a vow to haue returned in his owne person to the holy land (which for his manifold warres with the Scots he could not performe) therfore hee had prepared 32000 pounds of siluer, for the sending of certaine souldiers with his heart vnto the holy land. Which thing he required of his son to sée accomplished. So that the foresaid monie, vnder his curse and malediction, be not employed to other vses. But these iniunctions and precepts, the disobedient sonne did nothing obserue or kéepe after the decease of his father. Who forsaking and leauing off the warre with the Scots, with al spéed hasted him to his coronation. Also, contrarie to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, hee sent for the foresaid Peter Gauestон, and prodigallie bestowed vpon him all that treasure which his father had bequeathed to the holy land. He was moreouer a proud despiser of his péeres and nobles: and therefore raigned infortunately, as by the sequell of the storie héere following, by the grace of Christ shall be declared. Thus king Edward first of that name, leauing behind him three sonnes, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortall life, An. 1307. after hee had raigned néere 35. yéeres. Of whom this Epitaph was written:

The eytaph of king Edward.

Dum viguit rex, & valuit tua magna potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestas.

In the time and raigne of this king, many other things happened, which here I omit to speake of, as the long discord and strife betweene the prior of Canturburie, and the prior of Douer, which continued aboue foure yéeres together; with much wrangling and vnquietnesse betweene them. Likewise an other like contention growing betweéne John Romain, archbishop of Yorke, and the archbishop of Canturburie vpon the occasion, that when John archbishop of Yorke after his consecration returned from the pope, and comming to Douer, contrary to the inhibition of Canturbury, passed through the middle of Kent, with his crosse borne vp: although the story reporteth, that he had the kings consent thereunto: An. 1286.

Item, betweene Thomas bishop of Hereford, and John Pecham archbi. of Cant. fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this king. Which bishop of Hereford appealing from the archb. to the pope, went vp to Rome, & in his iournie died. Who with lesse cost might haue taried at home: 1282.

The fatherly care of king Edward in excluding wicked companie from his sonne.

A rash vow of king Edward. The kings hart to be caried to the holy land.

King Edward the second.

King Edward the second.

EDward the second of that name, and sonne of Edward the first, borne, as is aforesaid, at Carnaruan in Wales, after the departure of his father, entred the gouernment of the land, An. 1307. But was crowned not before the yéere next following, An. 1308. by reason of the absence of Rob. Winchelseie, who was banished by king Edward the first. Whereupon the king this present yéere writeth to the pope for the restitution of the said archb. for that by an ancient law of the realme, the coronation of the king could not otherwise proceed without the archb. of Cant. Which Edward as he was personable in bodie and outward shape, so in conditions and euill disposition much deformed: As vnstedfast of word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsell: Also refusing the companie of his lords and men of honour; hee much haunted among villains and vile personages: Giuen moreouer, to ouermuch drinking, and such vices as thereupon bee wont to ensue. And as of his owne nature hée was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsell and familiaritie of certaine euill disposed persons, as first of Peter or Pierse Gauestон before touched. Then after him, of the two Spensers and other, whose wanton counsell he following, gaue himselfe to the appetite and pleasure of his bodie: nothing ordering his common weale by sadnesse, discretion and iustice: which thing caused first great variance betweene him and his nobles, so that shortlie he became to them odible, and in the end was depriued of his kingdom. In the first yéere,

{Anno 1308}

King Edward led by wicked counsell.

he toke to wife Isabell daughter of Philip king of France: with whom (the yéere after) hee was crowned at Westminster, by the bishop of Winchester: for that, Robert Winchelsey archbi. of Canturburie was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithstanding, the barons and lords made first their request to the king to put Peter Gauestон from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to grant them at the nert parliament, to haue their requests accomplished, and so was crowned. In the meane season, the foresaid Peter or Pierse bearing himselfe of the kings fauour bold; continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and nobles of the realme, so that hee ruled both the king and the realme, and all things went as hee would. Neither had the king any delight els, or kept companie with any, but with him: with him onlie he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This as it seemed strange vnto the lords and earles, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this Peter, that through the exciting of the nobles, the bishops of the land did proceed in excommunication against the said Gauestон, vnlesse he departed the land. Vpon the occasion whereof, the king the same first yéere of his raigne, being grieued with the bishops, writeth to the pope, complaining that they had proceeded to excommunication of the said Peter, vnlesse he departed the realme within a time certaine. The which letter of the king, what answer againe the king had from the pope, I find not set downe in storie. Duer and besides, it befell in the said first yéere of the king, that the bishopricke of Yorke being vacant, the king gaue the office of the treasure to one of his owne clerks: whereof the pope hauing intelligence writeth to the king, commanding him to call back the same gift, and withall citeth vp to Rome the said clerke, there to answer the matter to a nephew of one of his cardinals, vpon whom he had bestowed the said dignitie: whereunto the king maketh answere: Quòd citationes huiusmodi, & illarum executio, &c. i. That if such citations and the execution of the same should proceéde to the impeachment of our kinglie iurisdiction, and to the preiudice of our lawfull inheritance and the honour of our crowne (especiallie of the deciding of such matters which principallie concerne our estate, should be prosecuted in any other place then within this our realme by any manner of wales, &c.) Certes, although wee our selues would wincke thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to passe our hands: yet the states and nobles of our kingdome, who vpon allegeance are obliged and sworne to the protection and defence of the dignitie of the crowne of England, will in no wise suffer our right and the lawes of the land so to be violated.

Peter Gauestон or Gauerston a wicked doer about the king.

Besides this, the foresaid pope wrote to the king, complaining that by certaine counsellors of king Edward his father lying sicke, vtterlie ignorant thereof; a certaine restraint was giuen out, charging his nuncios and legats (whom hee had sent for the gathering of the first fruits of the benefices vacant within the realme) not hereafter to entermeddle therewith, &c. Whereunto the king maketh answer: *videlicet*: Pater Sanctiſ. Datum fuit vobis intelligi, &c.

In English thus

Most holy Father, it hath been giuen you to vnderstand otherwise then the truth of the matter is: for most true it is indeed that the foresaid inhibition was ratified by good act of parliament holden at Karlin, vpon certaine causes concerning the execution of such collections (the said our father not onely being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his owne meere knowledge agreeing to the same) in the presence not only of his owne earles, barons, and states, and commons of the realme, but also your legates and liegers being called thereunto.

Item, vpon other letters brought from the pope to the king, for the enstalling of one Peter de Subaudia his kinsman into the bishopricke of Worcester being then vacant, and withall requiring that if the said Peter would not accept thereof, the election should be referred to the prior and couent of the same place: The king therewith grieued, maketh answer by his letters to the pope and sundrie his cardinals: *Quòd cum electiones de futuris prælatis in ecclesiis Cathedral. &c.* That for so much as elections of prelats to bee placed in cathedrall churches within his kingdome, are not to be attempted without his licence first had and obtained, &c. Therefore hée could not abide that any such strange and vnaccustomed reseruations should or could take place in his realme without manifest preiudice of his kinglie estate, requiring further that hée would not cause any such nouelties to be brought in into his kingdome, contrary to that which his ancestors before him haue accustomed to doe.

Thus the time proceéded, and at length the parliament appointed came, An. 1310. which was the fourth of this kings raigne. The articles were drawne by the nobles to bee exhibited to the king, which articles were the same contained In magna charta, and de foresta aboue specified: with such other articles as his father had charged him with before: to wit, that he should remoue from him and his court, all aliens and peruerse counsellours. And that all the matters of the commonwealth should bee debated by common counsell of the lords both

{Anno 1310}

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

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both temporall and spirituall: and that he should tarie no warre out of England in any other forren realme, without the common assent of the same, &c. The king perceiuing their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder Peter Gaueston from his company; and seeing no other remedie, but needs must yeeld and grant his consent, agreed that the said Gaueston should be banished into Ireland. And so the parliament breaking vp, the lords returned to their own, wel appeased: although of the other articles they could not speed, yet that they had driuen Peter Gauestion out of the realme, at this time, it did suffice them.

Peter Gaueston.

This Peter Gauestion was a certaine Gentlemans sonne of Gascoine: whom being yong, king Edward the first (for the good seruice his father had done him in his warres) receiued to his court, and placed him with his sonne Edward now raigning. Who, in processe of time growing vp with him, incensed and prouoked him to much outrage and wantonnesse. By whose occasion first he began in his fathers daies, to breake the parke of Walter bishop of Chester, then Chancellour of England, and after executor to the king. For the which so doing, the king (as is partly touched before) imprisoned his sonne, and condemned this Peter to perpetuall banishment. Notwithstanding the yong king after the death of his father (as ye haue heard) sent for this Gauestion againe. And withall, so persecuted this foresaid bishop, that he clapt him in the tower, and seised vpon all his goods. Moreouer, caused most strait inquisition to be made vpon him for guiding his office, wherein if the least crime might haue been found, it would haue cost him his life. And thus much of Peter Gauestion, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The vnordinat affection of the king to Peter Gauestion.

The king thus separated from his old compeere, (that is, from the company of Peter Gauestion, now exiled into Ireland) continued in great mourning and pensiuenesse, seeking by all meanes possible, how to call him home againe, and conferring with such as were about him vpon the same. Who did insinuate to the king, that for so much as the earle of Glocester was a man well loued and fauoured in all the realme, if a mariage might be wrought betwixt his sister and Peter Gauestion; it might be a meane both for him to obtaine more friendship, and for the king to haue his desire. To make short, Peter Gauestion in all hast was sent for, and the mariage through the kings procuring, proceeded betweene the earles sister, and the foresaid Peter; albeit sore against the earles mind. Gauestion thus restored and dignified, was so surprised in pride and exaltation more then euer before; that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more encreased. In so much, that he hauing the guiding of all the kings iewels and treasure, conueyed out of the kings iewell house at Westminster a table and a paire of trestels of gold, vnto certaine merchants beyond the sea, with other iewels more to his behoofe: to the great impouerishing both of the king and queene, and of the land. And ouer all that, brought the king (by meane of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as aduoutrie, and such other like. Wherefore, the lords seeing the mischiefe that daily increased by occasion of this vnhappie man; tooke their counsell together at Lincolne, and there concluded to auoid him againe out of England, so that shortly after he was exiled againe, and went into Flanders: for in France or his owne countrie he durst not appeare, for feare Philip the French king, to whom the queene of England his daughter had sent ouer great complaints of the said Gauestion: who had so impouerished her and the whole court, that she had not wherewith to maintaine her state. Vpon which complaint, the French king through all his dominions laid strait watch to apprehend the said Gauestion: but he not vnwarned thereof, secretly roaked into Flanders, from whence it was not long, but he was fet again by the king, as in further processe followeth; so much was the kings heart infatuated by this wicked person.

The greene complaineth to the French king her father of Peter Gauestion.

Gauestion again excluded out of the land.

About this yeere, or the next before came in first the Crowched friers. And also began first the knights of the order of saint John Baptist, otherwise called the knights of Rhodes: for that they, by manly knighthood put out the Turkes from the Isle of Rhodes.

The Crowched friers. The knights of S. Iohn called the knights of the Rhodes.

In the historie of king Edward this kings father before precedent, mention was made of pope Clement the fifth, who succeeded after Benedict: also of putting downe of the Templaries, which in this yeere hapned by the meanes of the French king: who as he caused to be burned in the citie of Paris this yeare fiftie foure Templaries, with the great master of the same order: so by his procurement, the foresaid pope Clement called a councell at Vienna, where the whole order and sect of Templaries being condemned, was shortly after by the consent of all christian kings deposed all in one day. After whom the French king thought to make his sonne king of Ierusalem, and to conuert to him all the lands of the said Templaries: But Clement the pope would thereto not agree, transferring all their lands to the order of Hospitulers, for the great summe of money giuen for the same. The cause why these impious Templaries were put downe, was so abominable and filthie, that for the reuerence of chast eares it were better not told, if it be true that some write.

Templaries burned at Paris, to the number of 54.

The order of the Templaries put downe.

Another matter worthie to be noted of like abomination, I thought here to insert touching a certaine Nunrie in France called Prouines, within the which at the cleansing and casting of a fishpond, were found many bones of yong children, and the bodies also of some infants as yet whole vnconsumed: vpon occasion whereof diuers of the nuns of the said Nunrie to the number of twentie seuen were had to Paris, and there imprisoned: what became of them afterward I find not in mine author. Arpontacus Burdegalensis.

The horrible sect of the Templaries.

In the same councel also was decreed by the said Clement, that all religious orders exempted, should be subiect vnder the common lawes as other were. But the Cistercian monks with money and great gifts redeemed their priuiledges and exemption of the pope, and so had them granted: Thom. Wall. These Cistercians sped better herein, then did the Minorits of Franciscans in their suite. Of the which Franciscans, when certaine of them had offered vnto the said pope Clement forty thousand florences of gold, besides other siluer, that the pope would dispence with them to haue lands and possessions against their rule: the pope asked them where was that money. They answered, in the merchant mens hands. So the space of three dates being giuen them to bring forth these merchants: the pope absolued the merchants of their bond made to the friers, and commanded all that money to be employed and restored to his vse. Declaring to the friers, that hee would not infringe or violate the rule of Saint Francis lately canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggerly rich friers lost both their money and their indulgence. Ex eodem autore.

Cisterc'an monkes for money redeeme their exemptions of the pope.

The friers Minorits deceiued of pope Clement. Ex Chron. Tho. Walf.

One thiefe beguileth another.

Concerning this pope Clement the fifth, Sabellicus writeth that he excommunicated the Venetians, for aiding and preferring of Azoda, vnto the state of Ferrarie: and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the church, and giuing their goods as a lawfull prey vnto all men; which caused them to sustaine great harme. But Francis Dandulus a noble man of Venice, being ambassadour from the Venetians to the said Clement, for the obtaining of their absolution and safegard of their citie and countrie, and for the pacifying of the popes furie toward them, was faine so to humble himselfe before this proud tyrannicall prelat, that he suffred a chaine of iron to be tied about his necke, and he to lie downe flat before his table, and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his table, as it had been a dog, till the popes furie was towards them allwaged: So that after that, he in reproch (because he so humbled himselfe for the behalfe and helping of his countrie) was of some called a dog. But the citie of Venice shewed themselues not vnkind againe to Dandulus for his gentle good will declared to his countrie. For as he had abased himselfe before in the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for his countries sake: so they extolled him with as much glorie againe being returned home, decking and adorning him after the best array, with the chiefe princely ornaments of the citie, to make him amends for his former reproch receiued. Sabel. Ennead. 9. lib. 7.

Pope Clement excommunicateth the Venetians for making a duke.

The pride and tyrannie of pope Clemens. Francis Dandulus humbleth himselfe for his countrie. Out of Sabellicus, and is alleaged in the booke named the Image of tyrannie.

The pietie of Dandulus to his countrey. Pietie thankfully rewarded.

Concerning the constitutions of this pope Clement, and of his decretals and Clementines: and how Henricus the emperour in his daies was poisoned in receiuing of the Sacrament, yee haue heard before. About this time Robert Winchelsey archbishop of Canturburie (whom this kings father had banished before) was released and returned home from Rome.

Robert Winchelsey returned home from banishment. } Anno 1311

These things thus declared, let vs proceed (by the Lords grace) to the next yeare, which is of the Lord 1311. and the fifth yeare of this kings raigne. In the which yeare, counting the yeare from Michaelmasse, to the same feast againe, as then the vsage of the realme was: Peter Gauestion, who had wandred the countries about, and could find no safe resting place (notwithstanding hee was vtterly banished, vpon forfeiting life and goods, out of the realme, yet trusting vpon the kings fauor, and the good will of the earle of Glocester, whose sister he had married) secretly returning into England with a certaine companie of strangers; presented himselfe to the kings sight. At the beholding of whom, the king for ioy ran to him, and imbracing him, did not only retaine him: but also for his sake vndid all such acts as had been in the parliament before enacted. The queene and the whole court seeing this doating of the king, made an heauie Christmas. After this returne of Gauestion was noised among the commons, the peeres and nobles of the realme were not a little stirred, casting with themselues, what way were best to take. If hee were suffered still, they saw not only themselues reiected, but also that the queene could not enioy the loue of the king, neither could there be any quietnesse in the realme. Againe, to stirre vp war in the land, it were not the best: to vexe or disquiet the king, also they were afraid. But for as much as they could not abide, all the nobilitie so to be thrust out and vilepended for the loue of one stranger; and also the realme so to be spoiled and impouerished by the same: this way they tooke, that Thomas earle of Lancaster, should be elected among them the chieftaine, and chiefe doer in that businesse: to whom all other earles and barons, and prelats also did concordly condescend and consent, except only Walter bishop of Couentrie, whom Robert the archbishop therfore afterward did excommunicat. Which Thomas of Lancaster by the publike assent of the rest, sent to the king (lying then at Yorke) humble petitions, in

The comming of the yeare was in the old time from Michaelmas to the same day againe.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walf.

The archbishop of Canturburie excommunicateth the bishop of Couentrie for holding with Peter Gauestion.

the name as well of the whole nobilitie, as of the commons: Desiring his grace to giue the foresaid Gaueston vnto them, or else according to the ordinance of the realme, that the land might be auoided of him. But the tyrannous king, who set more by the amour of one stranger then by his whole realme beside; neither would hearken to their counsell, nor giue place to their supplications: But in all hastie furie remoued from Yorke to Newcastle, where he remained almost till midsummer.

In the meane season, the barons had gathered an host of sufficient and able souldiers, comming toward Newcastle: not intending any molestation against the king, but only the execution of the lawes vpon the wicked Gaueston. The king not hauing wherewith to resist their power; remoueth in all speedie manner to Thinmouth where the queene lay. And hearing there that Newcastle was taken; taketh shipping and saileth from thence (notwithstanding the queene there being great with child, with weeping teares and all instance, desireth him to tarie with her, as safely he might) but he nothing relenting to her, tooke Peter his compeere with him, and coasted ouer to the castle of Scarbrough, where he leauing Peter Gaueston to the safe keeping of his men, himselfe iourneyeth toward the coast beside Warwicke. The lords hearing where Peter was, bend thither all their power: so that at length Gaueston seeing no remedie but he must needs come into their hands, yeeldeth and submitteth himselfe: requiring none other condition, but only that he might talke but a few words with the king in his presence. Thus Gaueston being apprehended, the king hearing thereof, sendeth vnto the lords, requiring his life to be spared: and that he might be brought to his speech; and so promised, that in so doing he would satisfie their minds and requests, whatsoeuer. About this aduisement was taken: but then the earle of Penbroke hearing the kings promise, perswaded the barons to grant vnto his petition: promising himselfe, vpon losing all his lands, to take the charge vpon him, to be brought vnto the kings speech, and so to be recommitted to them againe. Which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaueston with him, to bring him where the king lay. And so comming to Dedington, not far from Warwicke, leaueth him in the keeping of his souldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being from thence not far off.

Peter Gaueston taken of the nobles.

The king intreateth for Gaueston.

Guy of Warwicke.

The same night it chanced, Guido the earle of Warwicke to come to the same place where Gaueston was left: who taking him out of the hands of his keepers, carieth him to the castle of Warwicke, where incontinent they would haue put him to death: but doubting and fearing the kings displeasure, a little they stayed. At what time one of the companie (a man of sage and wise counsell, as mine author writeth) standing vp among them, with his graue Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickednesse of his owne condition, the realme, by him so greatly endamaged, the nobles despised and reiected, the pride and ambition of the man intollerable, the ruine of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expences they had been at in so long pursuing and getting of him. And now being gotten and in their hands, hee exhorteth them so to vse and take the occasion now present; that hereafter being out of their hands, they afterward might seeke, and should not find it.

Peter Gaueston againe apprehended by Guy of Warwicke.

Briefly, in such sort he perswaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow; which place in other stories I find to be called Gauelhead; but that name (as I thinke) was deriued vpon this occasion, afterward. And thus he, that before had called the earle of Warwicke the blacke dog of Ardeine, was thus by the said dog worried, as ye haue heard, &c. His carcase, the Dominicke friers of Oxford had in their monasterie interred the space of two yeares: but after that, the king caused the said carcase to be taken vp and buried within his own Mannour of Langley.

Peter Gaueston beheaded.

The corps of Peter Gaueston buried in the kings Manor of Langley.

After this, great disturbance began to rise betweene the king and the lords: who hauing their power lying about Dunstable, sent stout message vnto the king at London, to haue their former acts confirmed. Gilbert earle of Glocester the kings nephew (who neither did hold against the king, nor yet against the nobles) with the bishops and prelats of the realme; went betweene both parties with great diligence, to make vnitie. At which time also came two cardinals from Rome, with letters sent vnto them from the pope. The nobles answered to the message of the cardinals, lying then at Saint Albans: that as touching themselues, they should be at all times welcome to them: but as touching their letters (for as much as they were men vnlettered, and only brought vp in warre and feates of armes) therefore they cared not for seeing the same. Then message was sent againe, that they would grant at least but to speake with the popes legats, which purposely came for the intent to set quiet and vnitie in the realme. They answered againe, that they had bishops both godly and learned, by whose counsell they would be led only, and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they said precisely, that they would no forreners or aliens to be doers in their businesse and affaires pertaining to the realme. Yet notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop, and of the earle of Glocester; the matter at length was so taken vp, that the barons should restore to the king, or his attourney of Saint Albans, all the treasure, horses, and iewels of the foresaid Gaueston taken at Newcastle, and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

The nobles of England cared not for the popes letters.

The popes legats not admitted of the nobles of England.

Shortly vpon the same, Isabel the queene was deliuered of a faire child at Windsore, whom Lewes the French kings sonne (the queenes brother, with other Frenchmen there present) would to be called by the name of the French king: but the English lords were contrarie, willing him to be called by the name of Edward his father. At the birth of which Edward great reioycing was through all the land, and especially the king his father so much ioyed thereat; that he began daily more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gauestons death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his nobles.

Anno 1312. The king ruled by forren counsell. Makebates about the king.

Thus peace and concord betweene them began to be in a good towardnesse: which more and more might haue been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan the author and sower of discord, stirred vp his instruments (certaine Frenchmen, Titiuillars and make-bates about the king) which ceased not in carping and depraying the nobles, to inflame the kings hatred and grudge against them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarrels being renued afresh, the king in his parliament, called vpon the same, began to charge the foresaid barons and nobles with sedition and rebellion, and for slaying Peter Gaueston. Neither were the nobles lesse stout againe in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserued rather thanke and fauour with the king then any displeasure, in vanquishing such a publike enemie of the realme, who not only had spoiled and wasted the kings substance, but also raised much disturbance in the realme. And for as much as they had begun with the matter to their so great labours and expences; they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof. To be short, great threats there were on both parts, and a foule matter like to haue followed. But againe through the diligent mediation of the queene, the prelats, and the foresaid earle of Glocester; the matter was taken vp and brought to reconcilement vpon these conditions; that the lords and barons openly in Westminster hall should humble themselues before the king, and aske pardon there of their doings, and euerie man there to receiue a letter of the kings pardon for their indemnitie, and assurance. And so passed ouer that yeare, within the which yeare died Ro. Winchelsey archbishop of Canturburie. In whose roome, Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canturburie to succeed: but the pope, casting the election, placed Walter Reinald bishop of Worcester.

Mediation for making peace.

The king reconciled againe with his nobles.

In the meane time, the Scots hearing this ciuill discord in the realme, began to be busie, and to rebell of new through the meanes of Robert Bruis: who being chased out of Scotland by king Edward the first, as is aboue premised, into Norway, was now returned againe into Scotland: where hee demeaned him in such sort to the lords there, that in short processe hee was againe made king of the realme; and warred so strongly vpon them that tooke the kings part, that hee wan from them manie castles and strong holds, and inuaded the borders of England. The king hearing this, assembleth a great power, and by water entreth the realme of Scotland. Against whom incountred Robert de Bruis with his Scots at Estriuelin, where was fought a strong battell: in the end whereof, the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the noblemen were slaine, as the earle of Glocester, sir Robert Clifford, sir Edmund Maule with other lords to the number of 42. and knights and barons 227. besides men of name, which were taken prisoners; of common souldiers ten thousand, or after the Scotish storie fiftie thousand slaine. After which time, sir Robert Bruis raigned as king of Scotland.

Anno 1313. What discord doth in a common weale. The Scots rebell against the realme of England.

Englishmen ouercome by the Scots.

About which time, and in which yeare, died pope Clement, who keeping in the realme of France, neuer came to the see of Rome: after whose death the papacie stood void two yeares.

Pope Clement neuer sate in the see of Rome.

The Scots after this exalted with pride and fiercenesse inuaded the realme of England, so sore killing and destroying man, woman, and child; that they came winning and wasting the North parts as farre as to Yorke. Besides this, such dearth of victuals, and penurie of all things so oppressed the whole land, such moraine of sheepe and oxen; as men were faine to eat horse flesh, dogs, cats, mise, and what else they could get. Moreouer, such a price of corne followed withall, that the king hardly had bread for the sustentation of his owne household. Moreouer, some there were that did steale children and eate them, and many for lacke of victuall died. And yet all this amended not the king of his euill liuing.

Anno 1314. Miserable dearth and famine in England.

The cause and origen of this great dearth, was, partly the warres and dissension betweene them and the Scots: whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chiefest cause was, the vntemperat season of the yeare, which contrarie to the common course, was so moist with abundance of raine, that the graine laid in the earth could haue no ripening by heat of the Sunne, nor grow to any nourishment. Whereby they that had to eat, could not be satisfied with saturity, but eftsones were

A description of an horrible famine in the realme of England.

were as hungrie againe. They that had nothing, were driuen to steale and rob: the rich were constrained to auoid and diminish their households: the poore for famine died. And not so much the want of victuall, which could not be gotten, as the vnwholesomnesse of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quicke were not sufficient to burie the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reason of the vnseasonablenes of the ground, was so infectious, that many died of the flix, manie of hot feuers, diuers of the pestilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts by the putrifaction of the herbs and grasse fell into as great a mortaine: so farre forth, as the eating of flesh was suspect and thought contagious. A quarter of corne and salt, from the moneth of June to September grew from thirtie shillings vnto fortie shillings. The flesh of horses was then precious to the poore. Many were driuen to steale fat dogs and to eat them: some were said in secret corners to eat their owne children. Some would steale other mens children to kill them and eat them priuily. The prisoners and theeues that were in bands, such as were newlie brought in vnto them, for hunger fell vpon them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them halfe aliue. Briefly, this extreame penurie had extincted and consumed (as it was thought) the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the king by the statute of the Londoners giuen forth commandement through all his land, that no corne should at that time be turned to the making of drinke. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures, in our wealth and abundance will not surcease daily to prouoke his terrible Maiestie.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walsi. in vita Edwardi 2.

But let vs returne to the order againe of our storie. After the Scots had thus plagued miserablie (as ye haue heard) the realme of England; they inuaded also Ireland, where they kept and continued warre the space of foure yeares. But in fine, the Irishmen (by aid sent to them from England) quit themselues so well, that they vanquished the Scots, and slew Edward Bruis, and many of the nobles of Scotland with many other, and droue the residue out of the countrie.

The Scots driuen out of Ireland.

Anno 1317

The king about the twelfth yeare of his raigne, assembled a new host and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Barwicke. But in the meane time, the Scots by another way, inuaded the merchants of Yorkeshire, robbing and harrying the countrie, that they slew much people. Wherefore, the archbishop of Yorke, and other abbats, priors, clerkes, with husbandmen, assembled a great companie, and gaue them battell at a place called Mitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited and many of them slaine: but the archbishop, and the abbat of Selbie, and diuers others there escaped. But because there were so many spirituall men there slaine, it was called therefore the white battell. By reason whereof, the king hearing of this, and partly because winter did approch, was constrained to breake vp his siege, and so returned not without great danger.

The white battell of the spirituall men in Yorkeshire.

At this time the two Spensers (Sir Hugh Spenser the father, and Hugh Spenser the sonne) were of great power in England, and by the fauour of the king practised such crueltie, and bare themselues so haughtily and proud; that no lord of this land might gain-say them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the nobles, and the commons, no lesse then Peter Gaueston was before.

The two Spensers.

Soone vpon this, came two Legats from Rome, sent by pope John the 22. vnder pretence to set agreement betweene England and Scotland: who for their charges and expences, required of euerie spirituall person foure pence in euerie marke. But all their labour nothing auailed: For the Legats as they were in the North parts (about Derlinghton) with their whole familie and traine, were robbed and dispoiled of their horses, treasure, apparell, and what else they had. And with an euill fauoured handling, retired backe againe to Durelme, where they staid a while waiting for an answere from the Scots. But when neither the popes legacie nor his curse would take any place with the Scots, they returned againe to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as blacke as sot, all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses receiued, they exacted of the clergie to be giuen and paid vnto them eight pence in euery marke. But the clergie thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their owne couetousnesse (as they said) that made them venture farther then they needed. Only they were contented to relieue them after foure pence in a marke, as they promised before, further they would not grant. Whereof the king being aduertised, and taking part with his clergie, directeth his letters to the said legats in forme as followeth: Rex magistro Rigando, &c.

Two legats sent from Rome.
The popes pillage.
The popes legats spoiled of all their ill gotten treasure.
The popes curse contemned of the Scots.
The clergie of England denieth to contribute to the popes legats.

REx Magistro Rigando de Asserio, canonico Aurelian. Salutem. &c. In English thus.

A prohibition against strange taxes and impositions.

The king to maister Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia, greeting. We haue taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the subiects of our realme, perceiuing by the same that you practise many and sundrie inconueniences verie strange, neuer heretofore accustomed nor heard of in this our realme, aswell against the clergie and ecclesiasticall persons, as against the laytie, euen to the vtter oppression and empouerishing of many our liege people; which if it should be winked at (as God forbid) may in processe of time be occasion of greater perils to ensue: whereat we are (not without cause) moued, and not a little grieued. We forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, ne presume in any case to attempt any thing within this our realme, either against our clergie or laitie, that may any maner of way tend to the preiudice of our roiall person or of our crowne and dignitie regall. Witnesse the king at Windsour the sixth day of Februarie in the eleuenth yeare of his raigne. Per Concilium.

Likewise in the same yeare the said king writeth to the same effect to the archbishop of Canturburie, as followeth: Rex venerabili in Christo Patri, W. eadem gratia Archiepiscopo Cant. In English thus.

The king to the reuerend father in God, Wil. by the same grace archbishop of Canturburie 1. primate of England, greeting. We are credible informed by many our subiects, that certaine strange impositions neuer heard of before within any our dominions vpon lands and tenements, goods and cattels, concerning the testaments and cases of matrimonie, are brought into our realme to be executed vpon our subiects by you or some others, which if it should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend to the disherison of our crowne, impeachment of our crowne and dignitie regall, and the intollerable damage of the subiects of our realme (and to the due preseruation of the which you are bound by solemne oth of alleageance.) We therefore command and straitly charge you, that you proceed not in any case to the execution of any such letters, either in your owne person or by any other, nor yet presume by colour of the same to attempt any thing that may be preiudiciall or hurtfull to our crowne or dignitie regall. And if you or any other in your name haue done or attempted any thing by colour of the same, that ye call backe and reuoke the same forthwith without delay. Witnesse the king at Shene the 17. of Februarie the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Per ipsum Regem.

The like letters in effect were directed to the archbishop of Yorke, and to euerie other bishop through England. By force of which letters the greedie legats being restrained of their rauening purpose, taking what they could get, and setting a peace (such as it was) betweene the king and the earle of Lancaster, were faine to packe.

Besides the restraint aboue mentioned for strange impositions, there followed moreouer the same yeare the kings prohibition for the gathering of Peter pence directed to the foresaid legat, the tenour whereof followeth.

A prohibition of Peter pence.

Rex magistro Rigando, &c. In English thus.

A prohibition for paying the popes Peter pence.

The king to maister Rigand of Asserio Canon of Aurelia, greeting. We are giuen to vnderstand that you do demand and purpose to leuie the Peter penie within our realme, otherwise then the said Peter penie hath been heretofore accustomed to be leuied in the time of any our progenitours, exercising herein grieuous censures ecclesiasticall to the great annoiance and damnifying of the subiects of our realme: for present remedie whereof our louing subiects haue made their humble supplication vnto vs. And for as much as the said Peter penie hath been hitherto accustomed to be gathered and leuied vpon lands and tenements within our realme after a due manner and forme: we not willing that any such vnaccustomed impositions shall in any wise be made vpon the lands and tenements of any our subiects within our dominions; prohibite you, vpon grieuous paine straitly charging that in no wise you presume to exact, gather or leuie the said Peter penie in any other forme or manner then hath been heretofore accustomed to be gathered and leuied in the time of our progenitours, or since the beginning of our raigne: vntill further order to be taken in our high court of parliament by the aduice of the nobles and peeres of our realme, such as may well be taken without preiudice of our crowne and damage of subiects. Witnes the king at Westminster the first day of March.

Per ipsum Regem & Concilium.

To the same effect letters were directed to the archbishops, deanes, archdeacons and the rest of the clergie.

Touching the first originall of which Peter pence, though mention be made before in the life of king Offa and others: yet to make a briefe recapitulation of the same according to the rolles as they come to our hands, thus it followeth: De Denarijs beati Petri sic scriptum, &c. That is to say: It is thus found recorded in ancient chronicles touching the Peter pence of saint Peter, an. 187. Offa king of Mercia trauelled vp to Rome in the time of pope Adrian the first, to obtaine the canonizing of S. Albone. And hauing performed his vow, visiting the Colledge of English Students which then flourished in Rome, did gitie to the maintenance of the scholars of England students in Rome, one penie out of euerie tenement within this realme

Reade before in the liues of king Offa, and king Adelwulfe.

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that had land belonging to the same, amounting to the yearely value of thirtie pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of pope Adrian, that no person within his dominion publike repenting him for not performing enioyned penance, should therfore be banished.

Anno Domini 857. Adewulfus Rex Westsaxonum tempore Leonis papæ quarti Romæ, singulis annis 300. Mancusas portari præcepit, taliter diuidendas ibidem, viz. 100. Mancusas in honorem scilicet Petri specialiter ad emendum oleum, quo implerentur omnia Luminaria ecclesiæ Apostolicæ in vespera paschæ & in galli cantu: & 100. mancusas in honorem scilicet Pauli eisdem de causis: 100. preterea mancusas præcepit exhiberi Vniuersali Papæ ad suas eleemosynas ampliandas. Et sciendum, quòd secundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretationem differunt mancusa, & manca: quia mancusa idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea: Manca vero erat moneta aria quadra, & valebat communiter 30. denarios argenteos.

Of which Peter pence is found a transcript of the originall Rescript apostolicall, the tenor whereof is this: Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. & Ebor. archiepiscopis & eorum suffraganeis & dilectis filijs abbatibus, prioribus, archidiaconis, eorumq; officialibus per regnum Angliæ constitutis, ad quos literæ istæ peruenerint: salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Qualiter denarij beati Petri, qui debentur Cameræ nostræ, colligantur in Anglia, & in quibus episcopatibus & dioces. debeantur, ne super hoc dubitari contingat, & præsentibus fecimus annotari, sicut in Registro sedis apostolicæ continetur. De Cantuar. dioces. 7. l. 18. s. sterlingorum. De London. dioces. 16. l. 10. s. de Roffens. dioces. v. l. 12. s. De Norwicens. dioces. 21. l. 10. s. De Elienum. v. l. De Lincol. 42. l. De Cistrens. 8. l. De Winton. 17. l. 6. s. 8. d. De Exon. 9. l. 5. s. De Wigorne. 10. l. 5. s. De Hereford. 6. l. De Bathon. dioces. 12. l. 5. s. De Saresbur. 17. l. De Couentre. 10. l. 5. s. De Eboram. 11. l. 10. s. Datum apud vrbem Veterem. 10. Kal. Maij. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Summa, 30. marcæ & dimidi.

Concerning which Peter pence, it is touched in the lawes of king Edward the Saint chap. 10. when, where, of whom, vnder what paine this Peter pence must be gathered, being but the kings meere almes, as is aforesaid. And thus much touching Peter pence. Now for other letters written by the king to the pope, the same yeare, for other matters, as craving the popes helpe in compounding the variance betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, for bearing the crosse from the one prouince to the other, thus it followeth: that the king grieuously complaineth, quòd tantæ dissensiones. 1. that such hurly burly and vproare arose thereof, that they could not meet together in one place through the great multitude of armed men assistants on both parts in the verie bearing of the crosse, to the great disturbance of the people.

Now after this long digression to turne to our English matters againe: mention was made before of the variance betweene the king and the earle of Lancaster, and of a peace concluded betweene them. But this peace did not long endure: which the king by his owne default did breake, sending to the Scots a priuie messenger (which was taken in the way) to haue the foresaid earle of Lancaster by their meanes, made away.

The pride of the Spensers.

In the meane time, the lords and nobles of England detesting the outragious pride of the Spensers, whereby they wrought daily both great dishonor to the king and hinderance to the common weale: in such wise conspired against them, that gathering their power together, they made a request to the king, that he should remoue the Spensers from his person. For the which, there was a parliament called at London, and the barons came together with a great companie. At the which parliament both the Spensers were banished the land for terme of their liues: and they tooke shipping at Douer, and so voided the land. But it was not long after, but the king (contrarie to that ordinance made in the parliament) sent for the Spensers againe, and set them in high authoritie, and ruled all things after their sensuall appetites, nothing regarding iustice nor the commonwealth. Wherefore, the barons intending againe to reforme this mischiefe, assembled their powers: but the king (making so hastie speed, and gathering his people so soone) was stronger then they, and pursued them so in diuers places; that the barons not fully ioyned together (some flying, and some departing to the king, some slaine by the way) in the end were chased so eagerly; that in short space, the foresaid Thomas earle of Lancaster was taken and put to death with the rest of the nobilitie, to the number of two and twentie of the greatest men, and chiefest captaines of this realme. Of whom only Thomas earle of Lancaster for the nobilitie of his blood, was beheaded: All the other lords and barons, were hanged, drawne and quartered, &c. Which bloodie vnmercifulnesse of the king toward his naturall subiects, not only to him procured great dishonor within the realme, but also turned afterward to his much more greater harme and hinderance, in his forren warres against the Scots: and finally wrought his vtter confusion and ouerthrow of his seat royall, as in the sequele of his end appeared, and worthilie.

Anno 1321

That Thomas earle of Lancaster came of Edmund, yonger son of king Henry the third.

Twentie two of the greatest nobilitie of the realme put to death by the king.

After the ruine of these noble personages; the king, as though he had gotten a great conquest (who then indeed began first to be ouercome and conquered himselfe, when he so oppressed and cut off the strength and sinewes of his chiualrie) began to triumph not a little with the Spensers: And to count himselfe sure as though he were in heauen, to exercise more sharpe seueritie vpon his subiects, trusting and committing all to the counsell only of the foresaid Spensers: in so much that both the queene and the residue of the other nobles could little be regarded. Who as they grew euer in more contempt with the king: so they increased in more hatred against the Spensers: but strength and abilitie lacked, to worke their will.

Anno 1322

The cruell reioycing of the king.

The next yeere, the king being at Yorke, after he had made sir Hugh Spenser earle, and sir Iohn Baldocke a man of euill fame, to be Chancellour of England: he then areared a mightie host against the Scots. But for lacke of skilfull guiding, expert captaines, and for want specially of due prouision of victuals necessarie for such an armie: the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundred thousand (wandring through Scotland, from whence the Scots had conueyed all their goods and cattell into mountaines, and marshes) were so pinched and starued with famine, that a great part of the armie, there presently perished: and they that returned home, as soone as they talked of meats, escaped not. The king neither hauing resistance of his enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subiects: was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring, Sir James Duglas and the Scots hauing knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise; that they slew many English men, and had well neere taken the king himselfe. After which distresse, the king thus beaten and wearied with the Scots, would faine haue ioyned in truce with the Scots: but because they stood excommunicat by the pope, he standing in feare thereof, desireth licence to entreat with them of peace, the said excommunication notwithstanding: which licence being obtained, a treatie was appointed by commissioners on both parts at Newcastle at the feast of Saint Nicolas next ensuing; and so truce was taken for 12. yeares. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way (gentle reader) not vnworthie of obseruation, that whereas in former times, and especially of the late king Edward the first, so long as the Scots were vnder the popes blessing, and we in displeasure with his holinesse for dealing with them, so long we preuailed mightily against them, euen to the vtter subuersion in manner of their whole estate. But now so soone as the pope tooke our part, and the Scots were vnder his curse and excommunication: then gate they greater victories against vs, then any time either before or thence, in so much as being before not able to defend themselues against vs, they now pursued vs vnto the bowels of our owne countrie.

The king distressed againe in Scotland.

The king purposing to erect a house of friers Augustines, within the towne of Boston in Lincolnshire, first prayed the popes licence in that behalfe.

Polydorus Virgilius among other histories of our English nation which he intermedleth withall, prosecuting also the acts and life of this present king, and comming to write of the queenes going ouer into France: inferreth much varietie and diuersitie of authors and story-writers, concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giueth himselfe no true certaintie of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he being an Italian and a forrener, could not vnderstand our English tongue. And partly againe being but one man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latine authors: One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latine historie faire written in parchment (but without name) belonging to the librarie of William Cary citizen of London. In which storie, the truth of this matter without all ambiguitie, is there fully and with all circumstances expressed, as heere briefly is excerpted.

Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian writer of our English stories.

Anno 1324

The king of England had been diuers and sundrie times cited vp to the Court of France, to do homage to the French king, for the dukedome of Aquitane, and other lands which the king then held of France. Which homage, because the king of England refused to tender: the French king began to enter all such possessions as the king then did hold in France: whereupon, great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length, in this yeare now present, a parliament was called at London. Where (after much altercation) at last it was determined; that certaine should be sent ouer, to wit, the bishops of Winchester, and Norwich, and the earle of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kings. For the better helpe and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward; that queene Isabel, sister to Charles then the French king, should be sent ouer. Where is to be noted first, that the queenes lands, possessions and castles a little before vpon the breach betweene the French king and the king of England, were seised into the kings hands, and the queene put vnto her pension, &c. Thus the queene being sent ouer with a few, to attend vpon her, onely Sir Iohn Cromwell baron, and foure knights, take their passage into France: by whose mediation, it was there concluded, that the king of England (if he would not himselfe come to do his homage) he should giue to his sonne Edward the dukedome of

The queene put to her pension.

The queene sent to France.

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of Aquitaine, and the earledome of Pontine, and so hee to come to make his homage to the king, and to possesse the same. This being in France concluded, was sent ouer by message to the king of England, with the kings letters patents adioyned for the safe conduct of him or of his sonne. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the councell of England. But the two Spensers fearing to take the seas either with the king, or else without the king to remaine behind for feare of the nobles; so appointed, that prince Edward the kings sonne was sent, which hapned after to their vtter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in France, king Edward of England sone after Michelmasse, sendeth for his wife and his sonne againe out of France. But shee sending home most part of her familie, refuseth her selfe to returne. For what cause it is not fully certaine, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the king, as is before premised: or whether for feare and hatred of the Spensers, as is likely: or else for loue and familiaritie of Sir Roger Mortimer. For heere is to be noted, that the said sir Roger Mortimer, with diuers other of the barons part, which had broken prison in England, were fled before into France, and now resorted vnto the queene. The king seeing this, giueth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certaine day to the queene and his sonne to returne: or else to be proclamed trayters to the king and to the realme. Notwithstanding, the queene persisting in her purpose, denieth to returne, vnlesse the other nobles which were fled, might be permitted safely also to returne with her. Whereupon, the king immediatly caused them both to be proclamed trayters, and all them that tooke their parts.

Prince Edward made duke of Aquitaine and earle of Pontine.

The queene and the prince refuse to returne into England.

The queene and the prince proclamed trayters in England.

Heere then began great hatred betweene king and king, betweene the king and the queene, much preparation of warre, great spoiling on the sea, much sending betweene the pope and them; but that would not serue. Then the king (by the counsell of the Spensers) sendeth priuily to procure the death of the queene and of his sonne: which should be wrought by the execution of the earle of Richmond, the queenes familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was preuented and vtterly frustrate. Albeit, the queene yet notwithstanding, whether misdoubting what corruption of money might do in the court of France: or whether the French king being threatned by the king of England, and by the pope, durst not detaine her: she remoued from thence, and was receiued with Edward her sonne ioyoustie and honorablie, in the court or countrie of the earle of Henawde. Where by meanes of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded betweene the said Edward her sonne being of the age of fourteene yeares, and Philip the foresaid earles daughter. When this was noised in England, diuers men of honor and name came ouer to the queene. And sone after the earle of Haynawde prepared a crew of fiue hundred men of armes to set ouer the yong prince with his mother into England. Of this, the fame sprang shortly through the realme. Wherefore the king in all defensable waies made prouision to haue the hauens and ports of his land surely kept, for to resist the landing of his enemies. On the contrarie side, the queene with no lesse preparation prouideth all things to her expedition necessarie. Who when shee saw her time, speeding her selfe to the sea coast with prince Edward her sonne, lord Edmund earle of Kent the kings brother, Sir Roger Mortimer, the lord Wygmore and other exiles of England, accompanied also with the foresaid Hainawders, of whom Sir John Henawde the earles brother was captaine, of Englishmen and strangers hauing with her, the number of 2757. souldiers: shee tooke shipping in thole parts, and had the winde so fauourable, that they landed in England at a port called Dwell beside Harwich in Suffolke, in the dominion of the earle Marshall the moneth of September. To whom after her landing resorted earle Marshall, the earle of Leicester, with other barons, knights, and bishops also: namely of Lincolne, Hereford, Duresme, and Elie: The archbishop of Canturburie though he came not himselfe, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the queene well furnished with plentie both of men and victuall, setteth forward toward London: so that the further shee came the more her number daily increased, and the kings power contrarie, decreased, in so much that, as mine author affirmeth, not one almost in all the realme could be hired with any wages to fight on the kings behalfe against the queene. Neither did the queenes armie hurt any man or child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

The king conspired priuily the death of the queene and of his sonne.

Anno 1325

Prince Edward betrothed to the earle of Heynawdes daughter.

The queene returneth to England.

The landing of the queene.

Anno 1326

The king destitute of helpe and souldiers.

At the arriuing of the queene, the king was then in London, which first would not beleeue it to be true. Afterward (seeing and perceiuing how it was) hee asketh helpe of the Londoners. Who after mature daulement, rendred this answere to the king againe: that as touching the king, the queene, and their sonne (the lawfull heire of the kingdome) they were readie with all dutie and seruice to honor and obey. As for straungers and trayters to the realme, they would receiue none such within their citie gates. Furthermore, to go out of the citie to fight, that they said they would not, vnlesse it were so, that according to the liberties of their citie, they might returne home againe before sunne set. The king hearing this answere (which liked him not well) fortifieth the tower of London with men and victuall: committing the custodie thereof to John Eltham his yonger sonne, and to the wife of Hugh Spenser his neece. And leauing Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter behind him to haue the rule of the citie of London: hee himselfe hearing dailie the great recourse of the people that drew to the queene: for more safegard to himselfe, fled with a small companie westward toward Wales. But before his departing from London, he caused a proclamation to be made: wherein all and singuler persons were charged vpon forfeit of life and goods; euerie man with all his power to rise and inuade the rebels and destroy them all, only the life of the queene, his sonne, and his brother reserued. Also, that no man vpon paine prefixate, should helpe, rescue, or relieue the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclamed, that whosoeuer would bring to the king the head and bodie either dead or aliue of sir Roger Mortimer, should haue out of the kings coffers, a thousand pound.

The kings proclamation.

In contrariwise, the queene setteth forth another proclamation, wherein it was forbidden, to take or spoile violently the value of any mans goods against the will of the owner, vnder paine of losing his finger, if it were three pence: Of his hand, if it were six pence: Of his head, if it were twelue pence. Moreouer, whosoeuer would bring to the queene the head of Hugh Spenser the yonger, chopt off from his bodie, should receiue for so doing of the queene, two thousand pounds. This done, the queene sendeth her letters to the citie of London for aid and succour to subdue the oppressour of the realme; to the which letters first no answere was made. Againe, she wrote the second letter, which was then tacked vpon the crosse in Cheape, which was then called the new crosse. The copie and tenour of which letter was this.

The queenes proclamation.

The copie of a letter that the Queene sent vnto the Maior and citizens of *London.*

The queenes letter.

Isabell by the grace of God, Queene of England, ladie of Ireland, and Countesse of Pountif: And we Edward the first sonne of the king of England, Duke of Guyan, earle of Chester, of Pontif, and of Mounstrell, to the Maior and all the comminaltie of London, send greeting. For as much as we haue before this time sent to you by our letters, and how wee come into this land in good array and good manner, for the profit of holy church and of our right deare lord and king, and all the realme, with all our might and strength, to keepe and maintaine the realme as all good people ought for to doe: Vpon that we pray you and desire you that ye would be helping to vs for the health and profit of the realme; and we haue had none answere of you, nor know not your will in that part. Wherefore we send to you againe and pray you, and charge you, that ye beare you so against vs, that ye haue nor make no cause vs to grieue, but that ye be to vs helping in all the waies that you may. And weet ye well in certaine, that we and also those that come with vs into this realme, nothing for to done, but that shall be pleasing to God, and common profit to all the realme. Not else, but for to destroy the Spensers, enemies to the realme, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the faith that ye owe to our lord the king, to the crowne and to vs, and vpon all that ye may forfeit, that if Hugh Spenser, both the father and the sonne our enemies come within your power, that yee do them hastilie to be take, and safely kept, till we haue ordained for them our will: and as ye desire profit and honour of vs, and of the realme. Vnderstanding wel if it be so that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you: And also we shall do you profit and worship if that you send vs hastily word againe of our will. Giuen at Baldocke the sixth day of October.

These foresaid letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the rule of the citie: sent to the Maior for their keyes of the gates, willing so sharpe words in the kings name, that variance began to kindle betweene him and the citizens; so farre forth that the commons in their rage tooke the foresaid bishop and beheaded him and two of his houshold at the Standard in Cheape. Then the king went to Bristow, and obtained Sir Hugh Spenser the father there to keepe the castle and the towne: and the king with Hugh Spenser the sonne, and Sir Robert Baldock chancellour, and the earle of Arundell went into Wales. And the queene so pursued them, that first they tooke the towne yeelded vp to her: Then they tooke sir Hugh Spenser the father, whom being drawne and torne, they at last hanged vp at Bristow in chaines of iron. As the king was thus flying, the queene caused to be proclamed through her armie, that the king should come and appeare, and so to receiue his kingdome againe if he would be conformable to his liege subiects. Who when he did not appeare, prince Edward his sonne was proclamed high keeper of the realme.

The bishop of Exeter beheaded of the commons at the standard in Cheape.

This bishop of Exeter builded in Oxford two Colledges, Exeter Colledge, and Hart hall, whose name was Gualter Stapleton.

Hugh Spenser the father, taken and hanged in chaines.

In the meane time Henrie earle of Lancaster, and brother to the good earle Thomas which before was beheaded, also lord William Souch, and maister Upholwell were sent by the queene into Wales to pursue the king: and there tooke him,

The king taken in Wales.

Hugh Spenser the sonne taken and executed.

The liberties of the citie of London in going one to war.

and sent him to the castle of Kenelworth: And tooke Hugh Spenser the sonne, and Sir Robert Baldocke Chancellour, and Sir John earle of Arundell, and brought them all to the towne of Hereford. And anon after, Hugh Spenser the sonne was drawne and hanged on a gallowes fiftie foote high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into foure quarters of the Realme. Sir John of Arundell was beheaded, Sir Robert Baldocke was put in Newgate at London, where shortly after hee pined away and died among the thieues. This done, a parliament was assembled at London, from whence message was sent to the king, that if hee would resigne vp his crowne, his sonne should haue it after him: If not, another should take it to whom the lot would giue it. Wherupon the king being constrained to yeeld vp his crowne to his sonne, was kept in prison, and after had to Barkley: where hee is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the king halfe condescending thereunto (the parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward) there was a bill exhibited and put vp, containing certaine articles against the said king, then in prison in the castle of Barkley, touching his misbehauiour and imprudent gouerning of the realme: which bill, openly before all the lords and commons by the speaker of the parliament house was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselues touching those articles and also for the better and more circumspect gouernment of the realme from that time forth: it was consulted and agreed vpon by the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons there assembled; that the said Edward was a man not meet to bee their king, nor from that time forth any more to beare the crowne royall or title of a king. But that Edward his eldest sonne, who there in the same court of high parliament was present, as he was rightfull heire and inheritour thereunto: so should he be crowned king thereof in his fathers stead, with these conditions thereunto annexed: That he should take wise, sage, and true counsellers vnto him. That the realme might be better and more circumspectly gouerned, then before in the time of Edward his father it was: That the old king his father should be honorablie prouided for and kept, so long as he liued, according as vnto his estate it appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the parliament breaketh vp, and all things necessarie to the coronation of a prince appertaining were in speedie wise prepared, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

A bill exhibited in the parliament house against king Edward the second.

King Edward deposed by consent of the parliament house, and his sonne Edward chosen king.

In the meane time as touching the king which was yet in prison, it is thought by some writers, that the next yeare following by the meanes of sir Roger Mortimer he was miserablie slaine, with a Spit (as is said) being thrust vp into his bodie, and was buried at Gloucester, after he had raigned nineteene yeares.

In the time and raigne of this king, the Colledge of Cambridge called Michael house, was founded and builded by Sir Henrie Stanton knight, to the vse and increase of learning: a thing in a common wealth verie profitable and necessarie to be had, the want and need wherof, many sundrie times, is sooner felt in this realme of ours, and other realmes abroad, then is the discommoditie thereof, of most men commonly vnderstood.

Michael house in Cambridge founded.

Henry Stanton founder of Michael house in Cambridge.

About the same time also, was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinarie Glosse of the Bible. Also Guilielmus Ocham, a worthie diuine, and of a right sincere iudgement, as the times then would either giue or suffer.

Nicolaus de Lyra.

Guilielmus Ocham.

In the tractation of this kings historie, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the hearts of the barons against the king, for reuoking such acts and customes, as had been before in the parliament established, both for Peter Gaueston, and for the two Spensers. Also what seuere punishment the king did execute vpon them for the same, in such cruell and rigorous sort, that as hee spared none of them, whom hee could there find: so hee neuer ceased all his life after to enquire out and to bee reuenged of all such, as had been in anie part, or consenting to that matter. For the which his extreame and implacable tyrannie, hee was in such hatred of all the people; that as hee said, hee could not find one of all the Commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam bishop of Hereford: who being impeached of treason with other moe, was at length arrested in the parliament, to appeare and answere to that should bee to him obiected. Manie things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the king, with matters moe and haynous rebukes, &c. Whereunto the bishop a great while answered nothing.

Tyrannie odious to the people.

A spirituall bishop called and arrested before a secular iudge.

Ex Tho. Walsing.

At length the bishop claiming the liberties and priuiledges of the church, answered to the king in this forme. The due reuerence of your princely Maiestie euer saued, Ego Sanctæ ecclesiæ Dei minister humilis, membrum eius, & Episcopus consecratus, licèt indignus, ad tam ardua nequeo respondere nec debeo, absque D. Cant. Archiepiscopi post summum pontificem mei directi iudicis, cuius etiam sum suffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Episcoporum consensu. That is, I an humble Minister and member of the holy church of God, and bishop consecrate (albeit vnworthie) cannot, neither ought to answere to these so high matters without the authoritie of the archbishop of Canturburie my direct iudge, nert vnder the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my fellow bishops. After which words by him pronounced, the archbishop and other bishops with him were readie to make humble intercession for him to the king, and did. But when the king would not be won nor turned with any supplication; the said bishops together with the archbishop and the clergie, conuning with their crosses; tooke him away, challenging him for the church, without any more answere making: charging moreouer, vnder the censures of the church and excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands vpon him. The king moued with this boldnesse and stoutnesse of the clergie; commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in iudgement, and the iurie of twelue men to go vpon the enquirie of his cause: who finding and pronouncing the bishop to be guiltie, the king caused immediatly all his goods and possessions to be confiscate vnto himselfe: moreouer, made his plate and all his houshold prouision to be throwne out of his house into the streete but yet he remained so still vnder the protection and defence of the archbishop, &c.

The bishop rescued by the clergie.

The king proceedeth in iudgement against the bishop, the priuiledges of the church notwithstanding to the contrarie.

This archbishop was Walter Winchelsey, after whom succeeded Simon Mepham in the same see of Canturburie, an. 1327. Ex Tho. Walsingham.

Simon Mepham archbishop of Canturburie.

After pope Clement the fifth, by whose decease the Romish see stood vacant (as ye haue heard) two yeares and three moneths, nert was elected pope John the two and twentith a Cistercian monke, who sate in that papacie eightéene yeares. He was stout and inflexible, giuen so much to the heaping of riches, that he proclaimed them heretikes, which taught that Christ and his apostles had no possessions of their owne in this world. At this time was emperor Ludouicus Bauarus, a worthie man: who with this pope and other that followed him, had no lesse contention, then had Fredericus before mentioned in the time of king Henrie the third. In so much that this contention and variance continued the space of foure and twentie yeares. The cause and first origine of this tragicall conflict, rose vpon the constitution of Clement the fifth predecessour to this pope, by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that emperors by the Germaine princes elected, might be called kings of the Romans, but might not enioy the title or right of the empire to be nominated emperour, without their confirmation giuen by the pope. Wherefore, this foresaid emperour because hee vsed the emperiall dignitie in Italie, before he was authorised by the pope: the said pope therefore excommunicated the emperour. And notwithstanding the emperour oftentimes did proffer himselfe to make intreaty of peace and concord, yet the pope inflexible would not bend. The writings of both parts yet bee extant, wherein the said bishop doth make his auaunt, that hee had full power to create and depose kings and emperours at his pleasure. In the same time were diuers learned men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallow the bishop of Romes doings, among whom was Guillerme Ocham, whose tractations were afterward condemned by the pope, for writing against the temporall iurisdiction of their see. And another named Marsilius Patauinus, which wrote the booke intituled Defensor pacis, giuen vp to the hands of the said emperour, wherein the controuersie of the popes vnlawfull iurisdiction in things temporall is largely disputed, and the vsurped authoritie of that see set forth to the vttermost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the emperours secretaries, vnknowing to the emperour; in certaine of his letters, had likened the papall see to the beast rising out of the sea in the Apocalypse. At length, when the emperour after much suite made to the pope at Auinion, could not obtaine his coronation; comming to Rome, was there receiued with great honor, where he with his wife were both crowned by the full consent of all the lords and cardinals there; and moreouer, another pope there set vp, called Nicolas the fifth. After which things done, the pope not long after departed at Auinion in France, after whom succeeded then Benedictus the twelfth a monke of Benedicts order, and raigned seuen yeares. Who by the counsell of Philip the French king, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and cursings that John his predecessour had published against Lewes the emperour: Moreouer, depriued him of his emperiall crowne, and also of his dukedome of Bauaria. The emperour vpon this commeth to Germanie, and assembling the princes electors, dukes, bishops, nobles, and the learned in a councell at Franckford: there declared before them out of the ancient lawes and customes of the empire, how it standeth only in the princes Electours, and in none other to elect the kings or the emperours of the Romanes (for in both these names was no difference) so that the same Electours in chusing the king of the Romanes, did also elect and chuse the emperour. Which emperour so by them constitute had lawfull right, without anie information of the apostolicall see, to exercise the administration of the empire. And if hee were lawfullie elect, ought to bee annointed of the Romane bishop: which if hee doe refuse, then might hee bee annointed and declared emperour and Augustus by anie other Catholike bishop thereunto

Pope John 22. a monks Cistercian.

A new found heresie.

Heresie with the pope to say that Christ and the Apostles had no proper possessions heere.

Strife betweene the pope and the emperour.

The emperour crowned against the will of the pope.

Pope Benedictus 12. a monk of Benedicts order.

Ludouicus the emperour deprined and deposed by pope Benedict 12.

A councell at Franckford.

The emperours protestation to the councell of Germanie.

The forme of words when any bishop doth challenge the priuiledge of the church against a secular iudge.

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vnto appointed (as by the old maner and cuſtome hath been) eſpecially ſeeing theſe iniunctions are but certaine ſolemnities added and inuented by the biſhops, onely for a token of vnitie betweene the church and empire, to gouerne and defend the faith together. Wherefore in that the emperour ſweareth to the biſhop of Rome; in that is to be vnderſtood no homage or fealtie made to the biſhop, but onelie is a Sacrament and a promiſe giuen to defend the faith. The which oth or ſacrament ſo giuen, giueth no maioritie to the pope in any temporall rule, but onely bindeth the emperor to be preſt and readie to defend the faith and church of Chriſt, when need ſhall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the pope leaneth only to the electors authoritie, to make the king of Romans, and taketh vpon himſelfe alone to make the emperour, that as it is newly brought in and deuiſed a late by pope Clement the 5. ſo is it contrarie both to all ancient order, and alſo derogatorie to the libertie and maieſtie of the ſacred empire. Again, neither is that alſo leſſe abſurd and contrarie to all right and reaſon; that the pope in time of the imperiall ſeate being vacant, taketh vpon him to haue the whole and full doings of the empire, as lawfull emperour for time. Which prerogatiue and function, by ancient orders of our fore-elders, ſhould properlie and onely appertaine to the Palatine of Rhene, the Conſtitution Clementine of the foreſaid pope Clement to the contrarie notwithſtanding. Then in the end for his owne excuſe, hee in the preſence of them all reciteth the publike confeſſion of his faith, to anſwere and purge himſelfe of thoſe obiections laid to him by the pope. This did the meeke emperour Ludouicke in that councell: Yet all this notwithſtanding, the ſaid emperour remained ſtill excommunicate, till time variance fell betweene this pope Benedict and Philip the French king. Wherefore to make his partie good, at leaſt to haue ſome friends to flee to; he began to pretend fauour and abſolution, rather for neceſſitie, then for any good will to the emperor. But not long after, this pope died: of whom this Epitaph was made.

Ex Hieron. Mario. Es ex Crantzio.

Ex chron. de 6. mundi etatibus, initiul. rudimentum nouitiorum.

Hic ſitus eſt Nero laicis mors, vipera clero,
Deuius à vero, cupa repleta mero.

Pope Clement the ſixth.

After whom followed pope Clement the ſixth, a man moſt furious and cruell. Who renuing againe the former excommunications of his former predeceſſors, cauſed his letters to be ſet vp on church doores, wherein he threatned and denounced moſt terrible thunderbolts againſt the ſaid Lewes the emperour, vnleſſe within three daies hee ſhould ſatiſfie to God and the church, and renounce the imperial poſſeſſion of the crowne. The Emperour vpon this, commeth to Franckford, and there readie to ſtand in all things to the ordinance of the pope: ſendeth his Oratours to the court of Rome, to intreat the pope of his fauour and good will towards him. To the which meſſengers the pope anſwered againe, that he would neuer pardon the emperour, before he gaue ouer and confeſſed his errors and hereſies, and reſigning vp his empire to his hands, would ſubmit himſelfe, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleaſure of the biſhop, promiſing that he ſhould not receiue againe any part of the ſame, but vpon his good grace, as his will ſhould be to reſtore them.

The trouble of Ludouicke the emperour.

Hereſie of the popes making obiected againſt the emperour.

The hereſie here mentioned, which was to this emperor obiected by the pope was this: becauſe (as is aboue touched) hee vſed and executed the imperiall dignitie after his election, before he was of the pope confirmed. Ouer and beſides, the pope ſendeth to the emperour by the ſaid Oratours, a certaine forme of a bill contained in writing with certaine conditions, which he commanded to be giuen to the hands of the emperour. Heere if the emperour Lewes had had as much mind to ſet vpon the pope with dint of ſword, as hee lacked neither occaſion nor power ſo to doe: what bloud might heere haue been ſpilt? But the good emperour ſparing the effuſion of bloud, receiueth gentlie the bill: and not onely with his ſeale doth confirme it, but alſo ſweareth to obſerue all the conditions thereof. Which the pope hearing of, doth greatly marueil. But yet all this would nothing helpe to mollifie the moſt heart of this Pharao.

The proud hart of the pope.

The princes and electors ſeeing the bill of the articles and conditions, whereof ſome ſounded to the malicious deſacing and deſtruction of the empire, abhorring the wickednes therof: deſired the emperour to ſtand to the defence of the imperiall dominion, as hee had begun: promiſing that their aſſiſtance and aide, to the vttermoſt thereunto ſhould not lacke. Upon that other Orators were ſent to pope Clement from the princes, deſiring him to abſtaine from ſuch manner of articles conceiued againſt the ſtate and maieſtie of the empire. The pope furniſhing all this to ſpring from Lewes the Emperour, to the vtter ſubuerſion of him and all his poſſeritie: on maundie Thurſday buſſereth out moſt blacke curſes againſt him, alſo renewing all the former proceſſes of his predeceſſour againſt him, as againſt both an heretike and a ſchiſmatike: commanding moreouer the princes electors to proceed in chuſing a new emperour. The archb. of Mentz ſeeing the innocencie of the emperor, would not conſent to the violating of his Maieſtie, wherefore was depriued by the pope of all his dignities.

Lewis the emperour accuſed by the pope for an heretike.

A good and faithfull archbiſhop of Mentz.

The other biſhops electors, as the archbiſhop of Colen, which toke eight thouſand marks, with the duke of Saxonie, which toke two thouſand markes, being corrupted with monie by John king of Boheme; elected Charles the ſonne of the ſaid John, whom pope Clement eſtſones in his conſiſtorie did approoue. Who ſeeth not here what matter was miniſtred by the pope of warre and bloudſhed betweene theſe two emperours, if the patience of Ludouicke had not been more prudent to quench the fire, then the pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new emperour elect, ſped him to Aquiſgraue, according to the cuſtome, there to be crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the empreſſe (Ludouicus wife keeping thereabout) was repelled. All this happened in the time and raigne of Edward the third, king of England, with whom the ſaid Charles, with the French king, and king of Boheme, ſet on by the pope, encountred in warre, where the king of England had againſt them a noble victorie, and ſlue a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles the new emperour to flight. In the meane time, among the princes and cities of Germanie what ſorrow and what complaints were againſt pope Clement and thoſe electors, it cannot bee expreſſed. For as they were al together at Spires congregated in a generall aſſemblie, ſo there was none among them all, that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the popes proceſſe, promiſing all to adhere and continue faithfull ſubiects to Ludouicke their lawfull emperour. But Ludouicke remembring his oth made before to the popes bill, voluntarilie and willinglie gaue ouer his imperiall dignitie, and went to Burgrauia, where ſhortlie after, through the procured practiſe of pope Clement (as Hieronymus Marius doth write) poiſon was giuen him to drinke. After the which being drunke, when he would haue vomited out and could not; toke his horſe and went to hunt the beare, thereby through the chaſing and heat of his bodie to expell the venim. And there the good and gentle emperour wickedly perſecuted and murdered of the pope fell downe dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and bleſſed martyrs of Chriſt. For if the cauſe being righteous doth make a martyr, what papiſt can iuſtlie diſproue his cauſe or faith? If perſecution ioyned thereunto cauſeth martyrdome, what martyr could be more perſecuted then hee? who hauing three popes like three band-dogges vpon him, at length was deuoured by the ſame. The princes then hearing of his death, aſſembled themſelues to a new election: who refuſing Charles aforeſaid, elected another for emperour, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who ſhortlie after falling ſicke at Franckford through his phyſitions ſeruant was likewiſe poiſoned, whom the foreſaid Charles had hired with mony to worke that feate. Gunterus talking of the poiſon, although hee did partlie caſt it vp againe, yet ſo much remained within him, as made him vnable afterward to ſerue that place. Wherefore for concords ſake being counſelled thereto by the Germaines, gaue ouer his empire to Charles. Forelſe, great bloudſhed was like to enſue. This Charles thus ambitiouſlie aſpiring to the emperiall ſeate contrarie to the minds of the ſtates, and peeres of the empire, as hee did wickedly and vnlawfullie come by it: ſo was he by his ambitious guiding, the firſt and principall meane of the vtter ruine of that Monarchie. For that hee to haue his ſonne ſet vp emperour after him, couented and granted to the princes electours of Germany, all the publicke tares and tributes of the empire. Which couenant being once made betweene the Emperour and them, they afterward held ſo faſt, that they cauſed the emperour to ſweare neuer to reuoke or call backe againe the ſame. By reaſon whereof, the tribute of the countries of Germanie, which then belonged onelie to the emperour, for the ſuſtentation of his warres; euer ſince to this day is diſperſed diuerſlie into the hands of the princes, and free cities within the ſaid monarchie. So that both the empire being diſfurniſhed and left deſolate, and the emperours weakened thereby; haue neither been able ſufficientlie ſince to defend themſelues, nor yet to reſiſt the Turke, or other forraine enemies. Whereof a great part, as yee haue heard, may bee imputed vnto the popes, &c. Hieronymus Marius.

Byders corrupted with monie.

The pope ſower of diſcord and bloudſhed.

The pope ſtirreth vp warres.

Charles the new emperour put to flight by the engliſhmen.

Ludouicke the right emperour reſigneth vp his empire.

Ludouicke the emperour poiſoned.

Gunterus de Monte Nigro made emperor.

Gunterus rigde emperour poiſoned.

This pope Clement firſt reduced the yeere of Jubile to euery 50. yeere, which before was kept but on the hundreth yeere. And ſo he being abſent at Auinion (which hee then purchaſed with his monie to the ſea of Rome) cauſed it to bee celebrated at Rome, an. 1350. In the which yeere were numbred of peregrines going in, and comming out euery day at Rome, to the eſtimation of fiue thouſand. Præmonſtrat. The bull of pope Clement giuen out for this preſent yeere of Jubilie, procedeth in theſe words as followeth: What perſon or perſons ſoeuer for deuotion ſake, ſhall take their peregrination vnto the holy citie, the ſame day when he ſetteth forth out of his houſe, hee may chuſe vnto him what confeſſor or confeſſors either in the way, or where elſe hee liſteth: vnto the which confeſſors, wee grant, by our authoritie, plenarie power to abſolue all cales papall, as fullie as if wee were in our proper perſon there preſent. Item, wee grant that whoſoeuer being truely confeſſed, ſhall chance by the way to die, he ſhal bee quit and abſolued of all his ſinnes. Moreouer, we command the Angels

The yeere of Jubiley reduced to the fiftith yeere.

Pilgrimes in the yeere of Jubiley at Rome.

The abominable and blaſphemous bull of pope Clement.

The ruine of the Germaine empire, and the firſt cauſe thereof.

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The pope commandeth the Angels.

gels of Paradise, to take his soule out of his bodie, being absolued, and to carrie it into the glory of paradise, &c. And in another Bull, We will (saith hee) that no paine of hell shall touch him: granting moreouer to all and singuler person and persons

Blasphemy of the pope.

signed with the holy crosse, power and authoritie to deliuer and release three or foure soules, whom they list themselues, out of the paines of purgatorie, &c.

Ex bulla Clementis.

This Clement (as mine author affirmeth) tooke vpon him so prodigallie in his popedome, that he gaue to his Cardinals of Rome, bishoprickes and benefices, which then were vacant in England: and began to giue them new titles for the same liuings he gaue them in England. Wherewith the king (as good cause he had) was offended, and vndid all the prouisions of the pope within his realme: Commanding vnder paine of imprisonment and life, no man to be so hardie, as to induce and bring in any such prouisions of the pope, any more within his land. And vnder the same punishment charged the two Cardinals to auoid the realme: An. 1343. In the same yeere all the tenthes as well of the templaries as of other spirituall men, were giuen and paid to the king through the whole realm: An. 1343. And thus much concerning good Ludouicke emperor and martyr, and pope Clement the firth his enemy. Wherin, because wee haue a little exceeded the course of yeeres, whereat we left, let vs returne somewhat backe againe, and take such things in order as belong to the Church of England and Scotland, setting forth the raigne of king Edward the third, and the doings of the Church, which in his time haue happened, as the grace of Christ our Lord will assist and able vs thereunto.

Ex Chron. Walsi. in vit. Edw. 3.

The king resisteth the pope.

The tenths of Church goods giuen to the king.

Anno 1326

Oriall colledge and S. Mary hall in Oxford builded by king Edward 2.

This foresaid king Edward the second, in his time builded two houses in Oxford for good letters: to wit, Oriall colledge and S. Marie hall.

A stone of the commotion betweene the towne and Abbey of Bury.

Here I omit also by the way, the furious outrage and conflict which happened in the time of this king, a little before his death, anno. 1326. betweene the townesmen and the abbie of Burie, wherein the townesmen gathering themselues together in a great multitude (for what cause or old grudge betweene them, the register doth not declare) inuaded and sackt the monasterie. And after they had imprisoned the monks, they rifled the goods and treasure of the whole house, spoiling and carrying away their plate, monie, copes, vestiments, censers, crosses, chalices, basens, iewels, cups, masers, bookes, with other ornaments and implements of the house, to the value vnestimable. In the which conflict, certaine also on both sides were slaine. Such was the madnesse then of that people, that when they had gathered vnto them a great concourse of seruants and light persons of that countrie to the number of 20. thousand, to whom they promised libertie and freedome: by vertue of such writs which they had out of that house; first they got into their hands all their euidences, copies and instruments, that they could find: then they tooke off the lead, that done, setting fire to the Abbie gates, they burnt vp neere the whole house. After that they proceeded further to the farmes and granges belonging to the said Abbie, whereof they wasted, spoiled and burnt to the number of 22. manor places in one weeke: transporting away the corne, horses, cattell, and other moueables belonging to the same, the price whereof is registred to come to 922. li. 5. s. 11. d. besides the valuation of other riches and treasure within the Abbey, which cannot bee esteemed.

Ex Latino quodam Registro.

The Abbat all this space was at London in the parliament, by whose procurement at length such rescue was sent downe, that 24. of the chiefe of the towne (submitting themselues) were committed to ward: 30. carts full of the townesmen were carried to Norwich, of whom 19. were there hanged, diuers were put to comun prison. The whole townelship was condemned in seuen score thousand pound, to bee paid for damages of the house. Iohn Berton aldermen, Wil. Yerling, with 32. priests, 13. women, and 138. other of the said towne were outlawed. Of whom diuers, after grudging at the abbat for breaking promise with them at London, did confederate themselues together, and priuilie in the night comming to the manor of Chenington, where the Abbat did lie; brast open the gates, who then entring in, first bound all his familie, and after they had robbed him of all his plate, iewels and monie, they tooke the abbat and shaued him, and secretly with them conueied him away to London, where they remouing him from street to street vnknowne, from thence had him ouer Thames into Kent, at length ouer the sea they ferried ouer to Dist in Brabant: where they a sufficient time kept him in much penurie, miserie and thraldome, till at length the matter being searched out, they were all excommunicate, first by the archbishop of Canturburie, then by the pope. And at last being known where he was by his friends, was deliuered and rescued out of the theeues hands, and finally brought home with procession, and restored to his house againe. And thus was that abbey with the Abbat of the same (for what demerits I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this time, as more largelie I haue seene in their Latine register. But thus much briefly, touching the rest I omit here, about the latter end of this Edward the 2. ceaseth the history of Nic. Triuet, and of Flor. hist. passing euer to the raigne of the next king.

The Abbat robbed.

The Abbat stolne away to Brabant.

The Abbat restored againe.

King Edward the third.

Concerning the acts and storie of king Edward the 2. his deposing, and cruel death, wrought by the false & counterfeit letter of sir Roger Mortimer, sent in the kings name to the keepers (for the which he was after charged, drawn, & quartered,) I haue written sufficiently before, and more peraduenture then the profession of this ecclesiasticall historie will well admit. Notwithstanding for certaine respects, and causes, I thought somewhat to extend my limits herein the more, whereby both kings and such as clime to be about them may take the better example by the same, the one to haue the loue of his subiects; the other to learne to flee ambition, and not to beare themselues too brag of their fortune and state, how high soeuer it be: Considering with themselues nothing to be in this world so firme and sure, that may promise it selfe any certaine continuance, and is not in perpetuall danger of mutation vnlesse it bee fastened by God his protection.

King Edward the third.

After the suppression of this king, as is aboue expressed, Edward his sonne was crowned king of England, being about the yeere of 15. and raigned the space of 50. yeeres, who was a prince of much and great temperance. In feates of armes very expert, and no lesse fortunate and luckie in all his warres, as his father was infortunate before him. In liberalitie also and clemencie worthilie commended, briefly in all princely vertues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable acts of which prince, done both in warres and peace, as how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, how he conquered France, An. 1332. won Calice, an. 1348. and translated the staple thither, tooke the French king prisoner, and how the French armes first by him were brought in, and conioyned with the English armes; also how the order of the Garter first by the said king was inuented and ordained, an. 1356. also an. 1357. How the king in his parliament at Nottingham, decreed, that all such in Flanders or other where, that had skill in making cloth, should peaceablie inhabite the land and be welcome. For three yeeres before that, it was enacted, that no woll should be transported ouer the sea. Which was to bridle the pride of the Flemmings, who then loued better the sacks of wool, then the nation of Englishmen. All these with other noble acts of this worthie prince, although in other chronicles they be fullie intreated of: yet according to that order I haue begun (saying somewhat of each kings raigne, although not pertinent to our ecclesiasticall historie) I haue here inserted the same, making hast to other matters, shortlie and compendiouslie abridging them out of diuers and sundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wise.

Anno 1327

The coronation and solemnitie of king Edward the third, and all the pomp thereof was no sooner ended: but Robert of Bruce king of Scotland, vnderstanding the state and gouernment of the realme to bee (as it was indeed) in the queene, the young king, the earle of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer: And that the lords and barons, as hee was informed, did scarslie well agree amongst themselues (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling disease) yet thought he this a meet time for his purpose, to make inuasion: Hoping for as good successe and like victorie now, as but lately before he had at the castle of Eskriuelin. Whereupon, about the feast of Easter he sent his embassadours with heralds and letters of defiance to the young king Edward the third, the queene and the counsell; declaring that his purpose was with fire and sword to enter and inuade the realme of England, &c. The king, queene, and counsell hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedie preparation musters to bee made throughout all the realme: appointing to euery band captains conuenient, and at the citie of Yorke by a day assigned them, commanding euery man to be with all their necessarie furniture readie and throughly prouided. They directed their letters also with all speed to sir Iohn of Heinault, requiring him with such souldiers and men at armes as hee might conueniently prouide in Flanders, Heinault, and Brabant, to meet the king and queene vpon the Ascension day next ensuing at their citie of Yorke.

The defiance of the king of Scots.

The king and queene at Yorke, with an army of 60000 men readie to meete the king of Scots entring the realme.

The king and queene made speedie preparation for this expedition: the noble men prouided themselues of all things necessarie thereunto: the English captaines and souldiers (their bands throughly furnished) were readie at their appointed time and place: sir Iohn of Heinault, lord Beamount mustering his men as fast, was readie to take shipping: where at Wlysant (in English Bothoms there lying for him readie) hee went aboord, and with a merrie wind landed at Douer, trauelling from thence by small iournies dailie, till he came within three daies after the feast of Pentecost to the citie of Yorke: where the king and queene with a great power of 60000. men (within and about the citie of Yorke) expected his comming: Before whom, in curteous wise he presented himselfe, and mustred his troope, wherein he had to the number of 500. good men at armes well appointed and mounted. His comming and furniture was well liked both of the king

king and quéene, and was by the Harbinger, appointed to be lodged with his houshold retinue in the abbie of white monks. To be briefe, such grudge and variance fell betweene some of the kings souldiers and his, within the suburbes of the towne being together lodged; that from the little to the more, whilest the king and quéene with diuers other of the nobles, (strangers and others) were at dinner; the said fray so greatlie increased, that the whole armie so many as were in the towne then lodged, stood to their fence; so that there were slaine of the English archers in short space by the strangers to the number of 300. men. Whereupon grew (after the fray was with much difficultie both of the king and quéene ended) such heartburning betweene the parties; as that the number of 6000. conspired together against them: thinking to haue burnt them in their lodgings, had they not been by the great grace of God and discreet handling, otherwise preuented and let. Whereupon the Heynolders were faine to take and keepe the field, vsing as diligent watch and ward, as though they had been among their hostile enemies. After this, the king set forward his armie toward Durham, and encamped himselfe neere about the same: who also sent the lord Mowbrey and the lord Mounbry to Carlil with a sufficient companie to keepe that entrance: and also the lord marshall of England to keepe the towne of Newcastle with a sufficient companie to defend the same, and the countrie adioyning. For well knew the king, that by one of these two entries, the Scots must passe into England, standing both of them vpon the riuer of Tine, 24. miles distant.

The great fray in Yorke.

Carlile and new Castle then the keies of England. Northward kept with garisons.

But the Scots priuilie with their armie passed the riuer betwixt the two townes into England, few vnderstanding thereof, till that the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England bewraied them: who came burning and destroying the countrie all about as farre as Stanop parke. This thing being declared to the king, hée commandeth his host with all spéed to march towards them, which so long trauelled that they came in sight ech of other. The king also commanded the passages of the riuer to be so straitly and narrowly garded, that by no meanes the Scots could retire and haue escaped backe againe into Scotland, without battell giuen them of the king. But the Scots vnderstanding the great power the king was of, kept alwaies the aduantage of the hils, retiring in the nights from one to another: that without great ods and aduantage in the one side and hazard to the other, the king could not set vpon them.

The Scots priuilie passe ouer the riuer of Tine, burning and spoiling the countrie all about.

The kings armie and the Scots are so neere, that ech feeth other.

Thus in the day time the Scots keeping the aduantage of the hilles, and in the night times retiring to the aduantage of such other like, came neere against that riuer where they first passed ouer, where they made a shew to offer battell to the king vpon the morrow. Whereupon the king being busied in putting his men and battels in a readinesse to fight the next morning, being almost forewearied in pursuing the Scots from place to place: the Scots in the meane season gat ouer the riuer and escaped the danger of the king. Which thing as it could not bee done, without great treason of some neere about the king, so sir Roger Mortimer was grieuously suspected thereof, and after was laid vnto his charge. But to be short, by this meanes the Scots escaped the riuer, after whom it should haue pauailed the king very little to haue made pursute, as the wilie Scots knew full well. For the ioy whereof, the lord William Douglas one of the Scots Generals, with 200. horses gaue alarum in the kings campe: and came so neere, that he cut certaine of the lines of the kings tent in sunder with his sword, and retired to his companie without great losse of any of his men. Then on the morrow the king perceiuing the Scots to be gone, came to the place where ouer night they lodged, where were found 500. great oxen and kine readie killed: fiue hundred Cauldrons made of beasts skinnes full of flesh, ouer the fire séething: a thousand spits full of flesh ready to bee rosted, and more then 10000. shooes of raw leather (the haire still vpon the same) which the Scots had left behind them: and fiue poore English prisoners tied to trées and their legs broken. All which the king séeing returned with his army (and left any further pursuing the Scots) to Durham: where hee dismissed his armie, and came againe to London, sending with sir John of Heinault two hundred men at armes for their better safegard against the English archers (with whom at Yorke, as you haue heard, they fraied) till they had taken shipping, and so returned home.

The Scots through treason escape out of England vnthought withall.

The prouision left in the Scots campe.

The king returneth to London.

The king then being at London, confirmed the liberties of the Citizens, and ordained that the Maior should sit in all places as chiefe Iustice within the liberties of the same. And that what alderman soeuer had been Maior before, should be a Iustice of peace within his owne ward.

Then the king, the quéene, and the counsell sent ouer to the Earle of Heynault certaine embassadours, touching the solemnization of the matriage betweene the king and the ladie Philip his daughter: who in such sort sped their message, that she was some after conueied ouer to England very honourable, and at Douer arriued. And from thence came to London (some chronicles affirme to Yorke) where vpon the day of the conuersion of S. Paul, the yéere aboue specified, the marriage and coronation of the quéene was with much triumph during the space of three weekes solemnized.

The marriage of king Edward solemnized.

After which coronation and marriage, the king let sommon his parliament to be kept at Northhampton: whereat by the meanes of sir Roger Mortimer and the old quéene, a peace was purchased for the Scots (who had for that purpose sent their embassadours) for foure yéeres to indure. Also the king (then being within age) granted to release the Scots of all their homage and fealtie which vnto the realme of England by their charter ensealed they were bound: as also their indenture, which was called the Ragman Role, wherein was specified the foresaid homage and fealtie to the king and crowne of England, by the said king of Scots, nobles, and prelates to be made: hauing all their seales annexed to the same. Also there was then deliuered vnto them, the blacke crosse of Scotland, which king Edward before for a rich Jewell and relique had conquered and brought from Scone Abbey: with all such rights and titles as any the barons else had enioyed in the said realme of Scotland, with many other things more, to the great preiudice both of the realme and discontentation of all the nobles and barons for the most part, more then the old quéene, sir Roger Mortimer, and the bishop of Elie. Who in such sort ruled the rost, that all the rest of the nobles and barons, cast with themselues how best they might redresse and remedie the great inconueniences, that vnto the realme by meanes of them grew and happened. Whereupon the king and quéene and sir Roger Mortimer, caused another parliament to be called at Salisbury, where the said sir Roger Mortimer was made earle of March, against all the barons wils, to preuent and disappoint the foresaid purpose of them; but the Earle Henrie of Lancaster with others, would not bee at the same: wherefore it was laid vnto their charges, that they went about to conspire the kings death.

A parliament at Northhampton.

The Ragman rols deliuered vp to the Scots.

The blacke crosse of Scotland.

The barons gine vp their titles in Scotland.

A parliament at Salisburie.

Earle Henry of Lancaster refuseth to come to the parliament.

And further, for that the king was as well vnder the gouernment of the earle of Kent his vncle, as the quéene his mother, and the earle of March: and for that they could not doe in all things as they liked for the said earle the kings vncle, who loued the king and the realme: enuie began to rise betweene the earle Mortimer and him, and by Isabell the quéenes practise, he found the meanes to perswade the king: that the earle of Kent (to inioy the crowne, as next heire vnto the king) went about to poison him. Whereunto the king giuing light credit, caused his said vncle to bee apprehended: and without answer making to his accusation and accusers, to be beheaded at Winchester, the third of October, and third yéere of his raigne. But the iust iudgement of God not permitting such odious crimes in him to be vnpunished nor vndetected, so in fine fell forth, that Isabell the old queene the kings mother, was found and vnderstood to be with child by the said Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the king, as also of the killing of king Edward his father, and of the conspiracy of him against the earle of Kent the kings vncle before put to death: Whereupon, diuers other articles laid against him and manifestly read in the court, he was attraigned and indited, and by verdit found guiltie: hauing his iudgement as in cases of high treason, and suffered death accordinglie at London: where, vpon London bridge next vnto Spensers, his head obtained a place. The quéene his mother also (by good aduise of his counsell) was restrained of her libertie, and within a certaine castle not permitted once to come abroad: Vnto whom the king her sonne, once or twice a yéere would resort, and visit.

The earle of Kent put to death guiltles.

The queene with child by sir Roger Mortimer.

Sir Roger Mortimer earle of March arraigned, condemned and put to execution.

The queene put in prison and so kept a long time.

This yéere, prince Edward was borne at Windsocke, who in processe of time and yéeres grew to be a most valiant prince, and was before hée died, accounted throughout the world the follower of chiualrie.

The birth of prince Edward.

After this, the king prepared another armie into Scotland in the yéere prefixed. But first hée summoned king Dauid of Scotland, who had (in the last truce, foure yéeres to continue as you heard, his father then liuing) married the ladie Jane, sister to the king (termed Jane make peace) to do his homage to the king; but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithall the scoffing rymes, which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouthes; he did so much, that with an armie well furnished, hee entred Scotland by the riuer of Twede, for the Scots had then the possession of the towne of Barwicke: the Scotish gigges and rymes were these: Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witlesse, Gay coats graceslesse, Makes England thriftlesse. To be short, the king wasted the land, burnt, destroyed, and toke townes and castles with small resistance or none: and the space of fiue moneths together did in that land what him liked without any battell offered to him. For the king of Scots was but a child and not aboue the age of 15. yéeres, and wanted good captains that should haue defended the realme: insomuch that they were all faine, sauing those that kept in holds for their defence, to take the forrest of Godworth, and there kept to themselues so long as the king remained in Scotland. Who at length when he had sufficiently wasted, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned toward Barwicke, about the which he bent his siege, dowing not to remoue the same, till he had gotten the towne.

The expedition of king Edward into Scotland.

The Scotish rymes.

King Edward wasteth and destroyeth the realm of Scotland.

Barwicke besieged and yeelded vp to the king.

The Scots that kept the same, after a certain time & many assaults

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assaults made, were contented vpon certaine conditions to haue deliuered vp the towne: But that the king refused, vnlesse that all conditions set apart, they would with bagge and baggage depart. Wherupon they condescended to the king, that if by a certaine time they were not by the king of Scots rescued, they would render vp the towne, and with bagge and baggage depart: and so the time expired, frustrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entred the towne and tarried there the space of twelue daies: who after hee had appointed sir Edward Baillew captaine ouer the towne, and leauing also behind him other knights, squires, and souldiers, as well to keepe the same as other holds the king had conquered in Scotland and frontiers thereof; hee returned with his people towards London, permitting euery man to depart and goe what way them liked.

The king entreth the towne of Barwicke and appointeth the captaine therof.

Then sir Robert de Artois, a noble man of France, and which descended of the bloud royall, being in England with the king, ceased not oftentimes to aduertise the king, and put him in memorie of his good and right title to the inheritance of the crowne of France. This sir Robert for a certaine displeasure that Philip the French king tooke against him for a certaine plea which by him was moued before the king; was fain for the safegard of his life to flee the realme of France, and so come to the kings court. King Edward was not vnwilling at all to heare thereof, but tooke delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crowne of France. But yet notwithstanding, hee thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without aduised and circumspect counsell, for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult importance: neither yet hee tooke it to deserue the fame either of wisdome or prowesse to let so good a title die, or so fit opportunitie to passe. Wherefore hee calling together certaine of his counsell, vsed their deliberate aduices touching the seriousnesse of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, that the king should send certaine embassadours ouer to the earle of Heinault, whose daughter hee had married, as well to heare his aduice and counsell herein: as also of what friends and aid, by him and his meanes, in this so great an expedition to bee begun in the empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto condescendeth, and appointeth for this embassage the bishop of Lincolne with two other Barenets, and two doctors: who in such speedie wise made their voyage, that in short space they returned againe to the king with this answer: That not onely the earle his counsell and aduice, should be herein prest to the king of England their master, but also the whole countrie of Heinault. And further, for that to such an expedition as appertained, hee said, the prouince of Heinault was but a small matter to make account of; hee would procure for the king greater aid and friendship in the empire, as the duke of Brabant his cosin germane, and a puissant prince, the duke of Guerles, the archbishop of Coloyne, the Marques of Juliers, &c. which are all good men of warre, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, saith he. Which answer well liked the king, and made him ioyous thereof. But this counsell of the king as secret as it was, came to Philip the French kings eares: whereupon hee stated the voiage of the Croisie which then hee had in hand, sending forth countermands to stay the same, till hee knew farther the purpose of the king of England.

Rir Robert de Artois a noble man of France inciteth the king to prosecute his title in France.

The king deliberateth with his counsell concerning the title of France.

Embassadours are sent to the Earle of Heinault concerning the title.

The Embassadors returne with answere from the earle that pleaseth the king.

King Philip of France heareth of the kings purpose, and stayeth his voiage of the Croisie.

The king hereupon himself taketh shipping accompanied as to a king appertained: and when hee had consulted with all the foresaid lords of the empire in this matter and vnderstood their fidelitie; hee made his repaire to the emperour, at whose hands he was well intertained and honorablie receiued, whom the emperor appointed to be his lieutenant generall, hauing thereby more authoritie both to will and command such as for this his expedition hee trusted vnto, and had made conuention with. This hearing Philip, prepared his armie and rigged his naule, that so soone as the king should enter into the dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

King Edward assigned lieutenant generall of the empire.

The king of England, after the feast of S. John Baptist, according to his purpose, prepared all things readie to such an expedition, conducting his armie and gathering a greater strength in the empire, as before to him was promised, vsing the emperours authoritie therein, as his lieutenant generall, howbeit at the charge altogether of the king of England. The French king as soone as king Edward had landed his armie at Mackline in Flanders, and hearing of the defiance, which the king and other noble men of the empire had sent vnto him; sent certaine ships lying readie thereunto, and waiting for such opportunity vpon ꝑ coast of England, did so much, that vpon a sunday, whilest the townes men were at the church little looking for any such matter, entred the hauen of Southhampton, tooke the towne and spoiled the same, defloured maidens, enforced wiues, burnt, kild, tooke captiues, and carried away rich spoiles and great booties to their ships, and so againe departed into France. Further, as the king of England had allied himselfe with the noble men of the empire, and had the friendly fauour of the emperour also thereunto: so the French king made the like league and alliance with Dauid the king of Scots, whom the king had so hardlie dealt withall in Scotland (as partly before you heard) and kept the most part of Scotland vnder his subiection: Binding the said Dauid as well by writing as oth and pledge, that without his consent hee should make no peace nor conclude any truce with the king of England. Who againe assured him of aid, and rescue, and helpe, and to recouer his kingdome and dominion to his vse: and forthwith sent certaine garisons and bands into Scotland to keepe play with the Englishmen, and there to fortifie diuers places till further opportunitie serued. He also fortified with men, mony, victuall, and munition, the towne of Cambrey: which hee suspected would be besieged, lying so neere vpon the empire as indeed it came to passe. For, king Edward departing from Macheline, set forward his host towards Heinault, and by the way assembled such power, as in the empire hee looked for, marching forward still till that they came to Cambrey, and it besieged with 40000. men: while that with another companie, the Flemings, Brabanters, and Hollanders, went to S. Quintin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambrey nor elsewhere, any thing notorious was atchieued. But the summer being well spent and little preuailing in the siege of Cambrey, being of situation strong and well defenced therewithall with men and munition; brake vp the siege, and marched further into the heart of France towards Mutterell. Which thing the French king hauing vnderstanding of, prepared himselfe to giue battell to the king of England, who with another great armie came to Vromfolle, where daies were appointed to meete in battell: but in the end, nothing was done nor attempted betweene the princes. And the king of England (without any battell either giuing or taking) returned with his army from thence to Gaunt. Concerning the cause of the sudden remouing of the king out of France, seemeth most specially to rise of the pope: which at the same time sent downe his legats, for the order of a peace to be taken betweene the kings. At Gaunt were gathered by the kings appointment all the nobles as well of England, as of the empire in counsell together what was best to be done. Where plaine answere was made to the king of England, that vnlesse hee would take vpon him the claime and title of France, it as his lawfull inheritance and as king thereof prosecute his warres; it might not bee lawfull for them any further, to aide the king of England, or to fight with him against the French king: for that the pope had bound them in two millions of Florences of gold, and vnder paine of excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawfull king of France. Whereupon, the king thought good therefore presently to make open challenge to the realme and crowne of France: and further, to quarter and intermingle the armes of France, with the armes of England in one Scutchen. Whereupon eftsones king Edward made answere vnto the pope againe, directing vnto him his letters, wherein hee declareth at large his right and title vnto the crowne of France, purging thereby himselfe and his cause vnto the bishop. The copie and tenour of which letter, because it is too long to expresse, it is to be found in the storie of Thom. Walsingham remaining in the librarie of I. Stephenson citizen of London, who so hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this letter to the pope he directed another to the peeres and prelats of France (he remaining yet at Gaunt) in tenour as followeth.

The king of Scots stirred vp against England by the French king.

The pope cause of the kings remouing out of France.

{Anno 1340}

The king of England taketh the title of France.

The letter of king Edward to the nobles and commons of France.

King Edward to the nobles and commons of France.

EDward by the grace of God king of France and of England, lord of Ireland. Vnto all prelats and the ecclesiastical persons, to the peeres, dukes, earles, barons, and to the commons of France, greeting. The high lord and king aboue, to whom although his will be in his owne power, yet would that power should be subiect vnto law: commanding euery thing to be giuen vnto him which is his, declaring thereby that iustice and iudgemẽt ought to be the preparation of the kings seat. Wherfore seeing the kingdome of France through the prouidence of God by the death of Charles last king of France of famous memorie, brother germane to our ladie mother, is fallen vnto vs by plaine and manifest law: And forsomuch that lord Philip de Valois, being the sonne of the vncle of the foresaid king, and so being farre from the crowne by a farther degree of consanguinitie; through force and vsurpation hath intruded himselfe in the foresaid kingdome (whilest wee were yet in our minoritie) and so contrarie both to God and to iustice doth detaine and occupie the same: And lest wee should seeme to neglect our owne right and the gift giuen vs of God, or not to submit our will to Gods ordinance: We haue thought good to acknowledge the title of France, and by supportation of the almightie king haue taken vpon vs the defence and regiment of the said kingdome: Firmely purposing with our selues (as euery good man ought to doe) graciously to minister iustice to euery one, according to the rites and laudable custome of the foresaid kingdome. Also to renew the good lawes and customes which haue been in the time of Ludouicke our progenitour, adding to moreouer, that which shall seeme expedient according

The title of France how it came to king Edward.

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according to the condition and qualitie of the time. As by any change of coine or any other inordinate exactions, wee intend not to seeke our profits by your detriments: when as (the Almightie be praised therefore) we abound and haue enough. And as concerning the affaires of the realme, our purpose is not to proceed rashly or by our owne will, but by the discreet aduice and counsell of the peeres, prelats, nobles, and other our faithfull subiects of the kingdome, so farre foorth as shall make for the honour of God, the defence and aduancement of the church (which in all fulnesse of deuotion wee doe reuerence) and to the profit both publike and priuate of all the subiects thereof, with full execution of iustice by the grace of God to bee executed vpon all and singuler persons, being earnestlie carefull for the honour, profit, and tranquillitie of you all. For as the Lord knoweth, nothing shall be more gratefull to vs, then that by our carefull solicitude, peace may bee engendred, specially betwixt vs and vniuersallie among all christian men: so that by our concord, the force and strength of all Christian princes may be ioyned together for the recouerie of the holy land: which our Sauiour and redeemer hath dedicated with his owne proper bloud, whereunto we will indeuor our selues through the grace of the holy Ghost. And for asmuch as wee haue offered to the foresaid lord Philip diuers friendly and reasonable conditions of peace, whereunto hee would neither condescend, neither agree to any conformation; yea rather mooueth against vs vniust warre, to the vttersubuersion of our state: we are inforced of necessitie to the vttermost of our power (for the defence both of vs, and recouery of our right) to defend our selues by force of battell: not seeking any slaughter of good and humble subiects, but desiring their safegard and profit.

Note the grossenes of this time when the bloud of Christ was thought but onlie dedicated to the holy land.

For the which cause, all and singuler such subiects of the kingdome of France, which shall submit themselues to vs as the true king of France, within the feast of Easter next ensuing: professing vnto vs their fealtie, and doing to vs as to the king of France, by dutie appertaineth, so as our beloued subiects of Flanders haue done alreadie, or be readie to offer themselues so to doe: all such we willingly admit and receiue to our peace and grace vnder our protection to bee defended, them to maintaine as is conuenient from all molestation and vnquietnesse whatsoeuer, in person or goods hereafter to bee inforced either by vs or by our officers, vpon whatsoeuer occasion of rebellion afore passed. And forasmuch as the premises cannot easily bee intimated to all and singuler persons: wee haue prouided the same to bee fixed vpon church doores and other publike places, whereby the manifest notice thereof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to vs deuout, and to the true information of them, which through sinister surmises of our enemies are otherwise informed of vs. Dated at Gaunt the 8. day of Februarie, the yeere of our kingdome of France the first, of England the 14.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the time serued, of farther doing good: the king thought best for a season to returne againe to England with his company, giuing ouer the warres vntill the next spring; and so did, taking shipping, and so arriued at Douer. When he came to London, it was declared vnto him, of the great spoile the Frenchmen had made at Southhampton: who answered againe, that within one yeere, hee doubted not the same to be well paid for and recompenced. And according to the same purpose of his, he lingred no time, but calling a parliament at Westminster, with much grudge and euill will of his subiects, was for the maintenance of his warres granted to him a great subsidie, which was the 5. of euery mans goods, and also the customes of his wools 2. yeeres before hand, and the 9. sheafe of euery mans corne. At the spring the king againe prepared his armie and rigged his nauie purposing to land in Flanders. But the archbi. of Cant. then lord Chancellor, hauing vnderstanding of the French power vpon the sea lying for the king, gaue him aduertisement thereof, willing him more stronglie to go, or else not to venture. But the king not crediting the archbishop, and being angrie with him therefore, said that hee would goe forward: whereupon the bishop resigned the chancellorship, and remoued himselfe from his councell: then the king consulting hereupon farther with the lord Morley his Admirall, and others (hearing also the same of them) furnished himselfe with stronger power, and committed him to his ship: and did so much, that a few daies before midsummer, he was vpon the sea with a great fleet. Before the towne of Sluse, the French king to stop his passage, had laid readie a great nauie, well neere to the number of 200. saile: and had made the Christopher of England (which before the Frenchmen took at Southhampton) their Admirall: betwixt which two nauies was a long and terrible fight. But in the end, the victorie by Gods grace fell to the king of England, in which fight he himselfe was personallie. So that of the number of thirtie thousand Frenchmen, few or none were left and escaped aliue, and two hundred saile of ships taken: in one of the which, were found 400. dead bodies.

Southhampton burnt and spoiled by the Frenchmen.

Counsell of the Archbishop giuen to the king.

Battell vpon the sea betweene king Edward and Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen beaten vpon the sea.

After this great slaughter of the Frenchmen (of whom manie for feare of the sword lept into the sea) when no man durst bring tidings thereof to the French king: they which were neere about the king, did suborne his foole, to insinuate the vnderstanding thereof by subtiltie of couert words, which was thus: As the foresaid foole being in the kings presence, and was talking of many things; among other talke, hee suddenly brast out (being prompt by others) into a vehement railing of the Englishmen, calling them cowards and dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The king not knowing whereunto the words of the foole did appertain; asked the foole, why he called the Englishmen such weaklings and cowards, &c. Why, saith the foole? Because the fearefull and cowardlie Englishmen had not the hearts to leape into the sea so lustilie, as our Normans, and gentlemen of France had. Whereby the French king began to vnderstand the victorie of his part to bee lost, and the English men to bee victorers.

The words of the foole to the French king.

This victorie atchieued, the fame thereof spreading abroad in England, first was not beleeued till letters thereof came from the king to prince Edward his son, being then at Walsham, directed to the bishops and prelats of the realme: the effect of which letters here followeth vnder written.

The letters of king Edward to the bishops of England.

THe bountifull benignitie of Gods great clemencie powred vpon vs of late, for your true certification, and reioycing wee thought good to intimat vnto you. It is not vnknown (we suppose) to you, and to other our faithfull subiects, which also haue been partakers with vs of the same, with what stormes of boysterous warres of late we haue been tossed and shaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the rising surges of the sea be maruellous, yet more maruellous is the Lord aboue: who turning the tempest into a calme, in so great dangers, so mercifully hath respected vs. For whereas we of late did ordaine our passage vpon vrgent causes, into Flanders: the lord Philip de Valoys our bitter enemie vnderstanding therof, laid against vs a mightie nauie of ships, intending thereby either to take vs, or at least to stop our voyage. Which voyage if it had been staid, it had been the cutting off of all the great enterprises by vs intended and taken in hand, and moreouer wee our selues brought to a great confusion. But the God of mercies seeing vs so distressed in such perils and dangers, hath graciously and beyond mans expectation sent to vs great succour and strength of fighting souldiers, and a prosperous wind after our owne desires. By the meanes and helpe whereof, wee set out of the hauen into the seas, where wee eftsoones perceiued our enemies well appointed and prepared with a maine multitude to set vpon vs, vpon midsummer day last past. Against whom notwithstanding, Christ our Lord and Sauiour hath rendred to vs the victorie, through a strong and vehement conflict. In the which conflict, a mightie number of our enemies were destroyed, and well neere all their whole Nauie was taken: with some losse also of our part, but nothing like in comparison to theirs. By reason whereof, we doubt not but our passage by the seas hereafter shall be more quiet and safe for our subiects, and also many other commodities shall ensue thereof, as wee haue good cause to hope well of the same. For which cause we deuoutly considering the heauenly grace so mercifullie wrought vpon vs, do render most humble thanks and praise to Christ our Lord and Sauiour. Beseeching him, that as he hath been and alwaies is readie to preuet our necessities in time of opportunitie, so he will continue his helping hand euer towards vs, and so to direct vs here temporally, that wee may raigne and ioy with him in heauen eternally. And in like sort we require your charitie that you also with vs rising vp to the praise of God alone, who hath begun so fauourablie to work with vs to our goodnesse, in your prayers and diuine seruice doe instantlie recommend vs vnto the Lord, trauelling here in these forren countries, and studying to recouer not onely our right here in France: but also to aduance the whole catholicke Church of Christ and to rule our people in iustice. And that also yee call vpon the clergie and people, euery one through his diocesse to doe the same, inuocating the name of our Sauiour, that of his mercie hee will giue to vs his humble seruant a docible heart, so to iudge and rule hereupon rightly, doing that which hee hath commanded: that at length wee may attaine to that which he hath promised, &c. Which letter was written to the bishops and prelats, an. 1340.

After this foresaid victorie vpon the sea, and newes thereof, with due thanks to our Sauiour, sent into England: the king striking into Flanders, came to Gaunt in Brabant where hee had left the queene, who ioyfully receiued him, being a little before purified or churched, as wee terme it, of her fourth sonne, whose name was John, and commonly called John of Gaunt, and was earle of Richmond, and duke of Lancaster. At Willenorth the king assembled his councell, whereat the noblemen of Flanders, Brabant and Heynalt conioyning together in most firme league the one to helpe and defend the other, with the king of England, against the French king, purposing and determining from thence to march toward Turney and it to besiege. But the French king vnderstanding their counsell, fortified and victualled the same before their comming thither. Furthermore the said French king the same time to stop the siege of king Edward, sent with king Dauid of

A councel at Willenorth.

Flanders, Brabant and Heinault take part with king Edward.

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of Scotland a great power, to that intent to make inuasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the king to remoue his siege. In the meane time while king Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Valoys, making vnto him certaine requests, as in the same his letters here following is to bee seene: who for that he wrote not vnto him as king of France, but by the name of Philip de Valous, refused to answer him touching the same, as by their letters here placed may be seene.

The letter of the king of England, to Philip de Valois, the French king, going to the siege of Turnie.

The letter of king Edward to the French king.

PHilip de Valois, of long time we haue gently requested you by our embassadors (by al the reasonable meanes we might) to that intent you should haue rendred vnto vs our lawfull right and inheritance to the crowne of France, which from vs a long time you haue by great wrong and force detained. And for that we well perceiue you meane to perseuere in the same your purpose and iniurious detinue, without making any reasonable answere to our demand: Wee let you vnderstand, that we are entred into the countrie of Flanders, as the soueraigne lord of the same, and so passe through the countrie. And further signifie vnto you, how that by the helpe of our Sauiour Iesus Christ and our righteous cause therein, and with the power of the said countrie, our people, and allies; we purpose to recouer the right which wee haue to that inheritance you detaine from vs by your iniurious force, and therefore approch we towards you to make a short end of this our rightfull challenge, if you also will doe the like. And for that so great an host assembled which wee bring with vs on our part (supposing you also on the other part to doe the like) cannot long remaine together without great destruction both to our people and countrie, which thing euery good Christian ought to eschew: especially Princes and others which haue the gouernment of the same, auoiding by as short an end as may be, the mortalitie of Christian men, according as the quarrell is apparant betweene you and me: For the which causes heere touched, let the challenge (if you thinke meet) betweene our owne persons and bodies be discussed, that the great nobility and prowesse of each other, may of euery one be seene. And if you refuse this way, then let there (to finish this challenge) be an hundred of the best souldiours you can chuse out of your part, matched with so many of our liege subiects to try the same. And if of these two waies you refuse both the one and the other, then that you wil assigne vnto vs a certaine day before the towne of Turney, to fight with vs power against power, which may be within ten daies next ensuing after the date of these our letters: offering the said conditions vnto you aboue specified (as we would all the world to know and vnderstand) not vpon any orgoile, presumption or pride wee take therein, but for the causes before alleaged, and to the end that (the will of our Sauiour Iesus Christ betwixt vs two herein declared and shewed) rest and peace might grow amongst Christian men: the power and force of Gods enemies abated: and in fine, the limites of Christianitie enlarged and enfranchised. And therefore hereupon consider with your selfe what way you will take concerning our foresaid offers, and by the bearers of these our letters send vnto vs herein quicke and speedie answere. Giuen vnder our great seale at Chyn in the plaine of Lécre the 27. day of this present month of July.

The answer of the lord Philip de Valois vnto the letter aforesaid.

The answere of the French king to king Edward.

PHilip by the grace of God, king of France, to Edward king of England. We haue seene the letters which you haue sent vnto our court to Philip de Valois, wherein are contained certaine requests which you make to the said Philip de Valois. But for that the said letters come not as directed vnto vs, neither yet the said requests seeme to bee made vnto vs (which thing clearely by the tenour of the said letters appeareth) wee therefore write vnto you no answere touching the same. Notwithstanding, this sufficeth, that we vnderstand by the said letters of yours, as also otherwaies, that you are entred into our realme of France, to the great damage both vnto vs, our realme and people (more proceeding of will, then reason) and not regarding that which a liegeman ought to doe vnto his lord. For you are entred into our homage by you lieged vnto vs, acknowledging your selfe, as reason is, a liege man vnto the king of France: and haue promised vnto vs such obeisance as men are wont to doe vnto their liege lords (as more plainely by your letters patents appeareth, ensealed with your great seale, the which wee haue with vs:) for the which thing wee will you to vnderstand; that our purpose is (when it shall seeme good vnto vs) to driue you out of our realme, to the honour both of vs and our kingdome, and to the profit and commoditie of our people. And this thing to doe wee haue firme and assured hope in Iesus Christ, from whom we haue al our power and strength. For, by your vnreasonable demand more wilfull then reasonable, hath been hindred and staied the holy voiage to those parts of beyond the seas, where a great number of Christian men haue been slaine: the diuine seruice diminished, and the seruice of the Church lesse reuerenced. And as touching that where you say, Ye intend to haue the obeisance of the Flemmings, wee thinke and beleeue that the good people and commons of that countrie will behaue themselues in such sort toward our cosin the Countesse of Flanders their Ladie, as it be not to their reproch; and to vs their soueraigne lord, they will respect their honour and loyaltie. And that thing wherein they haue done otherwise then well hitherto, hath bin by the euill counsell of such people, as neither regard the weale publike, nor honour of their countrie, but their owne onelie gaine and commoditie. Giuen in the field neere adioyning to the priorie of S. Andrew, vnder our priuie seale, in absence of our great seale, the 30. day of Iulie, Anno 1340.

The Scots inuade England.

Mention was made a little before of Dauid king of Scots, whom the French king had supported and stirred vp against the king and realme of England: which Dauid (with the aid of the Scots and Frenchmen) did so much preuaile, that they recouered almost againe all Scotland, which before hee had lost, and was constrained to line in the forrest of Gedworth many yeeres before. Then inuaded they England, and came with their armie, wasting and burning the countrie before them, till they came as far as Durham, and then returned againe into Scotland, where they recouered all their holds againe, saiuing the towne of Barwike. Edenborough they tooke by a stratagem or subtill deuice practised by Douglas and certaine other: who apparelling themselues in poore mens habits, as victuallers with corne, and prouender, and other things, demanded the porter earlie in the morning what need they had thereof. Who nothing mistrusting opened the outward gate, where they should tarrie till the captaine rose: and perceiuing the porter to haue the keies of the inward gate, threw downe their sackes in the outward gate, that it might not bee shut againe, and slew the porter, taking from him the keies of the towne. Then they blew their horne as a warning to the bands, which priuilie they had laid not farre off: who in hastie wise comming, and finding the gates readie opened entred vpon the sudden and killed as many as them resisted, and so obtained againe the citie of Edenborough.

Edenborough recouered from the Englishmen by the Scots.

The Scots thus being busie in England, the French king in the meane season gathered together a puissant power, purposing to remoue the siege from Turney: and among other, sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides diuers other noble men of France: insomuch that the French king had a great armie, and thought himselfe able enough to raise the siege, and thither bent his host. But the French king for al this his forelaid huge power and force, durst not yet so neere approch the king, as either to giue him battel, or else remoue his siege: but kept himselfe with his armie aloofe, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the king of England wasted, burnt, spoiled and destroyed the countrie, twentie miles in manner compasse about Tourney, and tooke diuers and sundrie strong townes and holds, as Dotois, Arses, Greney, Archies, Odint, S. Amand, and the towne of Lille, where he slew aboue three hundred men of armes, and about S. Omers, he slew and kild of noble men, the lord of Waskine, of Wauriselou, of Velie, of Chastillion, of Pellie, of Fenis, of Hamelar, of Mountfaucon, and other barons, to the number of fourteene, and also slew and killed aboue 130. knights, being all men of great possessions and prowesse, and tooke other small cities and townes to the number of three hundred: yet for all this, Philip de Valois the French king durst neither rescue his townes, nor relieue his owne men: but of his great armie he lost (which is to be maruelled at, being in the midst of his owne countrie) by famine and other inconueniences, and for want of water, more then twentie thousand men without any battell by him giuen. Whereupon at the treatie of the said Philip by his embassadors to the king sent, and by the mediation of the ladie Jane, sister to the said Philip, and mother to the earle of Henault, whose daughter king Edward, as you heard, had maried: a truce containing the number of fifteene articles for one yeere was concluded, the king of England being very vnwilling and loath thereunto. Yet notwithstanding, partlie by the instance of the foresaid ladie, but speciallie for that the king was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his officers in England, which sent him not ouer such monie as hee needed for the continuance of his warres and paiment of his souldiers wages (the articles being somewhat reasonable) hee agreeth to the truce thereof: the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow vnder written.

Tourney besieged.

Articles of truce.

1 First, that during the said truce, no tales or mistrust of either part shall bee a detriment or cause of breach of the same.

2 Item, that during the said respite or truce, either of the princes, their helpers, coadiutors and allies whatsoeuer, shall remaine and bee in the quiet possession of all such possessions, holds, territories and lands, as at this present day, they keepe and enioy within the realme and Dominion of France, in what manner soeuer they haue atchieued the same, during the said truce.

3 Item, that the said princes, their aiders, coadiutors, and allies

allies whatsoeuer; shall passe safely from one countrie to an other, and all merchants with their merchandise, as well by sea as by land, as accustomable they haue been wont: except such banished men as haue been banished out of the said realmes, or any of them for other causes, then the warres betweene the said princes.

4 Item, that the said two princes shall not procure either by themselues or any other, any practise or other molestation to be made the one to the other, by the bishop of Rome or any other belonging to the holy church whatsoeuer: either for the warres begun, or any other cause, nor for the seruice of any of their allies, coadiutors, and aiders, or any of them. And that our holy father the pope nor any other, shall disturb or molest either of the said two kings during the said time.

5 Item, that immediatly after the truce bee proclaimed in both the hosts, that they may stand bound of either side, to keepe and obserue all and euery such article as shall be therein contained.

6 Item, that within 20 daies next and immediatly ensuing, each of the princes shall cause to bee proclaimed in Gascoyne and Guyen, and other their lands these articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better obserued, kept and knowne.

7 Item, if by any the said princes, their allies, people or coadiutours, any siege beee laid in Gascoyne, or the Duchy of Guyen or any other illes of the sea Gierneseye or Gersey, or any other: that the same sieges be raised so soone as they shall heare of this truce.

8 Item, that such as are theeues and fugitiues out of the countrie of Flanders, shall not returne during the truce: and if they do, that then such as apprehend them, shall see suffice done vpon them, and forfeit all the goods they haue in Flanders.

9 Item, it is recorded, that the debts due to Arras, Tresponois, or other titles of France, shall neither bee demanded, nor executed during the said truce.

10 Item, that all such prisoners as haue been taken during these wars, shall be released out of prison and sent home vpon their faith and oth to returne, if they bee not ransomed during the said truce. And if any shall refuse so to doe, that then the Lord vnder whom hee is, shall constraine him to returne againe to prison.

11 Item, that all the bands whatsoeuer they be, which be made before this said truce in the time of war (whether they be of goods spirituall or temporall) be released without restitution, during the said truce.

12 Also, that these conditions of truce immediatly may take effect betweene the English and Scots, their lords, aiders, and allies: and the same to endure vntill the natiuitie of saint John Baptist. And that certaine persons bee appointed by a certaine day to be at the marshes of England and Scotland to confirme the said truce, vnder such conditions as haue been accustomed in those parts. And if the said Scots refuse so to doe, that then they to haue no aid out of France, during the said truce.

13 Item, that this said truce bee proclaimed in England, and in Scotland, within 26 daies after the date thereof.

14 Item, it is accorded that within this truce be contained Espaynels, Chatellon, Geneuous, the bishop and the towne of Cambrey, and castles of the same, &c.

In witnesse whereof, we John by the grace of God king of Bohemia, and earle of Luxemburge, Adolph bishop of Liege, Raoule duke of Lozeine, Aymes earle of Sauoy, and John earle of Darminacke on the one partie: And B. duke of Brabant, C. duke of Gelre, D. marques of Juliers, sir John of Henault, and sir Beawmount on the other partie, betwixt the high and puissant princes of France and England; haue sealed this instrument of truce and peace, and deliuered the same accordingly in the church of Esploteline, on monday the 25 day of September, the yeare of grace 1340.

R. Edward returneth from Tourney.

The king deceiued by his officers.

No bishop must be imprisoned by the popes law.

Couetous officers.

This truce thus finished, king Edward brake vp his camp, remouing his siege from Tourney, and came againe to Gant. From whence (very early in the morning) hee with a small companie tooke shipping, and by long seas came to the tower of London, very few or none hauing vnderstanding thereof. And being greatly displeased with diuers of his counsell and high officers (for that through their default hee was constrained against his will, not hauing money to maintaine his wars, to condescend vnto the forsaid truce) he commanded to be apprehended and brought vnto him to the tower, the L. John Stonhore chiefe iustice of England, and sir John Poultney with diuers others. And the next morning, hee sent for the lord R. bishop of Chichester and the lord Wake, the lord treasurer and diuers other such that were in authoritie and office, and commanded them all to be kept as prisoners in the said tower, only the said bishop excepted: whom for feare of the constitution of pope Clement, which commanded that no bishop should bee by the king imprisoned, hee set at libertie and suffered him to goe his way, and in his place substituted sir Roger Bourcher knight, lord chancellor of England.

The historie intreating of this matter, reporteth thus: that the king had at this time vnder him euill substitutes, and couetous officers: who attending more to their own gaine then to the publike honour and commoditie of the realme, left the king destitute & naked of mony. With which crime also John Stratford archbishop then of Canturburie, was vehemently noted and suspected, whether of his true deseruing, or by the setting on of other, hereafter shall more appeare. Insomuch that the king ardently incensed against him, charged him with great falshood vsed against his person, as by these his letters written and directed to the deane and chapter of Pauls against the said archbishop manifestly appeareth; the tenor of which letter here followeth vnder written.

Jhon Stratford archbishop of Cant.

Edward by the grace of God king of England and *France, and lord of Ireland: To his welbeloued in Christ* the deane and chapter of the church of S. Paul *in London, greeting in the Lord.*

The kings letter to the deane and chapter of Pauls.

IT is manifest by ancient histories, but more plainely appeareth by those which daily are practised amongst vs; that many men abusing (through pride) the fauour of princes, and honour bestowed vpon them, haue maliciously gone about to depraue the laudable endeuour of kings. And now that the words which we speake may be more manifest vnto our subiects; wee suppose that neither you nor they haue forgotten, that wee being established in our kingly throne in yonger yeares, and coueting euen then to guide this our regall charge taken vpon vs with wholesome counsels, haue called vnto vs Iohn the bishop of Winchester, now archbishop of Canturbuie, whom we supposed for his fidelitie and discretion to exceed others: whose counsell in matters appertaining vnto the health of our soule, as in matters also respecting the augmenting & conseruation of our kingdome both spiritually and temporally we vsed: he was receiued of vs into all familiaritie. We found in him also such humanitie, that he was saluted by the name of father, and of all next vnto the king had in honor. Now afterwards, when by right of succession the kingdome of France should haue descended vnto vs, and was by violent iniurie by the lord Philip of Valois holden from vs: the said archbishop by his importune instancy perswaded vs to enter league of amity with the princes of Almaine, against the said Philip, and to commit our selfe and ours vnto the hazard of warres, promising and affirming that he would bring to passe, that the reuenewes of our lands and other helpes by him deuised, should suffice abundantly for the maintenance of our said warres. Adding moreouer that our onely care should bee for the furniture of strong and able souldiers, such as were fit for the purpose, and expert in warfare: for the rest, he himselfe would effectually procure, for money conuenient to suffice our necessitie, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (intending great exploits) wee conueied our army beyond the seas, and with maruellous great charges (as behoued) we set forward: wee became also bound in great summes of money, making sure account of the aide aforesaid promised vnto vs. But alasse, vnhappie is that man that reposeth confidence in mans deceitfull staffe of brittle reed: whereunto (as saith the prophet) if a man leane, it breaketh and pearceth the hand. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for subsidie, for very necessitie sake, wee were constrained to take vpon vs importable charges of debts by grieuous vsurie. And so, our expedition being stayed, we were compelled to retire into England, desisting from our enterprises so valiantly begun. Now when we were returned into England, we laid before our archbishop our manifold calamities and misfortunes before rehearsed, and thereupon called a parliament: wherein the prelats, noble men and other the faithfull subiects of our dominions, granted vnto vs a new subsidie of corne, lambe, woll, &c: besides the tenth granted by the clergie: which subidie (if it had been faithfullie collected and obtained in due time) had greatly auailed for the expedition of our said warres, the paiment of our debts, and confusion of our enemies. Our said archbishop promised diligently to doe his endeuour, as well in collecting the same, as also in procuring other necessaries to serue to our purpose. Whereupon trusting vnto these faire promises, hauing all things in a readinesse, both men and furnished ships, we made saile toward Flanders, and by the way vpon the dangerous seas buckled with our enemies (sworn to the destruction of our English nation) of whom we triumphed and were victors, not by our merits (their multitude farre exceeding ours) but by the mercifull clemencie of him that ruleth both wind and sea. Which being done, wee passed from thence with a mightie power for the recouerie of our right, and pitched our tents neere vnto the puissant citie of Tourney: where being detained for a time in the siege thereof, wearied with continuall toile, our charges still encreasing, awaiting with silence our promised aid; day by day wee hoped from our archbishop to receiue succour in these our so great necessities. At length being frustrate of all conceiued hope, we signified vnto our said Archbishop, and other his adherents, by diuers messengers and sundrie letters, our great necessity and perils which we were in for lacke of the said subsidy granted vnto vs. We added also the vtilitie and honour, which we saw might bee atchieued if we had receiued money in time. All this notwithstanding, we receiued from them no succour at all, for that, preferring their priuat businesse and proper commodities, they cloaked their sloth, or rather (as I may

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call it, their fraud and malice with vaine excuſes, and painted gloſing words, like vnto the deceitfull, which (as ſaith Eſay) vſe to deride with theſe words: Manda remanda, &c.

By meanes whereof (alaſſe for ſorrow) it came to paſſe, that whiles good hope of ſubduing our enemies graciouſlie ſmiled vpon vs, we were conſtrained (penurie preuailing againſt vs) to take truce to our ſhame, the hinderance of our expedition, and no ſmall reioycing of our euill willers: and ſo we returned into Flanders all voide of money, oppreſſed with infinite debts, neither had we in our treaſuries wherewith to diſcharge our neceſſities, nor yet to pay our ſouldiers wages: inſomuch, that we were compelled to enter into the deuouring gulfe of vſurie, and to ſuſtaine on our ſhoulders great burthens of debts, heape vpon heape. This being done, our faithfull friends, companions in wars, and partakers of our tribulations came vnto vs, with whom wee conſulted diligently by what meanes wee might beſt deliuer our ſelues from this dangerous ſtorme of euill fortune. They all agreed, affirming certainely, that the protracting of our warres, and cauſe of our manifold neceſſitie happened vnto vs through the fault and negligence (or rather the malice) of the ſaid archbiſhop (vpon whoſe diſcretion the diſpoſition of the whole kingdome ſeemed to depend) and other officers whom wee had adioyned in counſell with him touching the affaires of our kingdome: vehemently ſwearing and murmuring amonſt themſelues (for that we had left ſo long vncorrected the inſolencie of the biſhops and other officers) that if remedie in theſe caſes were not had with ſpeed; they would withdraw themſelues from our allegiance, and the couenant which they had ſworne vnto: to the vtter ſubuerſion of our kingdome, our perpetuall ignominie, and the euerlaſting ſhame of our Engliſh nation (which God our moſt mercifull father forbid ſhould come to paſſe in our daies, in whom is fixed immoueablie the anchor of our hope.) Whereupon intending the due correction of our officers, wee remoued from offices (as ſeemed good to our wiſedome) diuers perſons, whom we ſuſpected in cauſes euident of euill adminiſtration of iuſtice, of ſubuerſion, and oppreſſion of our ſubiects, of corruption, of bribes, and other hainous offences. Others alſo of inferiour degree offending in the premiſſes, wee cauſed to bee deteined in ſafe cuſtodie, leſt by their libertie, iuſtice might be troden vnder foote, and the inquiſition of the truth concerning the premiſſes not to come to light. Foraſmuch therfore as the knowledge of the truth in theſe caſes might of none more certainely bee knowne, then from the ſecret breſt of our ſaid archbiſhop, for that nothing pertaining to our information ought to lie hid from him, vnto whom of ſo long a time had beene committed the adminiſtration of our whole common-weale, and ſumme of our buſineſſe: We ſent vnto him our faithfull ſubiect Nicolas de Cantilupe with ſpeciall commandements from vs (all delaies ſet apart) that he ſhould forthwith make his perſonall appearance before vs at our citie of London. But he (as one alwaies timorous as well in proſperitie as in aduerſitie, and fearing where no feare was) vntruely alleageth that ſome of our aſſiſtants had threatned him, and laid waite for his life, if at any time he departed from the church of Cant. which (God wee take to witneſſe and a pure conſcience) wee neuer meant nor any of our aſſiſtants.

Archbishop of Cant. falſe to the king.

Euill officers displaced by the king.

We ſuppoſe he touched thereby our coſin, although to all other as well of the clergie as comminaltie through his malicious miſdemeanours he was become odious.

Archbishop of Cant. odious to all the clergie.

Wherefore, intending the ſafegard of our ſubiects by letters or otherwiſe called before vs, we appointed our truſtie and welbeloued Ralfe Stafford our harbinger, to offer vnto him ſafe conduct: and moreouer to preſent vnto him our letters patents vnder our ſeale, willing and commanding him thereby againe perſonallie to come before vs, that we might bee informed what of ſo long a time he had done touching the affaires of the kingdome. Wherunto, contemning our commandement and gentle requeſt, he anſwereth, that neither he would in perſon appeare, neither yet in any matter conferre with vs, except it were in a full parliament, which for diuers reaſonable cauſes could not then be called. Thus may you ſee this archb. (whom our royall benignitie had amplified with large honours, admitted into all familiaritie, receiued into the bond of vnanimitie and friendſhip, vpon whom as on a father our whole hope did conſiſt; who, ſo long as wee accompliſhed his will in all things, pretended towards vs a face of counterfeit loue cloaked with diſſembling beneuolence, euen as though hee had been a louing father;) how cruelly againſt reaſon he hath now forſaken vs, requiting benefits with ingratitude, oppreſſing his benefactour with the arrogancie of feare: and finally (according to the vulgar prouerbe) rewarded vs as a horſe in a ſatchell, a ſnake in a mans boſome, and fire cheriſhed next the skinne, rewardeth their receiuers. When we were firſt exalted vnto the throne of our kingdome, deſcended vnto vs by right of inheritance (Gods diuine prouidence ſo working) wee thought, and alwaies thinke it, a deteſtable thing to abuſe ſo high authoritie, but rather deſire to gouerne with clemencie, lenitie, and moderation of iuſtice, that peace, of all men deſired, might firmely take place.

The archb. of Cant. denieth to come to the king.

The archb. charged with diſſembling, and ingratitude.

Neuertheleſſe, our ſaid archbiſhop hath gone about to defame our innocencie, and the fidelitie and diligence of our faithfull counſellers proſecutours of true iuſtice: openly declaring in his letters patents, and publiſhing abrode in diuers places, that he was oppreſſed by the kings power contrarie to iuſtice, the clergie and comminaltie confounded, and the church ouercharged with diuers grieuous taxes and exactions. He ſubtillie vſurped the name of a good paſtor, when indeed hee was nothing leſſe, but rather (as it ſhould ſeeme by his owne confeſſion, & the common opinion had of him) a very hireling. He cloaked his craftie ſubtilneſſe with the zeale of defending the church, although he himſelfe in verie deed was the onely cauſe by his euill counſell and craftie deuiſes, of the tribulation of the ſame. He alſo fained that not long agoe, certaine writings were brought vnto him to be ſealed, containing in effect the defence and excuſation of all ſuch ingenerall that were violaters of the liberties of the church: hoping thereby to defame the opinion had of vs and our faithfull counſellors, to ſtirre vp ſedition amongſt the people, and finally to withdraw from vs the hearts of our nobilitie. Hee gaue commandement by his letters, that theſe things ſhould bee proclaimed in all places of great reſort by diuers ſpeciall articles contrarie to his former order in his prouinciall councell. Wherefore, reſpecting the integritie of our fame, intending to preuent the malice of the ſaid archbiſhop, and alſo to decline from vs the ſnares prepared for vs and ours: we haue thought good at this preſent (ouer and beſides thoſe which before are rehearſed) amongſt ſo many which wee omit, to declare vnto you ſome of his peruerſe and wicked acts. When in our minoritie wee were conſtituted ouer our dominions, hee cauſed vs through his vnaduiſed counſell and raſh perſuaſion (thereby to winne exceſſiue fauour) to giue away ſo many waſtfull gifts, and ſo many vnlawfull alienations, that now by meanes thereof our treaſurie is cleane conſumed, the reuenewes of our exchequer without all order diminiſhed, and he corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes alſo without cauſe why, when neither neceſſitie nor vtilitie ſo required, onely through his perſuaſion, wee forgaue diuers men great ſummes of money due vnto vs, yea and the rents and reuenewes which ought to haue beene conſerued for our neceſſitie and profit, wee applied to the vſe of his friends, largely beſtowing vpon ſuch as euill deſerued it. Moreouer (accepting as well perſons as money) contrarie to our mind, and his oth of fidelitie made vnto vs; hee admitted vnto publique offices throughout our dominions, perſons vnworthie, neglecting thoſe that had well deſerued. Many other things he raſhly tooke in hand, to the detriment of our ſtate, the hurt of our dignitie royall, and no ſmall damage of our ſubiects, by abuſing his authoritie and office committed vnto him. But if hee perſiſt in his proud obſtinacie and ſtout rebellion, wee ſhall hereafter in conuenient time and place, cauſe it to be more openly knowen: willing and commanding you to publiſh and cauſe to be publiſhed, all and ſinguler the premiſſes openly and diſtinctly in places where you ſhall thinke it expedient, and to ſet forth (as ſhall ſeeme beſt to your godly wiſedomes) our good intent for the ſuppreſſing of incommodities, and furthering of the commodities of our ſubiects, that wee may worthilie commend your circumſpect care herein.

The archb. defamer of the king.

The archb. abuſeth his office.

Teſte me ipſo apud Weſtm. 16. die Februa. Anno regni noſtri Angliæ 15. Regni verò Franciæ ſecundo.

By theſe foreſaid obiections and accuſations of the king premiſed, and laid againſt the archbiſhop of Canturburie; what is to be thought of the doings of the ſaid archbiſhop, I leaue it to thy iudgement, gentle reader (as I ſaid before) to be conſected: Forſomuch as our hiſtories ſomewhat bearing with the ſaid archbiſhop, ſeeme either to bee vncertaine of the truth of the matter, or elſe couertly to diſſemble ſome part of that they knew. And eſpecially of Polydor Virgil, I marueil, who hauing ſo good occaſion to touch the matter, doth ſo ſleightly paſſe it ouer without any word of mention. In which matter if probable coniecture (beſide hiſtorie) might here be heard, it is not vnlike but that ſome old practiſe of prelats hath herein been put in vre, through ſome craftie conſpiracie betweene the pope and the archbiſhop. And the rather to bee gathered, for that as the pope was enemie vnto the king in this his challenge to the crowne of France: ſo the archbiſhop againſt his prince (as for the moſt part alwaies they haue been) was a friend, as no man needs to doubt thereof, vnto the pope. Which thing alſo more probablie may be ſuppoſed, becauſe of the comming downe of the two cardinals the ſame time, from the pope to the king of England, about the matter of further truce: whereof (Chriſt willing) more hereafter ſhall follow. Albeit, the archbiſhop (this yet notwithſtanding) ſubtilly and feately excuſeth himſelfe to the king of the foreſaid obiections, and cunningly handleth the matter in words by his letter directed to the king as followeth.

The letter of the archbiſhop of *Canturburie to the king.*

The letter of the archb. to the king.

REdoubted Sir, may it pleaſe your maieſtie to vnderſtand, that the moſt chiefe and ſpeciall thing that keepeth kings and princes in the fauour of God, and beſt preſerueth them in their eſtate; is ſage, wiſe, and deliberate counſell. And therfore faith

saith the wise man, concerning counsell in this wise: Good men haue thereby their safetie. And it is written in the booke of kings, how Salomon, which was the wisest prince that euer was, tooke vnto him the most ancient and sage men of his realme to be his counsellours: by whose aduisement and discretion, hee alwaies kept the land of Israel in quiet, and in peace, and besides that had all other kings and princes that bordered vpon him at his will and commandement. After whose death reigned Roboham his sonne, who neglecting the good counsell of his father, and good aduice of his sage and discreet counsellours; hearkened to such counsell as lighter and yonger men persuaded him vnto, that sought rather how to please and flatter him, then the quiet state of his realme: whereby he lost all the whole land of Israel, the 12. part only excepted. In like maner haue many kings of Israel and other kingdomes beside, by rash and euill counsell come to great ruine and mischiefe. And Sir (sauing your princely patience) you may call to remembrance your owne time; for by the wicked and sinister counsell to our late soueraigne lord your father giuen (whom God forgiue) which hee tooke and followed, both against the law of his land, and grand chapter of the peeres and other his people of the land: some hee put to shamefull death, from other some he tooke their goods, and such as fled, hee put vnto their ransome, and what enemies hee purchased thereby, your grace well vnderstandeth. And after this Sir, you know, (euen in your owne time) how by following and beleeuing ouer light counsell; you your selfe lost the hearts of many of your subiects, from the which God deliuer you, if it be his will. And after that time againe vntill now, by the good aduisements of your prelats, peeres and sage counsellours of your land, your graces businesse and affaires haue beene so demained and ordered; that you haue had the hearts againe of all your subiects, as well spirituall as temporall, as much or rather more, then any of your graces predecessours, kings of England haue had. So that by meanes of the said good counsell, the good will and aid of your people, and speciall grace of God; you haue had the victorie of all your enemies, as wel in Scotland as in France, and all other places besides: that vnto this day (Gods name be blessed therefore) your grace hath beene esteemed as one of the most noble princes in all christendome. And now your grace (by the euill and peruerse counsell of some such within the realme, which are not so wise as they might bee, and such also as consider and respect rather their owne priuate commoditie, then your graces honor and safetie of your realm) beginneth to apprehend diuers clerkes, peeres, and other people of the land, and to direct processe against them, not beseeming, but contrarie to the law of the land, which to keepe and maintaine you are bound by the oth you tooke at your coronation; and contrarie to the grand charter, whereof all the realme are witnesses, and all the prelates of the same, and contrarie to the sentence confirmed by the Bul of our holy father the pope, which wee haue to shew. All which things, as they are to the great perill and danger of your soule: so are they also to the vtter debasing of your regall state and honour. And Sir, although such as bee your graces gouernours and counsellors (being a calling aboue their degree) doe giue your grace to vnderstand that their enterprises and yours doe please and content your subiects and commons: yet your grace shall know for certeine, and proue it your owne selfe to be farre otherwise, then that they beare you in hand. And that vnlesse God doe remedie the same, if you prosecute your purpose begun in this order, you will leese the hearts of all your subiects, as also your good and rightfull enterprise; and shall see such discord about the same, that you shall not be able to performe that you haue begun, but rather enforce your enemies to seeke your destruction, to lose your noble and renowmed fame, and in the end your kingdome it selfe, which God forbid. Wherefore soueraigne lord and king, I beseech you, that for the safegard of your honour and realme, and enterprise begun, that you will take vnto you the most discreet and wisest men within your realme, and worke by their aduice and counsell, as before this time you haue beene accustomed: without the aide and counsell of whom you can neither maintaine your enterprise, nor gouerne your realme. And for that some such as are about your grace falsely deuise against vs, treason and such like troubles (and therefore are of vs excommunicate, and as persons excommunicate doe so esteeme of them) as your spirituall pastour, wee also desire you so to esteeme and thinke of them, which also make like report of other that haue beene with your grace beyond the seas, that they haue naughtilie and falslie serued you, whereby you haue lost the towne of Tourney and much honour else, which you might haue won and gotten there. May it please your grace to call before you, the prelats and peeres of your realme in some conuenient place, where we and other moe, may safely come and resort, and there also to make search and inquirie, in whose hands after the beginning of your warres, the money and what things else so euer which was granted vnto you in aide of the same your warres, vntill this present day, doth remaine and is not laid out againe, as also by whose default you were so enforced to leaue the said siege of Tourney: and those which shall be found in any point faultie and guiltie therein against you, as a good iusticer, your grace will cause to be punished according to the law: and insomuch as appertaineth vnto vs therein, wee aske iudgement of our peeres (the state alwaies of holy church, of vs, and of our order reserued inuiolate) according as wee haue written vnto you herein. And for Gods sake sir, beleeue not either of vs or any other your true subiects else, more then that you shall vnderstand the veritie of; for if men should bee punished without making answere to that, which is obiected against them, there should be then no difference in iudgement betwixt the good doer and the bad.

Good counsellers necessary about a king.

And sir, may it please you well to consider, of the great enterprise you haue in hand, the great good will which you haue neede of for this cause, and of your great enemies the Scots, and the great ieopardie of your realme besides. For, if your prelats, your nobles, and all the wisemen of your realme, were of one mind and will (without any discord or diuision amongst them) to dispose and set in order those things which are needfull in so great affaires and busines: they should haue all enough to beate their heads about, for the maintenance of your great enterprise begun, the honour of you, and safegarde of your realme. And sir, may it please your grace, not to be displeased that so rudely and grosslie we declare vnto you the veritie: for why, the great loue and affection which wee beare vnto you, and alwaies haue done the same; the preseruation of your honour and safegard of your realme; as also for that wee are (although vnworthie) the primate of the whole realme of England, which thing appertaining vnto vs by our office, and being your spirituall father, doth incite vs the rather both to say and command that which may turne to the benefit of your soule and profit of your realme and kingly estate. Thus the holy spirit saue you both body and soule, and giue your grace both to heare and beleeue good counsell, and further giue you victorie ouer all your enemies. Written at Cant. the 1. day of Ianuarie. By your graces chaplen the archbishop of the same.

And thus stood the case betweene the king and the archbishop of Canturburie, who comming thus (as is said) in secret wise into England, from the siege of Turney, his armie in the meane while by ships was conueied to little Britaine. Of whom a great number, through vnseasonable and inconuenient meats and drinks, was there consumed. To whom also no lesse danger happened by the seas comming out of Britaine into England by tempest, thunder and lightening stirred vp, as is thought, by the Necromancers of the French king.

The returne of the kings armie from Toutney.

About which season, approching to the yeare of our Lord 1341. were sent from the pope two other cardinals to entreate with king Edward for three yeeres truce to be concluded more with the French king, beside the former truce taken before for one yeare, and all by the popes meanes. For here is to bee vnderstood, that as it was not for the popes purpose to haue the king of England to reigne ouer so many countries, so his priuie supportation lacked not by all meanes possible, both by the archbishops and cardinals, and also by the emperor to maintaine the state of the French king, and to stablish him in his possessions. Ex Tho. Walsing. ex chron. Albanens.

Anno 1341

Truce taken for three yeares betweene king Edward and the French K.

In the said histories where these things bee mentioned, it is also noted, that the same yeare such plentie there was here in the realme of victuals, that a quarter of wheate was sold for ii.s. a fat ore for a noble, and as some say, a sheepe for iiij.d. And thus far endureth the historie of Ranulphus Cestrensis **called** Polychronicon.

The next yeare following, which was 1342. Ludouicus Bauarus the emperor, who before had shewed great courtesie to king Edward, as in his first voyage ouer, insomuch that he made him his vicar or Vicegerent generall, and offered him also aide against the French king: now (either turned by inconstancie, or seduced by the pope) writeth to him contrarie letters, wherein he reuoketh againe the Vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh all meanes in the fauor of the French king, against king Edward: as by his letters here vnder written may better appeare.

Anno 1342

The letter of the emperor vnto the king of England.

LVdouicus by the grace of God emperour of the Romans alwaies Augustus, &c. To Edward king of England his beloued brother, greeting and vnfained loue. Although great and vrgent busines of our owne do oppresse vs, and about the same our waightie affaires are daily incumbred, yet with the discord and variance betweene your kingly dignity and the renowmed Philip the king of France our cosin, for your sake we are not a little troubled. And the rather, the great charges which may hereafter grow both to you and to your kingdome thereby considered, both of men and money, vnlesse the same bee taken vp; doth more earnestly prouoke vs to giue our selfe to the carefull studie of your affaires. Wherefore we giue you to vnderstand, that the foresaid Philip (at our request) hath giuen vnto vs by his letters, authoritie and power to intreat and conclude a peace betweene you, touching the variance begun: which peace (all the state diligently considered both of your selfe, your kingdome and subiects) we take and beleeue to bee right expedient for you: mouing therewithal your charity, and

Excommunication in his owne priuate cause abused.

earnestly desiring you, that to this also you will giue your consent; whereby we may bring you both to concord and vnitie, and establish betweene you a firme peace to endure, wherunto with willing mind we would applie our selfe and bestow our paineful labour in prosecuting of the same. And herein if you will condescend and agree vnto our counsell, as wee trust you will; it may please you by your letters to giue vnto vs the like authoritie as is aboue said, to entreate peace or ordering of a truce for one yeare or two at least to continue. Neither let it moue you, that betweene vs and the said Philip of France a truce is taken. For seeing that you without our consent tooke truce with him: we by the aduice of our princes which know the bonds, deeds, and couenants betwixt vs, who also thought no lesse, but that sauing your honour we might doe the same; haue also made a league with the said Philip king of France: and for certaine causes doe reuoke and call backe the Lieutenantship which we assigned vnto you by our letters. Neuertheless giuing you for a certaine to vnderstand, that in our said treaties and peace concluded, we haue so brotherly considered you, that if you will agree and condescend vnto our counsell; your cause (by our meane and helpe) shall bee brought to good passe and effect. About which things further to conferre with your brotherhood herein, we haue sent a deuout and religious man Eliarhardus, reader and brother of the Heremites of saint Augustine, and chapleine of our court: whom about the premisses, we desire with speedie expedition to bee sent vnto vs againe. Dated at Franckford the 14. day of Iune in the 24. yeare of our reigne, and 14. of our empire.

The answere of the king of England, *to the emperour.*

TO the high and mightie prince lord Ludouike, by the grace of God, emperour of the Romans, alwaies Augustus, Edward by the same grace king of France, and England, and lord of Ireland: salutation and prosperous successe.

We haue reuerentlie receiued your highnes letters, amongst other things containing, that the noble Philip de Valois (to the intent a peace and concord betweene vs and him might bee concluded) hath giuen vnto you by his letters full power and authoritie thereunto at your highnesse request: And that if the same might content vs to do in like sort, your highnesse would trauell to bring the concord to passe: And that it would not moue vs any whit at all, that your highnesse and the said Philip are in league together. For insomuch as wee without your assent and consent (you say) tooke truce with the said Philip, you haue also done the like with him (which thing you might well doe sauing your honour, by the counsell of all your nobles and princes:) and for certaine causes reuoke againe the Lieutenantship which you committed vnto vs. Doubtlesse, the zeale and good will you haue to make this concord and agreement, wee much commend; letting you to vnderstand, that we alwaies haue beene desirous, and still are, to haue a reasonable peace with the said Philip; which peace, as much as to vs (our honour saued) appertained, wee haue in iustice and by law prosecuted: and in very deed, it should bee to vs acceptable, and as we would wish, if by such a Mediator as your celsitude is, it might bee brought to passe. But forasmuch as wee vnderstand the same our right and title to the kingdome of France, to be manifest and cleere enough; wee purpose not to cõmit the same by any of our letters to doubtfull arbitrement. But while we well consider and reuolue with our selues, how your highnesse vpon circumspect consideration (manifestly beholding our iust and rightfull doing, and the strait dealing and obstinate purpose and iniurie of the said Philip) with vs and in our behalfe against the said Philip, your graces highnesse made a speciall league, adopting vs of your great and bountifull loue towards our person to be one of your sonnes: wherefore thus againe to alter and breake the same, we cannot sufficiently maruell. Seeing your inuincible highnes being instituted of God to the laud and commendation of good men, and reuenge of euill and wicked doers, hath made a league against vs with the said Philip de Valois our notorious and iniurious enemie. And as touching that which you say, without your assignement and consent wee tooke a truce or daies of respit with the said Philip, which wee ought not to haue done: if your grace well consider the circumstance of the matter, we haue done but as we might therein. For when wee laid our siege to Tourney, it was requisite wee followed their aduice, whose aid and societie therein we had. Besides the sudden and imminent necessitie which we there stood in, and the distance of the place betwixt your highnes and vs furthermore was such, as that by no meanes we might attaine the same, nor vse your assent therein. Yea and further, if your grace well remember your selfe, your grant vnto vs was such; that whensoeuer opportunitie thereunto should serue, wee might intreate of any peace, and grant what time we thought meet thereunto, without your consent therein: So that to conclude any finall peace with the said Philip de Valois, without either your consent or otherwise making your highnesse priuie thereunto, it might not bee lawfull for vs; which thing without your said counsell, consent and aduice, we neuer minded or purposed to do: but haue in all our doings done that which vs beseemed, so farre as by any meanes our power would stretch: hoping likewise, that your brotherlie beneuolence for a time would haue more louingly supported vs. It is thought also by some, that the reuoking backe againe, or restraint of your foresaid Lieutenantship, was prematurate or done all out of time: when as according to your promise made to vs herein by your letters imperial, you ought not so to haue done before the realme and kingdome of France (or at the least the greatest part thereof) were of vs obtained & quietly in peaceable wise enioyed. These premised therefore we desire you, according to your nobilitie duly to consider, & hereafter to do that which shall be thought both meet and conuenient, because that (God willing) wee meane to recompence and gratifie both you and yours, according to the measure of your beneuolence bestowed vpon vs. The almightie grant vnto your celsitude so much felicitie as your heart desireth. Dated at London the 18. day of Iulie in the 2. yeare of the reigne of our kingdome of France, and of England 15.

In this meane time died pope Benedict the 12. mentioned a little before: after whom succeeded in that roome pope Clement the 6. Of whom it is reported in stories, that he was very liberall and bountifull to his cardinals of Rome, enriching and heaping them with goods and possessions, not of his owne, but with the ecclesiasticall dignities and preferments of the churches of England. For so recordeth the author, that he bestowed vpon his cardinals the liuings and promotions, such as were or should be vacant in the churches of England, and went about to set vp new titles for his cardinals, heere within this realme. But the king being offended therewith, made void and fruitrat al those foresaid prouisions of the pope, charging moreouer and commanding no person whatsoeuer, to busie himselfe with any such prouisions, vnder paine of presentment and losing his life. Which law was made the next yeare following, which was Anno 1344.

Pope Clement 6.

Ex Chron. Albanens.

The king disanulleth the popes prouisions.

It followed then, that the said pope Clement, againe began to make new prouisions for two of his cardinals of benefices and churches that should be next vacant, beside bishoprickes and abbathships, to the extent of two thousand Marks. Whereupon the procurators of the said cardinals were sent downe for the same. But the king and nobilitie of the realme not suffering that, vnder paine of imprisonment caused the said procurators forthwith to depart the realme; whereupon the nobles and commons shortly after writeth a fruitfull epistle to the pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the English church. Whereunto, as saith the author, the pope and the cardinals were not able to answere. The argument and tenor of which letter out of French, we haue caused to be translated into English, as ensueth.

The popes procurators driuen out of England.

The letter of the king of England and nobles of the *same, to the pope, against the reseruations and prouisions which he had in England.*

TO the most holy father in God, lord Clement, by the grace of God of the holy church of Rome, and of the vniuersall church, chiefe and high bishop: his humble and deuout children, the princes, dukes, earles, barons, knights, citizens, burgeses, and all the communaltie of the realme of England, assembled at the parliament holden at Westminster the 15. day of May last past: Deuout kissings of his holy feet, with all humble reuerence and humilitie. Most holy father, the holy discretion, gouernment and equitie which appeareth to be in you and ought of dutie so to be (being so high and holy a prelate, and head of the holie church) by whom the holie vniuersall church and people of God ought to bee, as by the sun beames, enlightened, giueth vs good hope and likelihood, that the iust petitions (to the honour of Iesus Christ and holie church, and your holinesse also) by vs declared, shall bee of you graciouslie heard and considered: And that all errours and other iniquities quite taken away and remoued; in stead therof, fruitfull exploits and necessarie remedies (by the grace of the holy spirit which you in so high an estate haue receiued) may bee by you likewise graciouslie ordained & disposed. Wherefore, most holy father, all we (vpon great deliberation and common assent) come vnto your holines; shewing and declaring, that the noble kings of England our progenitors, our ancitors, and wee (according to the grace of the holie spirit to them and vs giuen, euerie one according to his deuotion) haue established, founded, & endowed within the realme of England, churches, cathedrals, colledges, abbeies, priories, and other diuers houses of religion in the same ordained: and to the prelates and gouernors of the same places, haue giuen lands, possessions, patrimonies, franchesies, aduowsons, and patronages of dignities, reuenues, offices, churches, with many and diuers other benefices vnto them giuen: whereby the seruice of God and faith of Christ might haue beene honored and had in reuerence, that the hospitals and almes houses that are made, with all the churches and edifices, might bee honestly kept and maintained, and that deuout praiers might in those places bee made for the founders, and the poore parishioners aided & comforted. And such only ought

A letter of the nobles & commons of England to the pope.

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ought to haue the cure thereof, as are able to heare confessions, and in their owne naturall tongue, otherwise meet to informe and teach their parishioners. And forsomuch as (most holy father) that you cannot well come to the notice of diuers such errours and defaults, neither yet vnderstand the condition of the places being so farre off, vnlesse your holinesse bee informed and aduertised: Wee hauing the perfect intelligence and vnderstanding of the said errours and defaults of the places aboue said, within the said realme, haue thought meet to signifie the same vnto your holinesse: That diuers reseruations, prouisions and collations by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you most holy father in youre time haue beene granted (and that more largely then they haue beene accustomed to be) vnto diuers persons, as wel strangers and of sundry nations, as vnto some such as are our enemies, hauing no vnderstanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they haue the gouernment and cure. Whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the seruice of God destroyed, the almes and deuotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme vnaduanced, the charge and gouernment of soules not regarded, the deuotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars vnpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errours, defaults and slanders, most holy father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer nor endure. We therefore most humblie require your holinesse, that the slanders, errours and defaults, which wee haue declared vnto you, may bee through your great discretion considered: and that it may please you that such reseruations, prouisions, and collations may bee vtterly repelled, that from henceforth the same be no more amongst vs vsed. But to take such order and remedie therein, that the said benefices, edifices, rights, with their appertenants, may be to the honour of God by our owne countrimen cured, defended and gouerned. And that it may further please your holinesse, by your letters to signifie vnto vs without delay and other detract of time, what your pleasure is touching this our lawfull request and demand, and that wee may doe our endeauour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction, and amendment of those enormities aboue specified. In witnesse whereof, vnto these letters patents wee haue set our seales. Giuen in the full parliament at Westminster the 18. day of May. Anno 1343.

Decay of the church of England by the pope.

After these things thus passed ouer, the king shortly after sent ouer his Procurators, earle of Lancaster and Darbie, Huge Spencer, lord Raph Stafford, with the bishop of Exceter and diuers other, to the popes court to discusse and pleade about the right of his title, before the pope. Vnto whom the said pope Clement the 6. not long after sent downe this message: how that Ludouike duke of Bauarie the emperour, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himselfe to him in all things; and therefore deserued at his hands the benefit of absolution: and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored vnto him iustly and graciously the empire, which hee before vniustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did heare, being therewith moued to anger, answered againe saying: That if he did agree & compound also with the French king, he was readie to fight with them both, &c. Ex Chron. Albanen.

The popes message to the king.

The kings answere to the popes message.

Within the time of this yeare, pence, halfe pence, and farthings began to bee coyned in the tower. And the next yeare following, which was An. 1344. the castle of Windsor (where the king was borne) began to bee repaired: and in the same, the house called the round table was situate, the diameter whereof from the one side to the other, contained 200. fet, to the expenses of which house weekely was allowed an hundred pound, for the maintaining of the kings chiualrie, till at length by the occasion of the French warres, it came downe to nine pounds a weeke. By the example wherof, the French king being prouoked, began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knighthod. At which time the said French king moreouer gaue free liberty through his realme to fell downe trees for making of ships and maintaining of his nauie, whereby the realme of England was not a little damnified.

{Anno 1344}

The castle in Windsor enlarged.

The round table builded in Windsor.

During the same yeare, the clergie of England granted to the king tenths for three yeares: for the which the king in recompence againe granted to them his charter containing these priuiledges: That no archbishop nor bishop should be arreigned before his iustices, siue ad sectam suam, siue partis, if the said clerke do submit and claime his clergie, professing himselfe to be a member of holy church; who so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answere before the Iustices. And if it shall bee laid vnto them to haue married two wiues, or to haue married a widow; the Iustices shall haue no power to proceed against them, to inquire for the matter: So that the cause shall be reserued to the spirituall court, &c.

Tenths granted to the king by the clergie for 3. yeares.

Priuiledges granted by the king to the clergie.

By this it is like that priests had wiues.

About this present time at the setting vp of the round table, the king made prince Edward his eldest sonne the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce betweene the

Prince Edward, first prince of Wales.

2. kings. Albeit it is likely to be thought that the French king gaue many attempts to infringe the same. Whereupon Henrie earle of Lancaster, with 600. men at armes, and as many archers, was sent ouer to Gascoine, the yeare after, 1345. who there so valiantly (is said to behaue himselfe, that hee subdued 55. townships vnto the king, 23. noblemen he tooke prisoners, encountring with the Frenchmen at Allebroke. So courteouslie and liberally hee dealt with his souldiers, that it was a ioy to them and a preferment to fight vnderneath him. His maner was in winning any towne, little or nothing to reserue to himselfe, but to sparse the whole spoile to his souldiers. One example in the author (whom I follow) is touched; how the foresaid earle at the winning of the towne of Bzters, where he had granted to euery souldier, for his bootie, the house with all the implements therein, which he by victorie should obtaine: among other his souldiers to one named Reb. fell a certaine house with the implements thereof, wherein was conteined the mint and money coyned for that countrey, to the value of a great substance: which when the souldier had found, in breaking vp a house where first the grosse mettall was not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the earle declaring to him the treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the earle answered, that the house was his, & whatsoeuer he found therein. Afterward the souldier finding a whole mint of pure siluer readie coyned, signified the same to the earle, forsomuch as he thought such treasure to bee too great for his portion: to whom the said earle againe answering, declared that hee had once giuen him the whole house, and that he had once giuen he would not call backe againe, as children vse to play. And therfore bad him enioy that which was granted to him: and if the money were thrice as much, it should bee his owne: Ex chron Albanens. Which storie whether it was true or otherwise in those daies, I haue not to affirme. But certes, if in these our couetous wretched daies now present, any author should report the like act to be practised, I would hardly beleeue it to be true.

{Anno 1345}

Henry earle, after made duke of Lancaster, sent ouer to Gascoine.

A rare example of a liberrll captaine to his souldiers.

The liberall heart and constant voice of a worthie captaine.

As the earle of Lancaster was thus occupied in Gascoine, the Scots were as busie here in England, walking and spoyling without mercie: Which were thought (and not vnlike) to be set on by the French king. And therfore was iudged both by that, and by other diuers waies to haue broken the couenants of truce betweene him and the king of England.

The Scots partly a meane of breaking truce.

Wherfore the next yeare ensuing, An. 1346. king Edward first sending his letters to the court of Rome, and therein complaining to the pope of Philip de Valois, how hee had transgressed and broken the truce betweene them made, which by euident probations he there made manifest: about the moneth of July made his voyage into Normandie in such secret wise, that no man well knew whither he intended. Where first hee entred the towne of Hogs, from thence proceeded vnto Cardone. Where, about the 27. of July, by the riuer of Cardone he had a strong battell with the Normans and other French men, which to stop his passage defended the bridge. At the which battell were taken of the lords of France, the earle of Ewe, the earle of Tankeruile. And of knights with other men of armes, to the number of one hundred, of footemen fiue hundred, and the towne and suburbs beaten downe to the hard wals. And all that could be borne away transported to the ships.

{Anno 1346}

The 2. voiage of K. Edward into France.

The battell at Cardone.

A little before mention was made how the French king began first to infringe the truce taken, and how the earle of Lancaster, vpon the same was sent vnto Gascoine. Now for the more euidence of the matter concerning the falling of the French king from the league, and other his wrongs and vntrue dealing; it shall better in the kings letter appeare: who hearing word that the lord Philip de Valois (contrarie to the forme of truce taken at Danes) had apprehended certaine of his nobles of England, and had brought them to Paris to bee imprisoned and put to death: beside other slaughters and spoilings made in Britaine, Gascoine, and other places moe. Hee therfore seeing the truce to be broken of the French kings part, and being thereto of necessitie compelled; in the yeare aboue prefixed, the 14 of the moneth of June, did publish and send abrode his letters of defiance, containing this effect.

The kings letters of defiance against the Frech king.

The kings letters of defiance against the French king.

TO all and singuler, to whom these presents shall come, publike greeting. We thinke it is not vnknowne vnto you all, that after the decease of Charles late king of France of famous memorie, brother to our redoubted lady mother Queene Isabell, Queene of England: That the crowne of France, by iust inheritance hath fallen vnto vs, as to the next heire male now liuing after the said king. Now Philip de Valois, being sonne but onely to the vncle of the foresaid king Charles; and therefore by degree of consanguinitie being further off remoued from the same (we being in the time of our minoritie) hath violently by force and power contrarie to God and iustice vsurped, occupied, and yet doth occupie the same, inuading further and spoiling our lands in the dukedome of Aquitania, and ioyning himselfe with our rebellious enemies the Scots, seeking our subuersion both by land and by sea, to the vttermost of his endeauour. And although we to preuent the damages which

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might rise by war, haue offered to the said Philip diuers friendly waies of peace; to the intent we might better intend our purposed voiage against Christs enemies the Turkes: yet could nothing preuaile with him in obtaining any peaceable way of reformation, driuing vs off by craftie dissimulation, through false pretensed words, but performing nothing with heart and deed. Whereupon, weenot neglecting the grace and gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulse the iniuries of our enemie, haue not refused by force of armes comming downe to Britanie to encounter with him in open field. And so we being occupied in our warres, there repaired vnto vs the reuerend father bishop of Preuest, and of Tusculane Cardinals, and legats from pope Clement 6. to entreat some reformation of peace betweene vs. At whose request we consented, agreeing to such formes and conditions of peace as then were taken betwene vs, sending moreouer our embassadours to the court of Rome, specially to entreate of the same matter. And thus while some hope of truce seemed betweene vs to appeare; newes suddenly came vnto vs, which not a little astonied our mind, of the death of certaine of our nobles and adherents, whom the said Philip vniustly and cruelly at Paris, commanded to be executed. Beside the wasting and spoiling our lands and subiects in Britanie, Gascony, and other places: with innumerable wrongs and iniuries deceitfully intended against vs both by sea and land. By reason whereof, the truce on his part being notoriously broken, it is most manifest to haue beene lawfull for vs, forthwith to haue set vpon him with open warre. Yet notwithstanding to auoide those incommodities that come by warre, we thought first to proue, if by any gentle meanes some reformation might be had touching the premisses. And therefore sundrie times, haue sent embassadors to the popes presence for the treatie of a peace, and reformation to be had in those aforesaid excesses: requiring also for the tractation thereof, certaine termes of times to be appointed, alwaies reseruing to our selues notwithstanding free libertie to resume warre at our pleasure, according as the doings of the said Philip shall constraine vs thereunto. And now forsomuch as the foresaid termes be already expired, and yet no reasonable offer of peace appeareth, neither wil the said Philip come to any conformitie, being required and monished notwithstanding by the popes letter thereunto (as the pope by his letters hath written vnto vs) but alwaies hath multiplied his conspiracie and obligations, vsing extremities against vs: and to omit here to speake of the excessiue enormitie of the popes legate, who being sent by the bishop of Rome for the keeping of truce, and whose part had beene rather to haue quenched and stayed the discord; hath stirred vp our enemie more eagerly against vs. In the which doing, neither hath the bishop of Rome (sauing his reuerence) as yet prouided any remedie, albeit he hath beene diuers times required of vs so to do. Which things being so, we ought to bee excused both before God and man, if for the defect of other remedie to be had, we shall be constrained our selues to find remedy against such wrongs and iniuries: the case of iustice and necessitie constraining vs to giue out these our letters of defiance against the violator of the truce, and the vniust inuader of our kingdome. Protesting that this we doe, not vpon any displeasure to the bishop of Rome, or to the apostolike see, but only for the moderation of equitie, standing vpon the defence of our owne right and lawfull inheritance, intending alwaies rather to haue peace, if by any reasonable way it might be had. And thus much for the stopping of slanderous fame and the mouthes of backbiters, We thought good to signifie, first to the high bishop of Rome, and the foresaid cardinals; that by them as persons indifferent, and mediators, the same may be insinuated to the contrarie part; and also vnto your whole Vniuersitie in generall: recommending vnto you all the innocencie of my cause and the communitie of iustice. Dated at Westminster the 14. of Iune, the 19. yeare of our reigne in England, and of France the sixth.

The popes legate stirreth vp warre.

Like legat like pope.

And thus much for the kings letters. Now let vs againe returne to his passage, from whence a little we haue digressed. Concerning the which passage of the king, with the order of his acts atchieued in the same, from the winning of Cadane or Cordoine, vnto the towne of Pusiake, is sufficiently described by one of the kings chaplaines and his confessor, who being a Dominicke Frier and accompanying the king through all his iourney, writeth thereof as followeth.

A letter of the kings confessor touching his acts doing at Cordoine.

Benedicere debemus Deum Cæli, &c. Great cause we haue to praise and laud the God of heauen, and most worthilie to confesse his holy name, who hath wrought so his mercie to vs. For after the conflict had at Cadane, in the which many were slaine, and the citie taken and sackt euen to the bare wals, the citie of Baia immediately yeelded it selfe of his owne accord, fearing lest their counsels had been bewrayed. After this the lord our king directed his progresse toward Roane: Who being at the towne of Lexon, there came certaine cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which cardinals being curteously entertained of the king for the reuerence of the popes see, it was thus answered to them againe: That the king being much desirous of peace, had assaied by all waies and meanes reasonable how to maintaine the same: and therefore hath offered conditions and manifold waies of peace, to be had to the no small preiudice of his owne cause. And yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any meanes it may be sought, &c. With this answere the cardinals going to the French king, the kings aduersary, to perswade with him in like maner, returned to king Edward againe, offering to him in the French kings name, the dukedome of Aquitania, in as full assurance as his father before him euer had it: besides further hope also of obtaining more, if intreatie of peace might be obtained. But forsomuch as that contented not enough the kings mind, neither did the cardinals find the French king so tractable and propense to the studie of peace as they looked for, the cardinals returned, leauing the matter as they found it. And so the king speeding forward, by the way as his iourney did lie, hee subdued the countrie and the great townes without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and runne away. Such feare God strooke into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same voiage, as the king had gotten many townes and villages, so also hee subdued castles and munitions, very strong, and that with little stresse. His enemy being at the same time at Roane had reared a great armie, who notwithstanding being well manned, yet euer kept on the other side of the riuer Seane, breaking downe all the bridges that we should not come ouer to him. And although the countrey round about continually was spoiled, sackt, and with fire consumed by the circuit of twentie miles round about: yet the French king being distant scarce the space of one mile from vs, either would not or else durst not (when hee might easilie haue passed ouer the riuer) make any resistance for the defence of his countrie and people. And so our king iourneying forward came to Pusiake or Poisy, where the French king had likewise broken downe the bridge, and keeping on the other side of the riuer would rest in no place.

The kings answere to the Cardinals.

The French king sheweth no carefull study of peace.

The king comming to Pusiake.

After whose comming to Poisse, the foresaid chaplaine and confessor to the king, named Michael Northburgh, describing the kings voiage and the acts of the Englishmen from the towne of Poisse, to his comming to Calis, in his letters writeth in this wise.

A letter of William Northburgh the kings confessor, describing the kings voiage into France.

SAlutations premised, we giue you to vnderstand, that our soueraigne lord the king came to the towne of Poisye, the day before the assumption of our Ladie, where was a certaine bridge ouer the water of Seane broken downe of the enemy, but the king tarried there so long till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in repairing there came a great number of men at armes and other souldiers were armed, to hinder the same. But the earle of Northhampton issued out against them and slue of them more then one thousand; the rest fled away, thankes be to God. And at an other time our men passed the water, although with much trauell, and slue a great number of the common souldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and countrie adioyning, being part of the French kings armie, and thorowly well appointed: so that our people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enemies, God be thanked, without any great losse and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the assumption of our Ladie, the king passed the water of Seane, and marched toward Poisye, which is a towne of great defence and strongly immured, and a maruellous strong castle within the same, which our enemies kept. And when our vandguard was passed the towne, our rereguard gaue an assault thereunto and tooke the same: where were slaine more then three hundred men at armes of our enemies part. And the next day following, the earle of Suffolke and sir Hugh Spenser marched forth vpon the commons of the countrie assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them more then two hundred, and tooke 60. gentlemen prisoners beside others. And after that, the king marched toward graund Villers, and while he was there encamped, the kings vandgard was descried by the men of armes by the king Bename: whereupon, our men issued out in great haste and ioyned battel with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northhampton issued out and rescued the horsmen with other souldiers; so that few or none of them were either taken or slaine, sauing onely Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enemie in chase within two leagues of Amians: of whom we tooke 8. and slue 12. of their best men at armes, the rest being well horsed, tooke the towne of Amians. After this, the king of England marched toward Pountise vpon Bartholomew day, and came vnto the water of Som, where the French king had laid 500. men at armes, and three thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage: but thankes be to God, the king of England and his hoast entered the same water of Som, where neuer man passed before, without the losse of any of our men: and after that encountred with the enemie, and slue of them more then two thousand, the rest fled to

The cardinals againe entreate for peace.

Abeuile,

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Abeuyle, in which chase were taken many knights, squires, and men at armes. The same day Sir Hugh Spencer tooke the town of Croylay, where hee and his souldiers slew foure hundred men at armes, and kept the towne, where they found great store of victuals. The same night encamped the king of England in the forrest of Cressy vpon the same water, for that the French kings host came on the other side of the towne neer vnto our passage: but hee would not take the water of vs, and so marched toward Abeuyle. And vpon the friday next following, the king being still incamped in the sad forrest, our Scuriers descried the French king, which marched toward vs in foure great battels. And hauing then vnderstanding of our enemies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide we drew vnto the plaine field, and set our battels in array; and immediatly the fight began, which was sore and cruell, and indured long, for our enemies behaued themselues right nobly. But thanks bee giuen to God, the victory fell on our side, and the king our aduersary was discomfited with all his host, and put to flight: where also was slaine the king of Bename, the duke of Loreine, the earle of Dabeson, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the earle of Arcot, with his two sonnes, the earle of Damerley, the earle of Nauers, and his brother, the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Meymes, the archbishop of Saundes, the high prior of France, the earle of Sauoy, the lord of Morles, the Lord de Guis, Segniour de S. Nouant, Seigniour de Rosingburgh, with six earles of Almaine, and diuers other earles, barons, knights, and squires, whose names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with another Marquesse, which was called lord Electour among the Romans, escaped from the battell. The number of the men at armes which were found dead in the field, beside the common souldiers and footmen, were one thousand, fiue hundred, forty, and two. And all that night the king of England with his host abode armed in the field where the battell was fought. On the next morrow before the Sunne rose, there marched toward vs another great host, mightie and strong, of the Frenchmen. But the earle of Northhampton, and the earle of Northfolk issued out against them in three battels; and after long and terrible fight, them in like wise they discomfited by Gods great helpe & grace (for otherwise it could neuer haue been) where they tooke of knights and squires a great number, and slew aboue two thousand, pursuing the chase three leagues from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the king encamped himselfe againe in the forrest of Cressy, & on the morrow marched toward Boleine, and by the way he tooke the towne of Staples; and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his siege and lay his battery to the same. And therefore our soueraigne lord the king willeth and commandeth you in all that euer you may, to send to the said siege victuals conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Chaam, we haue trauelled through the country with great perill and danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of victuall plenty, thanks be to God therefore. But now as the case standeth, we partly need your helpe to be refreshed with victuals. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis the 14. day of September.

Anno 1346. Siege of Calis.

After the siege and winning of Poitie, the third day of September anno 1346. the king through the midst of France directed his passage vnto Calis, as by the tenour of this letter you heare, and besieged the same. Which siege he continued from the third of September aforesaid, till the third day of August the yeere next ensuing, vpon the which day it was rendered vp vnto the said king Edward the third, and subdued vnto the crowne of England: as after, the Lord willing, shall more appeare.

Dauid king of Scots inuadeth England.

In the meane time, during the siege of Calis, Dauid the Scotish king, at the request of the French king, with a great army hasted into the North parts of England; and first besieging the towne of Liuel, within sir daies obtained the greatest part of the towne, and there taking all that hee could finde, with Sir Walter Salby a valiant knight, which was the keeper of the hold, caused him vncourteously to bee put to the sword: and so from thence proceeded further into England; till at length being met withall by William Surch archbishoppe of Yorke, and the lord Percie, and the lord Neuel, with other nobles of those parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the plaine neere to Durham, the seuentéenth day of October in the yeere aboue said, through the gracious hand of Christ, there were subdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the earles of Murrife, and Stratheron, with the flower of all the chiualry and principall warriors of Scotland were slaine. Also the foresaid king Dauid, with the earles of Mentiffe and Fiffes, and other lords, and William Douglasse Malklime, Fleming, and William Douglasse, and other many moniest of armes were taken prisoners: and so the mischiefe which they intended to other, fell vpon their owne heads.

The Scots ouerthrowne.

Dauid the Scotish king taken prisoner.

During moreouer the said siege of Calis, the foresaid pope Clement the 6. writing to the king of England, went about vnder the pretence of peace, to stop his proceedings: whose letters follow here vnder written.

The letter of the pope to the king of England, in the behalfe of the Frenchmen.

CLement the bishop, seruant of Gods seruants: To his welbeloued sonne in Christ, Edward the puissant king of England; salutation and apostolicall blessing. If you diligently consider deare son, (as ought a catholike prince to doe) the slaughter of such an innumerable sort, bought with the precious bloud of Christ our redeemer: the losse of their substance and soules, and the lamentable perils which the dissensions and warres stirred vp betweene you and our welbeloued sonne Philip, the noble king of France, haue brought vpon vs, and yet daily doe without intermission: and also the bewailing of so many poore people, crying out of orphans and pupils, lamentation of widowes, and other miserable people which be robbed and spoiled, and almost famished: what exclamation they make with teares running downe their cheekes, yelling and crying vnto God for help; as also the destruction of churches, monasteries, and holy places, holy vessels, and other ornaments vnto Gods seruice dedicated; the sacrilegious robberies, sackings, & imprisonings; the spoiling of holy churches & religious persons; with many other such innumerable, detestable, execrable mischiefes; offending the eies of the diuine maiesty: all which, if your princely heart would consider and well remember; with this also, that catholike faith (especially in the East parts) and the christians there abiding by meanes of the same dissensions and wars, destitute of the helps of such catholike men as are in the West parts, are so afflicted of the infidels, seeing the other parts of Christendom so troubled with cruell persecutions, yea and more cruell then euer it hath bin (although in these times to amplifie this our faith in the said East parts is cruell persecution shewed, more then hath bin of many yeares past) doubtlesse we belieue it would pity your heart. And to the end that such and so great euils should no further proceed, nor yet that so great good as might be done by dilating of our foresaid faith in these times should be let and hindered; we desire you that ye would apply your mind to make some agreement and peace with the foresaid king. For if (my welbeloued sonne) God hath giuen vnto you prosperous successe and fortune, ye ought rather to humble then to extoll your selfe; and so much the more readier to incline to his peace, & to indeuor your selfe to please God, which loueth peace, and delighteth in peaceable men; and to eschew the foresaid euils, which without doubt do grieuously offend him. Furthermore, we maruell greatly, that vnto our reuerend brother Anibaldus bishop of Tusculane, and our beloued son Stephan, of the title of S. Iohn, and Paul, priest and cardinall of the apostolicall see, being sent as legats by vs and the same see apostolicall to intreat a peace, who diligently and faithfully laboring for the same, as louers of verity, iustice, and equity, and therewithall regarders of your honor; could not be suffered touching the intreaty of the same peace, to come vnto your graces presence.

Wherefore we desire your kingly highnesse more earnestly, and for the mercy of God with more vehemence require the same; that you taking vp the foresaid horrible euils, and preuenting the sweetnesse of piety and compassion, may escape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which were to be feared, if you should perseuere in your former euils, as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for peace, for which our foresaid cardinals were sent vnto you, (howbeit secretly, lest it should be any derogation to your honour) we desire you to condescend thereunto, and with all your affection you will incline your mind to the same, so pleasant vnto God, so desired of the world, as also to you, the foresaid king, and vnto the catholike faith profitable. And that the same peace by Gods helpe and grace established and made perfit, you might assay your puissant strength about Gods businesse in the foresaid East parts (so good occasiō seruing, as before is said, in these our times) being so apt aduancements of your honour, and happy increasing of your princely name: for feruently we haue heard of you reported to behaue your selfe in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that you will write vnto vs againe touching the premisses; and the purpose of your intention touching the same. Dated at Auinion the 18. of February, and 5. yeare of our Papacie.

The answere of the king of England, to the foresaid letter of the pope.

King Edward answereth to the pope.

MOst holy father, we vnderstand by the letters of the reuerend fathers in God, the bishop of Tusculan, and Stephan of the title of Saint Iohn Priest, Cardinals and Legats of the court of Rome, as also by the letters of your holinesse sent vnto vs, that yee maruell greatly for that your said legats were of purpose sent vnto vs, and commanded to intreat of a peace betweene our aduersary of France and vs, that wee would not suffer them secretly to talke with vs, for the safegard of our honour. The intention of your heart to make the foresaid peace, complaining and bewailing therein the death of Christian men, the losse of their goods, the perill of their soules, the lamentable wailings of the poore, of orphanes, the widowes, and destruction of other pitifull persons; the pillage and robberies

robberies of churches, and other mischies innumerable, and namely, the diminishing of Christian faith in the East parts, which by the war betweene our aduersary of France and vs is sore decaied, as the said letters plainly doe import. And that forasmuch as God hath giuen you triumphant fortune, that so much the more we ought to abase and humble our heart, and to be the readier to make and incline to a peace. As touching these things, holy Father, we giue your holinesse to vnderstand, that as well vnto your foresaid legats, as other messengers sent from you vnto vs, we haue offered vnto euery of them reasonable waies of peace, and euery day declare the same, and that not secretly, but openly. For we doubt not to let our purpose be vnderstood; for he that is the high iudge both of him and vs, in whose disposition all things lieth, hath giuen vnto vs the crowne of France to our right and proper heritage. The which right, our foresaid aduersary hath by force of long time detained from vs, we seeking to obtaine the same in peaceable wise, and yet doe, if we might obtaine the same in any good manner, rather for the benefit of Christian men, and that the foresaid euils might cease, which by his wrongfull meanes onely haue increased and growen. Yet notwithstanding, as before this time you know we assented to a truce, with certaine articles contained in the same writing; all this hee hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong suffice him which hee offereth vs in our foresaid heritage, but he indeuoreth himselfe during the said truce, to inuade our realm of England & other our lands: and furthermore maintaineth the Scots, and aideth them to the vtter destruction of vs, our people and lands aforesaid; wherein we were inforced for the safegard of our people and lands, by such lawfull meanes as we may, to defend our selues & put him from his wicked purpose. And furthermore, for the same our quarrell being in the hands of God, haue wee come against him to conquer our inheritance of France; ouer whom God hath giuen vs diuers victories, as we haue trusted hee would by his right wise iudgement and power; which thing he hath shewed vpon vs, (all chance of fortune set apart) in respect of our rightfull title therein, and without our deserts: wherefore with all humility of heart we giue him thanks alwaies therefore, most deuoutly night & day praising his holy name; for we acknowledge the same commeth not by our strength & force. Wherefore most holy father, we desire your holinesse, and, so much as in vs lieth, require the same, that you that supply the place of the Sonne of God in earth, and haue the gouernment of the soules of all christian men, and ought to be vpright and equall towards all men, without exception of persons, that ye will receiue good information and true, of the obiections aboue said, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our said aduersary of France may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to vs herein, and may be by your aid redressed, and that he in this his wrong haue no maintenance and aid at your hand. For if it be so, we then appeale vnto the iudge of iudges, which suffereth for a time wrongs to be done for the sinfull default of man, but in the end redresseth the same, leauing no good deed vnrewarded, nor euill vnpunished: most humbly requiring him to be to vs a true and vpright iudge of all our controuersies, for his mercies sake, as in the meane time we repose our full trust and confidence in dim. The holy spirit of God, &c.

The king appealeth from the pope to God.

Moreouer, during yet the siege of Calis, the French king had sent certaine offers to the men of Flanders, that if they would relinquish the king of England, and adhere to him:

Offers made to the men of Flanders to forsake king Edward.

First, he would remit all their former transgressions.

Secondly, he would vnburden them of their interdict.

Thirdly, he would send vnto them such plenty of corne, that what was sold for twelue shillings with them, should be sold for foure shillings, and that for six yéeres.

Fourthly, he would store them with plenty of French woll to make cloth, for a small price; and that they might sell the said clothes both in Flanders & in France; and that the French men should vse the same cloth, forsomuch as all other maner of cloth should be forbidden in France, so long as any of that (made of French woll) might be found.

Fifthly, he would restore them to these three cities, Insylam, Rowocum, and Betonie.

Sixthly, he would defend them from all their aduersaries; and in pledge of the same, would send them mony beforehand.

Seuenthly, such as were able and forward men among them, he would retaine and promote them, &c.

But these offers séeming to proceed more of faire words to serue the present turne, then of any hearty truth, were not receiued. Then the lord John, prince and heire to the French king, during the foresaid siege of Calis aboue mentioned, comming with a mighty army of Frenchmen, set vpon the men of Flanders and Englishmen in the towne of Cassels. In the which conflict, during from morning to none, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young Dolphin driuen backe from whence he came. Of whose number diuers were slaine and taken prisoners. Where on the other side (through the Lords defence) not one is reported to bee greeuously wounded.

The Dolphin with the French discomfited at Cassels.

As this passed on, not long after about the seuenth day of June, an. 1347. king Edward continuing still his siege against Calis, Philip the French king came down with a mightie army, purposing to remoue the siege: where, not far off from the English host, he encamped himselfe. Which done, two cardinals, Ambaldus and Stephanus (procured for the same purpose) going betwéen the two kings, gaue to the king of England thus to vnderstand: That if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer such honest proffers vnto him, as to reason & to his contentation should séeme agréeable. But in conclusion when it came to talke, the nobles could not agrée vpon the conditions. Wherefore the French king séeing no other remedy, did it to be signified to king Edward; that betwéene that present tuesday, and the next friday, if he would come forth into the field, he should haue battell giuen him. Thus the place being viewed of foure captaines of either host for the battell to bee fought; it so fell, that the French king on wednesday at night, before the battell should ioyne, secretly by night setting his pauilions on fire, returned backe with his army out of the sight of Englishmen.

Anno 1347

The French king fleeth before the battell.

Upon the friday following, they which were besieged in the towne of Calis, séeing the king to be retired (vpon whose helpe they trusted, being also in great penury and famin for lacke of victuals, and otherwise in much misery vehemently distressed) surrendered the towne to the kings hands: who like a mercifull prince onely detaining certaine of the chiefe, the rest with the whole commons he let goe with bagge and baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, shewing therein more princely fauour to them, then they did of late in Quéene Maries daies vnto our men, in recouering the said towne of Calis againe.

The towne of Calis wonne.

After the winning thus of Calis, as hath béen premised, king Edward remaining in the said towne a certaine space, was in consultation concerning his voiage and proceeding farther into France. But by meanes of the foresaid cardinals, truce for a certaine time was taken, and instruments made (so prouided) that certaine noble men as well for the French king, as for the king of England, should come to the pope there to debate vpon the articles. Unto the which king Edward, for peace sake, was not greatly disagréeing. Which was an. 1347. Ex Tho. Walsingh.

Truce concluded betweene England and France.

The next yéere following, which was an. 1348. fell a sore plague, which they call the first generall pestilence in the realme of England. This plague (as they say) first springing from the East, and so spreading Westward, did so mightily preuail here in this land, beginning first at Dorcester, and the countries thereabout, that euery day lightly twenty, some daies fortie, some sixtie, and mo dead corpses were brought & laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of Nouember it came to London. Where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that from the first day of February, till about the beginning of May, in a churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, about two hundred dead corpses euery day were buried, besides them which in other churchyards of the citie were laid also. At length by the grace of Christ ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the north parts. Where also the next yéere after, anno 1349. it swaged.

Anno 1348

A vehement pestilence in England.

Now called the Charterhouse churchyard.

After this, in the next yéere ensuing, an. 1350. the towne of Calis was by treason of the keeper of the castell, almost betraied and wonne from the Englishmen. Within the compasse of which yéere, died Philip the French king. After whom king John his sonne succéeded in the crowne. Who the next yéere after, vnder false pretence of friendship, caused the Constable of France earle of Eiwe, to be beheaded; who being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long detained in prison in England, was licenced by king Edward to visit his country of France. In the same yéere the towne of Gwines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and a sléepe.

Anno 1350

Calis almost lost by treason.

The death of the French king.

Anno 1351

The towne of Gwines taken.

The yéere next following, the marshall of France with a great army was put to flight by sir Roger Bentele knight, and captaine in Britaine, hauing but only 600. souldiers with him. In this battell were taken nine knights, esquires and gentlemen one hundred and forty. The Frenchmen and Britaines by this victory were exceedingly discouraged, and their pride cut downe.

Anno 1352

Victory of sir Roger Bentele.

In the yéere after, was Henry first made duke of Lancaster, which before was earle of Darbie and Lancaster. Also diuers good ordinances were appointed in the parliament at Westminster. Which after by auarice and partiall fauor of the head men, were againe vndone.

First duke of Lancaster.

Concord and agréement about the yéere 1354. began to come well forward, and instruments were drawne vpon the same betweene the two kings. But that the matter being brought vp to pope Innocent 6. partly by the quarrelling of the Frenchmen, partly by the winking of the pope, which euer held with the French side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the king of England, all the dukedome of Aquitanie with other lands there, should be to him restored, without homage to the French king. And that king Edward againe should surrender to him all his right and title, which he

Anno 1354

Pope Innocent 6.

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hee had in Fraunce: whereupon rose the occasion of great warre and tumult, which followed after betweene the two realmes.

It followed after this, the yéere of our Lord 1355. that king Edward hearing of the death of Philip the French king, and that king John his sonne had granted the dukedome of Aquitaine to Charles his eldest sonne and Dolphin of Vienna; sent ouer prince Edward with the earle of Warwicke, of Salisbury, of Orford, and with them a sufficient number of able souldiers into Aquitania. Where hee being willingly receiued of diuers, the rest hee subdued; partly by force of sword, partly receiued, submitting themselues to his protection.

Chron. Adami Meremouth cononici D. Pauli de gestis Edw. 1.

Anno 1355

Not long after this, in the same yéere, word being brought to king Edward, that John the French king was ready to méet him at S. Omers, there to giue him battell, he gathered his power, & set ouer to Calis with his two sons, Leonel earle of Ulston, and John of Gaunt earle of Richmond, and with Henry duke of Lancaster, &c. Who being come to Saint Omers, the French king with a mighty army of his Frenchlings, hearing of his comming, the néerer hee approched to them, the further they retired backe; wasting and destroying behind them, to the intent that the English army in pursuing them, should finde no victuals. By reason whereof, king Edward following him by the space of nine or ten daies vnto Hadem, (when neither he could finde his enemy to fight, nor victuals for forage for his army) he returned vnto Calis: where war againe being offered in the name of the king vpon vnstable conditions, and yet the same not performed, king Edward séeing the shrinking of his enemy, from Calis crossed the seas into England, where hee recouered againe the towne of Barwicke, which the Scots before by subtill traine had gotten. At which time was granted vnto the king in parliament, 50. s. for euery sacke or packe of woll that should be carried ouer, for the space of six yéeres together. By the which grant, the king might dispend euery day by estimation, aboue 100. marks sterling. And for as much as euery yéere 100000. sacks of woll were thought to be exported out of the realme; the sum thereof for six yéers space was estéemed to mount to 1500000. pound sterling.

The third voiage of king Edward into France.

The French king refuseth to ioine in battell with king Edward.

Fiftie shillings for euery sacke of woll caried out of England.

The custome of woll for six yeers 1500000. pounds sterling to king Edward.

The same yéere, when king Edward had recouered Barwicke, and subdued Scotland, prince Edward being in Gascoinie, made toward the French king. Who, notwithstanding by the way all bridges were cast downe, and great resistance made; yet the victorious prince making way with his sword, after much slaughter of the Frenchmen, and many prisoners taken, at length ioyning with the French king at Poytiers, scarse with 2000. gaue the ouerthrow to the French king with 7000. men of armes and mo. In which conflict, the French king himselfe, and Philip his sonne, with lord Iames of Bourbon, the archbishop of Senon, 11. earles, 22. lords were taken. Of other warriers and men of armes 2000. Some affirme, in this conflict were slaine two dukes, of lords and noblemen 24. of men of armes 2002. of other souldiers about 8000. The common report is, that mo Frenchmen were there taken prisoners, then were the number of them which tooke them. This noble victory gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all men.

Anno 1356

The French king taken prisoner by prince Edward.

It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this king, with the circumstances of his victories, of the bringing in of the French king into England, of his abode there, of the ransome leuied on him, and of Dauid the Scotish king; of which, the one was rated at three millions of Scutes, the other at 100000. marks, to be paid in ten yéeres, how the staple was after translated to Calis, with such like. I referre them that would sée more, to the chronicle of Tho. Walsing. of S. Albans, of Iohn Froysard, Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

Euery Scute valuing six shillings eight pence.

Thus hauing discoursed at large all such martiall affaires and warlike exploits, incident in the raigne of this king betwixt him and the realmes of France and Scotland: Now to returne againe to our matters ecclesiasticall, followeth in order to recapitulate and notifie the troubles and contentions growing betweene the same king and the pope, and other ecclesiasticall persons in matters touching the church, in order of yéeres remaining in the tower, taken out of the records, as followeth. As where first in the fourth yéere of his raigne, the king wrote to the archbishop of Canturbury to this effect: That whereas king Edward the first his grandfather did giue to a clerke of his owne, being his chaplaine, the dignitie of treasurer of Yorke, the archbishoprick of Yorke being then vacant and in the kings hands, in the quiet possession whereof, the said clerke continued vntill the pope misliking therewith, would haue displaced him, and promoted to the same dignitie a cardinal of Rome, to the manifest preiudice of the crowne of England: the king therefore straitly chargeth the archbishop of Yorke, not to suffer any matter to passe, that may be preiudiciall to the donation of his grandfather, but that his owne clerke should inioy the said dignitie accordingly, vpon paine of his highnesse displeasure.

The like precepts were also directed to these bishops following, videl. to the bishop of Lincolne, bishop of Worcester, bishop of Sar, Maister Garmion, archdeacon of Richmond, archdeacon of Lincolne, the prior of Lewen, the prior of Lenton, to maister Rich of Wentworth, to maister Iherico de Concore, to the popes Nuncio, to maister Guido of Calma. And withall, wrote his letters vnto the pope, as touching the same matter consisting in three parts. First, in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donation and gift of all manner of temporalties, of offices, prebends, benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall, holden of him in capite, as in the right of his crowne of England. Secondly, in expostulating with the pope for intruding himselfe into the ancient right of the crowne of England, intermedling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessours, which were popes before. Thirdly, intreating him that he would henceforth abstaine and desist from molesting the realme with such nouelties and strange vsurpations; and so much the more, for that in the publike parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agréed vpon by the vniuersall assent of all the estates of the realme, that the king should stand to the defence of all such rights and iurisdictions as to his regall dignitie and crowne any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth yéere of the raigne of this king, pope Benedict the twelfth, sendeth downe letters touching his new creation, with certaine other matters and requests to the king: whereunto the king answering again, declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding moreouer, that his purpose was to haue sent vnto him certaine ambassadors for congratulation of the same. But being otherwise occupied by reason of wars, could not attend his holinesse requests: notwithstanding he minded to call a parliament about the feast of Ascention next, where vpon the assembly of his clergy and other estates, hee would take order for the same, and so direct his ambassadors to his holinesse accordingly.

The next yéere after, which was the tenth yéere of his raigne, the king writeth another letter to the pope; that forasmuch as his clergy had granted him one yéeres tenth for the supportation of his warres, and for that the pope also had the same time to take vp the paiment of six yéeres tenth granted him by the clergy a little before, therfore the pope would vouchsafe at his request, to forbeare the exaction of that mony for one yéere, till that his tenth for the necessities of his wars were dispatched.

The same yéere hee wrote also to the pope to this effect: That whereas the prior and chapter of Norwich did nominat a clerke to be bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his inuestiture, without the kings knowledge; therefore the pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the kings peculiar iurisdiction and prerogatiue.

After this, in the sixteenth yéere of this king, it happened that the pope sent ouer certaine legats to heare and determin matters appertaining to the right of patronages of benefices: which the king perceiuing to tend to the no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his subiects, writeth vnto the said legats, admonishing and requiring them, not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing vnaduisedly, otherwise then might stand with the lawfull ordinances and customes of the lawes of his realme, and the freedome and liberty of his subiects.

Writing moreouer the same yéere to other legats being sent ouer by the pope to treat of peace betweene the king and the French king, with request that they would first make their repaire to the French king, who had so often times broken with him, and proue what conformitie the French king would offer: which if he found reasonable, they should come accord with him: otherwise hee exhorted them not to enter into the land, nor to proceed any further in that behalfe.

The yéere following, which was the seuentéenth of his raigne, ensueth another letter to the pope against his prouisions and reseruations of benefices, worthy here to bee placed and specified, but that the sum thereof is before set downe to be found in the pag. 355.

The yéere following, another letter likewise was sent by the king to the pope, vpon occasion taken of the church of Norwich, requiring him to surcease his reseruations and prouisions of the bishoprickes within the realme, and to leaue the elections thereof free to the chapters of such cathedrall churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth yéere of this kings raigne, there came to the presence of the king certaine legats from Rome, complaining of certaine statutes past in his parliament tending to the preiudice of the church of Rome, and the popes primacie; viz. that if abbats, priors, or any other ecclesiasticall patrons of benefices, should not present to the said benefices within a certaine time, the lapse of the same should come to the ordinary or chapter thereof; or if they did not present, then to the archbishop: if the archbishop likewise did faile to present, then the gift to pertaine not vnto the lord pope, but vnto the king and his heires. Another complaint also was

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was this, that if archbishops should bee slacke in giuing such benefices as properly pertained to their owne patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertaine to the foresaid king and his heires. Another complaint was, that if the pope should make void any elections in the Church of England for any defect found therein, and so had placed some honest and discréet persons in the same, that then the king and his heires was not bound to render the temporalties vnto the parties placed by the popes prouision. Whereupon the pope being not a little agréeued, the king writeth vnto him, certifying that he was misinformed, denying that there was any such statute made in that parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would conferre with his prelats and nobles, and thereof would returne answere by his legats.

In the 20. yéere of his raigne, another letter was written to the pope by the king, the effect whereof in few words to expresse, was this; to certifie him that in respect of his great charges sustained in his wars, he hath by the counsell of his nobles, taken into his owne hands the fruits and profits of all his benefices here in England.

To proceede in the order of yéres, in the twentie six yéere of this king, one Nicolas Heath clerke, a busie headed body, and a troubler of the realme, had procured diuers bishops, and others of the kings counsell to bee cited vp to the court of Rome, there to answere such complaints as hee had made against them. Whereupon commandement was giuen by the king to all the ports of the realme for the restraint of all passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any buls or other processe from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignitie of the crowne, or molestation of the subiects: concerning which Nicolas Heath, the king also writeth to the pope his letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to giue no eare to his leaud complaints.

The same yéere the king writeth also to the popes legat resident in England, requiring him to surcease from exacting diuers sums of mony of the clergy, in the name of first fruits of benefices.

The 31. yéere of this kings raigne, the king by his letters complaineth to the pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicolas Stanway, remaining in Rome, which by his slanderous complaints procured diuers citations to bee sent into the realme, to the great disturbance of diuers and sundry honest men. Whereupon he praieth and adviseth the pope to stay himselfe, and not to send ouer such hastie citations vpon euery light occasion.

To passe further to the 38. yéere of the same king, thus we finde in the rolles: That the king the same yéere tooke order by two of his clergy, to wit, John a Stocke and John of Moreton to take into their hands all the temporalties of all deaneries, prebends, dignities, and benefices being then vacant in England, and to answere the profits of the same to the kings vse.

The same yéere an ordinance was made by the king and his counsell, and to the same proclaimed in all port townes within the realme, that good and diligent search should bee made, that no person whatsoeuer, comming from the court of Rome, &c. doe bring into the realme with him any bull, instrument, letters patents, or other processe, that may be preiudiciall to the king, or any of his subiects: nor that any person passing out of this realme toward the court of Rome, doe carrie with him any instrument or processe that may redound to the preiudice of the king or his subiects: and that all persons passing to the said court of Rome, &c. with the kings speciall licence, doe notwithstanding promise and finde suretie to the lord chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt or pursue any matter to the preiudice of the king or his subiects, vnder paine to be put out of the kings protection, and to forfeit his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute thereof made, Anno 27.

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domesticall matters, perturbations, and troubles passing betweene him and the pope, taken out of the publike records of the realme, whereby I thought to giue the Reader to vnderstand the horrible abuses, the intollerable pride, and the vnsatiable auarice of that bishop, more like a proud Lucifer, then a pastor of the church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subiects with exactions vnmeasurable: not only exercising his tyrannie in this realme, but raging also against other princes both far and neere, amongst whom neither spared he the emperor himselfe. In the story and acts of which emperor Ludouicus, mentioned a little before, pag. 343. whom the pope did most arrogantly excommunicat vpon Maundy thursday, and the selfe same day placing another emperour in his rome: relation was made of certaine learned men which tooke the emperors part against the pope. In number of whom was Marsilius Patauinus, Gulielmus Ockam, Ioannes Gandauensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Vlricus Hangenor treasurer to the emperor, Dantes, Aligerius, &c. Of whom Marsilius Patauinus compiled and exhibited vnto the emperor Ludouike, a worthy worke intituled Defensor pacis: written in the emperours behalfe against the pope. Wherein (both godly and learnedly disputing against the pope) hee proueth all bishops and priests to be equall, and that the pope hath no superioritie aboue other bishops; much lesse aboue the emperor. That the word of God ought to be onely the chiefe iudge in deciding and determining causes ecclesiasticall: that not onely spirituall persons, but lay men also being godly and learned, ought to bee admitted vnto generall councels: That the clergy and the pope ought to be subiect vnto magistrates: That the church is the vniuersitie of the faithfull, and that the foundation and head of the church is Christ, and that hee neuer appointed any vicar or pope ouer his vniuersall church: That bishoppes ought to bee chosen euery one by their owne church and clergie: That the marriage of priests may lawfully bee permitted: That Saint Peter was neuer at Rome: That the clergy and synagogue of the pope is a denne of théeues: That the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to destruction: And that the corrupt manners of the Christians doe spring and flow out of the wickednesse of the spiritualty, &c. He disputeth moreouer in another worke of free iustification by grace: And extenuated merits, saying that they are no causes efficient of our saluation, but onely sine qua non, that is to say, that works bee no cause of our iustification, but yet our iustification goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine most sound and catholike, hee was condemned by the pope, anno 1324. by the popes decrée extrauagant, cap. Licet intra doctrinam. Concerning the which man and his doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to history, to the intent men may sée, that they which charge this doctrine now taught in the church, with the note of nouelty or newnesse, how ignorant and vnskilfull they be in the histories and order of times forepast.

Articles of Marsilius against the pope.

Merits cause of saluation, *sine qua non.*

Marsilius condemned of the pope. *Extrau. cap. Licet intra doctrinam.*

In the same part of condemnation at the same time, also was Ioannes de Gunduno, anno 1330. and contained also in the foresaid Extrauagant, with Marsilius Patauinus, Which Ioannes wrote much vpon Aristotle and Auerrois, and are yet remaining. And no doubt but hee wrote also of diuinitie, but not vnlike that these workes haue been abolished.

Ioannes Gandencis condemned by the pope.

In the same number and catalogue commeth also Guillermus Ockam, who was in the yéere of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned, pag. 342. and wrote likewise in defence of Ludouicus the emperor against the pope: and also in defence of Michael, Generall of Gray friers, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed for an heretike. Diuers treatises were by the said Ockam set forth, whereof some are extant and in print, as his questions and distinctions: some are extinct and suppressed (as Ascentius reporteth) quòd essent aliquando asperiora. Some againe be published vnder no name of the author, being of his doing; as the dialogue betweene the souldier and the clerke: wherein it is to be conjectured, what bookes and works this Ockam had collected against the pope. Of this Ockam John Sleidane in his history inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whose words bee these: William Ockam in time of Ludouicus the fourth emperor did flourish, about the yéere of our Lord 1326. who among other things wrote of the authoritie of the bishop of Rome. In the which booke hee handleth these eight questions very copiously: whether both the administrations of the bishops office, and of the emperors, may be in one man: secondly, whether the emperor taketh his power and authoritie onely of God, or else of the pope: thirdly, whether the pope and church of Rome haue power by Christ, to set and place kings and emperors, and to commit to them their iurisdiction to be exercised: fourthly, whether the emperor being elected, hath full authoritie vpon the said his election, to administer his empire: fifthly, whether other kings besides the emperor and king of Romans, in that they are consecrated of priests, receiue of them any part of their power: sixthly, whether the said kings in any case bee subiect to their consecrators: seuenthly, whether if the said kings should admit any new sacrifice, or should take to themselues the diademe without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right and title: eightly, whether the seuen princes electors giue as much to the election of the emperour, as succession rightfully giueth to other kings. Vpon these questions hee disputeth and argueth with sundrie arguments and sundrie reasons on both sides, at length hee decideth the matter on the part of the ciuill magistrate: and by occasion thereof, entreth into the mention of the Popes decrees Extrauagant; declaring how little force or regard is to bee giuen thereunto.

Guillermus Ockam wrote against the pope.

Michael generall of the gray friers, excommunicated for an heretike. *Ascentius in præfatione eius autoris.*

Eight question disputed by Ockam.

The dialogue betweene the souldier and the clerke, of Ockams making.

Tritheminus maketh mention of one Gregorius Arimenensis, a learned and a famous and right godly man: who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the yéere of our Lord 1350. disputed in the same doctrine of grace and frée will, as wee doe now, and dissented therein from the Papistes and Sophisters, counting them worse then Pelagians.

* Grigorius Arimin. ensis maintained the same doctrine now receiued. *Ex Tritheimio.*

Of the like iudgement, and in the same time was also Andreas de Castro, as appeareth super lit. 1. Sentent. dist. 45. and

Marsilius Patauinus, author of the booke called *Defensor pacis.*

Iohannes de Castro and Burdianus, both gospellers 200 yeares ago.

and Burdianus vpon the Ethiques of Aristotle: which both maintained the grace of the gospell, as is now in the church receiued aboue 200. yeeres since.

Eudo duke of Burgundy against the popes decrees about 200 yeeres since. Ex Carolo Molineo.

And what should I speake of the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo, who at the same time, an. 1350. dissuaded the French king not to receiue in his land the new found constitutions, decretall and Extrauagant, within his realme: whose sage counsell then giuen, yet remaineth among the French kings records, as witnesseth Carol. Molinæus?

Dantes an Italian writer, against the pope.

Dantes an Italian writer, a Florentine, liued in the time of Ludouicus the emperor, about the yere of our Lord 1300. and toke his part with Marsilius Patauinus, against three sorts of men, which he said were enemies to the truth: That is, the pope: Secondly, the order of religious men, which count themselues the children of the church, when they are the children of the diuell their father: Thirdly, the doctors of decrees and decretals. Certaine of his writings bee extant abroad, wherein he proueth the pope not to be aboue the emperor, nor to haue any right or iurisdiction in the empire. Hee confuteth the donation of Constantine to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right. For the which he was taken of many for an heretike. He complaineth moreouer very much, the preaching of Gods word to be omitted; and in stead thereof, the vaine fables of monks and friers to be preached and beleeued of the people, and so the flocke of Christ to be fed not with the food of the Gospell, but with wind. The pope, saith hee, of a pastor is made a wolfe, to waste the church of Christ, and to procure with his clergy not the word of God to bee preached, but his owne decrees. In his canticle of Purgatory, he declareth the pope to be the whore of Babylon. And to her ministers, to some hee applieth two homes, to some foure. As to the Patriarchs, whom hee noteth to bee the totter of the said whore Babylonicall. Ex libris Dantes Italicè.

Donation of Constantine, a thing forged.

The pope the whore of Babylon.

Ex lib. Iornandi. Pope, antichrist.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the booke of Iornandus imprinted, with the foresaid Dantes: that forsomuch as antichrist commeth not before the destruction of the empire, therefore such as goe about to haue the empire extinct, are forerunners and messengers in so doing of antichrist. Therefore let the Romans (saith hee) and their bishoppes beware, lest their sinnes and wickednesse so deseruing by the iust iudgement of God, the priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelats and princes of Germany take heed, &c.

In admonition to the Romans.

Taulerus of Germany, a preacher against the popes proceedings.

And because our aduersaries, which obiect vnto vs the newnesse of our doctrine, shall see and perceiue the course and forme of this religion now receiued, not to haue been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past: I will adde to these aboue recited, master Taulerus a Preacher of Argentine in Germany, anno 1350. Who contrary to the popes procéedings, taught openly against all mens merits, and against inuocation of Saints, and preached sincerely of our free iustification by grace, referring all mans trust onely to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

Franciscus Petrarcha. Vide 20. epistolam Francisci Petrarchæ.

With whom also may be adioined Franciscus Petrarcha, a writer of the same age, who in his works and his Italian meeter speaking of Rome, calleth it the whore of Babylon, the schole & mother of error, the temple of heresie, the nest of treachery, growing and increasing by the oppressing of others: and saith further, that she, (meaning the popes court) extolleth her selfe against her founders; that is, the emperors, who first set her vp, and did so inrich her: and séemeth plainly to affirme, that the pope was antichrist, declaring that no greater euill could happen to any man, then to be made pope. This Franciscus was about the yéere of our lord 1350.

Rome the mother and schoole of error.

And if time would serue vs to séeke out old histories, wee should finde plenty of faithfull witnesses of old and ancient time, to giue witnesse with vs against the pope, beside the other aboue rehearsed: as Ioannes de rupe scissa, an. 1340. Who for rebuking the spiritualty for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into prison.

Ioannes de rupe scissa. Iohn cast into prison.

Illyricus a writer in our daies, testifieth that he found and read in an old pamphlet, that the said Ioannes should call the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon; and the pope to be the minister of antichrist; and the cardinals to bee the false prophets. Being in prison, hee wrote a booke of prophecies, bearing the title; Vade mecum in tribulationem: in which booke (which also I haue séene) hee prophecied and admonished, affliction and tribulation to hang ouer the spiritualtie. And pronounceth plainely, that God will purge his clergy, and will haue priests that shall be pure, godly, and that shall faithfully feed the Lords flocke: Moreouer, that the goods of the church shall returne againe to the lay men. Hee prophecied also the same time, that the French king and his army should haue an ouerthrow. Which came likewise to passe during the time of his imprisonment. Of this Ioannes de rupe, writeth Froyssard in his time, and also Wicklike: of whose prophecies, much more may bee said at more leasure (Christ willing) hereafter.

Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon.

The deformation of the church before prophecied.

About the same yéere of our Lord 1346. in the citie of Heresipoli, was one named master Conradus Hager. Who (as appeareth by the old bulls and registers of Otho bishoppe of the said citie) is there recorded, to haue maintained and taught the space of twenty foure yéeres together, the masse to bee no manner of sacrifice: neither that it profiteth any man either quicke or dead, and that the money giuen of the dead for masses, bee very robberies and sacrileges of priests, which they wickedly doe intercept and take away from the poore. And said moreouer, that if hee had a skoue full of gold and siluer, hee would not giue one farthing for any masse. For the same his doctrine, this good preacher was condemned and inclosed in prison: what afterward became vpon him we doe not finde.

Conradus Hager.

The masse to be no sacrifice.

Conradus cast into prison.

Ex bullis Iudæi Othonis Episc. Herbipoli.

There is among other old and ancient records of antiquitie belonging to this present time, a certaine monument in verses poetically compiled, but not without a certaine morall, intituled Pœnitentiarius Asini, the asses confessor; bearing the date and yéere of our Lord in this number, Completus An. 1343. In this treatise are brought forth the wolfe, the fox, and the asse, comming to shrift and doing penance. First, the wolfe confesseth him to the fox, who easily doth absolue him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like maner the wolfe hearing the fores shrift, sheweth to him the like fauor againe. After this, commeth the asse to confession, whose fault was this; that hee being hungry, toke a straw out from the sheafe of one that went in peregrination vnto Rome. The asse, although repenting of this fact, yet because he thought it not so hainous as the faults of the other, the more he hope dfor his absolution. But what followed? After the silly asse had vttered his crime in auricular confession, immediatly the discipline of the law was executed vpon him with seuerity: neither was hee iudged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended vpon the same, slaine, and deuoured. Whosoeuer was the author of this fabulous tale, had a mysticall vnderstanding in the same; for by the wolfe no doubt was meant the pope. But the fox was resembled to the prelats, curtisans, priests, and the rest of the spiritualtie. Of the spiritualty, the lord pope is some absolued; as contrary, the pope some doth absolue them in like manner. By the asse is meant the poore laitie, vpon whose backe the strait censure of the law is sharply executed, especially when the German emperors come vnder the popes inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be deposed, as in these stories may partly appeare before. And though the matter bee not the weight of a straw, yet what saith the holy father the wolfe, if it please him to make any matter of it?

Pœnitentiarius Asini.

The pope and his spiritualty confederat against the laity.

The pope maketh the emperor and lay men asses.

Immensum scelus est, iniuria quam peregrino
Feciſti, ſtramen ſubripiendo ſibi.
Non aduertiſti, quòd plura pericula paſſus
Plurima paſſurus, quòd peregrinus erat.
Non aduertiſti quòd ei per maxima terra
Et pelagi ſpacia, ſit peragranda via.
Non aduertiſti ſanctos, nec limina ſanctæ
Sanctorum ſanctam ſed nec Hieruſalem.
Ille vetranſiuit eadem loca, tam violentum
Ex inopinato ſenſit adeſſe malum.
De papa taceo, cuius protectio talem
Conduxit, cuius tu vilipendis opem.
Totius Eccleſiæ fuerit quam nuncius iſte,
Pertulit abſtracto gramine damna via, &c.

And thus they aggerating and exaggerating the fault to the vttermost, flie vpon the poore asse and deuoure him. By the which apologie, the tyrannicall and fraudulent practises of these spirituall Romanists are liuely described.

Not long after these aboue rehearsed, about the yéere of our Lord 1350. Gerhardus Ridder wrote also against the monks and friers a booke intituled, Lacryma Ecclesiæ: wherein he disputeth against the foresaid religious orders, namely against the begging friers: proouing that kind of life to be farre from christian perfection, for that it is against charitie to liue vpon other, when a man may liue by his owne labors. And affirmeth them to be hypocrits, filthy liuers, and such as for mans fauor, and for lucre sake, doe mix with true diuinitie, fables, Apocryphaes, and dreams of vanitie. Also, that they vnder pretence of long prayer, deuoure widowes houses, and with their confessions, sermons, and burials, doe trouble the church of Christ manifold waies. And therefore perswaded the prelats to bridle and keepe short the inordinat licence and abuses of these monasticall persons, &c.

Gerhardus Ridder, a writer against monks and friers.

Yet I haue made no mention of Michael Cesenas, prouinciall of the gray Friers, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Antoninus, in quarta parte summæ, and saith they were condemned in the extrauagant of pope John, with one Ioannes de Polueo. Their opinions saith Antoninus were these; That Peter the Apostle was no more the head of the church, then the other Apostles: And that Christ left no vicar behinde him or head in his church: And that the pope hath no such authority to correct and punish, to institute or depose the emperour. Item, that all priests, of what degree soeuer, are of equall authority, power and iurisdiction by the institution of Christ

Michael Cesenas, Petrus de Corbaria, condemned of the pope. Ioannes de Polliaco.

Christ: but by the institution of the emperor, the pope to be superior, which by the same emperor also may bee revoked againe. Item, that neither the pope nor yet the church may punish any man, punitione coactiua; That is, by externe coaction; unlesse they receiue licence of the emperor. This foresaid Michael, generall of the gray friers, wrote against the tyranny, pride, and primacie of the pope, accusing him to be antichrist, and the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, drunke with the bloud of saints. He said there were two churches, one of the wicked flocking, wherein raigned the pope: the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the verttie was almost vtterly extinct. And for this cause he was depriued of his dignitie, and condemned of the pope. Notwithstanding, hee stood constant in his assertions. This Michael was about the yeere of our Lord 1322. And left behind him many fautors and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were slaine by the pope: some were condemned, as William Ockam; some were burned, as Ioannes de Castilione, and Franciscus de Arcatara. In extrauag. Ioan. 23.

The opinions of Michael against the pope.

Michael Cesenas deprived and condemned of the pope.

Martyrs. *Ioannes de Castilione, Franciscus de Arcatara,* burned.

With him also was condemned in the said Extrauagant, Ioannes de Poliaco aboue touched, whose assertions were these: That the pope could not giue licence to heare confessions to whom hee would, but that euery pastor in his owne church ought to suffice. Item, that pastors and bishoppes had their authority immediatly from Christ and his Apostles, and not from the pope. Item, that the constitution of pope Benedict 11. wherein he granteth larger priuiledges to the friers aboue other pastors, was no declaration of the law, but a subuersion. And for this he was by the said friers oppressed, about the yeere of our Lord, 1322.

After Simon Mepham archbishop of Canturbury before mentioned, who liued not long, succeeded John Stratford. After whom came John Offord, who liued but ten moneths. In whose roome succeeded Thomas, and remained but one yeere, an. 1350. And after him Simon Islyp was made archbishop of Canturbury, by pope Clement the 6. who sate 17. yeers, and builded Canturbury colledge in Oxford. Which Simon Islyp succeeded the bishop of Ely, named Simon Langham, who within two yeeres was made cardinall. In whose stead pope Urban the 5. ordained William Wittlesey bishop of Worcester to be archbishop of Canturbry, an. 1366. In which yeere, William bishop of Winchester, elected and founded the new colledge in Oxford.

Archbishops of Canturbury, the one succeeding the other.

New colledge in Oxford founded, an. 1366.

Againe, in the order of the popes, next vnto pope Clement the 6. before mentioned, about the same time, an. 1353. succeeded pope Innocent the 6. In the first yeere of which pope, two friers minors or Franciscans were burned at Auinion: Pro opinionibus (as mine author saith) erroneis, prout D. papæ & eius cardinalibus videbatur. 1. For certaine opinions, as seemed to the pope and his cardinals, erroneous. Ex chron. Walf. Of the which two friers, I finde in the Chronicles De actis Rom. pontificum, and in the history of Præmonstratensis, that the one was Ioannes Rochtaylada. Or rather, as I finde in Catal. testium cited out of the chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Hayabalus. Who being (as he recordeth) a Frier Minorite, began first in the time of pope Clement the 6. an. 1345. to preach and affirme openly, that he was by Gods reuelation charged and commanded to preach; that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon, and the pope with his cardinals to be very antichrist. And that pope Benedict, and the other before him his predecessors were damned; with other such like words tending much against the popes tyrannicall maiestie. And that the foresaid Hayabalus being brought before the popes face, constantly did stand in the same, saying: that he was commanded by Gods reuelation so to say, and also that he would preach the same if he might. To whom it was then obiected, that he had some hereticall bookes, and so was committed to prison in Auinion. In the time of his accusation it happened, that a certaine priest comming before the pope, cast the popes bull downe before his feete, saying: Loe here, take your bull vnto you, for it doth me no good at all. I haue labored now these three yeeres withall, and yet notwithstanding for all this your bull, I cannot bee restored to my right. The pope hearing this, commanded the poore priest to be scourged, and after to be laid in prison with the foresaid frier. What became of them afterward, the foresaid writer Henricus de Herfordia maketh no mention. But I may probably coniecture this priest and this frier Rochtaylada, or rather Hayabalus, were the two, whom mine author Thom. Walf. writeth to be burned at this time in Auinion, about the first beginning of this pope Innocentius the 6. Of this Rochtaylada, I thought good here to inserre the testimony and mention of John Froyfard, written of him in his first volume, chapter 211. in these words:

Pope Innocent 6.

Two Franciscans burned at Auinion.

Ioannes Rochetaylada martyr. *Ex Chron. Henrici de Herfordia.*

The church of Rome declared to be the whore of Babylon by Gods reuelation.

Rochetaylada with another frier, martyrs.

A priest for casting the popes bull before the popes feete, scourged, cast in prison, and after burned at Auinion.

Anno 1354

There was (saith Froyfard) a frier minor, full of great clergy in the citie of Auinion, called Frier John of Rochetaylada, the which frier pope Innocent the first held in prison in the castell of Baignour, for shewing of many maruailes after to come; principally hee shewed many things to fall vnto the prelats of the church for the great superfluitie and pride, that was then vsed among them. And also hee spake many things to fall of the realme of France, and of the great lords of Christendome, for the oppressions that they did to the poore common people. This Frier, said hee, would proue all his saying by the authority of the Apocalyps, and by other bookes of holy Saints and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the holy Ghost: hee shewed many things hard to beleeue, and many things fell after as hee said. Hee said them not as a Prophet, but hee shewed them by authority of ancient Scriptures, and by the grace of the holy Ghost, who gaue him vnderstanding to declare the ancient Prophets, and to shew to all christian people the yeeres and times when such things should fall. He made diuers bookes founded on great sciences and clergy, whereof one was made the yeere of our Lord 1346, wherein was written such maruels, that it were hard to beleeue them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when hee was demanded of the warres of France, hee said that all that had been seene, was not like that should bee seene after. For hee said that the warres in France should not bee ended, till the realme were vtterly wasted and exiled in euery part. The which saying was well seene after, for the noble realme of France was sore wasted and exiled, and specially in the terme that the said frier had set. The which was in the yeeres of our Lord 1356. 57, 58. and 59. Hee said in those yeeres, the princes and gentlemen of the Realme should not for feare shew themselues against the people of low estate, assembled of all countries without head or Captaine, and they should doe as they list in the realme of France; the which fell after, as ye haue heard, how the companions assembled them together, and by reason of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great Captaines.

Ex Ioanne Froisardo volu. 1. cap. 211.

About the same time happened in France a certaine contention betweene the French prelats, and the friers of Paris, testified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis; the briefe effect of which story is this: The prelats of France conuenting and assembling together in the citie of Paris, after a long deliberation among themselues, caused by the Bedles to bee called together all the students, maisters, and bachelers of euery facultie, with the chiefe heads also of all the religious houses and friers in the Vniuersitie of Paris. Who being all there congregated together in the bishop of Paris his house, where there were present foure archbishops, and twentie bishops: first, stood vp the bishop of Biturecense, who there making his sermon, tooke for his theame the place of Saint Paul to the Ephesians: Fratres vt sciatis quæ sit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, & profunditas charitatis, &c: and concluded thereupon, first that true charitie would compell them to see and prouide for their flockes. Secondly, that the vigor of charitie would arme them to withstand errors. Thirdly, hee concluded, that by dutie of charitie they were bound to giue their liues for the soules of their flocke committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by the same charitie euery man to hold himselfe content with that which was his owne, and not to intermeddle or busie himselfe further then to him appertained, or belonged to his office. For there (saith hee) all order ecclesiasticall is dissolued, whereas men not containing themselues in their owne precincts, presume in other mens charges where they haue nothing to doe. But this charitie (saith hee) now adaies waxeth cold, and all ecclesiasticall order is confounded and vtterly out of order. For many there bee, which now adaies presume to thrust in themselues where they haue nothing to doe; so that now the church may seeme a monster. For as in a naturall body appeareth a monster, where one member doth the office of another; so in the spirituall body, which is the Church, may bee thought likewise. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers maiors and minors, doe take vpon them to vsurpe and occupy the office to vs specially appertaining: namely, where as the Scripture warneth vs all, none to take vpon him any office, except hee be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aron was. Wherefore wee haue heretofore oftentimes caused the said Friers, both by the king himselfe in his owne person, and also by other nobles to be spoken to and desired, to surceasse from doing and intermedling in our office, and yet they would not, but haue preached against our wils through all our dioceses, and haue heard confessions, saying, that they haue the popes priuiledge to beare them out therein. For the which cause we come to you, and not we here present only, but also wee haue the handwriting, and the ful consent of all other our fellow bishops throughout the kingdome of France, to complaine to you of this so great insolencie and presumption of the friers. For that as we are, you shall be. Neither doe I thinke to be any of vs prelats here now, which haue not sometime been taken out of this Vniuersitie of yours. Wee haue desired moreouer, and caused to be desired the foresaid friers, to send their priuiledges to the apostolike sea, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the lord pope: which they refused also to doe. Wherefore to the intent you may the better vnderstand and see what their priuiledges be, and how farre they doe extend, we haue appointed the said priuiledges here openly to bee read vnto you.

Ex scripto God. fri. de Fontanis.

A contention in France betweene the prelats and the friers there.

A sermon of the bishop of Byters to the students of Paris against the friers.

That is, the Dominicke friers, and the Franciscan friers.

Then stood vp another in the publike place, and there read the priuiledges of both the orders: and afterward read also the constitution

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The constitution of pope Innocent 3. *Omnis vtriusque sexus.*

constitution of pope Innocent 3. written in the 5. of the decretals, and beginneth: Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c. Which constitution was repugnant and contrary to the foresaid priuiledges, as he there manifestly proued, declaring how both the said priuiledges were derogatorie to that constitution.

The friers priuiledges proued contrary to the popes constitution.

This done, then rose vp the bishop Ambianensis, a great lawyer, who discoursing from article to article, there proued by good law, that the said constitution stood in his full force and vigor, and ought not to be infringed by the friers priuiledges in no part. And therefore by the vertue of that constitution, that the friers ought not so misorderly to intrude themselues in hearing confessions, in inioyning of penance, and in preaching in churches and dioceses, without speciall licence of the bishop of the diocese, and curate of the parish: vnto whose words neuer a frier at that time replied againe. And so the bishop proceeding to his conclusion, desired the Vniuersitie to assist them in that case, wherein they were all determined (saith he) to stand firmely to the shedding of their blood, in resisting that misorder and iniuries of the friers. This happened the 6. day of December, which they dedicate to saint Nicolas.

The bishop Ambianensis. Friers ought not to preach in churches without speciall licence of them to whom the church belongeth.

The next day being sunday, one of the order of the minorites or Franciscans, went to the church of the maiorites or preaching friers: where he made a sermon (which was neuer seene before, the one order to come and resort with the other) beginning in the foresaid matter to replie, and to expound in order through euery article as well as he could: adding moreouer and saying, that they went not so far in their priuiledges, as they lawfully might. And said moreouer, that what time the said priuiledges were in obtaining in Rome; the bishop Ambianensis was there present himselfe, resisting the same with all his power; yea all the prelats also of France sent and wrote vp to the court against the same, and yet did not preuaile. For when the friers there presently declared and opened to the pope in what maner and how far they had vsed priuiledges; the pope the same time said, Placet: That is, agreed vnto the same. And now (saith hee) the prelats require and demand of vs to send vp our priuiledges to the court; which were great follie in vs: For in so doing, what should wee else but giue place and occasion, to reuoke againe the authoritie which is giuen in our hands alreadie? Furthermore, our Warden and maister is now lately dead, and the maister here of the Dominicke friers, is not now present. Wherefore we dare not determine in such a weightie cause (touching the priuiledges of our order) without the presence of them. And therefore wee desire you of the Vniuersitie to hold vs therein excused, and not to bee so lightly stirred against vs, for we are not the worst and vilest part of the Vniuersitie, &c.

The friers replie against the prelats.

The next day being the 8. day of the same moneth, which is also dedicate to the conception of our ladie, vpon which day it was determined likewise, that one of the Dominicke friers should preach in the church of the Franciscan or gray friers, and so he did: tending to the same end, as the other frier in the other church had done before. Whereby it may seeme the prouerbe well answered vnto, whereof we reade in the Gospell: Facti sunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipsa die.

Herod and Pilate were made friends in crucifying of Christ.

It was not long after, that the feast of S. Thomas the apostle followed, in whose vigil all the heads of the Vniuersitie againe, were warned the third day after to congregate together in the church of saint Bernard at the sermon time. Which being done, and the assemblie meeting together, an other sermon was made by a diuine of the Vniuersity, whose theame was: Prope est Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum in veritate, &c. Wherein he with many words and great authorities argued against them that would not bee obedient vnto their prelats, &c. The sermon being ended, then rose vp againe the bishop Ambianensis, who prosecutiug the rest of the theame, and comming to the word in veritate, diuided it into three parts, according to the common glosse of the decretals:

Another sermon against the friers.

Bishop Ambianensis. *In veritate, &c.*

Est verum vitæ, doctrinæ, iustitiæque;
Primum semper habe, duo propter scandala linque.

Verity in three parts consisteth.

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of canonicall Scriptures and out of the law, and by euident demonstration of experience; that the friers first had no veritie of life, because they were full of hypocrisie: neither had they veritie of doctrine, because in their heart they bare gall, and in their tongue hony: neither verity of iustice, because they vsurped other mens offices. And thus concluding with the same, caused againe to be read the said priuiledges, with the constitution aboue specified. And so expounding place by place, did argue and proue that the said constitution, in no part was euacuate or infringed by the priuiledges aforesaid. Which thing being declared, he added moreouer, that whereas the friers say (saith he) that I should be present in ỳ obtaining of the priuiledges, I grant it to be true, and when word came to me thrice therof, I went to the pope reclaiming and requiring the said priuiledges to be reuoked: but the next day after, it so pleased the pope to send me out abrode vpon weightie affaires, so that then the matter had no end. After that, we sent also other messengers with our letters, for the same cause vnto the court of Rome, whom the friers say not to haue preuailed, but they lie therein. For the said messengers againe brought vs letters, from the chiefe of the court of Rome, sealed with their seales: which letters wee haue diuers times presented to our king, and will shortly shew them vnto you all. In the which letters the lord pope hath promised the said priuiledges, either to be vtterly abrogate, or else to be mitigated with some more plaine interpretation, of the which we trust shortly to haue the publike bull or writ from the pope.

The friers priuiledges confuted in disputation at Paris.

At last, the said bishop required and desired of all there, of what diocesse, or countrie soeuer they were, that they would copie out the foresaid priuiledges, and send them abrode into their countries, that all men might see what they were, and how farre they did extend. In fine, the matter comming into open disputation, it was concluded by maister Giles one of the Austine friers (who was thought to be most reasonable of all the other friers, in this wise) that after his sentence, the prelats were in the truer part, &c. Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.

Concerning this wrangling contention betweene the Vniuersitie and friers of France heretofore mentioned, whereof partly the originall cause there may be vnderstood by that which hath beene said, to rise vpon certaine priuiledges granted by popes to the friers, to intermeddle in matters of parish churches: As to heare confessions, to preach and teach, with power thereto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houses, and to receiue imprpriations, &c: because it were too long here to describe the full circumstances thereof, also because the said contention did indure a long time not only in France, but also came ouer into England: the whole discourse thereof more amplie (Christ willing) shall be declared in the beginning of the next booke following, when we come to the story of Armachanus.

About what time and yeare, this brawle was in the Vniuersitie of Paris betweene the friers and prelats there, as hath beene declared: the like contention happened also in the Vniuersitie of Oxford in the yeare aboue prefixed, 1354. saue only that the strife among the maisters of Paris, as it rose vpon frierly ceremonies, so it went no further, then brawling words and matter of excommunication: but this tumult rising of a drunken cause, proceeded further vnto bloodie stripes. The first originall whereof began in a tauerne, betweene a scholar and the good man of the house. Who falling together in altercation, grew to such heate of words, that the student (contra ius hospitij) poured the wine vpon the head of the host and brake his head with the quart pot. Vpon this occasion giuen, eftsoones parts began to be taken betweene the townes men and the scholars. Insomuch that a grieuous sedition and conflict followed vpon the same: wherein many of the townesmen were wounded, and to the number of twentie slaine. Diuers also of the scholars grieuously hurt. The space of two daies this hurly burlie continued. Upon the second day certaine religious and deuout persons ordained a solemne procession generall, to pray for peace. Yet notwithstanding all that procession as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which procession (the skirmish still waxing hote) one of the students being hardly pursued by the townesmen, for succour in his flight, came running to the priest or frier, which caried about (as the maner was) the pixe: thinking to find refuge at the presence of the transubstantiated God of the altar there caried and inbored. Notwithstanding, the God there not present, or else not seeing him, or else peraduenture being asléepe, the scholar found there small helpe. For the townsmen in the heate of the chase, forgetting belike the vertue of the popes transubstantiation, followed him so hard, that in the presence of the pixe they brake his head, and wounded him grieuously. This done, at length some peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morow following, other townsmen in the villages about, ioyning with the the townsmen of Oxford; confederated together in great force and power to set vpon the students there, and so did, hauing a blacke flag borne before them, and so inuaded the Vniuersitie men. Whereupon the scholars being ouermatched and compelled to flée into their halles and hostles, were so pursued by their enemies, that twentie of the doores of their halles & chambers were broke open, & many of them wounded, and (as it is said) slaine and throwne into priuies: their bookes with kniues and bils cut all in pieces, and much of their goods caried away. And thus the students of that Vniuersitie being conquered by the townsmen of Oxford, and of the countrie about, departed and left the Vniuersitie. So that for a time, the schooles there, and all schoole acts did vtterly cease from all exercise of studie, except onely Merton colledge hall, with a few other remaining behind.

A seditious commotion betweene the townes men and the scholars in the Vniuersitie of Oxford.

Procession for peace.

The holy procession would bring no peace.

Transubstantiation will not helpe in time of neede.

A conflict of the scholars of Oxford.

The Vniuersitie of Oxford dissolued for a time.

This being done the 12. day of February, the queene at the same time being at Woodstocke, was brought to bed, and purified on the first Sunday in Lent with great solemnitie of iusting. About which time the bishop of Lincolne their Diocesane hearing of this excessiue outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all parsons and priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, none to celebrate masse or any diuine seruice in the presence of any lay person within the said towne of Oxford, interdicting withall the whole towne. Which interdiction indured the space of a whole yeare and more.

The towne of Oxford interdicted.

The king also sent thither his iustices to examine & inquire

The friers proued with a lie.

of the matter. Before whom diuers lay men and of the clergie were indicted, and foure of the chiefe burgesses of the said towne were indicted, and by the kings commandement sent to the tower of London, were there imprisoned. At length through much labour of the nobles, the king so tooke vp the matter, that sending his writings vnto all sheriffes in England offered pardon, to all and singuler students of that Vniuersitie, (wheresoeuer dispersed) for that transgression: Whereby the Vniuersitie in short time was replenished againe as before. Moreouer was granted to the Vicechancellor or commissarie (as they terme him) of the towne and Vniuersitie of Oxford, to haue the assise of bread, ale, wine, and all other victuals, the maior of the said towne being excluded. Also was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should giue to the Vniuersitie of Oxford 200. pound sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses: reserued notwithstanding to euery one of the students his seuerall action against any seuerall person of the townesmen, &c.

Granted to the commissarie of Oxford to haue the assise of bread and ale, and other priuiledges aboue the Maior of the towne.

About the yeare of our Lord 1354. the king with the consent of his counsell, reuoked home againe out of Flanders the staple of Wooll, with all things thereunto appertaining, and stablished the same in sundrie places within the realme, namely in Westminster, Canturbury, Chichester, Bristow, Lincolne, and in Hull. Which Staple after An. 1362. was translated ouer into Callis.

Of Simon Islip archbishop of Canturburie mentioned a little before, pag. 360. I reade in the said author aboue specified, that he by his letters patent directed to all parsons and vicars within his prouince: straitely charged them and their parishioners vnder paine of excommunication, not to abstaine from bodily labor, vpon certaine saints daies, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to vnthriftie idlenesse. Item, that to priests should be giuen no more for their yearely stipend, but 3. pound 6. s. viij. d. which made diuers of them to rob and steale, &c. An. 1362. The next yeare following, which was 1363. the foresaid king Edward kept his parliament at London in the moneth of October: wherein was prohibited, no gold nor siluer to be worne in knines, girdles, brooches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might dispend 10. pound by yeare. Item, that none should weare either silks or costly furres, except such as might dispend 100. pound by yeare. Also that Merchant venturers should not export ouer any merchandise out of the realme, or seeke for wines in other countries: whereby other nations should be constrained rather to seeke to vs, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

An wholesome decree of a good archbishop not to abstaine from bodily labour vpon certaine holy daies.

A parliament.

After this Simon Islip as is aboue recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wittelesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudburie.

Simon Sudburie archb. of Canturbury.

Much about the same time, the Nuns of saint Bridgits order began first. About which time also was builded the queenes college in Oxford, by queene Philip of England, wife to king Edward the third: Circa annum domini 1360.

The nuns of saint Bridgits order.

Moreouer in the time of this pope Innocent, frier John Lyle bishop of Ely, moued with certaine iniuries (as hee thought) done to him by the lady Blanch, made his complaint to the pope. Who sending downe his curse to the bishop of Lincolne, and other prelats to bee executed vpon the aduersaries of the bishop of Ely: commanded them, that if they did know any of the said aduersaries dead and buried (that notwithstanding) they should cause the same to be taken vp: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had beene of the kings counsell. Wherefore the king being displeased, and not vnworthilie, did trouble and molest againe the said prelats. This comming to the popes hearing, certaine were directed downe from the court of Rome, in the behalfe of the foresaid bishop of Ely: who meeting with the bishop of Rochester the kings treasurer, deliuered vnto him being armed, letters from the bishop of Rome, the tenour whereof was not knowen. Which done, they incontinent auoided away. But certaine of the kings seruants pursuing, did ouertake them: of whom some they imprisoned, some they brought to the Iustices, and so were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appeare what reuerence the popes letters in this kings daies had in this Realme of England. Ex Chro. Walsing. This pope Innocent ordained the feast of the holy speare, and of the holie nailes.

This ladie Blanch was Dutchesse of Lancaster.

Dead men excommunicated by the pope.

The popes messengers hanged.

The feast of the speare and of the holy nailes.

And here to make an end of this fourth booke, now remaineth after our order and custome before begunne, to prosecute the race of the archbishops of Canturburie, in this foresaid fourth booke contained, beginning where before wee left, pag. 154. at Lanfrancus.

A Table of the archbishops of Canturbury in this *fourth booke contained.*

34. Lanfrancus. 19.

Polydor Virg. lib. 9. numbereth this Lanfrancus to bee the thirtie three archbishop. But by the count of other authors (namely by the chronicle of the monke of Douer) seemeth to be deceiued, as hee was in the 28. yeares of Dunstan, which indeed did sit but nineteene or twentie at the most. This errour of Polydore seemeth to come by leauing out either Elsius, which was the 23. or by leauing out Elfricus, which was the 26. as in some authors I find.

Moreouer here is to bee noted, that although the said Elfricus were left out, yet Lanfrancus cannot be 33.

Note also, that in the table of the third booke before, after Stricius to put in Sanctus Aluredus. Which in the order of archbishops I left out in the end of the third booke, page 154.

This Lanfrancus was an Italian, and a stout champion of the pope. After his stubborne dissension with Thomas archbishop of Yorke, hee wrote against Berengarius, intituling his booke, Opus Scintillarum, pag. 157.

Also the same Lanfranke builded the new church at Canturburie, and pluckt downe the old. By him was builded the church of saint Gregorie. At length hee was expulsed by king William Rufus.

35. Anselmus. 26.

Of this Anselmus, and the strife betweene him and the king, looke in the pag. 168.

36. Radulphus. 8.

Vnder Rad. the order of Cisternians began.

37. Gulielmus Curboil. 13.

By this W. the new worke of the church of saint Martins at Douer was builded.

38. Theobaldus. 24.

By this Theobald, monks were first brought into the church of Douer. He was expulsed by K. Stephan. In his time the church of S. Gregory was burned at Canturbury.

39. Tho. Becket. 9.

Of the life and death of this Becket, see the pag. 186.

Ex Crickeladensi: Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis eius miracula prædicaret, interminantes minas mortis seu maximarum pœnarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuisse martyrem, & miracula eius prædicantibus, &c.

Ex histor. Cricke ladensi.

40. Richardus. 10.

This Richard was a monke: in his time Christs church at Canturburie was burned.

41. Baldwinus. 7.

Betweene this Baldwine and the monks was great discord. He suspended the prior from his priorship, and 22. monks from all seruice. He caused the Subprior with all his adherents to be excommunicate through all Kent.

42. Hubertus. 14.

In the time of this Hubert the chapell of Lambeth was pluckt downe. Also the church of Douer was burned.

43. Stephanus Langhton. 22.

This Stephan with the monks of Canturbury, were expulsed by king John.

This Stephan intending to giue orders in the chapell of Lambeth, was stopped by the monks of Canturburie, through their appeale and prohibition. Wherfore he required Eustace bishop of London, to minister the same orders in the church of S. Paul.

In his time fell great variance betweene the monks of Rochester and the monks of Canturburie, for the election of their bishop, which election the monks of Canturburie would

would not admit, before the Rochester monkes had presented the bishoppes staffe in the church of Canturburie, so that both the churches sent their messengers to the court of Rome.

44. Richardus Magnus. 4. At the consecration of this Richard, contention rose betweene the Bishop of Rochester & bishop of Bathe, who should consecrate him.

Item, betweene the said Richard and the monks of Canturburie fell a grieuous discord, about certaine liberties belonging to the Archbishop.

The said archbishop for certaine quarrels against the king, went vp to Rome, who died in Tuscia.

After this Richard, the election of three archbishops was callate at Rome: of Radulphus de noua villa, of John Prior of Canturburie, of John Blund.

45. Edmund of Abenden. 7. This Edmund was called saint Edmund, at whose election the prior of Douer thinking to bee present, as at ỳ mariage of his mother, was not permitted by the monkes of Canturburie. For the which iniurie hee appealed and went to Rome to complaine, not against the elect, but against the election: where hee obtained of the pope for all the priors and successors of Douer, to haue full interest in the election of the archbishops, besides other priuiledges which hee obtained, percase not without some good store of money. Afterward the monks of Canturburie, accused him to the archbishop, as though hee stood against the person of the elect, and so obtained of the archbishop being angry with him, to haue brought him vnder the chapter of Canturburie, there to bee punished. Whereupon the prior seeing him so destitute of all helpe of lawyers, was constrained in the foresaid chapter to crie peccaui. Then being suspended from his priorship, was at length sent home to Douer, being compelled first to set his hand to a certaine composition betweene him and the foresaid monks.

The said Edmund archbishop, also hauing some quarrell against the king, went vp to Rome, and died before his comming home.

46. Bonifacius. 25. In the time of this Boniface, pope Gregorie wickedly granted to king Henrie the third (for the getting of the kingdome of Sicile, which belonged not to him to giue, nor to the other to take,) tenths of goods temporall and spirituall, for fiue yeares. Item, all the first yeares fruites of churches that should bee vacant for fiue yeares. Item, halfe of all the goods of beneficed men not resident at their benefices. Item, all Legacies not distinctly giuen. And yet the kingdome of Sicile neuer came to his hands, which belonged to Manfredus, sonne of Fredericke the emperor. Strife betweene this Boniface, and the prior of Canturburie. Item, betweene him and bish. of Roff. Item, betweene him and the chapter of Lincolne: all which was after agréed: Chro. Douerens. fol. 20. pag. 2.

Strife in Winchester, about chusing the bishop after the death of Aymarus the kings brother.

Strife in the Conuocation which Boniface did hold at Lambeth. In the which councell were recited the statutes of Octobonus, and other new statutes made: against which John Hemelingford the kings chaplen with other moe, and prince Edward on the kings behalfe, did appeale. Chro. Douer. fol. 21.

Vnder this Boniface archbish. Tunbridge and Hadlo first came vnder the custodie of the archb. of Canturbury.

Walter John of Exeter bought the bishoprick of Winchester for 6000. marks, which being knowne hee was faine to pay the same summe againe to the pope, and so was sent home.

Boniface the archbishop being in the parts of Sebaudia, An. 1262. fell an other alteration betweene the prior and chapter of Canturburie on the one part, and the prior and chapter of Douer on the other part. Which two houses almost were neuer in quiet, and all about certaine liberties and priuiledges: as for making the subprior, for receiuing in of monkes, and for visitations of the Church of Douer.

Anno 1268. Boniface archbishop interdicted the city of London, because in the same citie the archbishop of Yorke did hold vp his crosse, the archbishop of Canturbury being there present, the king holding then his parliament at Westminster.

This archbishop died in the parts of Sebaudia.

John prior of Canturburie was elected by the monks against the kings mind, but by the pope refused.

Adam Chilinden was elect, but he resigned his election to ỳ pope.

47. Robert Kilwarbie. Frier. 6. In the time of this Robert Kilwarby, appeale was taken against the chapter of Canturbury by the bishop of Winchester, of Worcester, and Exeter: for the which cause the said bishops went vp to Rome to prosecute the appeale. The matter was, because they did not their obedience to the monks of Canturburie, the see beeing emptie.

Walter Gifkard archbishop of Yorke, going toward the generall councell, bare vp his crosse through the middle of Kent, in the time of this Robert archbishop of Canturburie, An. 1272.

By pope Gregorie 10. in the generall councell at Lions, all the orders of friers were put downe, 4. orders only except, that is, Dominicks, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

This Robert Kilwarby by the commandement of pope Nicolas was made cardinall of Rome, bishop of Portuensis.

Where is to be noted an vntruth in Polydore Virgil, which saith that he was made cardinall by pope Gregorie, which could not be. An vntruth in Polyd. Virgil.

48. Iohn Peckham. 13. Robert Burnell bishop of Bathe was elected, but by the pope refused: For whom John Peckham a gray frier, was placed by pope Nicolas.

In the first yeare of this frier Peckham, Wil. Wikewane archb. of Yorke comming from his consecration at Rome to Douer, bare vp his crosse through the midst of Kent, whereat was no little adoe.

Robert Gernemine archdeacon of Canturbury went to law at Rome for the liberties and possessions of his archdeaconship 2. yeares, and there died.

In his time also an other wrangling fell betweene the monks of Canturbury, & the monks of Douer, in the time of this John Peckham, for admitting certaine nouices of Douer into orders. Ex chr. Monach. Douer. fol. 42.

This Peckham holding a councell at Lambeth ordeined diuers statutes, and caused the ordinances of the councell of Lions, and of Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, and his predecessor to be obserued.

Great strife and hatred was betweene this Peckham and Thomas bishop of Hereford: who being excommunicated by Peckham, appealed to Rome, and went to the pope.

The prior and couent of Cant. made their appeale, against this archb. Peckham, that he should not consecrate Walter le Schamel new elect bishop of Salisburie, in any other place, except only in the church of Canturbury, but by their leaue and licence first obtained. Notwithstanding the archbishop nothing regarding their appeale, proceeded in the consecration of the said bishop nere to the towne of Reading, whereupon the prior and couent ceased not to prosecute their appeale against the archbishop.

Betweene Richard Ferrings archdeacon of Cant. of the one partie, and the barons of Douer of the other partie, the same yeare fell out an other like wrangling, for that the archdeacon claimed to visit the church of Douer: contrarie the barons affirmed, that none had nor should haue to do there to order or dispose in spirituall matters but onely the archbishop, and the prior and couent of

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saint Martin. Ex eod. chron. fol. 46.

After the death of William Whichwane archbishop of Yorke, John de Roma succéded after him, and comming from his consecration at Rome to Douer, bare his crosse through the middle of Kent, contrary to the inhibition of John Peckham.

49. Robert. Winchelsey. 19.

This Robert which was archb. in the latter time of king Edward the 1. for certaine displeasure of the king conceiued against him, departed the realme, and in his banishment remained two or three yeares. And about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the second was restored againe: Anno 1309. Ex chro. Rich. 2. Thus few archbishops of Cant. wee find, with whom kings haue not had some quarrel or other. The cause betweene the king and him (saith mine author) was this: that the king accused him to pope Clement to disturbe his realme, and to take part with rebels, &c. Ex chro. S. Albani.

This Robert also excommunicated Walter, bishop of Couent. for holding with the king and Peter Gaueston against the ordinances of the barons; wherefore the said bishop appealed to the pope, against whom the archbishop sent Adam Merimouth.

This Adam Merimouth was compiler of the storie of K. Edward.

In the time of this Robert archbishop, the order of Templaries were abolished by pope Clement 5. in the councell of Vienna with this sentence diffinitiue: Quanquam de iure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus.

50. Gualter Reynald. 15.

After the decease of Rob. Winchelsey, who departed Anno 1312. Thomas Cobham a learned man was elected by full consent of the Monks: who came to Auinion, to haue his election confirmed. But the pope reseruing the vacant seate to his owne hands put in Walter Reynald B. of Worcester Chancellor of England, who gouerned the seate 15. yeares.

The chronicler of S. Albans, recordeth also how in the daies of this archb. An. 1319. certaine lepers conspiring with the Turks and Iewes went about to impotionate, and infect all christendome, by inuenoming their fountaines, lakes, pits, barrels, and such other places. Of the which crime diuers of them being conuict, were worthilie burned in France. About the which yeare, the said author maketh also relation, how in the realme of England much murren fell among the beasts: insomuch, that the dogges eating vpon their flesh (infected belike by the waters and fountaines) fel downe dead incontinent. Neither durst men for that cause almost taste of any beefe: An. 1318. 1319. Ex Chron. Alban.

This Walter archb. taking part with the queene Isabell against king Edward her husband, died the same yeer in which he was deposed: An. 1237. Ex Chro. S. Albani.

After Walter the archb. as affirmeth the chron. of S. Alban, succéded Simon Mepham. Of whom I maruell that Polydore maketh no word or mention: belike hee sate not long: after followed John Stratford.

51. John Stratford. 29.

In the story of Adam Merimouth is recorded that this J. Stratford intending to visit the diocelle of Northfolke, was not receiued by the bishop, the chapter and clergie there, alledging that he obserued not the ordinary canon therein. To whom the archbishop said againe, he had the popes letters, and shewed the same. But the other answered, that those letters were fallie obtained and tended to the suppression of the clergie, and therfore they would not obey: wherefore the archbishop excommunicated the bishop, and suspended the prior, and interdicted the couent: An. 1343.

52. Ioh. Offord. 10. moneths.

Maister John Offord chancellor of England was elected and confirmed archb. of Canturbury, but not consecrated, and sat but 10. months, about the yeare of our Lord, 1350. Pestilentia in Anglia.

53. Tho. Braidwarden. 1.

This Thomas Braidwarden following after John Stratford sate not long but died within 10 moneths of the plague, as they say. Which was called then the first great plague in England, raging so sore in all quarters, that it was thought scarce the tenth part of men to bee left aliue.

The first great plague in England.

54. Simon Islepe. 17.

In the time of Simon Islepe which followed after Bradwarden; king Edw. An. 1362. is reported after the blind superstition of those daies, to offer in the church of Westminster the vestiments wherin saint Peter did celebrate masse. Which belike were well kept from mothes, to last so long. Ex Chron. Alban.

The vestiments wherin S. Peter said masse, or else the papists doe lie.

The same Simon Islepe, among other constitutions ordeined through all churches and chapels vnder paine of excommunication; that no man should abstaine from bodily labors vpon certaine saints daies, as is before touched: which fact of his is not a little noted in our monkish histories.

This Simon builded Canturburie colledge in Oxford.

Canturburie colledge builded in Oxford.

The conclusion of this fourth Booke.

The conclusion of this booke. Antichrist in his pride.

For asmuch as Satan being chained vp all this while, for the space of a thousand yeares, beginneth about this time to bee loosed and to come abrode, according to the forewarning of saint Iohns Reuelation: Therfore to conclude the fourth Booke, wherin sufficiently hath beene described the excessiue pride and pompe of Antichrist, flourishing in his ruffe, and securitie, from the time of William Conquerour hitherto: now (Christ willing and assisting vs thereunto) wee minde in these latter Bookes hereafter following, in order of history to expresse the latter persecutions and horrible troubles of the church, raised vp by Satanas in his minister Antichrist, with the resistance againe of Christs church against him. And so to prosecute (by the mercifull grace of Christ) the proceeding and course of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruine of the said Antichrist. To the intent that if any be in

The loosing out of Satan.

such error to thinke that Antichrist is yet to come, let him consider and ponder wel the tragicall rages, the miserable and most sorrowfull persecutions, murthers, and vexations of these latter 300. yeares now following, and I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt to know, that not only Antichrist is already come, but also to know where hee sitteth and how he is now falling apace (the Lord Christ be thanked for euer) to his decay and confusion.

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The Fifth Booke containing the

last three hundred yeares from the loosing out of Satan.

The fifth booke.

THus hauing discoursed in these former bookes, the order and course of yeares, from the first tying vp of Satan vnto the yeer of our Lord 1360. I haue a little ouerpassed the stint of time in the Scripture appointed, for the losing out of him againe. For so it is written by S. John Apoc. 20. that after a thousand yeares, Satanas the old Dragon shall bee let loose againe for a season, &c.

The yeares and time of loosing out Satan examined.

For the better explanation of the which mystery, let vs first consider the contert of the Scripture: afterward let vs examine by history and course of times, the meaning of the same: and first to recite the words of the Apocalypse, the text of the prophesie is this, chap. 20.

Apoc. 20.

And I saw an angell descending from heauen, hauing a key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand. And he tooke the Dragon the old serpent, which is the diuell and Satanas, and bound him for a thousand yeares, and put him in the bottomlesse dungeon & shut him vp, and signed him with his seale, that he should no more seduce the Gentils, till a thousand yeares were expired. And after that he must bee loosed againe for a little space of time. And I saw seates, and they sat vpon them, and iudgement was giuen vnto them; and the soules I saw of them which were beheaded for the testimonie of Iesus, &c.

By these words of the Reuelation here recited, three speciall times are to be noted.

First, the being abrode of Satan to deceiue the world.

Secondly, the binding vp of him.

Thirdly, the loosing out of him againe, after a thousand yeares consummate, for a time.

The place of the Apoc. 20. expounded, for the loosing out of Satan.

Concerning the interpretation of which times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceiued by ignorance of histories, and state of things done in the church: supposing that the chaining vp of Satan for a thousand yeares, spoken of in the Reuelation, was ment from the birth of Christ our Lord. Wherein I grant that spiritually the strength and dominion of Satan in accusing and condemning vs for sinne, was cast downe at the passion and by the passion of Christ our Sauior, and locked vp not only for a thousand yeares, but for euer and euer. Albeit as touching the malicious hatred and furie of that serpent, against the outward bodies of Christs poore saints (which is the heele of Christ) to afflict and torment the church outwardly: That I iudge to bee ment in the Reuelation of saint John, not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitiue church. At what time it pleased God to pitie the sorrowfull affliction of his poore flocke, being so long vnder persecution, the space of three hundred yeares, and so to asswage their griefes and torments. Which is ment by binding vp of Satan, worker of all those mischiefes: vnderstanding thereby, that forsomuch as the diuell prince of this world, had now by the death of Christ the sonne of God lost al his power and interest against the soule of man, should turne his furious rage and malice (which he had to Christ, against the people of Christ (which is ment by the heele of the seed, Genesis 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet should not be for euer, but for a determinate time, when as it should please the Lord to bridle the malice, and shackle the power of the old serpent, and giue rest vnto his church for the tearme of a thousand yeares. Which time being expired, the said serpent should be suffred loose againe for a certaine or a small time, Apoc. 20

What the loosing of Satan doth meane in Scripture.

Three reasons.

The first reason.

And thus to expound this prophetical place of Scripture I am led by three reasons.

The first is, for that the binding vp of Satan, and closing him in the bottomlesse pit by the angell, importeth as much that he was at libertie, raging and doing mischiefe before. And certes those so terrible and so horrible persecutions of the primitiue time vniuersally through the whole world, during the space of three hundred yeares of the church, doe declare no lesse. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed, that Satan all that time, was not fastened and closed vp.

The 2. reason.

The second reason mouing me to thinke that the closing vp of Satan was after the ten persecutions of the primitiue church, is taken out of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse. Where we reade, that after the woman (meaning the church) had trauelled forth her man child, the old Dragon the diuell, the same time being cast downe from heauen, drawing the third part of the starres with him; stood before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is, the church of God) with a whole flood of water (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments) and from thence went moreouer to fight against the residue of her seede, and stood vpon the sands of the sea, whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked vp.

The 3. reason.

Apoc. cap. 13.

The third reason I collect out of the Apocalyps thirteenth chapter; where is written of the beast, signifying the emperiall Monarchie of Rome: that he had power to make warre forty and two moneths. By the which moneths is meant no doubt, the time that the Dragon, and the persecuting emperours, should haue in afflicting the saints of the primitiue church. The computation of which forty two moneths (counting euery moneth for a Sabbath of yeares, that is, for seuen yeares, after the order of Scripture) riseth to the summe (counting from the passion of the Lord Christ) three hundred yeares lacking fiue, at what time Parentius the last persecutor in Rome fighting against Constantinus, was drowned with his souldiers, like as Pharao was drowned persecuting the children of Israel in the red sea. Vnto the which xlij. moneths, or Sabbaths of yeares, if yee adde the other fiue yeares wherein Licinius persecuted in the East; yee shall find iust three hundred yeares, as is specified before in the first booke of this volume, pag. 79.

xlij. moneths in the Apoc. cap. 13. examined.

What time Satan was tied vp.

After the which forty and two moneths being expired, manifest it is that the furie of Satan, that is, his violent malice and power ouer the saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained vniuersally through the whole world.

Thus then the matter standing euident, that Satan after 300. yeares, counting from the passion of Christ, began to be chained vp, at what time the persecution of the primitiue church began to cease: now let vs see, how long this binding vp of Satan should continue, which was promised in the booke of the Reuelation to be a thousand yeares. Which thousand yeers, if ye adde to the xlij. moneths of yeares, that is, to 294. yeers: they make 1294. yeares after the passion of the Lord. To these moreouer adde the 30. yeares of the age of Christ, and it commeth to the yeare of our Lord 1324. which was the yeare of the letting out of Satan, according to the prophesie of the Apocalyps.

About what time and yeare Satan was let out by the count of the Apocalyps.

¶ A Table containing the time of the persecution both of the primitiue, and of the latter church; with the count of yeares from the first binding vp of Satan, to his loosing againe, after the mind of the Apocalyps.

The first persecution of the primitiue church, beginning at the 30. yeares of Christ, was prophesied to continue 42. moneths, that is,	294. An.	
The ceasing of the last persecution of the primitiue church by the death of Licinius the last persecutor, began Anno 324. from the nativitie of Christ, which was from the 30. yeare of his age.	294.	The ceasing of persecution in the primitiue church.
The binding vp of Satan after peace giuen to the church, counting from the 30. yeares of Christ, began	294. An.	
And lasted a thousand yeares, that is, counting from the thirtith yeer of Christ, to the yeare,	1294.	The binding vp of Satan.

The time of loosing of Satan.

About which yeare pope Boniface the eighth was pope, and made the sixth booke of the decretals: confirmed the orders of friers, and priuiledged them with great freedomes, as appeareth by his constitution: Super cathedram, An. } 1294.

The time of Antichrist, examined.

Unto the which count of yeares both not much disagree that I found in a certaine old chronicle prophesied and written in the latter end of a booke, which booke was written as it seemeth, by a monke of Douer, and remaineth yet in the custody of William Carie, a citizen of London: alledging the prophesie of one Haymcardus a gray frier, grounded vpon the authoritie of Joachim the abbat, prophesying that Antichrist should bee borne the yeare from the nativitie of Christ 1260. Which is, counting after the Lords passion, the very same yeare and time when the orders of friers both Dominickes and Franciscans began first to bee set vp by pope Honorius the third, and by pope Gregorius the 9. which was the yeare of our Lord, counting after his passion, } 1226.

And counting after the nativitie of the Lord, was the yeare, } 1260.

Whereof these verses in the author were written.

Verses prophesying of the comming of Antichrist.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies seni post partum virginis almæ:
Tunc Antichristus nascetur dæmone plenus.

And these verses were written, as appeareth by the said author, An. 1285.

These things thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the prophesie of the Apocalyps, now let vs enter (Christ willing) to the declaration of these latter times, which followed after the letting out of Satan into the world. Describing the wondrous perturbations and cruell tyrannie stirred vp by him against Christs church: also the valiant resistance of the church of Christ against him and Antichrist, as in these our bookes here vnder following may appeare.

The argument of the bookes after following.

The argument of which booke consisteth in two parts: first to entreate of the raging furie of Satan now losed, and of Antichrist; against the saints of Christ fighting and trauelling for the maintenance of the truth, and reformation of the church. Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the said Antichrist, through the power of the word of God, being at length, either (in a great part of the world) ouerthrowne, or at least vniuersally in the whole world detected.

Anno 1360

A briefe rehearsall of faithfull learned men, which withstood the proceedings of the pope.

Thus then to begin with the yéer of our Lord, 1360. wherein I haue a little, as is afore said, transgressed the stint of the first loosing out of Satan: wee are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darkenesse, beginneth some reformation of his church, by the diligent industrie of sundrie his faithfull and learned seruants: of whom diuers alreadie wee haue foretouched in the former booke before, as namely Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marcilius Patauinus, Ockam, Robertus Gallus, Robertus Grosthed, Petrus de Cugnerijs, Ioannes Rupescissanus, Conradus Hager, Ioannes de Poliaco, Cesenas, with other moe: which withstood the corrupt errours, and intollerable enormities of the bishop of Rome, beside them which about these times were put to death by the said bishop of Rome, as Chastilion, and Franciscus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded: also the two Franciscans, martyrs, which were burned at Auinion, mentioned, pag. 360.

Now to these (the Lord willing) wee will adde such other holy martyrs and confessors, who following after in the course of yeares with like zeale and strength of Gods word, and also with like danger of their liues, gaue the like resistance against the enemie of Christs religion, and suffered at his hands the like persecutions. First beginning with that godly man, whosoeuer he was the author of the booke (his name I haue not) intituled the praier and complaint of the Ploughman: written as it appeareth, about this present time.

The author of the ploughmans prayer not knowne.

Which booke as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindall, so I haue as truely distributed the same abrode to the readers hands: neither changing any thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the phrase thereof. Although the oldnesse and age of his speech and tearmes be almost growne now out of vse: yet I thought it so best, both for the bilitie of the booke to reserue it from oblition, as also in his owne language to let it goe abrode, for the more credit and testimonie of the true antiquitie of the same. Adding withall in the margent for the better vnderstanding of the Reader, some interpretation of certaine difficult tearmes and speeches, as otherwise might perhaps hinder or stay the Reader. The matter of this complaining praier of the ploughman thus procéedeth.

An old ancient writing intituled, The praier and complaint of the Ploughman.

An old booke intituled, the ploughmans prayer, written as it seemeth about Wickliffes time. The complaint of Esay applied to these times.

JEsu Christ that was ybore of the maide Marie, haue on thy poore seruants mercy and pitie, and helpe them in their great neede to fight against sinne, and against the diuell that is author of sinne, and more neednes there neuer to crie to Christ for helpe, then it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God said by Isay the prophet: ye riseth vp earlich to follow drunkennesse, and to drinke till it be euen, the harpe and other minstrelsies beeth in your feasts and wine. But the worke of God yee ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keepe to the workes of his hands: And therefore my people is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noblemen of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren drie for thirst, and therefore hell hath drawne abrode their soule, and hath yopened his mouth without any end. And eftsoones saith Isay the prophet: The word is floten away, and the highnes of the people is ymade sicke, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they haue broken my lawes, and ychanged my right, and han destroyed mine euerlasting bond and [a] forward betweene them and me. And therefore cursing shall deuour the earth, and they that wonneth on the earthly shallen done sinne. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen waxe wood, and few men shullen ben yleft vpon the earth. And yet saith Isay the prophet, this saith God, forasmuch as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is farre from me. And they han ydrad more mens commandement, then mine, and more draw to their doctrines, then mine. Therefore will I make a great wondring vnto this people, wisedome shall perish away from wise men, and vnderstanding of readie men shall bee yhid. And so it seemeth that another saying of Isay is fulfilled, there as God bad him goe teach the people, and said, goe forth and say to this people: eares haue ye, and vnderstand ye not, and eyes yee haue and sight ne know ye not, Make blind the heart of this people, and make their eares heauie, and close their eyen, lest he see with his eyne, and yheare with his eares, and vnderstand with his heart, and be yturned, and ych heale him of his sickenesse. And Isay said to God: how long Lord shall this be? And God said, For to that the cities ben desolate withouten a wonnier, and an house withouten a man.

[a] Forward, that is, couenant.

Here is mychel nede for to make sorrow, and to crie to our Lord Iesu Christ hertilich for helpe and for succour, that hee wole forgiue vs our sinnes, and giue vs grace and conning to seruen him better hereafter. And God of his endlesse mercy giue vs grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Christs law in helping of mens soules, for we beth lewd men, and sinfull men, and vncunning, and if he woll be our helpe and our succour, we shullen well performe our purpose. And blessed be our Lord God that hideth his wisedome from wise men, and fro readie mens and teacheth it to small children, as Christ teacheth in the gospell.

The law of Christ standeth on two parts.

Christen men haue a law to keepe, the which law beth twe parties. Beleue in Christ that is God, and is the foundment of their law, and vpon this foundment, as he said to Peter, and the gospell beareth witnes, he wol byelden his church, and this is the first partie of Christs law. The second partie of this law beth Christs commandements that beth written in the gospell, and more verilich in christen mens hearts.

And as touching the beleue, we beleuen that Christ is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleuen neuertheless that in the godhead there bene three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy ghost, and all these three persons ben one God, and not many gods, and al they beth ylich mightie, ylich good, and ylich wise, and euer haue ben, and euer shullen ben. We beleuen this God made the world of nought, and man he made after his owne likenesse in Paradise that was a land of blisse, and gaue him that land for his heritage, and bad him that he should not eate of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, that was [b] a mid Paradise. Then the diuell that was fallen out of heauen for his pride, had enuie to man, and by a false suggestion he made man eate of this tree, and brake the commandement of God, and tho was man ouercome of the diuell, and so he lost his heritage, and was put out therof into the world that was a land of trauel, and of sorrow vnder the fiends thraldome, to be punished for his trespasse. There man followed wickednesse and sinne, and God for the sinne of man sent a floud into this world, and dround all mankind saue eight soules. And after this floud he let men multiplie in the world, and so he assayed whether man dread him or loued him, and among other he found a man, that hight Abraham: this man he proued whether he loued him and dread him, and bad him that he should offeren Isaac his son vpon an hil, and Abraham as a true seruant fulfilled the Lords commandement: and for his buxumnesse and truth, God sware vnto Abraham that he would multiply his seed as the grauell in the sea, and as the stars of heauen, and he behight to him and to his heires the land of behest for heritage for euer, gif they wolden ben his true seruants and keepe his hests. And God [c] held him forward for Isaac Abrahams son begat Iacob and Esau: and of Iacob that is yeloped Israel, comen Gods people that he chose to be his seruants, and to who he behight the land of behest. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt vnder Pharao that was king of Egypt: and they crieden to God that hee should deliueren them out of

[b] Amid Paradise, that is, in the middest of Paradise.

Abraham.

[c] held him forward, that is, kept promise withhim.

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that thraldome, and so he did: for he sent to Pharao, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliuer his people to done him sacrifice: and tofore Pharao he made Moses done many wonders, or that Pharao would deliuer his people, and at the last by night he deliuered his people out of thraldome, and led them through a desert toward the land of beheest, and there he gaue them a law, that they shoulden lyuen after, when they comen into their country, and in their way thitherward, the ten commandements God wrote himselfe in two tables of stone: the remnant of the law he taught them by Moses his seruant, how they shoulden doe euerichone to other, and gif they trespassed againe the law, he ordained how they shoulden be punished. Also he taught them what maner sacrifices they should doe to him, and he chose him a people to ben his priests, that was Aaron and his children, to done sacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple also. He chese him the remnant of the children of Leuy to ben seruants in the tabernacle to the priest, and he said: When ye come into the land of beheest, the children of Leuy they shullen haue none heritage amongst their brethren, for I would be their part, and their heritage, and they shullen serue me in the tabernacle by daies and by nights, and he ordained that priests should haue a part of the sacrifices that were offered in the tabernacle, and the first begotten beasts, both of men and beasts and other things, as the lawtelleth. And the other children of Leuy that serued in the tabernacle, should haue tithings of the people to their liuelode, of the which tithings they should geuen the priests the tenth party in forme of offering. The children of Leuy, both priests and other, should haue houses and crofts, and lesewes for their beasts in the land of beheest, and none other heritage: and so God gaue them their land of beheest, and bad them that they ne should worship no other God then him. Also he bad that they should keepe his commandements; and gif they did so, all their enemies about them should drede them, and be their seruants. And gif they worshipped false gods, and so forsaken his lawes, he behight them that he would bring them out of that land, and make them serue their enemies: but yet he said hee would not benemen his mercie away from them, if they would cry mercie and amend their defaults: and all this was done on Gods side.

Gods loue to man.

And here is much loue showed of God to man. And who so looketh the bible, he shall finde that man showed him little loue againward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgatten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the Prophets and his seruants [a] feile times to bid them withdrawen them from their sinnes, and other they haue slowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in prison: and oft times God tooke vpon them great vengeance for their sinnes, and when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall processe of the old Testament, that God gaue to his people by Moses his seruant. And all this testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a new Testament that was giuen by Christ. And it was byhoten by Ieremy the Prophet, as Saint Paul beareth witnes in the Epistle that he writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremy saith in this wise: Loe daies shall come, God saith, and I will make a new band to the house of Israel, and to the house of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I tooke their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; the which forward they maden vein, and I had lordship ouer them. But this shall be the forward that I wold make with them after those daies: I will giue my lawes with them in their inwardnesse, and I will writen them in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they should be my people: and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (God saith) from the least to the most, should know me, for I will forgiuen them their sins, and will no more thinke on their sinnes.

[a] Feile times, that is, oft times.

This is the new testament, that Christ both God and man, borne of the maid Mary, he taught here in this world to bring man out of sinne, and out of the diuels thraldome and seruice, to heauen, that is land of blisse and heritage, to all tho that beleeuen on him, and keepen his commandements, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the third day arose againe from death to life, and fet Adam and Eue, and many other folke out of hell, and afterward he came to his disciples, and comforted them. After, he stied vp to heauen to his father, and tho he sent the holy Ghost amonges his disciples: and in time comming, he will come and demen all mankind after their werkes, and after the words he spake vpon earth: some to blisse, within body and in soule euer withouten end; and some to paine withouten end, both in body and in soule.

This is our beleeue and all christen mens, and this beleeue is the first point of the new Testament, that ych christen man is hold stedfastly to beleeue, and rather to suffer the death, than forsaken this beleeue; and so this beleeue is the bread of spirituall life, in forsaking sinne, that Christ brought vs to life.

But for asmuch as mans liuing ne stondeth not all only ych by bread, he hath ygiuen vs a draught of water of life to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne shall neuer afterward ben a thurst. For this water is the cleare teaching of the gospell, that encloseth seuen commandements.

Speciall precepts or lessons of the gospell.

The first is this: Thou shalt loue thy God ouer all other things, and thy brother as thy selfe, both enemy and friend.

The second commandement is of meekenesse, in the which Christ chargeth vs to forsake lordship vpon our brethren, and other worldly worships, and so he did himselfe.

The third commandement, is in stondiug stedfastlich in truth, and forsaking all falsenesse.

The fourth commandement, is to suffer in this world diseases and wrongs, withouten ageinstondings.

The fifth commandement is mercy, to forgiuen our brethren their trespasse, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeance.

The sixth commandement is poorenesse in spirit, but not to ben a beggar.

The seuenth commandement, is chastitie: that is, a forsaking of fleshlich likings displeasing to God. These commandements encloseu the ten commandements of the old, and somewhat more.

This water is a blessed drinke for christen men soule. But more harme is, much folke would drinke of this water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God saith by Ezekiel the Prophet; When iche geue to you the most cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feet, and that water is so defouled, ye geue my sheep to drinke. But the cleane water is yhid fro the sheep, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread lest the sheep dyen for thurst. And Christ that is the wisdome of the father of heauen, and well of this wisdome that come from heauen to earth to teach man this wisdome, through the which man should ouercome the sleights of the diuell, that is principall enemy of mankind: haue mercy and pitie of his people, and shew if it be his will how this water is troubled, and by whom: and [e] sith cleare this water that his sheep mowne drinken hereof, and kele the thirst of their souls. Blessed mote our Lord ben, for he hath ytaught vs in the gospell, that ere then hee would come to the vniuersall dome, then should come many in his name, & sayen, that they weren Christ; and they shoulden done many wonders, and begilen many men: and many false Prophets shoulden arisen and begilen much folke.

Christs sheep stopped from cleane water, and compelled to drinke puddle.

[e] Sith, that is, afterward.

A Lord, yblessed mote thou ben of euerich creature: which ben they that haue ysaid that they weren in Christ, and haue thus begiled thus thy people? Trulich Lord I trow; thilke that sayen that they ben in thy sted, and [f] binemen thy worship, and maken thy people worshippen them as God, and haue hid thy lawes from the people. Lord, who durst sit in thy steed, and benemen thee thy worship and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the people worshippen them as Gods? The Sauter telles, that God ne wole not in the day of dome, demen men for bodelich sacrifices and Holocaustes: but God saith; Yeld to me sacrifice of herying, and yeld to God thine auowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ych wil defend thee, and thou shalt worship me.

[f] Bynemen, that is, take away.

The [g] herying of God standeth in three things. In louing God ouer all other things: in dreading God ouer all other things: in trusting in God ouer all other things.

[g] Herying, that is, worshipping.

These three points Christ teacheth in the gospel. But I trow men louen him but a little. For who so loueth Christ, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for hereste and follie, and keepeth mens words. Also men dreden more men and mens lawes and their cursings, then Christ and his lawes and his cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helps, than they do in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hath he that setteth in Gods stede, bynomen God these three heryings, and maketh men louen him and his lawes, more then Christ & Christs lawe, and dreaden him also. And there as the people shulden yeeld to God their vowes, he saith he hath power to assoylen them of their auowes, and so this sacrifice hee [h] nemeth away from God. And there as the people should cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their crying to God, and bynemeth God that worship. This day of tribulation is whan man is fallen through sinne, into the diuels seruice, and than we shulden cry to God after helpe, and axen forgeuenesse of our sinne, and make great sorrow for our sinne, and ben in full will to doe so no more, ne none other sinne; and that our Lord God wole forgeuen vs our sinne, and maken our soule clene. For his mercy is endlesse.

The honouring of God standeth in three things.

[h] Nemeth, that is, taketh.

But Lord, here men haue benomen thee much worshippe: for men seyn that thou ne might not cleane assoylen vs of our sinne. But if we knowlegen our sinnes to priests, and taken of them a penance for our sinne, gif we mowen speake with them.

Against auricular confession.

A Lord, thou forgaue sometime Peter his sinnes, and also Mary Magdaleine, and many other sinfull men without shriuing to priests, and taking penance of priests for their sins. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man haue bynomen thee thy might. And we lewd men beleuen, that there nis no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh himselfe of so great power, he [i] heighteth himselfe aboue God. And S. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God, and heighten him aboue God; and gif any such be, he is a false Christ.

Sins forgiuen without shrift.

[i] Heighteth, that is, exalteth.

But hereto seyn priests, that when Christ made clean leprous men, he bade them goe and shew them to priests. And therefore

Obiection of the priests to maintain shrift.

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Answer to the obiection.

fore they seyn that it is a commandement of Christ, that a man shouldshewen his sinne to priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the old law betokeneth sinne in this new law. A Lord God, whether thine apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest commanded men to shriuen them to priests, and they ne taught not that commandement to the people; me thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy commandements, ne needfull to heale of mans soule. And as me thinketh, the law of lepre is nothing to the purpose of shriuing: for priests in the old law, hadden certaine points and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: and gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane, and then they hadden power to receiuen him among his brethren, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God.

This nis nothing to the purpose of shriuing. For there nis but one priest, that is Christ, that may know in certaine the lepre of the soule. Ne no priest may make the soule cleane of her sinne, but Christ that is priest after Melchisedekes order: ne no priest here beneath may ywit for certaine whether a man be cleane of his sinne, or cleane assoyled, but gif God tell it him by reuelation. Ne God ordained not that his priests should set men a penance for their sinne, after the quantity of the sinne, but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wote well that God is much vnworshiped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his yeeres of grace, then in Christs absolutions, and thereby is the people much appaired. For now, the sorrow a man should make for his sinne, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to doe sinne for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich penance.

Penance for sin, is mans ordinance, and not Gods.

Another mischiefe is, that the people is ybrought into this beliefe, that one priest hath a great power to assoylen a man of his sinne and clennere, then another priest hath.

Another mischiefe is this, that some priest may assoylen them both of sinne and paine: and in this they taken them a power that Christ granted no man in earth, ne he ne vsed it dought on earth himselfe.

Another mischiefe is, that these priests sellen forgiuenesse of mens sinnes and absolutions for mony; and this is an heresie accursed that is ycleped simony: and all thilke priests that axeth price for graunting of spirituall grace, [a] beth by holy lawes depriued of their priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this heresie. And be they ware, for Helyse the Prophet toke no money of Naaman, when he was made cleane of his lepre, but Giesi his seruant: and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with him and with his heires euermore after.

Here is much matter of sorrow, to see the people thus far ylad away from God and worshupen a false God in earth, that by might and by strength hath ydone away the great sacrifice of God out of his temple: of which mischiefe and discomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witnesse in the gospell. Who that readeth it, vnderstand it. Thus we haue ytold apertly, how he that saith he sitteth in Christs stede [b] bineme th Christ his worship, and his sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worshepen him as a god on earth.

Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sinnes euerichone to other, as S. Iames teacheth, and pray we hartilich to God euerichone one for other, and then we shulen hopen forgiuenes of our sins. For God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he ne will not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his sin and liuen. And therefore, when he came downe to saue mankind, he gaue vs a law of loue and of mercy: and bade, gif a man doe a trespasse, amend him priuilich, and gif he leue not his sin, amend him before witnesse: and gif he ne amendeth not, men should tell to the church; and gif he ne amendeth not than, men should shone his company as a publican, or a man that is misbeleeued: and this law was yfigured in the law of lepre, who that readeth it, he may see the sooth.

But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede, hath vndoe thy law of mercy and loue; Lord, thou biddest louen enemies as our selfe; and thou shewest in the gospell, there as the Samaritan had mercy on the Iew. And thou biddest vs also prayen for them that cursen vs, and that defamen vs, and pursuen vs to death. And so Lord thou diddest, and thine apostles also. But hee that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy church, he hath vndone thy law of loue and mercy. For gif we speaken of louing our enemies, hee teacheth vs to fight with our enemies, that Christ hath forboden. He curseth and desireth vengeance to them that so doth to him. Gif any man pursueth him, he curseth him, that it is a sorrow a christen man to hearen the cursings that they maken, and blasphemies in such cursing. Of what thing that I know, I may beare true witnesse.

The pope breaketh the law of loue and mercy.

But gif we speake of louing of our brethren, this is vndone by him that saith he is Gods vicar in earth. For Christ in the gospell biddeth vs, that we shoulden clepen vs no father vpon earth: but clepen God our father. to maken vs loue perfitlich together. And he clepeth himselfe father of fathers, and maketh many religions, & to euerich a father. But whether is loue and charity encreased by these fathers and by their religions, or elles ymade lesse? For a frier ne loueth not a monke, ne a seculat man neither, nor yet one frier another that is not of the order, and it is againward.

The pope would be a father, but he beareth no loue.

A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in these religions. For Lord, what charity hauen such men of religion, that known how they mown againstand sin, & fleen away fro their brethren that ben more vncunning then they ben, and suffren them to trauelen in the world withouten their counsell as beasts? Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but little charitie, & then is there little perfection. Lord God, when thou were on earth, thou were among sinfull men to drawen them from sin, and thy disciples also. And Lord, I trow thou ne granteste not one man more cunning then another al for himselfe: and I wote well that lewd men that ben laborers, ne trauell not alonlich for himselfe. Lord our beliefe is, that thou ne were not of the world, ne thy teaching neither, ne thy seruants that liueden after thy teaching. But all they forsaken the world, and so euery christen man must. But Lord, whether thou taughteste men forsake their brethrens company and trauell of the world, to liuen in ease and in rest, and out of trouble and anger of the world, by their brethrens trauell, and so forsaken the world?

To forsake the world, is not to liue in ease from company.

A Lord, thou ne taughteste not a man to forsaken a poore estate and trauell, to ben afterward a lord of his brethren, or ben a lords fellow, & dwelling with lords, as doth men of these new religions. Lord thou ne taughteste not men of thy religion thus to forsake the world, to liuen in perfection by themselfe in ease, and by other mens trauel. But Lord they sayen they ben ybound to thy seruice, and seruen thee both night and day in singing their praiers, both for themselfe and for other men, that done them good both quick and dead, and some of them gone about to teach thy people when they hauen leisure.

A Lord, gif they ben thy seruants; whose seruants ben we that cannot preien as they done? And when thou were here on earth, for our need thou taughteste thy seruants to preien thy father priuilich and shortlich: and gif there had ben a better maner of preying, I trow thou wouldest haue taught it in help of thy people. And Lord thou reproueste hypocrits that preyen in long praier, and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the Gospell; Wo to you Pharisies hypocrites. And Lord thou ne chargedst not thy seruants with such manner seruice: but thou seyst in the gospell, that the Pharisies worshopen thee with their lips, and their heart is farre from thee. For they [c] chargen more mens traditions than thy commandement.

[c] Chargen, that is, they care for.

And Lord, we lewed men han a beliefe, that thy goodnesse is endlesse: and gif we keepen thine hestes, than ben we thy true seruants. And though we preyen thee but a little and shortlich, thou wilt thinken on vs, and granten vs that vs nedeth, for so thou [d] behited vs sometime. And Lord I trow, that pray a man neuer so many quaint praiers, gif he ne keep not thine hests, he is not thy good seruant. But gif he keep thine hestes, then he is thy good seruant, and so me thinketh. Lord that praying of long praiers ne is not the seruice that thou desireste, but keeping of thine hests: and then a lewd man may serue God as well as a man of religion: though that the ploughman ne may not haue so much siluer for his praier, as men of religion. For they [e] kunnen not so well preisen their praiers as these other chapmen: but Lord our hope is, that our praiers bee neuer the worse, though it be not so well sold as other mens praiers.

[d] Behited, that is, promised. True seruice of God standeth not in long praiers, but in keeping Gods commandements.

[e] Kunnen, that is, they can.

Lord, Ezechiel the Prophet saith, that when he spake to the people thy words, they turned thy wordes into songs and into tales. And so Lord men done now: they singin merilich thy words, & that singing they clepen thy seruice. But Lord I trow that the best singers he herieth thee not most: but he that fulfilleth thy words, he [f] herieth thee full well, though he weep more then sing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy comandements, be more pleasing seruice to thee, than the singing of thy words. And would God that men would serue him in sorrow for their sinnes, and that they shoulden afterward seruen thee in mirth. For Christ saith; yblessed ben they that maken sorrow, for they shoulden ben yconforted. And wo to them that ben merry, and haue their comfort in this world. And Christ said, that the world should ioyen, and his seruants shulden bee sory, but their sorrow should be turned into ioy.

Singing in churches, falsly called Gods seruice.

[f] Herieth, that is, worshippeth. Weeping for sins, better seruice then singing in church.

A Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, hath yordained an order of priests to doe thy seruice in church to fore thy lewd people in singing mattens, euensong and masse. And therefore hee chargeth lewd men in paine of cursing, to bring to his priests tithings and offerings to finden his priests, and hee clepeth that Gods part, and due to priests that seruen him in church.

But Lord, in the old law the tithings of the lewd people ne were not due to priests, but to that other childer of Leuie that serueden thee in the temple, and the priest hadden their part of sacrifices, and the first bygeten beasts and other things as the law telleth. And Lord, Saint Paul thy seruant saith, that the order of the priesthood of Aaron ceased in Christs comming and the law of that priesthood. For Christ was end of sacrifices yoffered vpon the crosse to the father of heauen, to bring man out of sinne, and become himselfe a priest of Melchisedecks order. For he was both king and priest, without beginning and end, and both the priesthood of Aaron and also the law of that priesthood,

priesthood, ben ychanged in the comming of Christ. And S. Paul saith it is reproued, for it brought no man to perfection. For bloud of goats, ne of other beasts ne might done away sin, for to that Christ shad his bloud.

The order of priests, not made to offer Christs body.

A Lord Iesu, whether thou ordenest an order of priests to offren in the auter thy flesh and thy bloud to bringen men out of sinne, and also out of peine? And whether thou geue them aloneliche a power to eat thy flesh & thy bloud, & whether none other man may eat thy flesh and thy bloud withouten leue of priests? Lord, we beleuen, that thy flesh is very meat, and thy bloud very drinke; and who eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy bloud, dwelleth in thee, and thou in him; and who that eateth this bread, shall liue without end. But Lord thine disciples said; this is an hard word: but thou answerest them and seidest: when ye seeth mans soone stiuen vp there he was rather, the spirit is that maketh you liue, the words that ych haue spoken to you ben spirit and life. Lord, yblessed mote thou be, for in this word thou teachest vs that he, that keepeth thy words, and doth after them, eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy bloud, and hath an euerlasting life in thee. And for wee shoulden haue minde of this liuing, thou gauelst vs the sacrament of thy flesh and bloud, in forme of bread and wine at thy supper, before that thou shuldest suffer thy death, and tooke bread in thine hand, and saidest: Take ye this, & eat it, for it is my body: and thou tookest wine, and blessedst it, and said: This is the bloud of a new and an euerlasting Testament, that shall bee shed for many men in forgiuenesse of sinnes: as oft as ye done this, doe ye this in mind of me.

The sacrament of the body of the Lord abused.

a Fullen, that is, baptise.

A Lord, thou ne bede not thine disciples maken this a sacrifice, to bring men out of peines, gif a priest offred thy body in the altar: but thou bed them go, and a fullen all the folke in the name of the father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost, in forgiuenesse of their sins: and teach ye them to keep those things that ych haue commanded you. And Lord, thine disciples ne ordained not priests principallich to make thy body in sacrament, but for to teach the people, and good husbandmen that well gouerne their housholds, both wiues and children, and their meiny, they ordeined to be priests to teachen other men the law of Christ, both in word, in dede, and they liuedein as true christian men, euery day they eaten Christs body, and drinken his bloud, to the sustenance of liuing of their soules, and otherwhiles they tooken the sacrament of his body in form of bread and wine, in mind of our Lord Iesu Christ.

Priests principally sent to preach, not to say masse, or to make the Lords body.

But all this is turned vpse downe: for now who so wil liuen as thou taughtest, he shall ben holden a foole. And gif he speak thy teaching, he shal ben holden an heretike, & accursed. Lord, yhaue no lenger wonder hereof, for so they seiden to thee when thou were here sometime. And therefore we moten take in patience their words of blasphemy as thou diddest thy selfe, or elsewe weren to blame. And trulich Lord I trow, that if thou were now in the world, and taughtest as thou diddest sometime, thou shouldest ben done to death. For thy teaching is damned for heresie of wise men of the world, and then moten they nedes ben heretikes that teachen thy lore, and all they also that traueilen to liue thereafter.

He that speaketh Gods teaching, is holden an heretike.

And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, help thine vnkunning and lewd seruants, that wolen by their power and their kunning, helpe to destroy sinne. Leue Lord, sith thou madest woman in help of man, and in a more fraile degree then man is, to be gouerned by mans reason: What perfection of charitie is in these priests and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spousbod that thou ordeinedst in Paradise betwixt man and woman, for perfection to forsaken traueile, and liuen in ease by other mens traueile? For they mow not doe bodilich works for defouling of their hands, with whom they touchen thy precious body in the altar.

Leue Lord, gif good men forsaken the company of woman, and needs they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with shrewes, and therefore thy spousehod that thou madest in cleannes from sinne, it is now ychanged into liking of the flesh. And Lord, this is a great mischiefe vnto thy people. And young priests and men of religion, for default of wiues, maken many women horen, and drawn through their ensample many other men to sinne, and the ease that they liuen in, and their welfare, is a great cause of this mischief. And Lord me thinketh, that these ben quaint orders of religion, and none of thy sect that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfends, and forsaken wiues that God ne forfendeth not: and forsaken traual that God commands, and geuen their selfe to idlenes, that is the mother of all noughtinesse.

What inconuenience by the vnmarried liues of priests.

He complaineth of the idlenesse of priests.

And Lord, Mary thy blessed mother & Ioseph, touched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their hands, and liueden in as much cleannes of soule, as our priests done now, and touched thy body, and thou touchedest them in their souls. And Lord our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans soule that traueileth for his liuelode with his hands. For Lord, our beliefe is, that thine house is mans soule, that thou madest after thine owne likenesse.

What is the true church of Christ.

b To fore, that is, before.

But Lord God, men maketh now great stonen houses full of glasen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houses and churches. And they setten in these houses Mawmets of stocks and stones, b to fore them they knelen priuilich and apert, and maken their praiers; and all this they sayen is thy worship, and a great c herying to thee. A Lord, thou forbiddest sometime to make such mawmets, and who that had yworshipped such, had be worthy to be dead.

c Herying, that is, worshipping.

Lord in the gospell thou sayst, that true d heriers of God ne herieth him not in that hill beside Samaria, ne in Hierusalem neither, but true heriers of God herieth him in spirit & in truth. And Lord God, what herying is it to bilden thee a church of dead stones, and robben thy quicke churches of their bodilich liuelood? Lord God, what herying is it, to cloth mawmets of stocks and of stones in siluer and in gold, and in other good colours? And Lord I see thine image gone in cold and in hete in clothes all to broken, without shone and hosen, an hungred and a thrust. Lord what herying is it to teende tapers and torches before blinde mawmets that mowen not I seyen: And hide thee that art our light and our lanterne toward heauen, and put thee vnder a bushell, that for darknesse wee ne may not seene our way toward blisse? Lord what herying is it to kneele tofore mawmets that mow not yheren, and worshepen them with preyers, and maken thine quicke images kneele before them, and asken of them absolutions and blessings, and worshepen them as gods, and putten thy quicke images in thraldome and in traueile euermore as beasts, in cold and in heate, and in feeble fare to finden them in liken of the world? Lord what herying is it to fetch deed mens bones out of the ground, there as they shoulden kindelich rotten, and shrinen them in gold and siluer; and suffren the quicke bones of thine images to rot in prison for default of clothings? And suffren also thy quicke images to perish for default of sustenance, and rooten in the hoorchouse in abominable lechery? Some become theeues and robbers, and manquellers, that mighten ben yholpen with the gold and siluer that hongeth about deed mens bones, and other blinde mawmets of stockes and stones.

d Heriers, worshippers.

He commaineth of images in churches.

Lord, here ben great abominations that thou shewdist to Ezechiel thy Prophet, that priests done in thy temple, and yet they clepen that thine herying. But leue Lord, me thinketh that they louen thee little that thus defoulen thy quicke images, and worshippen blinde mawmets.

And Lord, another great mischief there is now in the world, an hunger that Amos thy Prophet speaketh of; that there shall comen an hunger in the earth, not of bread, ne thrust of drinke, but of hearing of Gods word. And thy sheepe woulden be refreshed, but their shepheards taken of thy sheep their liuelode, as tythings, &c. and liuen themselfe thereby where them liketh.

He complaineth of false pastors that liue by their flocke, but feed not them.

Of such shepheards thou speaketh by Ezechiel thy Prophet, and seyest; Wo to the shepheards of Israel that feden themselfe, for the flocks of sheep shoulden be yfed of their shepheards: but ye eaten the milk, and clothen you with their wolle, and the fat sheep ye slow, and my flocke ye ne fede not, the sicke sheep ye ne healed not, thilke that weren to broken ye ne knit not together, thilke that perished ye ne brought not againe: but yee ratled them with sternship and with power. And so the sheepe be sprad abroad in deuouring of all the beasts of the field. And Ieremy the Prophet saith: Woe to the shepheards that dispearseth abroad and teareth the flocke of my e lesewe.

e Lesew, that is, pasture.

A Lord, thou were a good shepheard, for thou putteest thy soule for thy sheep. But Lord, thou teldest that thilke that comen not in by the dore, ben night theeues and day theeues, and a these as thou seest, commeth not but for to steale, to slein, and to destroy. And Zachary the Prophet saith, that thou wouldest reren vp a shepheard vnkunning, that ne wol not hele thy sheep that f beth sicke, ne seeke thilke that beth lost. Vpon his arme is a swerd, and vpon his right eye: his arme shall wax dry, and his right eye shall lese his light. O Lord, helpe, for thy sheep beth at great mischiefe in the shepheards defaut.

f Beth, that is, bee.

But Lord, there commeth hired men, and they ne feden not thy sheepe in thy plenteous lesew, but feden thy sheepe with g sweuens, and false miracles and tales. But at thy truth they ne comen not: for Lord, I trow thou sendest them neuer. For haue they hire of thy sheep, they ne careth but little of the feding and the keping of thy sheepe. Lord, of these hired men speaketh Ieremy the Prophet, and thou seyst that word by him: I ne send them not, and they ronne h bliue; I ne speak vnto them, and they propheciden. For if they hadden stonden in my counsell, and they had made my words knowne to the puple, ech would haue turned them away from their yuill way, and from their wicked thoughts. For Lord, thou seyst that thy words ben as fire, and as an hammer breaking stones. And Lord, thou seyst: Lo I to these Prophets meeting sweuens of lesing, that haue ytold her sweuens, and haue begiled my puple in their lesing, and in their false miracles, when I neither sent, ne bed them. And these haue profitet nothing to my puple. And as Ieremy saith: From the least to the i mest all they studien couetice, and from the prophet to the priest, all they done gile.

Against hirelings.

g Sweuens, that is, dreams.

h Bliue, quickly.

i Mest, most.

A Lord, here is much mischiefe and matere of sorow, and yet there is more. For gif a lewd man would teach thy people truth of thy words, as he is yhold by thy commandement of charity, he shall be forboden and put in prison gif he doe it. And so Lord, thilke that haue the key of conning, haue ylockt the truth of thy teaching vnder many wardes, and yhid it from thy children

Why the priests neither teach themselues, nor will suffer others besides themselues to teach.

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children. But Lord, sith thy teaching is ycome from heauen aboue, our hope is, that with thy grace it shall breaken these wards, and shew him to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and the thrust of the soule. And then shall no shepheard, ner no false hiridman begile thy puple no more. For by thy law I write, as thou ihightest sometime, that from the least to the mest, al they shullen knowen thy will, and [b] weten how they shullen please thee euermore in certaine.

[a] Ihighten, promised. [b] Weten, know.

And leue lord, gif it be thy will help at this need, for there is none helpe but in thee. Thus Lord, by him that maketh himselfe thy viker in earth, is thy commandement of loue to thee and our brethren ybroken, both to him & to thy puple. But Lord God, mercy and patience that beth [c] tweine of thy commandements, beth destroied, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For Lord, Dauid in the Sauter saith: Blessed beth they that done dome and rightfulnes in euerich time.

[c] Tweine, that is, two.

O Lord, thou hast itaught vs as rightfulnes of heauen, & hast ybeden vs forgeuen our brethren as oft as they trespassen against vs. And Lord, thine old law of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he should suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth. But Christ made an end of this law, that one brother should not desire wracke of another: but not that he would that sinne should ben vnpunished, for thereto hath he ordained kings and dukes, and other lewd officers vnder them, whilke as S. Paul saith, ne carien not the swerd in vaine, for they ben the ministers of God, and wrakers to wrath, to them that euill done. And thus hath Christ ymade an end of this old law, ý one brother may not sueu another himselfe, [d] for that to wreken without sinne, for breaking of charity. But this charity Lord hath thy vicar ybroke, and says that we sinnen, but gif we sue for our right. And we see I wot, that thou taughtest vs sometime to giue our mantel also, euer that we shoulden sue for our coat. And so Lord beleuen we, that we ben ybounden to done by thy law, that is all charity, and officers duty is to defenden vs from thilke theuery, though we complainen not. But Lord, thy law is turned vpsedowne.

[d] For, that is, but.

He complaineth for punishing little faults, and to let great faults escape.

A Lord, what dome is to slean a theefe that take a mans cattell away from him, and sufferen a spouse-breaker to liue, and a lecherour that killeth a womans soule? And yet thy law stoned the spouse-breakers and leacherous, and let the theeues liuen and haue other punishment.

A Lord, what dome is it to slean a theef for stealing of a horse, and to let him liue vnpunished, & to maintain him that robbeth thy poore people of their liuelode, and the soule of his food?

If he be an heretike that breaketh mans law, what is the pope that breaketh Gods law?

Lord, it was neuer thy dome to sayen, that a man is an heretike, and cursed for breaking of mans law, and demen him for a good man for breaking thy hests.

Lord, what dome is it to curse a lewd man if he smite a priest, and not curse a priest that smiteth a lewd man, and leeseth his charity?

A lewd man, that is, a lay man.

Lord, what dome is it to curse the lewd people for tithings, and not curse the parson that robbeth the people of tithings, and teacheth them not Gods law, but feedeth them with painting of stone walles, and songs of Latine, that the people knowen not?

Lord, what dome is it to punish the poore man for his trespasse, and suffer the rich to continue in his sinne for a quantitie of money?

Lord, what dome is it to slean an vncunning lewd man for his sin, and suffer a priest, other a clerke that doth the same sin, scape aliue? Lord the sin of the priest or of the clerke is greater trespasse then it is of a lewd vncunning man, and greater ensample of wickednes to the common people.

Against the canon law.

Lord, what maner people be we, that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulnes of the old testamẽt, that was a law of dread, nor thy domes & thy rightfulnes of thy new testament, that is a law of loue and of mercy: but haue another law, and taken out of both thy lawes, that is liking to vs, and remnant of heathen mens lawes? and Lord this is a great mischiefe.

The popes law against Gods law, in causing men to accuse themselues.

O Lord, thou saiest in thy law, deme ye not and ye should not be demed: for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shal meten to you againward: and Lord thou saiest that by their worke we should know them: and by what we know that thou commanded vs not to demen mens thoughts, nor their works, that were not against thy law expresly. And yet Lord hee that saith he is thy vicar, will demen our thoughts, and aske vs what we thinke: not of the Lord, of thy hests, for they caren little for them, but of him and of his, whilke they sate aboue thine, and maken vs accusen our selfe, or else they willen accursen vs, for our accusers mowen we not knowne. And Lord, thou saiest in thine old law, that vnder two witnes at the least, or three, should stand euery matter: and that the witnes shoulden euer be the first that shoulden helpe to kill them.

[e] Mowen, that is, may.

And when the Scribes and the Pharises sometimes brought before thee a woman that was ytake in spouse breaking, and exeden of the a dome, thou didst write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dome: He that is without sin, throw first at her a stone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou forgaue the woman her trespasse, and bad her go forth, and sinne no more.

Tooke keepe, that is, tooke heed.

Sweet Lord, if the priests tooke keepe to thy dome, they would be agast to demen men as they done. O Lord, if one of them breake a commandement of thy law, he will aske mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the sinne, for peyne of death were too little. O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breaking of their lawes, other assent to such law? for breaking of thy law, they will set penance, or pardon them, and maintaine them as often as they trespassen. But Lord, if a man once breake their lawes, or speak against them, he may done penance but once, and after be burnt. Trulich Lord thou saiest, but if euery of vs forgiue not other his trespasse, thy father will not forgeuen vs our sins. And Lord when thou hong on the crosse, thou praiedst to thy father to haue mercy on thy enemies.

The breaking of the popes law more punished then the breaking of Gods law.

And yet they sein Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for they sain, they ne mowe by their law demen any man to the death. A leue Lord, euen so saiden their forefathers the Pharises, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any man: and yet they bidden Pilat to done thee to the death against his owne conscience, for he would gladly haue yquit thee, but for that they threatened him with the Emperor, and broughten against thee false witnes also: and he was an heathen man.

O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilat, that was an heathen iustice, then in our kings and iustices that woulden demen to the death, & berne in the fire him that the priest deliueren vnto them withouten witnes or prefe? For Pilat ne would not demen thee: for that the Pharises sayden that gif thou ne haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne would not deliuer him vnto thee: for to, they broughten in their false witnesse against thee. But Lord, as thou saidst sometime that it should ben lighter at domes day to Tyro and to Sydon and Gomorra, then to the cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles: so I dred, it shall be more light to Pilat in the dome, then to our kings and domes-men that so demen without witnes and prefe. For Lord, to demen thy folke for heretikes, is to holden thee an heretike; and to brennen them, is to brennen thee: for thou saidst to Paul when he persecuted thy people; Saul, Saul, wherefore persecutest thou me? and in the dome thou shalt say; that ye haue done to the least of mine, ye haue done to me.

For to, that is, therefore.

Pilat more commendeth then the pope.

Thus Lord, is thy mercy and iustice foredone by him that saith he is thy vicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himselfe, nor nill, not suffer other to doe it.

The third commandement, that is, patience and sufferance, is also ibroken by this vicar. Lord thou biddest sufferen both wrongs and strokes withouten againstanding; and so thou diddest thy selfe to geuen vs ensample to sufferen of our brethren. For suffering nourisheth loue, and againstandeth debate. All thy lawes is loue, or else the thing that draweth to loue.

But Lord, men teachen, that men shoulden pleten for their right, and fighten also therefore; and else they seyn, men ben in perill: and thou bid in the old law men fight for their country. And thy selfe haddest two swords in thy company, when thou shouldest goe to thy passion; that as these clerks seyn, betokeneth a spirituall sword, and a temporall sword, that thou gaue to thy vicar to rule with, thy church.

The pope breaketh patience.

Lord, this is a sleight speech; but Lord we beleuen that thou art king of blisse, and that is thine heritage and mankinds country; and in this world wee ne ben but strangers and pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this world, ne thy law neither, ne thy true seruants that kepen thy law. And Lord, thou were king of Iuda by inheritage, if thou wouldest haue ihad it; but thou forsooke it, and pletedest not therefore, ne fought not therefore.

But Lord, for thy kind heritage, and mankinds country, that is a land of blisse, thou foughtest mightilich. In battell thou ouercame thy enemy, and so thou won thine heritage. For thou that were a lord mightiest in battell, and also lord of vertues, are rightfullich king of blisse; as Dauid saith in the Psalter. But Lord, thine enemy smote thee despitefullich, and had power of thee, and hang thee vpon the crosse as thou hadst ben a theefe, and benomin thee all thy clothes, and sticked thee to the heart with a speare.

O Lord, this was an hard assault of a battell, and here thou ouercome by patience mightilich thine enemies; for thou ne wouldest not done against the wil of thy father. And thus Lord thou taughtest thy seruants to fight for their country. And Lord this fighting was in figure itaught in the old law. But Lord, men holden now the shadow of the old fighting & leuen the light of thy fighting, that thou taughtest openlich both in word and in deed.

Thilke vicar and his priests wost suffer nothing.

Lord, thou gaue vs a sword to fighten against our enemies for our country, that was thine holy teaching, and christen mens law. But Lord thy sword is put in a sheath, and in priests ward, that haue forsake the fighting that thou taughtest. For as they seyn, it is against their order to ben men of armes in thy battell, for it is vnseemelich, as they seyn, that thy vicar in earth, other his priests shulden suffer of other men. And therefore gif any man smite him, other any of his clerks, he ne taketh it not in patience, but anon he smiteth with his sword of cursing, and afterward with his bodelich sword, hee doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is a fighting against kind, and much against thy teaching.

O Lord, whether axedest thou after swerds in the time of thy passion to againstond thine enemies? nay forsooth thou Lord. For Peter that smote for great loue of thee, had no great

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great thanke of thee, for his smiting. And Lord, thou were mighty enough to haue againstond thine enemies, for through thy looking they fellen downe to the ground: Lord ybleſſed mote thou be. Here thou teacheſt vs that we ſhoulden ſuffren: for thou were mighty ynow to haue againſtand thine enemies, and thou haddeſt wepen; and thy men weren hearty to haue ſmitten.

O ſweet Lord, how may he for ſhame clepen himſelfe thy vicar and head of the church, that may not for ſhame ſuffer? Sith thou art a Lord, and ſufferedſt of thy ſubiects, to giuen vs enſample, and ſo did thy true ſeruants.

No temporall ſword giuen to Peter.

O Lord, whether geue thou to Peter a ſpirituall ſwerd to curſe, and a temporall ſwerd to ſle mens bodies? Lord, I trow not, for then Peter that loued thee ſo much, would haue ſmit with thy ſwerds. But Lord, he taughten vs to bleſſen them that curſen vs, and ſuffren and not smiten. And Lord, he ſed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he ſuffred the death as thou didſt.

O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters ſucceſſor, that hath forſaken patience, and feedeth thy people with curſing and with ſmiting? Lord thou ſaideſt in thy goſpell, when thy diſciples knewen well that thou were Chriſt, and that thou muſteſt goe to Ieruſalem, and ſufferen of the Scribes and Phariſes ſpittings, reproſes, and alſo the death. And Peter tooke thee aſide, and ſaid; God forbid that. And Lord, thou ſaideſt to Peter; Go behind me Sathanas, thou ſclaundereſt me in Iſrael. For thou ne ſauoreſt not thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wit it is vnreaſonable, that thou or thy vicar, gif thou madeſt any on earth, ſhoulden ſuffren of your ſuggets.

Thilke things, thoſe things.

A Lord, whether thou ordeineſt an order of fighters to turn men to the beliefe? Other ordeineſt that knights ſhoulden ſweare to fight for thy words?

Faith commeth not by outward force.

A Lord, whether bed thou, that gif a man turne to the faith that he ſhould geue his goods and cattell to the vicar that hath great lordſhips, and more then him needeth? Lord I wote well, that in the beginning of the churchmen that weren conuerted, threwen adown their goods afore the apoſtles feet. For all they weren in charity, and none of them ſaid this is mine, ne Peter made himſelfe no lord of theſe goods.

Pope breaketh the rule of charity, of mercy, and of patience.

But Lord, now he that clepeth himſelf thy vicar vpon earth, and ſucceſſor to Peter, hath ybroke thy commandement of charity, for he is become a lord. And he hath alſo broken thy commandement of mercy, and alſo of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into great miſchiefe and thraldom, for our chieftaine hath forſaken war and armes, and hath treated to haue peace with our enemies.

Or than, before that.

A Lord, gif it be thy will, draw out thy ſwerd out of his ſheth, that thy ſeruants may fight therewith againſt their enemies, and put cowardiſe out of our hearts: and comfort vs in battaile, or than thou come with thy ſwerd in thy mouth, to take vengeance on thine enemies. For gif we ben accorded with our enemies till that time come, it is dread leſt thou take vengeaunce both of them and of vs together. A Lord, there is no helpe now in this great miſchiefe but only in thee.

The pope breaketh the law of ſwearing.

Lord, thou geueſt vs a commandement of truth, in bidding vs ſay yea, yea, nay, nay, and ſweare for nothing. Thou geue vs alſo a maundement of meeknes, and another of poorenes; but Lord, he that clepeth himſelfe thy vicar on earth, hath both ybroken theſe commandements; for he maketh a law to compell men to ſweare, and by his lawes he teacheth that a man to ſaue his life, may forſweare and lie. And ſo Lord, through comfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to ſweare and to lie, ne oft times to forſwearen them. Lord here is little truth.

O Lord, thou haſt ybrought vs to a liuing of ſouls that ſtands in beleeuing in thee, and keeping thy heſts, and when we breaken thy heſts, then we ſlen our ſouls: and leſſe harme it were to ſuffer bodilich death.

Lord, king Saul brake thine heſts, and thou tooke his kingdome from his heires euermore after him, and gaue it to Dauid thy ſeruant, that kept thine heſts. And thou ſaidſt by Samuel thy Prophet to Saul the king, that it is a maner of worſhipping of falſe gods to breake thy heſts. For who that loueth thee ouer all things, and dreadeth thee alſo, he nole for nothing breake thine heſts.

Nole, that is, would not.

O Lord, gif breaking of thine heſts be herrying of falſe gods, I trow that he maketh the people breake thine heſts, and commandeth that his heſts ben kept of the people, maketh himſelfe a falſe god on earth; as Nabuchodonoſor did ſometime that was king of Babylon.

But Lord, we forſaken ſuch falſe gods; and beleuen that there ne ben no mo Gods then thou: and though thou ſuffer vs a while to ben in diſeaſe for knowledging of thee: we thanken thee with our hart, for it is a token that thou loueſt vs, to giuen vs in this world ſome penance for our treſpas.

Lord, in the old law, thy true ſeruants tooke the death, for they would not eaten ſwynes fleſh that thou haddeſt forbidde them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in vs to eaten vnclean mete of the ſoule, that thou haſt forbid? Lord thou ſaidſt, he that doth ſinne, is ſeruant of ſinne, and then he that lieth in forſwearing himſelfe, is ſeruant of leſing: and then he is ſeruant to the diuell, that is a lier and father of leſings. And Lord, thou ſayeſt, no man may ſerue two lords at once. O Lord then, euery liet for the time that he lieth, other forſweareth himſelfe, and forſaketh thy ſeruice for dread of his bodily death, becommeth the diuels ſeruant.

Seruant of ſeruants; the popes title abuſed.

O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himſelfe ſeruant of thy ſeruants, and in his doing hee maketh him a lord of thy ſeruants. Lord thou were both Lord and maſter, and ſo thou ſaid thy ſelfe; but yet in thy warks thou were as a ſeruant. Lord this was a great truth, and a great meeknes: but Lord, bid thou thy ſeruants that they ſhould not haue lordſhip ouer their brethren? Lord thou ſaydſt kings of the heathen men han lordſhip ouer their ſubiects, and they that vſe their power be cleped wel doers.

But Lord, thou ſaidſt it ſhould not be ſo amongeſt thy ſeruaunts. But he that were moſt, ſhould be as a ſeruaunt. Thou Lord, thou taughteſt thy diſciples to be meeke. Lord in the old law thy ſeruants durſt haue no lordſhip of their brethren, but if that thou bid them: and yet they ſhould not doe to their brethren as they did to thralles that ſerued them. But they ſhould doe to their brethren that were their ſeruaunts, as to their owne brethren: for all they were Abrahams children: and at a certaine time, they ſhould let their brethren paſſe from them in all freedome, but if they would wilfullich abiden ſtill in ſeruice.

Thralles, that is to ſay, bond men.

O Lord, thou gaue vs in thy comming a law of perfect loue, and in token of loue thou clepedſt thy ſelfe our brother. And to make vs perfect in loue, thou bid that we ſhould clepe to vs no father vpon earth, but thy father of heauen we ſhould clepe our father. Alas Lord, how violently our brethren and thy children ben now put in bodily thraldome, and in deſpite as beaſts euermore in greeuous trauell to finde proud men in eaſe. But Lord, if we take this defoule and this diſeaſe in patience, and in meeknes, and keep thine heſts, we hope to be free. And Lord geue our brethren grace to come out of thraldome of ſinne, that they fall in through the deſiring & vſage of lordſhip vpon their brethren. And Lord, thy prieſts in the old law had no lordſhips among their brethren, but houſes and paſtures for their beaſts: but Lord our prieſts now haue great lordſhips, and put their brethren in greater thraldome then lewd men that bee lords. Thus is meeknes forſaken.

Pride of prieſts.

Lord, thou biddeſt in the goſpell, that when a man is bid to the feaſt, he ſhould ſit in the loweſt place, and then hee may be ſet hyer with worſhip, when the lord of the feaſt beholdeth how his gueſts ſitteth. Lord it is drede that they that ſit now in the higheſt place, ſhould be bid in time comming ſit beneath; and that will be ſhame and vilenie for them. And it is thy ſaying, thoſe that hyeth himſelfe ſhould be lowed, and thoſe that loweth themſelues ſhould bee an heyghed. O Lord, thou biddeſt in thy goſpell to beware of the Phariſies, for it is a point of pride contrary to meekties. And Lord, thou ſayſt that they loue the firſt ſittings at ſupper, and alſo the principall chaires in churches, and greetings in cheeping, and to be cleped maſters of men. And Lord, thou ſayſt, be ye not cleped maſters, for one is your maſter, and that is Chriſt, and all ye be brethren: and clepe ye to you no father vpon earth, for one is your father that is in heauen. O Lord, this is a bleſſed leſſon to teach men to be meke.

But Lord, he that clepeth himſelfe thy vicar on earth, he clepeth himſelfe father of fathers againſt thy forbidding. And all thoſe worſhips thou haſt forbad. He approueth them, and maketh them maſters to many, that teach thy people their owne teaching, and leue thy teaching that is nedefull, and hiden it by quaint gloſes from thy lewd people, and feed thy people with ſweuens that they mete, and tales that doth little profite, but much harme to the people. But Lord, theſe gloſers obiect, that they deſire not the ſtate of maſtry to be worſhipped therby, but to profit the more to thy people, when they preach thy word. For as they ſuggen the people will beleeue more the preaching of a maſter that hath taken a ſtate of ſchole, then the preaching of another man that hath not taken the ſtate of maſtry.

Meeknes commended in Miniſters. Vicar in earth, not tollerable in the pope. Sweuens, that is, dreams.

Lord, whether it be any need that maſters beren witneſſe to thy teaching, that it is true and good? O Lord, whether may any maſter now by his eſtate of maſterie, that thou haſt forboden, draw any man from his ſinne, rather then another man that is not a maſter, ne wole be none; for it is forbodden him in thy Goſpell? Lord thou ſendeſt to maſters to preach thy people; and thou knowledgiſt in the Goſpel to thy father, that hee hath hid his wiſdome from wiſe men and redy men, and ſhewed it to litle children. And Lord, maſters of the law hylden thy teaching folly, and ſaiden that thou wouldeſt deſtroy the people with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, ſo theſe maſters feggeth now: for they haue written many bookes againſt thy teaching, that is truth; and ſo the prophecie of Ieremy is fulfilled when he ſaith: Trulich the falſe points of the maſters of the law hath wrought leaſing. And now is the time come that S. Paul ſpeaketh of, where he ſaith: Time ſhall come when men ſhall not ſuſteine wholſome teaching. But they ſhullen gather to hepe maſters with hutcing eares, and from truth they ſhullen turnen away their hearing, and turnen them to tales, that maſters haue maked to ſhowne their maiſtry and their wiſdome.

Maſterſhip and lordſhip in preachers.

And Lord, a man ſhall beleue more a mans works then his words.

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words, and the dede sheweth wel of these masters, that they desiren more maistry for their owne worship, then for profit of the people. For when they be masters, they ne preachen not so oft as they did before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is before rich men, there as they mowen beare worship and also profit of their preaching. But before poore men they preachen but seldem, when they ben masters: and so by their works we may seene that they ben false glosers.

And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen thine hests, him needeth no glose: but thilke that clepen themselfe christen men, and liuen against thy teaching and thine hests, needelich they mote glose thine hests, after their liuing, other elfe men shulden openlich yknow their hypocrisie and their falshod.

False glosers.

But Lord, thou sayst that there is nothing yhid that shall not be shewed sometime. And Lord, yblessed mote thou be: For somewhat thou shewest vs now of our mischiefes that we ben fallen in through the wisdomes of masters, that haue by sleights ylad vs away from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were the master of heauen, taught vs for loue, when thou were here sometime to heale of our soules, withouten error or heresie. But masters of worlds wisdome and their founder, haue ydamned it for heresie and for error.

O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reproue thy wisdome & thy teaching. And Lord, me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor king of Babylon, that thus hath reproued thy teaching and thine hests, and commandeth on all wise to kepen his hests; maketh thy people hearen him as a God on earth, and maketh them his thrales and his seruants.

But Lord, we lewd men knowen no God but thee; and we with thine helpe and thy grace, forsaken Nabugodonosor and his lawes. For hee in his proud estate wole haue all men vnder him, and he nele be vnder no man. He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordainest to ben kept, and maketh his owne lawes as him liketh: and so he maketh him king aboue all other kings of the earth, and maketh men to worshippen him as a God, and thy great sacrifice he hath ydone away.

Nele, that is, will not.

O Lord, here is thy commandement of meeknes, mischislich to broke: and thy blessed commandement of poorenes is also to broken, and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zachary thy Prophet saith, that thou that shouldest be our king, shouldest ben a poore man, and so thou were: for thou saidest thy selfe; Foxes haue dens, and birds of heauen nests, and mans sonne hath not where to legge his head on. And thou saydest, yblessed ben poore men in spirit, for thy kingdome of heauen is therein: and woe to rich men, for they han their comfort in this world. And thou bad thy disciples to ben ware of all couetise, for thou saidest, in the abundance of a mans hauing, ne is not his lifelode. And so thou teachest that thilke that han more then them needeth to their liuing liuen in couetise. Also thou sayst, but gif a man forsake all things that he oweth, hee ne may not ben thy disciple. Lord, thou sayst also, that thy word that is sown in rich mens harts, bringeth forth no fruit: for riches and the busines of this world maken it withouten fruit.

Pouerty of Christ not followed.

Couetise.

O Lord, here ben many blessed teachings to teach men to ben poore, and loue poorenesse. But Lord harme is, poore men and poorenes ben yhated, and rich men ben yloued and honored: and gif a man be a poore man, men holden him a man without grace; and gif a man desireth poorenes, men holden him but a foole: and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gratious man, and thilke that ben busie in getting of riches, ben yhold wise men and ready: but Lord, these rich men sayen, that it is both lefull and needfull to them to gather riches togither. For they ne gathereth it for themselfe, but for other men that ben needy, and Lord their works shewen the truth. For if a poore needy man would borowen of their riches, he nele lean him none of his good; but gif he mow be seker to haue it againe by a certaine day.

Pouerty counted folly.

Nele, that is, will not.

But Lord, thou bed that a man should lend, and not hoping yelding againe of him that he lendeth to: and thy father of heauen wole quite him his mede. And gif a poore man aske a rich man any good, the rich man will giue him but a little, and yet it shall be little worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is little loue and charity, both to God and to our brethren.

For Lord, thou teachest in thy gospell, that what men do to thy seruants, they done to thee. A Lord, gif a poore man axe good for thy loue, men giueth him a little of the wurst. For these rich men ordeinen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurst that they haue. O Lord, sith all good that men hath, commeth of thee; how dare any man geue thee of the wurst, and kepe to himselfe the best? How may such men say that they gatheren riches for others need, as wel as himselfe, sith their works ben contrary to their words? and that is no great truth. And be ye seker these goods that rich men han, they ben Gods goods, ytake to your keeping, to looke how he wolen be setten them to the worshipping of God. And Lord, thou saiest in the gospell, that who so is true in little, hee is true in that thing that is more: and who that is false in a little thing, who wole taken him toward things of a greater value? And therefore be yee ware that han Gods goods to keepe. Spend ye thilke trulich to the worship of God, lest ye leesen the blisse of heauen, for the vntrue dispending of Gods goods in this world.

God is serued of the worst.

Alsen for them that haue goods, well to fyend them. Seggen, that is, doe say.

O Lord, these rich men seggen that they don much for thy loue. For many poore laborers ben yfound by them, that shulden fare febelich, ne were not they & their readinesse. For sooth me thinketh that poore laborers giueth to these rich men, more then they giuen them againward. For the poore men mote gone to his labor in cold and in heat, in wete and dry, and spend his flesh and his bloud in the rich mens works, vpon Gods ground, to finde the rich man in ease, and in liking, and in good fare of meat, of drinke, and of clothing. Here is a great gift of the poore man, for he giueth his owne body. But what giueth the rich man him againward? Certes feeble meat, and feeble drinke, and feeble clothing. What euer they seggen, such bee their works, and here is little loue. And whosoeuer looketh well about, all the world fareth as we seggen: and all men studieth on euery side, how they may wex rich men: and euerich man almost is ashamed to ben holden a poore man.

And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, men token little regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to giue vs a new testament of loue; and therefore it was semelich that thou came in poorenes, to proue who would loue thee, and kepen thy hests. For gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich man and of a lord, men wold rather for thy dread then for thy loue, haue ykept thine hests. And so Lord, now thou might wel ysee which louen thee as they should in keeping thine hests. For who that loueth thee in thy poorenes and in thy lowenesse, needs he mote loue thee in thy lordship and highnesse.

The pouerty of Christ rightly considered.

But Lord, the world is turned vpse downe, and men loue poore men but a little, ne poorenesse neither. But men be ashamed of poorenes; and therefore Lord, I trow that thou art a poore king. And therefore I trow that he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, hath forsaken poorenesse, as he hath doe the remnant of thy law, and is become a rich man and a Lord, and maketh his treasure vpon the earth, that thou forbiddest in the gospell: and for his right and riches, he will plete, and fight, and curse. And yet Lord he will segge, that he forsaketh all things that he oweth, as thy true disciple mete done after thy teaching in the gospell.

A poore king, and a proud vicar, how loyne these two together?

But Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken his goods, and plete for them, and fight, and curse. And Lord, he taketh on him power to assoile a man of all manner things, but if it be of debt. Truly Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of charitie. For who that beth in charity, possesseth thy goods in common, and not in proper at his neighbors need. And then shall there none of them segge this is mine, but it is Gods that God granteth to vs to spenden it to his worship. And so if any of them boroweth a portion of those goods, and dispendeth them to Gods worship, God is apayed of this spending, and alloweth him this true doing. And if God is payed of that dispending, that is the principall lord of those goods, how dare any of his seruants axen thereof accounts, other challenge it for det? Serten, of one thing I am inceriteine, that these that charge so much det of worldly cattell, they know little of Christs law of charity. For if Ich am a baily of Gods goods in the world: If I see my brother in need; I am hold by charity to part with him of these goods to his nede: and if he spendeth them wel to the worship of God, I mote be well apaid, as though I my selfe had spended them to the worship of God. And if the principal Lord is well payed of my brothers doing, and the dispending of his goods, how may I segge for shame that my brother is dettour to me, of the goods that I tooke him to spend in Gods worship at his nede? And if my brother spendeth amisse the goods that I take him, I am discharged of my deliuerance of the goods, if I take him in charity thilke goods at his nede. And I am hold to be sory of his euill dispending, ne I may not axen the goods, that I tooke him to his nede in forme of det, for at his need they were his as well as mine. And thus is my brother yhold to done to me gif he see me in nede, and gif we ben in charitie, little should we chargen of det. And ne we should not axen so dets, as men that knowen not God: and than we be poore in forsaking all things that we own. For gif we ben in charitie, we wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goods with our brethren.

Christ a tenant vpon earth, the pope a lord.

The pope for his right and riches will plead, fight and curse.

Impiety of goods here, is not taken away, but charity is required to help the need of our neighbor.

O Lord, thus thou taughtest thy seruants to liuen: and so they liueden while they hadden good shepheards, that fedden thy sheep, and robbed them not of their lifelode, as Peter thy good shepheard and thy other apostles. But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth and successour to Peter, he robbeth thy puple of their bodilich lifelode, for he ordeineth proud shepheards to liuen in ease by the tenth party of poore mens trauell: and he giueth them leue to liuen where them liketh. And gif men no wolen wilfullich geuen the the tithings, they wolen han them against their will by maistery and by cursing, to maken them rich.

Lord, how may any man segge that such shepheards that louen more the wolle then the sheepe, and feden not thy sheep in body, ne in soule, ne ben such rauenors and theeues? And who may segge that the maintaynor of such shepheards, ne is not a mainteinour of theeues and robbers? How wole hee assoile shepheards of their robbing without restitution of their goods, that they robben thy sheepe of against their will? Lord of all shepheards, blessed mote thou be. For thou louedst more the sheepe then their wolle. For thou feedest thy sheepe both in body and soule. And for loue of thy sheepe, thou tooke thy death

The pope a maintainer of theeues and robbers.

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Christ a good shepheard indeed.

death to bring thy sheepe out of wolues mouthes. And the most charge that thou goue to Peter was to feed thy sheepe: And so he did truelich, and tooke the death for thee and for thy sheepe. For he came into the fold of sheepe by thee that were the dore. And so I trow a few other did as he did, though they clepen themselfe successors to Peter, for their workes showen what they ben. For they robben and sleene and destroyen: they robben thy sheepe of the tenth part of their trauell, and feden themselfe in ease. They sleene thy sheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of their soule to the death. They destroyen the sheepe, for with might and with sternship they rulen thy sheepe: that for dred they ben dispearsed abroad in mountaines, and there the wilde beasts of the field destroieth them for default of a good shepheard.

Comparison betweene the popes shepheards and Christs.

¶ O Lord, gif it be thy will deliuer thy sheepe out of such shepheards ward that retcheth not of thy sheepe, they han their wolle to make themselfe rich. For thy sheepe ben in great mischiefe, and foule accombred with their shepheards.

a But for, that is, but because.

a ¶ But for thy shepheards wolden ben excused, they haue ygetten them hired men to feed thy people, and these comen in sheepes clothing. But dredlesse their workes showen that b within forth they ben but Wolfes. For han they their hire, they ne retcheth but a little how sorilich thy sheepe ben kept. For as they seggen themselfe, they ben but hired men that han no charge of thy sheepe. And when they shulden feden thy sheepe in the plenteous c lesew of thy teaching, they stonden betweene them and their lesewe, so that the sheepe ne han but a sight of thy lesew, but eaten they shall not thereof. But they feden them in a sorrie sowre lesew of lesings and of tales. And so thy sheepe fallen into grieuous sickneſſe through this euill lesew. And gif any sheepe breake ouer into thy lesew to tasten the sweetneſſe thereof, anon these hired men driue him out with hounds. And thus thy sheepe by these hired men, ben ykept out of their kindlich lesew, and ben yfed with sowre grasse and sorrie baren lesew. And yet they feden but seldome, and when they han sorilich fed them, they taken great hire, and gone away from thy sheepe and letten them a worth.

b Within forth, that is, inwardlie.

c Lesew, pasture.

And for dread least thy sheepe wolden in their absence go to thy sweet lesew, they han enclosed it all about so strongslich and so high, that there may no sheepe comen there within, but gif it be a d walisch leper of the mountaines that may with his long legges lepen ouer the wallys. For the hired men ben full certaine, that gif thy sheep had ones ytasted the sweetneſſe of thy lesew: They ne would no more bene yfed of these hired men in their sowre lesewes, and therefore these hired men kepen them out of that lesew. For haden the sheepe once ytasted well of that lesew, they woulden without a leder go thider to their mete, and then mote these hired men seechen them another labour to liue by than keeping of sheepe. And they ben fell and ware ynow thereof, and therefore they feden thy sheepe with sowre meat that naught is, and hiden from thy sheepe the sweetneſſe of thy lesew. And so though these hired men gone in sheepes clothing, in their workes they ben wolues, that much harme done to thy sheepe as we haue ytold.

d A Welch leaper.

Wolues in lambeskins described.

¶ O Lord, they comen as sheepe, for they seggen that they ben poore and haue forsaken the world to liuen perfetlich as thou taughtest in the Gospell. Lord this is sheeps clothing. But Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken the trauellous liuing in poorenes in the world, to liuen in ease with riches by other mens trauell, and haue lordship on their brethren. For Lord, this is more to forsaken thee and go to the world.

He complaineth against the valiant beggers the Friers.

¶ O Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake the world to liuen in pooreneſſe of begging by other mens traüel that ben as feble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to liue in pooreneſſe of begging, that were strong inough to trauell for his lifelode. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to ben a begger to begge of men more then him needeth, to build great castles and make great feasts to thilke that han no need.

¶ O Lord thou ne taughtest not men this pooreneſſe, for it is out of charitie. But thy pooreneſſe that thou taughtest, norisheth charitie. Lord, sith Paul saith, that he that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben e homelich with him, hath forsaken his faith and is worse then a misbeleeued man: How then now these men seggen that they beleeuen in Christ, that han forsake their poore feeble friends, and let them liue in trauell and in diseaſe, that trauelled full sore for them, when they weren yong and vnmightie to helpen themselfe? And they wolen liue in ease by other mens trauell euermore begging withouten shame.

e Homelich, that is, of his houshold.

¶ Lord thou ne taughtest not this manner pooreneſſe, for it is out of charitie. And all thy law is charitie and thing that norisheth charitie, and these shepheards send about to keepe thy sheepe and to feden them other whiles in bareine lesewes. Lord thou ne madest none such shepheards, ne keepers of the sheepe that feed sorilich thy sheep, and for so little trauell taken a great hire, and sithen all the yeare afterward, doe what them liketh, and let thy sheepe perish for defaut of keeping.

Wilfull powerfie abhorred.

But thy shepheards abiden still with their sheepe, and feeden them in thy plenteous lesew of thy teaching, and gone byfore thy sheepe, and teachen them the way into the plenteous and sweet lesew, and keepen thy flocke from rauening of the wilde beasts of the field.

The properties of good shepheards.

O Lord deliuer the sheepe out of the ward of these shepheards, and these hired men, that stonden more to keepe their riches that they robben of thy sheepe, than they stonden in keeping of thy sheepe.

O Lord when thou come to Ierusalem, sometime thou droue out of the temple, sellers of beasts and of other chaffre, and saidest: Mine house shoulden ben cleped an house of praiers, but they maden a den of theeues of it. O Lord thou art the temple in whom we shoulden prayen thy father of heauen. And Salomons temple that was ybelded at Ierusalem, was figure of this temple. But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, and saith that he occupieth thy place heere on earth, is become a chapman in thy temple, and hath his chapman walking in diuers countries to sellen his chaffare, and to maken him rich. And he saith, thou gaue him so great a power abouen all other men, that what euer he bindeth other vnbindeth in earth, thou bindest other vnbindest the same in heauen. And so of great power hee selleth other men forgiueneſſe of their sinne. And for much money he will assoylen a man so cleane of his sinne, that he f behoteth men the blesse of heauen withouten any paine after that they be dead, that giuen him much money.

The pope is a chapman in Gods temple.

f Behoteth, that is, promiseth.

Bishoprickes and cherches, and such other chaffares he selleth also for money, and maketh himselfe rich. And thus he beguiled the puple.

Note good reader, if Christ be where two or thies be gathered in his name, what need is there of a lieftenant?

O Lord Iesu heere is much vntruth, and mischiefe, and matter of sorow. Lord thou saidest sometime, that thou wouldest be with thy seruants vnto the end of the world. And thou saidest also, there as tweine or three ben ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the midle of them. A Lord, then it was no need to thee to maken liefetenant, sith thou wolte be euermore amongst thy seruants.

Lord, thou axedst of thy Disciples, who they trowed that thou were. And Peter answered and said, that thou art Christ Gods sonne. And thou saidest to Peter: Thou art ybleſſed Simon Bariona, for flesh and blood ne showed not this to thee, but my father that is in heauen. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and vpon this stone ych would bilde my Church, and the gates of hell he shullen not availen agens it.

The place of giuing to Peter the keyes, expounded.

And to thee ych wole geue the keyes of heauen, and what euer thou bindest vpon earth shall be bound in heauen, and what euer thou vnbindest on earth, shall be vnbounden in heauen. This power also was granten vnto the other disciples, as well as to Peter, as the Gospell openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that thou granted to Peters successours, the selue power that thou gaue to Peter. And therefore the bishop of Rome, that saith he is Peters succeſſour, taketh this power to him to binden and vnbinden in earth what him liketh. But Lord, ych haue much wonder how he may for shame clepen himselfe Peters succeſſour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kept the hestes of thy law: but these han forsaken the hestes of thy law, and hath ymaked a law contrarie to thine hestes of thy law. And so he maked himselfe a false Christ and a false god in earth. And I trow thou gaue him no power to vndo thy law. And so in taking this power vpon him, maketh him a false christ and antichrist.

The pope pictured a false antichrist in earth.

For who may be more agens Christ, than he that in his words maketh himself Christes vicar in earth: And in his werks vndoth the ordinance of Christ, and maketh men beleeuen that it is needfull to the heale of mannes soules, to beleeuen that he is Christes vicar in earth? And what euer he bindeth in earth is ybounden in heauen, and vnder this colour he vndoth Christes law, and maketh men alwaies to keepen his law and hestes.

The popes abomination described.

And thus men may yseene that he is against Christ, and therefore he is antichrist that maketh men worshippen him as a god on earth, as the proud king Nabugodonosor did sometime, that was king of Babylon. And therefore we lewed men that knowen not God but thee Iesu Christ, beleeuen in thee that art our God, and our king, and our Christ, and thy lawes. And forsaken antichrist and Nabugodonosor that is a false God, and a false christ, and his lawes that ben contrarie to thy preaching.

And Lord strength thou vs against our enemies. For they ben about to maken vs forsaken thee and thy law, other else to putten vs to death.

O Lord, onlich in thee is our trust to helpe vs in this mischiefe, for thy great goodneſſe that is withouten end.

Lord thou ne taughtest not thy disciples to assoilen men of their sinne, and setten them a penance for their sinne, in fasting ne in praying, ne other almous deed: ne thy selfe, ne thy disciples, vseden no such power heere on earth. For Lord, thou forgeue men her sinnes, and bede him sinne no more. And thy disciples h fulleden men in thy name, in forgiueneſſe of her sinnes. Nor they tooke no such power vpon them as our priests dare now. And Lord, thou ne assoildest no man both of his sinne and of his peine, that was due for his sinne, ne thou grantedst no man such power heere on earth.

h Fulleden, that is, baptised.

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Purgatorie.

And Lord me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorie, and anie earthlich man had power to deliueren sinfull men from the peines of purgatorie, he should, and he were in charitie, sauen euerich man that were in way of saluation from thilke peines, sith they make them greater then any bodilich peines of this world. Also gif the bishop of Rome had such a power, he himselfe should neuer comen in purgatorie ne in hel. And sith we see well that he ne hath no power to kepen himselfe ne other men nother out of these bodilich peines of the world, and he may go to hell for his sinne as another man may: Ine beleeue not, that he hath so great power to assoylen men of their sinne as he taketh vpon him abouen all other men. And I trow that in this he higheth himselfe aboue God.

Selling of bishoprickes and benefices.

As touching the selling of bishoprickes and parsonages, I trow it be a point of falsehed. For agenst Gods ordinance hee robbeth poore men of a portion of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giueth it, to find proud men in idlenesse that don the lewd puple little profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben thy commandements of truth, of meekenesse, and of poorenesse, vndone by him that clepeth himselfe thy vicar here vpon earth.

Marriage.

A Lord thou gaue vs a commandement of chastice, that is, a forsaking of fleshlich lusts. For thou broughtest vs to a liuing of soule, that is, ygouerned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinedist women more frele than man to ben ygouerned by mans rule, and his helpe to please thee and keepe thine hestes. Ne thou ne ordainedist that a man should desire the companie of a woman, and maken her his wife, to liuen with her in his lustis, as a swine doth or a horse. And his wife ne like him not to his lustes, Lord thou ne gaue not a man leaue to departen him from his wife, and taken him another.

But Lord, thy mariage is a common accord betweene man and woman, to liuen together to their liues end, and in thy seruice either the better for others helpe, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben ioyned by thee, and thilke that God ioyneth, may no man depart. But Lord, thou saiest that gif a man see a woman to coueten her, then he doth with the woman lecherie in his heart. And so Lord, gif a man desire his wife in couetise of such lusts, and not to flie from whoredome, his weddins is lecherie, ne thou ne ioynest them not together. Thus was Raguels daughter ywedded to seuen husbands that the diuel instrangled. But Tobie tooke her to liue with her in cleannesse, and bringing vp of her children in thy worship, and on him the diuell ne had no power. For the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through God.

A lesson how to marrie.

A Lord, the people is farre ygo from this manner of wedding. For now men wedden their wiues for faireneſſe, other for riches, or some such other fleshlich lusts. And Lord, so it preueth by them for the most part. For a man shall not find two wedded in a land, where the husband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulden after the law of mariage. But other the man loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of prefe, that neuer faileth no preue whether it bee done by thee or no. And Lord, all this mischiefe is common among thy people, for that they know not thy word, but their shepheards and hired men fedden them with their * sweuens and leasings. And Lord, where they shoulden gon before vs in the field, they seggen their order is to holy for thy marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, will not suffren priests to taken them wiues, for that is against his law: But Lord, he will dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certaine summe of money. And Lord, all whoredome is forfended in thy law. And Lord, thou neuer forfendedst priests their wiues, ner thy apostles neither. And well I wote in our land, priests hadden wiues vntil Anselmus daies in the yeare of our Lord God, a leuen hundred and twentie and nine, as Huntingdon writes. And Lord, this makes people for the most part beleuen, that lecherie is no sinne. Therefore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send vs shepheards of thine owne that wolen feeden thy flocke in thy lesew, and gon before themselfe, and so written thy law in our hearts, that from the least to the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, geue our king and his lords, heart to defenden thy true shepheards and thy sheep from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Christ, the Sonne of thy heauenly father, from the antichrist, that is, the sonne of pride. And Lord, geue vs thy poore sheepe patience and strength to suffer for thy law, the cruelnes of the mischieuous wolues. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these daies. Lord we axen this now, for more need was there neuer.

* Sweuens, that is, dreams.

Priests hav wiues to the time of Anselmus.

I doubt not gentle reader, but in reading this godly treatise aboue prefixed, the matter is manifest and plaine of it selfe without any further explication, what is to be thought and iudged of this vicar of Christ, and successour of Peter, whom we call the bishop of Rome: whose life heere thou seest not only to be disordered in all points, swarming from the steps and example of Christ the Prince and Bishop of our soules, but also whose lawes and doctrines are so repugnant and contrarie to the precepts and rule of the Gospell, that almost there is no conuenience betweene them: as in the perusing of this complaining prayer, thou maiest notoriously vnderstand. Wherefore hauing no need to stand in any further expressing of this matter, but leauing it to thine owne consideration, and discretion: I will speed my selfe (Christ willing) to proceed toward the time of Iohn Wickliffe, and his fellowes, taking by order of yeares as I go, such things by the way, as both happened before the said time of Wickliffe, and also may the better prepare the mind of the reader, to the entring of that storie. Where first I thinke it not inconuenient to inserre a prophetical parable, written about this time or not much before, which the author morally applieth vnto the bishop of Rome. To what author this prophecie or morall is to be ascribed, I haue not certainly to affirme. Some say, that Rupescissanus (of whom mention is made before, pag. 359) was the author thereof, and alleage it out of Froyſard; but in Froyſard as yet I haue not found it. In the meane season, as I haue found it in Latine expressed, because it painteth out the pope so rightly in his feathers and colours, as I thought the thing not to be omitted, so I toke this present place, as most fit (although peraduenture missing the order of yeares a little) to insert the same. The effect of which parable followeth heere vnder written.

In the time of pope Innocent the sixt aboue specified, this Ioannes de Rupescissa, a frier, among other his prophecies marueilously forespake (as alleageth Froyſard, who both heard and saw him) of the taking of Iohn the French king prisoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations & changings in the church to come. And at what time the pope kept him at Auinion in prison (where Froyſard is said to see him and to speake with him) the said Froyſard heard in the popes court this example and parable, recited by the foresaid frier Rupescissanus, to the two cardinals, to wit, cardinall Hostiensis, and cardinall Auxercensis. Which followeth in these words.

A parable prophesying the destruction of the pope.

When on a certaine time, a bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other birds hearing thereof, came to visit her: and for that they saw her to bee a maruellous faire and beautifull bird, they counselled together how they might best do her good, sith by no meanes without feathers, shee might either flie or liue commodiously. They all wished her to liue for her excellent forme and beauties sake, in so much that among them all there was not one, that would not grant some part of her owne feathers to decke this bird withall: yea, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers still they gaue vnto her, so that by this meanes shee was passing well penned and feathered, and began to flie. The other birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to flie abroad, were marueilously delighted therewith. In the end, this bird seeing her selfe so gorgeously feathered, and of all the rest to be had in honor; began to waxe proud and hautie. In so much that she had no regard at all vnto them, by whom she was aduanced: yea she punged them with her beake, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the birds sitting in counsell againe, called the matter in question, demanding one of another what was best to be done touching this vnkind bird, whom they louingly with their owne feathers had decked and adorned: affirming that they gaue not their feathers to the intent that shee thereby puft vp with pride, should contemptuously despise them all. The Peacocke therefore answereth first: Truly, saith hee, for that shee is brauely set forth with my painted feathers, I will againe take them from her. Then saith the Faulcon, and I also will haue mine againe. This sentence at length toke place among them all, so that euery one plucked from her those feathers which before they had giuen, challenging to them their owne againe. Now this proud bird seeing her selfe thus to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her hautie stomacke, and humblie to submit her selfe openly, confessing and acknowledging that of her selfe shee did nothing: but that her feathers, her honor and other ornaments was their gift: shee came into the world all naked and bare, they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they receiue them againe. Wherefore in most humble wise shee desireth pardon, promising to amend all that is past, neither would shee at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride shee might leese her feathers againe. The gentle birds that before had giuen their feathers, seeing her so humble and lowlie, being moued with pitie, restored againe the feathers, which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition: Wee will gladly, say they, behold thy flying among vs, so long as thou wilt vse thine office with humblenesse of mind, which is the chiefest comelinesse of all the rest. But this haue thou for certaintie, that if at any time hereafter thou extoll thy selfe in pride, we will straightwaies depriue thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee into thy former state wherein we found thee. Euen so, oh you cardinals (saith Ioannes Rupescissanus) shall it happen vnto you. For the emperors of Romans and Almaine, and other christian kings, potentates, and princes of the earth, haue bestowed vpon you goods, lands, and riches, that should serue God, but you haue powred it out and consumed it vpon pride, all kind of wickednesse, riot and wantonnesse.

The pope compared to a bird feathered with other birds feathers.

The first rising of the pope.

The proud hypocrisie of the pope.

The decay of the pope described.

Arma-

Armachanus.

The like and storie of Armachanus, archbishop and primat of Ireland.

IN the catalogue of these learned and zealous defenders of Christ against Antichrist aboue rehearsed, whom the Lord about this time began to raise vp for reformation of his church, being then farre out of frame, I cannot forget nor omit somewhat to write of the reuerend prelat, and famous clerke, Richard Armachanus, primate and archbishop of Ireland: A man for his life and learning so memorable, as the condition of those daies then serued, that the same daies then as they had but few good, so had none almost his better. His name was Richard Fitzraf, made primate and archbishop, as is said, of Ireland. First brought vp in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in the studie of all liberall knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit vnder John Bakenthorpe his tutor and instructor. In this time the begging friers began greatly to multiplie and spread, vnto whom this Bakenthorpe was euer a great enemie. Whose steps the scholars also following, began to do the like. Such was the capacitie and dexteritie of this Fitzraf, that he being commended to king Edward the third, was promoted by him, first to be archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the Commissarie of the Vniuersitie of Oxford: At length to be archbishop of Armach in Ireland. He being archbishop, vpon a time had cause to come vp to London: At what time heere in the said citie of London was contention betweene the friers and the clergie about preaching, and hearing confessions, &c. Whereupon, this Armachanus being requested to preach, made seuen or eight sermons. Wherein he propounded nine conclusions against the friers, for the which he was cited vp by the friers before this pope Innocent 6. to appeare: & so he did; who before the face of the pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writting the same conclusions, and therein stood constantly vnto the death, as the words of John Wickliffe in this Trialogo doe well testifie in this wise: Ab Anglorum episcopis conductus Armachanus, nouem in Auinione conclusiones coram Innocentio 6. & suorum cardinalium cœtu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicauit, verbóque ac scriptis ad mortem vsque defendit. The like also testifieth of him Waldenus in fasciculo zizaniorum. Also Volateranus reporteth the same. Gulielmus Botonerus testifying of him in like manner, saith: that Armachanus first reproued begging friers for hearing the confessions of professed nuns, without licence of their superiors, and also of married women without knowledge of their husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his persecutours, and how miraculously the Lord deliuered him from their hands: in so much, that they meeting him in the open streets and in cleare day light, yet had no power to see him, nor to apprehend him. In what perill of theeues and searchers he was in, and yet the Lord deliuered him, yea and caused his money being taken from him, to be restored again to him by portions, in time of his necessitie and famine. And from what dangers of the kings officers, which comming with the kings letters, laid all the hauens for him: yet how the Lord Iesus deliuered him, shewing him by what waies how to escape them. Moreouer, what appeales were laid against him, to the number of sixteene, and yet how the Lord gaue him to triumph ouer all his enemies. How the Lord also taught him and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotles subtiltie, to the studie of the Scriptures of God. All this with much more, hee himselfe expresseth in a certaine prayer or confession made to Christ Iesus our Lord, in which hee describeth almost the whole historie of his owne life. Which prayer I haue to shew in old written hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as time serueth, to publish the same. The beginning of the prayer in Latine is this.

The tronbles and persecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus preserued manifold wates by the Lord.

The prayer of Armachanus.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Iesu pijssime, Iesu potentissime, Iesu dulcissime: qui dixisti, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. Via sine deuio: veritas sine nubilo: & vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti. Tute veritatem me docuisti. Et tute vitam mihi promisisti. Via eras mihi in exilio. Veritas eras in consilio. Et vita eris mihi in præmio. With the rest that followeth in the foresaid prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited vp by the friers to the pope, you haue partly heard. Now what were his reasons and arguments wherewith hee defended his cause in the popes presence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof, first I must put the Reader in remembrance of the controuersie mentioned before in the storie of Gulielmus de sancto Amore, pag. 287. Also in the storie of the Vniuersitie of Paris contending against the friers, pag. 360. For so long did this controuersie continue in the church, from the yeare 1240. when the Oxford men began first to stand against the friers, to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the yeare 1360. and after this time yet more increased. So it pleased the secret prouidence of God (for what cause hee best knoweth) to suffer his church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controuersies of no great importance: Either to keepe the vanitie of mens wits thus occupied from idlenesse, or else to prepare their minds by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more graue and waighty. Like as now in these our Queenes daies, wee see what tragedies be raised vp in England about formes and fashions of Ministers wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same: Euen so at this time hapned the like stir about the liberties and priuiledges of the friers, which not a little troubled and occupied all the churches and Diuines almost through Christendome. The which controuersie, to the intent it may better be vnderstood (all the circumstances thereof being explained) we will first begin from the originall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of yeares, vpon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied in gathering more matter, and brast out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter, first it is to bee vnderstood, that in the yeare of our Lord 1215. vnder pope Innocent the third, was called a generall councell at Laterane, mentioned before, pag. 231. in the daies of king John. In the which councell among many other things, was constituted a certaine law or canon, beginning Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c. the tenor of which canon in English is thus.

Can. omnis vtriusque sexus, Sect. extide De pœn.

Be it decred, that euerie faithfull Christian, both man and woman comming to the yeares of discretion, shall confesse himselfe alone of all his sinnes, to the priest of his owne proper parish, once in the yeare at least: and that hee shall endeuour by his owne selfe to fulfill the penance, whensoeuer hee receiueth the sacrament of Eucharistie, at least at the time of Easter. Vnlesse by the assent of his Minister, vpon some reasonable cause to abstaine for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lacke the communion of the church being aliue, and christian burial when he is dead. Wherefore bee it decreed, that this wholesome constitution shall be published accustomablie in churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindnesse make to himselfe a cloke of excuse. And if any shall confesse himselfe to any other priest then of his owne parish vpon anie iust cause, let him aske and obtaine first licence of his owne priest: Otherwise, the priest to haue no power to bind him or to loose him, &c.

Note heere, he calleth it not the sacrament of the altar.

In the time of this Innocentius, and of this Laterane councell, was Dominicke, the first author and founder of the preaching friers: who laboured to the said pope Innocent, for the confirmation of his order; but did not obtaine, in his life time.

Frier Dominicke in the time of pope Innocent the 3. obtained not the confirmation of his order.

The nert yeare after this Laterane councell, died pope Innocent, an. 1216. after whom came Honorius the third. Who in the first yeare of his popedome confirmed the order of the frier Dominicke, and gaue to him and his friers authoritie to preach and to heare confessions, with diuers other priuiledges more. And vnder this pope, which gouerned ten yeares, liued Dominicke fiue yeares after the confirmation of his order, and died, an. 1221. About which yeare, the order of the Franciscan friers began also to breed, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

The order of frier Dominicke first confirmed by pope Honorius the third.

After this Honorius, nert followed pope Gregorie the ninth, about the yeare of our Lord 1228. who for the promoting of the foresaid order of Dominickes, gaue out this Bull, in tenor as followeth.

The order of the Franciscans confirmed shortlie after the Dominickes.

The Bull of pope Gregorie in the behalfe of the Dominicke friers.

Gregorius bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, to his reuerend brethren, archbishops, bishops, and to his welbeloued children, abbats, priors, and to all prelats of churches, to whom soeuer these presents shall come, greeting, and Apostolicall blessing. Because [a] iniquitie hath abounded, and the charitie of many hath waxt cold: Behold, the Lord hath raised vp the order of our welbeloued children the preaching friers, who not seeking things of their owne, but pertaining to Iesus Christ, to the extirping as well of heresies, as to the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences; haue dedicated themselues to the preaching of the [b] word of God. We therefore minding to aduance their sacred purpose, &c. and followeth: commanding you to see the said persons, gently to be receiued among you: And that your flockes committed to your charge doe receiue deuoutly the seed of Gods word out of their mouth, and do confesse their sinnes vnto them, all such as list, whom wee haue authorised to the same, to heare confessions, and to enioine penance, &c. Dat. Perusij. an. Pont. nostri 8.

a Iniquitie hath abounded at Rome.

b May, to the preaching rather of mens traditions against the word of God.

The friers authorised to heare confessions, and to enioyne penance.

This pope Gregory died about the yeere of our Lord 1241. after whom came Celestinus the fourth and sate but eighteene daies: then came Innocentius the fourth, and sate eleuen yeeres and six moneths. Who although he began first to fauour the friers: yet afterward being altered by certaine Diuines, of Vniuersities, prelats of churches, and curats; debarred them of their liberties and priuiledges, and gaue out against precepts and excommunications, as well against the friers, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was dispatched and made away.

Pope Innocent the fourth against the friers.

Innocentius being thus remoued out of the way, about

Pope Alexander the fourth vndoeth the acts of pope Innocent the fourth, his predeceſſor.

the yeare of our Lord 1353. Then ſucceeded pope Alexander the fourth a great maintainer of the friers, and ſate 7. yeares. He reuoked and repealed the acts and writings of pope Innocent his predeceſſour, giuen forth againſt the friers: wherewith the Diuines and ſtudents of Paris being not well contented, ſtirred vp foure principall doctours: The firſt and chiefe captaine was Guliel. de ſancto Amore, mentioned before, pag. 287. againſt whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquine. And at laſt he was condemned by this foreſaid pope Alexander the fourth, in the Extrau. Non ſine multa. The ſecond was Simon Iornalenſis, the third Godfridus de fontibus, the fourth Henricus de Gandauo. Theſe foure with other their complices, compiled a certaine booke againſt the begging order of friers, both Dominicans, and Franciſcans, intituled, De periculis Eccleſiæ, containing fourteene chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the laſt, with thirtie nine articles againſt the friers we haue alreadie tranſlated and expreſſed, pag. 291. Beſide theſe thirtie nine articles, be other ſeuen articles moreouer to the ſaid booke annexed, vnder the name of the ſtudents of Paris againſt the friers, proouing why the ſaid friers ought not to be admitted into their ſocietie. Which ſeuen articles becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought heere better to place, then to omit them.

Extrau. non ſine multa.

Gul. de ſancto Amore, Simon Iornalenſis, Godfridus de fontibus, Hen. de Gandauo, foure champions againſt the friers.

Certaine articles giuen out by the ſtudents of Paris, againſt the friers, why they ſhould not be admitted to their ſocietie.

Articles of the ſtudents of Paris againſt the friers.

FIrſt we ſay, they are not to bee admitted to the ſocietie of our ſchoole, but vpon our will and licence. For our companie or fellowſhip ought not to be coactiue, but voluntarie and free.

Secondly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, for ſo much as we oft proued, their commmittie manifold waies to be hurtfull and incommodious.

Thirdly, ſeeing they be of a diuers profeſſion from vs (for they are called regular, and not ſcholaſticall) we therefore ought not to be ioyned and aſſociate together in one ſcholaſticall office: For as much as the councell of Spaine doth ſay, Thou ſhalt not plough with an oxe, and with an aſſe together. Which is to ſay: Men of diuers profeſſions ought not together to bee matched in one kind of calling, or ſtanding, for their ſtudies and conditions be diſagreeing and diſſeuered from ours, and cannot frame or ſouple together in one communion.

Concilium Hiſpan.

Fourthly, we affirme by the Apoſtle that they are not to be admitted, becauſe they worke diſſenſions and offences: for ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, Rom. vlt. We deſire you brethren, that yee obſerue and take heed of ſuch as make diſſenſions and offendicles about the doctrine which you haue learned by the Apoſtles, and auoid them. For ſuch ſerue not the Lord, but their owne belly. Gloſſ. Some they flatter, ſome they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies. That through their ſweete and pleaſant words, and by their benedictions, they may deceiue the hearts of the ſimple. Gloſſ. That is, with their fine ſugered and trim couched words they ſet forth their owne traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the ſimple innocents.

The friers make diſſenſions.

Friers deuour mens houſes. *Penetrantes domos.*

Fiftly, we ſay they are not to be admitted: For that we feare leſt they be in the number of them, which go about and deuour mens houſes. For they thruſt in themſelues into euery mans houſe, ſearching and ſacking the conſciences and eſtates of all perſons. And whom they find eaſie to be ſeduced, as women; ſuch they do circumuent, and leade them away from the counſels of their prelats, binding them either in act or oth: from ſuch we are warned by the apoſtle to auoid.

Sirtly, we ſay they are to be auoided: becauſe we feare they are falſe prophets. Which being neither biſhops, nor pariſh prieſts, nor yet their vicars, nor ſent by them, yet they preach (not ſent) againſt the mind of the apoſtle, Rom. 10. ſaying: How ſhall they preach except they be ſent? for elſe there appeareth in them no ſuch great vertue, for the which they ought to bee admitted to preach vncalled. Seeing therefore that ſuch are ſo dangerous to the church, they ought to be auoided.

Friers preach vncalled.

Seuenthly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, becauſe they be a people ſo curious in ſearching and inquiring of other mens doings and ſpirituall demeanor. And yet be they neither Apoſtles, nor yet ſucceſſours of the apoſtles, as biſhops: nor of the number of the ſeuentie two diſciples of the Lord: nor their ſucceſſours, that is, pariſh prieſts: nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. Wherefore, ſeeing they liue ſo in no order, by the ſentence of the apoſtle we are commanded to auoid them, 2. Theſſal. vlt. Where he ſaith: We admoniſh and denounce vnto you (O brethren) in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: that is, as the Gloſſe ſaith (We command you by the authoritie of Chriſt) that you withdraw your ſelues from euerie brother, that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition, which you haue receiued of vs, &c. Looke vpon the common gloſſe of this place, and you ſhall find, that ſuch are to be auoided till time they amend from ſo doing, &c.

Friers haue no order of any calling in the church.

Beſides theſe articles aboue rehearſed, certaine propoſitions or concluſions were alſo propounded in the ſchooles of Paris the ſame time, ſolemnely to be diſputed and defended againſt the friers: which in a briefe ſumme of words to collect, were theſe.

Certaine concluſions in the Vniuerſitie of Paris to be diſputed of againſt the friers.

Firſt, that the begging friers were not in the ſtate of ſaluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labor with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdlie, that they ought not to exerciſe the office of preaching, or to heare the confeſſions of them that will come vnto them, although being licenſed thereunto by the biſhop of Rome, or by the Dioceſan: for ſo much as the ſame is preiudiciall to the Miniſters and Prieſts of the parithes.

All theſe foreſaid articles and concluſions, with the booke ſet forth by theſe Paris men; this pope Alexander the fourth condemned to be aboliſhed and burned, writing his precepts to the French king, and alſo the Vniuerſitie of Paris, in the fauour of the friers: willing and commanding the ſaid friers to be reſtored to all their priuiledges and liberties, in as ample manner, as in pope Gregories time before.

Pope Alexander the fourth a great fauourer of the friers.

Not long after pope Alexander the fourth, followed Clement the fourth, an. 1263. and ſate three yeares. Who alſo gaue the priuiledge to the friers, beginning, Quidam temere, &c. In which priuiledge he condemneth them that ſay, that no man without licence of his curat or miniſter, ought to confeſſe him to the friers, or that a ſubiect ought to aſke licence of their miniſters ſo to do, which was againſt the canon Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, &c. made by pope Innocent the third, before recited.

Another priuiledge giuen to the friers by pope Clement the fourth.

Ex Clement. Quidã temere.

After this Clement, againe came pope Martine the fourth, an. 1281. who renued againe the canon, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, in the behalfe of the curats againſt the friers.

Pope Martin the fourth holdeth with curats againſt the friers.

Then pope Boniface the eighth began to ſit, an. 1294. eight yeares, nine moneths. Who taking ſide with the friers, gaue to them another priuiledge, beginning, Supra Cathedram, &c. In the which priuiledge he licenſed the friers, that without licence of vicars of churches, they ſhall firſt preſent themſelues to the prelats to be admitted; by whom if they be refuſed the ſecond time, then they vpon ſpeciall authoritie of this pope, ſhall be priuiledged, without either biſhop or curat, to preach, to burie, and to heare confeſſions, whoſoeuer will come to them, renuking all that was decreed by his predeceſſours before to the contrarie notwithſtanding.

Pope Boniface holdeth with the friers againe. *Ex Clement. conſtit. Bonif. Super Cathedram.*

By this pope Boniface a certaine Dominicke frier was made cardinall, named Nicolaus de Treuiſio, and after the death of Boniface was made alſo pope, an. 1303. ſurnamed pope Benedictus 11. Who ſeeing the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſour, to gender diſſenſion betweene the prieſts and friers, made another conſtitution, beginning, Inter cunctas, &c. reuoking the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſour. Vpon which conſtitution of pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus, making a gloſſe, reuoked alſo his other gloſſe made vpon the conſtitution of Boniface before.

Ex Clementi. inter cunctas.

Ioan. Monach. reuoketh his gloſſe.

Againe, after this Benedictus the eleuenth, followed pope Clement the fifth, an. 1305. and ſate nine yeares. Who in his generall councell holden at Vienna, reuoked the conſtitution of Benedictus his predeceſſour, and renued againe the former decree of Boniface, by a new conſtitution of his, beginning, Dudum à Bonifacio 8. &c. Which conſtitution moreouer was confirmed afterward by pope John the 22. an. 1316. Which pope alſo cauſed Ioannes de Poliaco to recant.

Pope Clement the fifth holdeth with the friers, and repealeth the conſtitution of Benedictus. *Ex Clement. cap. dudum.*

Vpon this variable diuerſitie of the popes (one diſſenting and repugning from another) roſe among the Diuines and ſchoolemen in Vniuerſities great matter of contention, as well in the Vniuerſitie of Paris, as the Vniuerſitie of Oxford about the begging friers, ſome holding one way, ſome another way. But eſpecially fiue principall opinions be noted of learned men, who then diſputing againſt the friers, were condemned for heretikes, and their aſſertions reproued.

The firſt, was the opinion of them which defended, that the friers might not by the licence of the biſhop of Rome and of the prelats, preach in pariſhes, and heare confeſſions. And of this opinion was Guliel. de ſancto Amore, with his fellowes, who, as it is ſaid, were condemned.

Fiue diuers opinions of learned men in this age holding againſt the friers.

The ſecond opinion was this, that friers, although not by their owne authoritie, yet by priuiledge of the pope and of the biſhop, might preach and heare confeſſions in pariſhes, but yet not without licence of the pariſh prieſts. Of this opinion was Bernardus, gloſing vpon the canon, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, as foreſaid mentioned.

The ſecond opinion. *Bernardus ſuper cap. Omnis vtriuſque.*

The third opinion was, that friers might preach and heare confeſſions, without licence of the pariſh prieſts: but yet the ſaid pariſhioners notwithſtanding were bound by the canon, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, to repeate the ſame ſinnes againe, if they had no other, to their owne proper curat: and of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de fontibus, Henricus de Gandauo, Ioannes Monachus cardin. Ioannes de Poliaco, which Ioannes de Poliaco, pope John the 22. cauſed openly in Paris, to recant and retract.

The third opinion. *Ioan. de Poliaco.*

This Ioannes de Poliaco doctor of Diuinitie in Paris, being complained of by the friers for certaine articles or aſſertions, was ſent for to the pope: where time and place being to him aſſigned, hee in the audience of the pope and of frierly cardinals and other doctors, was ſtraitly examined of his articles. To make the ſtorie ſhort, hee at length ſubmitting himſelfe to

Ex libro fratris Egidberti.

to the authoritie of the terrible see of Rome: was caused to recant his assertions openly at Paris. His assertions which hee did hold, were these.

The three assertions of Ioannes de Poliaco, which he was caused by the pope to recant at Paris.

John de Poliaco caused to recant by pope Iohn the 22.

The three assertions of Iohn de Poliaco against the friers.

His three assertions.

Whereof the first was, they which were confessed to friers, although hauing a generall licence to heare confessions; were bound to confesse againe their sins to their owne parish priest, by the constitution, Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c.

The second was, that the said constitution, Omnis vtriusque sexus, standing in his force, the pope could not make: but parishioners were bound once a yeare to confesse their sinnes to their priest. For the doing otherwise importeth a contradiction in it selfe.

The third was, that the pope could not giue generall licence to heare confessions so, but that the parishioner so confessed was bound to reiterat the same confession made, vnto his owne curat. Which he proued by these places of the canon law: 25. quest. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Those things which bee generallie ordained for publike vtilitie, ought not to bee altered by any change, &c. Item, the decrees of the sacred Canons, none ought to keepe more then the bishop apostolicall, &c. Ibidem. Item, to alter or to ordaine any thing against the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authoritie or power, no not of the apostolicall see: Ibidem.

25. q. 1. *Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra statuta patrum condere vel mutare aliquid nec huius quidem sedis potest auctoritas.*

The fourth opinion.

The fourth opinion was, that the friers by the licence of the pope and of the bishops might lawfully heare confessions, and the people might be of them confessed and absolued. But yet notwithstanding, it was reason, conuenient, honest, and profitable, that once in the yeare they should be confessed to their curats (although being confessed before to the friers) because for the administration of sacraments, especially at Easter. Of which opinion was Guilielmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo also held, not only to be conuenient, but also that they were bound so to do.

Guilielmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo.

The fifth opinion.

The fifth opinion was, that albeit the friers might at all times, and at Easter also, heare confessions as the curats did: yet it was better and more safe, at the time of Easter to confesse to the curats, then to the friers. And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom we presently now intreat.

And thus haue yee, as in a briefe summe, opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betweene the friers and the churchmen. What popes made with the friers: and what popes made against them. Moreouer, what learned men disputed against them in Paris, and other places, and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the friers, stood in foure points. First preaching without licence of curats. Secondly, in hearing confessions. Thirdly, in burying. Fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

Popes that maintained the friers,		Popes that maintained curats,	
Honorius.	3	Innocentius.	3
Gregorius.	9	Innocentius.	4
Alexander.	4	Martinus.	4
Clemens.	4	Benedictus.	11
Boniface.	8		
Clemens.	5		

The learned men that disputed against the friers,

All these were condemned by the Popes, or else caused to recant.

- Gulielmus de S. Amore.
- Bernardus super capitulum, Omnis vtriusque sexus.
- Godfridus de Fontibus.
- Henricus de Gandauo.
- Gulielmus de Landuno.
- Ioannes Monachus Cardin.
- Ioannes de Poliaco.
- Armachanus.

These considerations and circumstances hitherto premised, for the more opening of this present cause of Armachanus

Ex libro cui titulus, Defensoria curatorum.

sustained against the idle beggerly sects of friers, in whom the reader may well perceiue antichrist plainly raigning and fighting against the church: now remaineth, that as I haue before declared the trauels and troubles of diuers godly learned men in the church striuing against the said friers, continually from the time of Guliel. de Amore, hitherto: So now it remaineth, that for as much as this our Armachanus labouring and in the same cause sustained the like conflict with the same antichrist; we likewise collect and open his reasons and arguments vttered in the consistorie and in the audience of the pope himselfe, wherewith he maintaineth the true doctrine and cause of the church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these friers after subtill waies of hypocrisie, to corrupt the sincere simplicitie of Christs holy faith & perfect Testament. The which reasons and arguments of his, with the whole processe of his doings, I thought good and expedient for the vtilitie of the church, more amplie and largely to discourse and prosecute, for that I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these friers, such subtill poison to lurke, more pernicious and hurtfull to the religion of Christ and soules of christians, then all men peraduenture do consider.

Thus Armachanus ioyning with the clergie of England, disputed and contended with the friers here of England, An. 1358, about a double matter. Whereof the one was concerning confession and other eyeats which the friers inroched in parish churches against the curats, and publike pastors of churches. The other was concerning wilfull beggerie and pouertie, which the friers then tooke vpon them, not vpon any necessitie, being otherwise strong enough to worke for their liuing, but only vpon a wilfull and affected profession. For the which cause the friers appealed him vp to the court of Rome. The occasion whereof thus did rise.

It befell, that Armachanus vpon certaine businesse comming vp to London, found there certaine Doctors disputing and contending about the begging of Christ our Sauiour. Whereupon (hee being greatly vrged and requested oft times thereunto) at request, made seuen or eight sermons vnto the people at London, wherein he vttered nine conclusions. Whereof the first and principall conclusion was, touching the matter of the friers priuiledges, in hearing confessions. His conclusion was this.

First, that if a doubt or question be moued for hearing confessions, which of two places is rather to be chosen: The parish church is to be preferred before the church of the friers.

Secondly, being demanded whether is to be taken (to heare the confession of the parishioners, the parson, or curat, or the frier) it is to be said, rather the parson or the curat.

Thirdly, that our Lord Iesus Christ in his humane conuersation was alwaies poore, but not that he loued pouertie, or did couet to be poore.

Fourthly, that our Lord Iesus Christ did neuer beg, wilfully professing to be poore.

Fifthly, that our Lord Iesus Christ did neuer teach wilfullie to beg, or to professe wilfull beggerie.

The first conclusion was, that Christ our Lord did contrarie, that men ought not wilfully or purposely without meere necessitie to beg.

Seuenthly, that there is neither wisdome nor holines, for any man to take vpon him wilfull beggerie, perpetually to be obserued.

The eighth, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the obseruants, or friers minorits, to obserue wilfull pouertie.

The last conclusion was, touching the Bull of pope Alexander the fourth, which condemned the libell of the maisters of Paris: that the same Bull touched none of these seuen last conclusions.

Upon these nine conclusions premised, Armachanus being appealed, cited, and brought vp to the presence of the pope; began to proue the same his foresaid conclusions or assertions vnder protestation made, that his intention was not to affirme any thing contrarie to the christian faith, or to the catholike doctrine, or that should be preiudiciall or destructiue to the orders of the begging friers, such as were approued by holy church, or confirmed by the high bishops: But only his intention was, to haue the said orders reduced to the puritie of their first institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his reasons to be heard; which if they should be found weaker then the reasons of the friers, the punishment should be his. If otherwise, that then the friers iustly to be rewarded for their slanderous obtrectation and publike contumelies, and iniurious dealings both priuatly and publikely wrought and sought against him: And so taking for his theme: Nolite iudicare secundum faciem, sed iustum iudicium iudicate, &c. That is: Judge not after the outward face, but iudge true iudgement, &c. Iohn seuenth: hee entreth to the probation of his conclusions: First beginning with the former conclusion, that the parish church was a place more fit and conuenient, for the confessions or burials of the parishioners to bee vsed, then any other exempt church or place of the friers. Which hee proued by three causes: First for the more sureneste or certaintie to the conscience of the parishioners confessed. Secondly, for the more

Armachanus cited vp to the pope by the friers.

The protestation of Armachanus.

His theme.

Iohn 7.

The first conclusion proponed.

Probation.

Certaintie.

Utilitie. Commoditie.

more vtilitie and profit of him. Thirdly, for the lesse incommoditie insuing by confessions taken in parish churches, then in friers churches.

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed.

As touching the first, for the more assurednesse and certainty, thus he argued vpon the place of Deut. 12. Vnto that place, which the Lord your God shall assigne of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therein: thither shall you resort, to offer vp your oblations, tithes, &c. And in the same place God saith: See thou offer not thy sacrifice in euery place that liketh thee: but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the tribes; and thou shalt do in all things as I command thee.

Deut. 12.

Leuit. 4. 5.

Also vpon the words of Leuit. 4. and 5. which be these: Whosoeuer sinneth of ignorance, shall offer to the priest, and he shall pray for him, and he shall be forgiuen, &c. Vpon these places thus he argued: that for as much as the Sacraments of the church are to be frequented and vsed in no other place, but only in that, which by God himselfe peculiarly is assigned and commanded for the same: And seeing that elect place in the law representeth the parish churches: neither can it be proued that the friers church is the place prescribed of God, but only permitted by bishops of Rome: hee concluded therefore, that parish churches for confessions and burials, were more sure and certaine to the conscience of parishioners, then the exempt places of the friers.

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed by another reason.

By another reason also he confirmed the same, for that the parish church commonly standeth free from the popes interdict, so doe not the churches of the friers. As which stand not so cleare, but that they are vnder suspition and doubt of the popes interdict: By the decretall. De sepulturis in sexto cap. Animarum periculis. In which Decretall, all such conuentuall churches and churchyards of friers be interdicted, which do induce any person or persons, either by oath or promise made, to chuse their burying places in their churches, as commonlie the friers are reported to do. For else what parishioner would forsake his owne church and parish where his ancestors do lie, to be buried among the friers, if the friers did not induce them so to do?

The second part of the first conclusion confirmed.

Moreouer, for the second part, concerning the vtilitie of the place, that hee confirmed doublewise. First, for that confession made within the parish church, hath a double merit of obedience, both for obeying the commandement of God in opening his confession: (Thus he speaketh according to the blindnesse of that time, for that auricular confession hath any commandement of God, cannot be proued:) and also in obeying the commandement of God in obseruing the place by him appointed, the which second merit of obedience lacketh in the friers part.

Another confirmation of the second part of the first article.

Secondly, hee proued to be greater vtilitie for a parishioner to confesse him in his parish church, then with the friers: Because commonly the number of christen people praying, is ten times more in parish churches. Whereby is to be thought, that each singuler person may better be helped through more prayers, then in the Oratories of the friers, &c.

The third part of the first conclusion proued.

Further, as touching the third part of the first conclusion or article he proued, that it had fewer incommodities to resort euerie man to his parish church then to the friers: for that both great vtilitie, and more certaintie (as hath been proued) did insue thereof: which two being taken away, (as must needs, in resorting to the friers church) then two speciall commodities should be hindered, and so great incommodities thereof should follow. And thus much for the place of the friers.

The second conclusion or article.

Now to the second conclusion or article, touching the person of the frier, and of the ordinarie curat. If the question be, which of these two is to be preferred in the office of Ecclesiasticall administration: the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinarie curat was better then the extraordinarie frier, and that for the three foresaid respects, to wit: for certaintie or assurance, for vtilitie, and for incommoditie to bee auoided.

Three respects or causes to be proued.

First, that it is more safe and sure for the parishioners to resort to their ordinarie or parish priest, hee argued by three reasons: first because the person of the lawfull ordinarie or priests is expressely of God commanded, where the person of the frier is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, because the parishioner may more trust to his ordinarie curat, as who is more bound and obliged to prouide and to be carefull for him, then any other extraordinarie person. Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinarie curat, commonly there is no doubt of any interdict to bind him: whereas contrarie in the friers behalfe, there is good matter to doubt, whether he stand bound vnder the popes censure of excommunication or not, and that for diuers causes, as by the cap. Religiosi, in Clementinis de decimis. Where is decreed, That all such religious men, which hauing no benefices or cure of soules, presume to imporperat vnto them glebe land or other tithes due vnto churches, and not appertaining to them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumuention) do incurre the sentence of excommunication, ipso facto. Also by another cap. Religiosi, De priuilegijs, in Clement. Where it is said, that all such religious men are excommunicated De facto, whosoeuer do absolue any, against whom the sentence of excommunication hath been denounced by statute prouinciall, or synodall: as it is commonly said, that the friers hearing mens confessions are accustomed to do, in loosing them whom the censure of prelats or their officials haue bound. Whereof the said Armachanus bringeth forth example of his owne diocesse: For I (said he) in mine owne diocesse of Armachan, haue as good as two thousand vnder mee, who by the censure of excommunication euerie yeare, denounced against wilfull murtherers, common theeues, burners of mens houses, and such like malefactours, stand accursed: Of all which number notwithstanding, scarcely fourteene there bee, which come to me or to any about me for their absolution. And yet all they receiue the Sacraments as other do, and all because they bee absolued, or because they faine themselues to be absolued by none other then by friers: who in so doing, are proued to bee vnder the danger of excommunication, both the friers, and also the parishioners, if they knowing thereof do consent to their errour.

Ca. Religiosi, Clement. de decimis.

In Clementino de priuilegijs, cap. Religiosi.

The friers proued to be excommunicat by the popes law.

Also out of the said Clementines, by three other places in one chapter, hee proued the friers to bee excommunicat, to wit in the chapter Cupientes, De pœnis in Clement. In the which chapter: First, all such religious men are excommunicat, which in their Sermons presume to withdraw their hearers from their tithes paying, due vnto churches. Secondlie, in the said chapter all such friers are suspended from preaching, and so are excommunicat, which within a certaine time did not make a concion to such as come to their confessions, in paying their tithes truely and duely to the church. Thirdlie, in the foresaid chapter also, all such religious persons bee bound in excommunication, which induce men by any manner of meanes, either by vow, oath, or promise, to chuse their burials within their churches, or not to change the same, if they haue made ante such promise before. In all which three points, hee proued the friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

Ca. Cupientes de pœnis. Clement.

The friers proued to be excommunicated by the popes law.

Another proofe that the parishioner may more safely go to his curat, then to the friers.

Moreouer, for the more sure way for the parishioners to resort to their appointed curats, then to the friers, hee argued thus: For that the parish priest or curat being better acquainted with his owne parishioner then is a stranger, can better iudge of the nature and disposition of his disease, and minister to him due physicke of penance for the same, and also will bee more carefull in curing him.

The second part of the second conclusion proued.

Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proued and argued, Armachanus procedeth further to proue the second part: that it is better for the parishioners to leaue the friers, and to resort to their owne pastors. Which he proued by eight or nine reasons.

First, for that the ordinarie pastor, is properly appointed of God vnto that ministerie: whereas the frier is but only permitted of man thereunto.

Secondly, for that in resorting to the ordinarie of the parish, is a double reward of merit, whereas in comming to the friers there is but one.

Thirdly, because the ordinarie is more bound to his owne flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and carefull ouer them, then a stranger.

Fourthly, because to resort to the person of his owne ordinarie, there is more assurance and certaintie (as is aboue declared) then to another.

Innocent. cap. Si animarum.

Fiftly, because (as Innocentius, cap. Si animarum, saith) the comming to the curat or pastor ordinarie, is more easie and light, both in the night and in necessitie.

Sixtly, for so much as the parishioner must needs come to his curat at sometime, and especially being in necessitie; it is expedient and profitable, that his former life before were knowne to him, rather then to the other.

Seuenthly, for that (as the said Innocentius affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sinne to the parishioner to be confessed to his curat whom he seeth euery day, then to a frier vnknowne.

Eightly, because it is more profitable, especially for them that liue in matrimonie, that he which heareth the confession of the one, should heare also the confession of the other. So that one hearing the confession of them both as a spirituall physitian taking two cures in one bodie, may better know what spirituall counsell is to be ministred to the one, after he hath cured the other, &c.

The third part of the second conclusion argued.

These things thus proued before, then Armachanus consequently procedeth to the third part: Arguing, how that greater detriments and inconueniences doe ensue by confessions, burials and other Ecclesiasticall functions exercised by the friers, then by pastors and secular curats, seruing in parishes. About the which matter, the said Armachanus learnedly and worthily inferreth a long discourse, prouing and inferring how pernicious these orders of friers are to the whole state of the church: And what mischiefe commeth by the priuiledges of certaine popes, which haue priuiledged them to intermeddle in the office and function of ecclesiasticall ministers, to preach and to take almes, and tithes of the people, and imporperations from the church. All which his reasons and arguments to prosecute in order as he hath left them in writing, it would make a matter of a large booke.

Notwith-

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Notwithstanding, because it shall not be vnfruitfull both for the time present and the posteritie, to know the manifold detriments and discommodities receiued by these friers, and to know what great benefit God hath done for vs in vnburdening the church of this monstrous generation: And especially because the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwise to bee found, intituled, Defensorium Curatorum: I haue briefly therfore contracted out of the same, certaine of his reasons, such as seemed most appertaining and most worthie of noting.

Defensorium Curatorum. Armachanus.

And first, alleaging the authoritie of Innocent the fourth; he importeth foure inconueniences rising by the friers, which be these: Contempt of the people against their ordinaries, decreasing of deuotion, taking away of shame from the people by confessing to the friers, detaining of oblations, such as the people are wont to giue at their confession and burials, and which by right belong to the parish churches.

Item, by the said priuiledges of the popes, granted to the friers, many other great enormities doe rise. As first, because thereby, the true shepheards doe not know the faces of their flocke.

Cap. Dudum.

Item, by the occasion of these priuiledges giuen to the friers, great contention, and sometimes blowes rise betweene the friers and secular curats, about tithes, imperations, and other auailes.

The harmes that come to the world by the friers, declared.

Item, by the occasion of the foresaid priuiledges, diuers young men as well in Vniuersities as in their fathers houses, are allured craftily by the friers their confessors, to enter their orders: from thence afterward, they cannot get out though they would, to the great griefe of their parents, and no lesse repentance to the young men themselues. The example whereof, Armachanus in the said his treatise inferreth, of a certaine substantiall English man being with him at his Inne in Rome: who hauing a sonne at the Vniuersitie of Oxford, which was enticed by the friers to enter into their order, could by no meanes after release him out. But when his father and his mother would come vnto him, they could not bee suffered to speake with him, but vnder the friers custodie. Whereas the scripture commandeth plainely, that who so stealeth any man and selleth him (being thereof conuicted) shall bee put to death: Exod. 21. And for the same cause, the father was compelled to come vp to Rome to seeke remedie for his sonne. And thus, saith Armachanus, it may appeare what damage and detriments come by these friers vnto the common people.

Example of the friers theft in Oxford.

And no lesse inconuenience and danger also by the said friers, riseth to the clergie: for so much, as lay men seeing their children thus to be stollen from them in the Vniuersities by the friers, do refuse therefore to send them to their studies; rather willing to keepe them at home to their occupation, or to follow the plough, then so to bee circumuented and defeated of their sonnes at the Vniuersitie, as by daily experience (saith he) doth manifestlie appeare. For whereas in my time (saith Armachanus) there were in the Vniuersitie of Oxford 30000. Students: now are there not to be found 6000. The occasion of which so great decay, is to be ascribed to no other cause, but to this circumuention onelie of the friers aboue mentioned.

Friers hinderers of Vniuersities.

30. thousand students in Oxford, in the time of Armachanus.

Ouer and besides this, another inconuenience as great or greater, the said Armachanus inferred to procéede by the friers through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all maner faculties and liberall sciences, which thus hée declared. For that these begging friers through their priuiledges obtained of the popes, to preach, to heare confessions, and to burie; and through their charters of imperations, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions by their begging, crauing, catching and intermedling with church matters, that no booke could stirre of any science, either of Diuinitie, Law, or Physicke, but they were both able and readie to buy it vp. So that euery couent hauing a great librarie full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of bookes, and being so many couents within the realme, and in euery couent so many friers increasing daily more and more: by reason thereof, it came to passe, that very few bookes or none at all remaine for other students. Which by his owne experience hee thus testifieth, saying: that hee himselfe sent forth to the Vniuersitie foure of his owne priests or chaplains, who sending him word againe that they could neither find ỳ Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of diuinitie meet for their studie, therefore were minded to returne home to their countrie: and one of them, hee was sure, was returned by this time againe.

The friers & great cause of decay of learning.

Bookes not to be gotten for the friers.

Example what lacke of bookes commeth by the friers.

Furthermore, as he hath proceded hitherto, the friers to be hurtfull both to the laitie, and to the clergie: so proceeding farther, hee proueth them to bee hurtfull also to themselues. And that in three points, as incurring the vice of disobedience against God, against their owne rule: the vice of auarice: and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he prosecuted in a long discourse.

The friers guiltie in 3. faults. 1. Disobedience 2. Auarice. 3. Pride.

First (saith he) they are disobedient to the law of God: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, ore, nor asse, nor any thing that is his: In ỳ they procure the popes letters to preach in churches, and to take burials from churches, with licence annexed withall to receiue the auailes which rise of the same, which properly belongeth to the right of parish priests.

Armachanus chargeth the friers with disobedience.

Item, they are disobedient to this rule of the gospell: So do to other, as thou wouldest haue done to thée.

Friers disobedient to the rule of Scripture.

Item, they be disobedient against their owne rule, which being founded vpon strait pouertie and beggerie, this licence obtained for them to require necessaries for their labors of the people, is repugning against the same foundation.

Item, they be disobedient to the rule of the scripture, which saith: Let no man take honor vnto him, except hee bee called, as Aaron: Also saith S. Paul, How shall they preach, vnlesse they be sent? And how obserue they this rule of obedience, who professing to keepe the perfection of the Gospell, yet contrarie to the Gospell, procure to themselues priuiledges to run before they be sent?

Item, to their owne rule they are disobedient: For where their chapter saith, that if any will take vpon them this order, and will come to our brethren; let our brethren first send them to the prouincials to bee examined of the catholicke faith and sacraments of the church, &c. Contrarie whereunto the friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onelie the prouincials, but other inferiors also may take vnto them indifferentlie, whom they can catch; so farre without all examination, that almost at this day there is no notable house of friers, wherein is not either a whole, or halfe a couent of lads and boyes vnder tenne yéere old, being circumuented, which neither can skill of the créed nor Sacraments.

Againe, the rule of Francille saith, that his brethren Obseruants must obserue not to preach in the Dioces of any bishop, without the consent of the bishop. And moreouer, the said Francille in his testament saith: that if he had as much wisdome as Salomon, and found more secular priests in the parishes where they dwell: yet hée would not presume to preach without their will, and also would feare, loue, and honor them, and all other as his masters, and so they be. Hæc ille. Against which rule, how the friers do disobay, how little they reuerence bishops or secular priests; what priuiledges, exemptions, and immunities they procure against them, the world may sée and iudge.

Friers disobedient to their own profession.

Item, when none may bee admitted to preach, or to heare confessions, vnlesse they be entred into orders, and séeing by the common law of the church, none must bee admitted into holy orders, except hée haue sufficient title of liuing and clothing: the friers therefore hauing no such title (being wilfull beggers) doe disobay in both respects, that is, both in entring into such orders without conuenient title, and in exercising the office of preaching without such lawfull orders.

Moreouer, the foresaid Francille in his testament commandeth thus: I command (saith he) firmely by vertue of obedience, to all and singuler my brethren wheresoeuer they be: that none of them presume to obtain in the court of Rome any letter or writing, either by himselfe or by any other means, neither for the church nor for any other place, nor vnder any colour of preaching, nor yet for the persecuting of their owne bodies, &c. Against which testament of Francille, the Franciscanes in procuring their priuiledges from the bishop of Rome, haue incurred manifest disobedience, as all the world may sée. Neither will this obiection serue them, because the pope hath dispensed with Francille rule. For if the testament of Francille, as he saith, came from God, (and so should God haue three testaments) how then can the pope repeale his precept, or dispence with his rule, when by the rule of the law, Par in parem non habet imperium?

Secondly, concerning the vice of auarice, manifestly it may be proued vpon them (saith Armachanus:) for els séeing so many charges belong to the office of a secular parish priest, as to minister the sacrament at Easter, to visit the sicke with extreme vnction, to baptise children, to wed, with such other, wherein standeth as great deuotion: how then happeneth that these friers making no labor for these, onely procure to themselues priuiledges to preach in churches, to heare confessions, and to receiue licence to burie from parish churches, but because there is lucre and gaine in these to be looked for, in the other is none?

Armachanus chargeth the friers with auarice.

Which also may appeare by this: for otherwise if it were for méere deuotion onely, that they procure licence to burie from parish churches, and to preach: why then haue they procured withall, licence to take offerings, oblations and legacies for their funerals? And for their preaching, why haue they annexed also licence to require and take of the people necessaries for their labour, but only auarice is the cause thereof?

Another proofe.

Likewise for hearing of confessions, when all good men haue enough to know their owne faults, and nothing lift to heare the faults of other: it is probablie to bee supposed by this their priuiledge of hearing all mans confessions, that they would neuer haue bin so desirous of procuring that priuiledge, were it not that these friers did féele some sweetnesse, and gaine to hang vpon the same.

Another proofe.

Item, where the rule of frier Francille forbiddeth them to companie with any women, to enter into Monasteries, to bee godfathers and gossips to men and women: how commeth it, that they contrarie to their rule, enter into the secret chambers of queenes and other women, and made to know the most secret counsels of their doings, but that auarice and

Another proofe.

commoditie

commodity haue so blinded their eies, and stirred their hearts.

Armachanus chargeth the friers with pride.

Thirdlie, that the friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the said Armachanus prooued thus:

To seeke or procure any high place in the church, is a point of pride and ambition. Chrysost. in opere perfecto: Nunquam sine ambitione desideratur primatus in Ecclesia.

The friers seeke and procure a high place in the church.

Ergo, the friers are proud and ambitious.

The minor he proueth: To haue the state of preaching and hearing confessions, is in the church a state of honor.

The friers seeke and haue procured the state of preaching and hearing confessions.

Ergo, The friers seeke and procure an high place in the church, &c.

The 3. conclusion or article.

His third conclusion was, that the Lord Christ in his humane conuersation was alwaies poore, not for that hee loued or desired pouertie for it selfe, &c. Wherein this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not from the friers in this that Christ was poore, and that hee loued pouertie: but herein stood the difference, in maner of louing, that is, whether he loued pouertie for it selfe, or not. Wherein the foresaid Armachanus vsed foure probations.

First, forsomuch as to bee poore, is nothing else but to bee miserable: and seeing no man coueteth to bee in miserie for it selfe: therefore he concluded, that Christ desired not pouertie for it selfe.

Aristot. Ethic. lib. 1.

His second reason was derived out of Aristotle. Nothing (saith hee) is to be loued for it selfe, but that from which (all commodities being secluded which follow thereupon) is voluntarilie sought and desired. But take from pouertie all respect of commodities following the same, it would bee sought neither of God nor man. Ergo, he concluded, Christ loued not pouertie for it selfe.

Thirdlie againe: No effect of sinne, said hee, is to be loued for it selfe. But pouertie is the effect of sinne. Ergo, pouertie was not loued of Christ for it selfe.

Fourthly, Item, no priuation of the thing that is good, is to be loued for it selfe. Pouertie is the priuation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches (for God himselfe is principallie rich:) Ergo, pouertie for it selfe was not loued of Christ.

The 4. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The fourth conclusion was, that Christ our Lord and Sauiour did neuer beg wilfullie. Which he prooued by sundrie reasons.

1 First, for that Christ in so doing should breake the law, which saith: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbors house, his wife, his seruant, his maid, his ore, his asse, or any thing that is his: Exod. 11. Into the danger of which commandement, hee that beggeth voluntarily must needes incurre.

2 Item, if Christ had begged voluntarilie hee should haue committed against another commandement, which saith: There shall be no begger, nor needie person among you, &c. Deut. 6.

3 Item, Christ in so doing should haue transgressed the emperours law, vnder which he would himselfe be subiect (as appeareth by giuing, and bidding tribute to bee giuen to Cesar) forasmuch as the same emperours law saith: There shall no valiant begger be suffered in the citie.

4 Item, if Christ had been a wilfull begger, hee had broke the law of louing his neighbor: whom he had bered, hauing no need. For who so without need asketh or craueth of his neighbour, doth but bere him, in such sort as he would not be bered himselfe. Which Christ would neuer doe.

5 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, hee had moued slander thereby to his owne gospell, which hee with miracles did confirme. For then they that saw his miracle in feeding 5000. in the wildernesse, would haue thought much with themselues how that miracle had bin wrought, if he in feeding other, either could not, or would not feed himselfe.

6 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, then he had done that which himselfe condemneth by Paul: for so we read, 1. Tim. 6. That Paul condemneth them, which esteeme pietie to be gain and lucre. Which all they doe that vnder the colour of pietie, hunt or seeke for gaine, when otherwise they need not.

7 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, hee had offended in declaring an vntruth, in so doing. For hee that knoweth in his mind, that he needeth not indeed that thing which in word he asketh of other, declareth in himselfe an vntruth, as who in word pretendeth to bee otherwise then hee is in very deede; which Christ without doubt neuer did, nor would euer doe.

8 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, that is, hauing no true need thereunto: then had hee appeared either to bee an hypocrite, seeming to bee that hee was not, and to lacke when he did not: or else to be a true begger in very deed, not able to suffice his necessitie. For he is a true begger indeede, which being constrained by meere necessitie, is forced to aske of other, that which hee is not able to giue to himselfe. But neither of these two agreeth in Christ.

9 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of S. Clement his disciple, finding her to stand among the beggers, whom hee thought to bee strong enough to labour with her hands for her liuing: if thee in so doing had followed the example of Christ?

Ex vita S. Clementis.

10 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie: And if the friers do rightlie define perfection of the Gospell by wilfull pouertie: then was Clement S. Peters successor to blame, which laboured so much to remoue away beggerie and pouertie from among all them, that were conuerted to the faith of Christ: and is specially for the same commended of the church.

Clement ex ample contrary to the friers.

11 Againe, why did the said Clement, writting to James bishop of Jerusalem, command so much to obay the doctrine and examples of the Apostles: who as hee sheweth in that epistle, had no begger nor needie person amongst them, if christian perfection (by the friers philosophie) standeth in wilfull beggerie?

13. matth. cap. 1.

12 Item, if Christ the high Priest had begged wilfully, then did the holie church erre wittinglie, which ordained that none without sufficient title of liuing and clothing, should bee admitted to holie orders. And moreouer, when it is said in the canonicall decrees, that the bishop or clerke that beggeth, bringeth shame vpon the whole order of the clergie.

13 Item, if Christ had wilfullie begged, then the examples of wilfull pouertie had pertained to the perfection of christian life, which is contrarie to the old law: which commandeth the priests (which liued then after the perfection of the law) to haue possessions and tithes, to keepe them from beggerie.

14 Item, if Christ did wilfullie begge, then beggery were a point of christian perfection. And so the church of God should erre, in admitting such patrimonies and donations giuen to the church, and so in taking from the prelats their perfection.

15 Again, what will these friers which put their perfection in begging, say to Melchisedech; who without begging or wilfull pouertie, was the high Priest of God, and king of Salem, and prefigured the order and Priesthood of Christ?

16 And if beggerie be such a perfection of the Gospell (as the friers say) how commeth it, that the holy Ghost giuen to the Apostles, which should lead them into all truth, told them no word of this beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned therof throughout the whole Testament of God?

17 Moreouer, where the prophet saith, I neuer did see the iust man forsaken, nor his seede goe begging their bread: how standeth this with the iustice of Christ, which was most perfitly iust, if hee should be forsaken, or his seede goe begge their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abominable doctrins of friers Franciscan, which put their perfection in wilfull begging?

18 Finallie, doe we not read that Christ sent his disciples to preach without scrip or wallet, and bid them salute no man by the way? Meaning that they should begge nothing of no man? Did not the same Christ also labour with his hands, vnder Joseph? S. Paul likewise, did he not labour with his hands, rather then hee would burden the Church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth state of perfection in wilfull begging?

The 5. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The fift conclusion of Armachanus against the friers was this: that Christ neuer taught any man wilfully to beg, which he prooued thus: It is written, Acts 1. Christ began to doe and to teach. If Christ therefore, which did neuer wilfullie begge himselfe, as hath been proued, had taught men otherwise to doe; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, if Christ which neuer begged himselfe wilfullie, had taught men this doctrine of wilfull begging contrarie to his owne doing; hee had giuen suspition of his doctrine, and ministred slander of the same, as hath been prooued in the fourth conclusion before.

Moreouer, in so teaching, hee had taught contrarie to the emperours iust law, which expresly forbiddeth the same.

The 6. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The sixth conclusion of Armachanus against the Friers was, that our Lord Jesus Christ teacheth vs, that we should not begge wilfullie, which hee prooueth by seuen or eight reasons.

First, where it is written, Luk. 14. When thou makest a feast call the poore, weake, lame, and blind; and thou shalt be blessed: for they haue not wherewith to reward thee againe.

To this also pertaineth the decree of the apostle, 2. Thes. 3. Hee that will not worke, let him not eate. Furthermore, the same Apostle addeth in the same place: For you haue vs for example, how we were burdenous to no man, neither did wee eate our bread freelie, but with labour and wearinesse, toiling both day and night, and all because we would not burthen you, &c.

4 Item, where wee reade in the scripture, the slothfull man reprehended, Pro. 6. Why sleepest thou O sluggard? thy pouertie and beggery is comming vpon thee like an armed man, &c. And againe in the same booke of Prouerbs: The slothfull man (saith the scripture) for cold would not go to the plough, therefore he shall begge in summer, and no man shall giue him, &c. Also in the said booke of Prouerbs, last chapter; the diligent labouring woman is commended, whose fingers are exercised about the rocke and spindle. And all these places make against the wilfull begging of sturdie friers.

5 Item, frier Francisse their owne founder in his owne testament

The rule of frier Francis.

testament saith: And I haue laboured with mine owne handes, and will labour, and will that all my frierlings shall labor and liue of their labour, whereby they may support themselues in an honest meane. And they that cannot worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetousnesse to receiue for their labour, but for example of good works, and to auoid idlenesse. And when the price of their labour is not giuen them, let them resort to the Lords table, and aske their alms from doore to doore, &c. Thus much in his testament. And in his rule hee saith: Such brethren to whom the Lord hath giuen the gift to labour, let them labour faithfullie and deuoutlie, &c. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, how those friers with their wilfull begging, dare transgresse the rule and obedience of frier Francis their great grandfathers testament.

6. Item, if Christ at any time did begge or did lacke, it was more because hee would vse a miracle in his owne person, then because he would begge wilfullie: as when hee sent Peter to the sea to find a groat in the fishes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to doe, then to beg the groat of the people, which he might some haue obtained.

7. Item, by diuers other his examples, hee seemeth to teach the same, as where hee saith: The workeman is worthie of his hire. Also, the workeman is worthie of his meate, Matth. 10. Luke 10. And when he spake to Zache, that hee would turne into his house. And so likewise in Bethanie and all other places he euer vsed rather to burden his friends then to beg of other, vnacquainted.

8. Item, with plaine precept thus hee sendeth forth his disciples, willing them not to go from house to house, Luke 10. so as friers vse now to goe. Many other Scriptures there be, which reproue begging: as where it is said: The foote of a foole is swift to the house of his neighbour, Eccle. 29. And in another place: My child (saith hee) see thou want not in the time of thy life; for better it is to die then to lacke: Eccles. 21.

9. Item, where Christ counselling the young man, bad him go and sell that he had and giue to the poore and follow him if hee would bee perfect: doth not there call him to wilfull begging, but calleth him to follow him, which did not beg wilfullie.

The seuenth conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The seuenth conclusion of Armachanus is: that no wise nor true holy man can take vpon him wilfull pouertie to bee obserued alwaies: which he proueth by foure reasons.

First, that wilfull beggerie was reproued both by the doctrine of Christ and of the Apostles, as in the conclusion before hath been declared.

2. Item, a man in taking vpon him wilfull beggerie, in so doing should lead himselfe into temptation, which were against the Lords prayer. Forasmuch as Salomon, Prouerb. 30. saith: O Lord, beggerie and great riches giue me not, but onely sufficiencie to liue vpon: lest if I haue too much, I bee driuen to denie thee, and say: who is the Lord, Again, if I haue too little, I be forced thereby to steale, and peruert the name of my God. Wherefore saith Eccles. 27. For need many haue offended. And therefore they that chuse wilfull pouertie, take to them great occasion of temptation.

Wilfull beggery not to be promised.

3. Item, they that take wilfull pouertie vpon them when they need not, induce themselues voluntarily to breake the commandement of God: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, &c. Againe, where it is commanded, there shall be no begger among you, &c.

4. Item, hee that taketh vpon him needlesse and wilfullie to beg, maketh himselfe vnapt to receiue holy orders, hauing (as is said) no sufficient title thereunto, according to the lawes of the church.

The eight conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The eight conclusion of this matter: That it is not agreeing to the rule of the friers obseruant, to obserue wilfull beggerie. Which (saith he) may bee prooued; for that frier Francis, both in his rule, and in his Testament, being left to his Franciscans, doth plainely preferre labour before begging.

The ninth conclusion of Armachanus. Touching this booke of the maisters of Paris condemned, looke pag. 360. Ex Clement. Quid quorundam.

The 9. and last conclusion of this matter is: That the bul of pope Alexander the 4. which condemneth the booke of the maisters of Paris, impugneth none of these conclusions premised. For the proofe thereof, he thus inferred.

Pope Nicolas the third reuoketh the Bull of pope Alexander the fourth.

1. First, that pope John the 24. in his constitution, beginning thus, Quia quorundam, affirmeth expresly, how pope Nicolas the 3. reuoked and called backe the said bull of pope Alexander the 4. and all other writings of his: touching all such articles, which in the same foresaid constitution of this pope John bee contained and declared. Wherein also is declared, how strait the pouertie of the friers ought to bee, which they call wilfull pouertie.

2. Item, it is manifest and notorious to all men, how the said pope Nicolas the 3. in his declaration sheweth, how the Friers both ought to labour with their hands; and how moreouer the said friers ought not to preach within the diocesse of any bishop, whersoeuer they be resisted. Which being so, the conclusion appeareth, that the bull of pope Alexander the fourth, as touching these articles, is void and of none effect. Beside the which articles, there is nothing else in the said bull of Alexander (that I remember) which impugneth any of these conclusions premised.

Many things mo (said he) I had beside these, both to obiect and to answere againe to the same: and to confirme more surely and firmelie these my reasons and assertions premised: But I haue alreadie too much wearied your holinesse, and your reuerend lordships here present. Wherefore I conclude, and humblie and deuoutlie beseech you, according to my former petition premised in the beginning of this matter; that you iudge not after the outward face, but iudge yee true iudgement: John 7. Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus, Defensorium Curatorum.

The end and conclusion of this oration of Armachanus before the pope. Ex defensorio curatorum.

Notes to be obserued in this former Oration of Armachanus.

Notes to be obserued.

BY this Oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, thus made before pope Innocent and his cardinals, diuers and sundry things there be for the vtilitie of the Church worthy to be obserued. First, what troubles and vexations came to the church of Christ by these friers. Also what persecution followeth after by the meanes of them, against so many learned men and true seruants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrarietie was among the popes, and how they could not agree among themselues about the friers. Fourthlie, what pestiferous doctrine, subuerting welneere the testament of Iesus Christ. Fiftly, what decay of ministers in Christs church, as appeareth, pag. 379. Sixtly, what robbing and circumuenting of mens children, as appeareth, pag. 379. Seuenthly, what decay of Vniuersities, as appeareth by Oxford, pag. 379. Eightly, what damage to learning and lacke of bookes to students came by these friers, as appeareth, pag. 379. Ninthly, to what pride vnder colour of fained humilitie; to what riches, vnder dissimuled pouertie they grew vnto, here is to be seene. In so much that at length through their subtile and most dangerous hypocrisie they crept vp to be lords, archbishops, cardinals, and at last also Chancellors of realms, yea and of most secret counsell with kings and queenes, as appeareth, pag. 379.

Contrarietie among the popes.

Whether the friers make vp the bodie of Antichrist or not.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the church to be marked: that forsomuch as these friers (with their new found testament of frier Francis) not being contented with the testament of God in his sonne Christ, began to spring the same time, when as Satan was prophesied to be let loose, by the order of the scripture; whether therfore it is to be doubted, that these friers make vp the bodie of antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the church, or not: so much more to be doubted, because who so list to trie shall find, that of al other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be priuie, all bee together cruell: yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleightly deceiueth the simple christian, or more deepely drowneth him in damnation, then doth this doctrine of the friers.

The death of godly Armachanus.

But of this oration of Armachanus enough. Which oration what successe it had with the pope, by story it is not certaine. By his owne life declared, it appeareth, that the lord so wrought, that his enemies did not triumph ouer him. Notwithstanding, this by story appeareth, that hee was seuen or eight yeeres in banishment for the same matter, and there died in the same at Auinion; of whom a certaine cardinall, hearing of his death, openly protested, that the same day, a mightie pillar of Christs church was fallen.

The testimonie of a cardinall vpon Armachanus.

Ex chron. reg. Rich. 2.

After the death of Armachanus, the friers had contention likewise with the monks of Benedicts order about the same yeere, 1360. and so remoued their cause both against the monks and against the Vniuersitie of Orford, vnto the court of Rome; wherein, saith the author, they lacked another Richard. Ex Botoniero. By this appeareth to be true, which is testified in the first tome of Wald. that long debate continued betweene the friers and the Vniuersitie of Orford: Against whom first stood Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne, aboue mentioned: Then Senallus of Yorke: Afterward Ioannes Bachothorpe; and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently we intreate. And after him againe John Wickliffe, of whom (Christ willing) we will speake hereafter: Ex Waldeno.

Friers against the Vniuersitie of Orford.

English writers against the friers.

Against this foresaid Armachanus wrote diuers friers, Roger Conaway a Francican, John Heyldelhame Carmelite, Galfridus Harby frier Augustine. Also frier Engelbert a Dominican, in a booke intituled, Defensorium priullegiorum, and diuers other. I credible heare of certaine old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tongue; which if it be true, it is not other like but to bee the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and archbishop of Ireland, a man worthie for his christian zeale of immortall commendation.

Friers that write against Armachanus.

Testified by certaine Englishmen which are yet aliue and haue seene it.

After the death of this Innocent, next was poped in the sea of Rome, pope Vrbane the fifth, who by the fathers side was an Englishman. This Vrbane had been a long waiter in the court of Rome: and when he saw no promotion would light vpon him, complaining to a certain friend of his, he made to him his mone, saying: That hee thought verily, if all the churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after seeing him to be pope, and inthronised in his threefold crowne, commeth to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, saith: that where his holinesse had moued his fortune to him, that if all

Pope Vrbane the fifth.

Anno 1360

Vrbane complaineth that no promotion would fall vpon him.

An answere againe to Vrbane being made pope.

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all the churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpon his head: Now (saith hee) God hath otherwise so disposed, that all the churches in the world are fallen vpon your head, &c.

This pope maintained and kindled great warres in Italy, sending Egidius his cardinall and legat, and after him Arduinus a Burgundian his legat and abbat with great puissance and much monie against sundrie cities in Italie: By whose meanes, the townes and cities which before had broken from the bishop of Rome were oppressed; also Bernabes and Galeaceus princes of Millaine vanquished. By whose example, other being sore feared, submitted themselues to the church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great possessions, which her patrons would needs father vpon Constantine the godly emperour.

Ex Sabel. Aenead. 9. lib. 8.

How the church of Rome came by their royall possessions.

In the time of this pope Urbane the fifth, and in the second yeere of his raigne, about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord, 1364. I find a certaine sermon of one Nicolas Orem, made before the pope and his cardinals on Christmas euen. In the which sermon, the learned man doth worthilie rebuke the prelats and priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to bee farre off, by certaine signes taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the prophets spoken against the wicked priests of the Iewes, he doth aptly applie against the clergie of his time, comparing the church then present to the spirituall strumpet spoken of in the 16. of the prophet Ezechiel. And proceeding in conclusion the clergie of the church then, to be so much worse then the old synagogue of the Iewes, by how much it is worse to sell the church and sacraments, then to suffer doues to be sold in the church. With no lesse iudgement also and learning he answereth to the old and false obiections of the papists: who albeit they be neuer so wicked, yet thinke themselues to be the church which the Lord cannot forsake. All which things to the intent they may the better appeare in his owne words, I haue thought good here to translate and exhibite the sermon as it was spoken before the pope.

Nicolaus Orem.

A copie of a sermon made before pope Vrbane, 5. the fourth Sunday in Aduent, 1364. by Nicolas Orem.

A Sermon made before the pope. Esay 56.

The world deuided into two sorts of men before the incarnation of Christ.

Iuxta est salus mea, vt veniat, & iustitia, &c. That is: My saluing health is neere at hand to come, and my righteousnes to be reuealed, &c. Esa. 56. After the sentence of S. Paul, Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the natiuitie of Christ, the whole world was diuided into two sorts of men, the Iewes and Gentiles. The Iewes, who waited for the opening of the doore of paradise, by the bloud of the Sauiour to come. The Gentiles, who yet sitting in darkenes were to be called to light, and to be iustified by faith, as is written, Rom. 5.

This saluation pertaining both to the Iew and Gentile, God promised before time to the fathers by the Prophets, to stir vp the desire thereof in their hearts the more: and to increase their firme hope and faith in the same. As first in Mich 6. the voice of the Lord crieth: Health and saluation shall be to all men which feare my name. And Esay 46. I wil giue in Sion saluation, and in Ierusalem my glorie, &c. with diuers such other places like. And forsomuch as hope many times which is deferred, doth afflict the soule, and conceiueth wearinesse of long deferring: he therefore propheſying of the neerenes of the comming therof, saith moreouer, Esay 14. His time is neere at hand to come. Also Abacuc 2. He will come and will not tarrie; with many such other places moe. So then the holy fathers being in limbo, looked and hoped that he should bring out them that sate bound, and which in the house of prison sate in darkenesse, as is read Esay 41. Then the time drew on in which came the fulnesse of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this mystery being hidden from the world, and from generations: Col. 1. Wherefore the Lord in this text doth both certifie our fathers of the comming of our sauiour, and doth comfort them touching the neerenesse thereof, and also teacheth the iustification of the Gentiles by faith approching now neere at hand, according to the words of my text, *Iuxta est salus mea, &c.* Which words were fulfilled then, what time the Lord did manifest his saluation, and did reueale his righteousnesse in the sight of all ỹ Gentils. And is diuided into 3. parts. Of which the first speaketh of the neerenesse of his comming, where is said, *Iuxta est salus, &c.* The second concerneth the mysterie of the aduent of Christ and his incarnation, where he saith: *Vt veniat, &c.* Thirdly, is considered the seueritie of God, his terrible reuenging iudgement to be reuealed, where he saith: *Vt reueletur, &c.* which is to be expounded of his primitiue iustice: whereof speaketh Amos, the fifth, saying: And iudgement shall be reuealed like a floud, and righteousnesse like a strong streame. Wherefore for our contemplation let vs receiue with ioy the solemnities of his holy vigile, the word I say of God the father, that is, Christ. To whom it is said, Esay 49. I haue giuen thee to bee a light to the Gentiles, and to bee my saluation, through the ends of the world. Againe, Esay 46. My saluation shall not slacke, &c.

Diuision.

1 *Iuxta est.*

2 *Vt veniat.*

3 *Vt reueletur.* Amos 5.

As touching the neerenes therof, it is in these daies opened to vs by the gospel, where we read in S. Matth. When the virgin Marie was espoused vnto Ioseph, before they did come together, she was found with child by the holy Ghost. By this it was euident to vnderstand, that our Sauiour ought shortly to proceed out of the chaste wombe of the virgine, according as the prophet did foretell, saying: Behold a virgine shall conceiue and bring forth a sonne, &c. For like as the grape when it waxeth great and full, is neere to the making of wine; and the flower whē it shooteth abroad, it hasteth to the fruit: so the saluation of the world in the swelling and growing of the virgins wombe, began to draw nigh to mankind. For then appeared the grace and benignitie of our sauiour, when his mother was found to haue in her wombe by the holy Ghost, as is declared in that as followeth by the Angell, saying: For that which is borne of her, is of the holy Ghost.

Touching the 2. part of that which is said, *vt veniat*: this may be applied to the contemplation of the mystery of Christ comming in the flesh. Whereof speaketh Aggeus the Prophet 2. He shall come, who is desired and looked for of all nations, &c. Albeit the same also may be applied to the second Aduent, spoken of the third of Esay: The Lord shal come to iudgement, &c. In memorial whereof, the 4. sunday was dedicate, in the old time of the fathers. And of this day of iudgement is written in the prophet Sophon. cap. 1. The day of the Lord is neere, great and mightie, it is approching at hand, & wondrous short, &c. And albeit not in it selfe, yet it may bee expounded in tribulations that goe before, as preambles vnto the same: as Greg. saith: The last tribulation is preuented with many and sundrie tribulations going before, although the end of all be not yet.

The second part of his theame. Aggeus 2.

Wherefore now comming to the 3. part of my sermon or theame, let vs see of those tribulations that goe before the last comming of Christ, if there be any such tribulation approching nigh at hand, whereof this last part of my theame may bee verified, where is said, *vt reueletur*, that my righteousnes shall be reuealed, to wit, the righteousnesse primitiue, that righteousnesse may bee brought, and the prophecie of Daniel fulfilled, Dan. 9. Concerning which matter, foure things here come in order to be declared.

The third part of his sermon.

First concerning the reuealing of tribulation, according to that part of my theame, *Vt reueletur*, &c. *1. Vt reueletur.*

Secondly, concerning the neerenesse of the tribulation comming, according to that part of my theame: *Quia iuxta est*, &c. *2. Vt iuxta est.*

Thirdly, of the false opinions of some, vpon this part of my theame, *Vt veniat*, &c. *3 Vt veniat.*

Fourthly, what meanes and consultation we ought to take: *Vt iuxta est salus.* *4. Salus.*

As for the first, it is so notorious and so common in the scriptures that the church should suffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to stand in alleaging any thing touching either the causes to be weighed, or the terme to be cōiectured therof. As concerning the which causes, I will giue 2. rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that to follow. The first rule is, that by the 2. kingdoms of the nation of Hebrues, which were in the old time, to wit, by the kingdome of Israel, whose head was Samaria, is signified in ỹ prophets the erroneous synagog: And by the 2. kingdome of Iuda, of whose stocke came Christ, whose head metropolitane was Ierusalem, is signified the true church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authenticke glosse of S. Ierome, and also is the rule of Origene in the last Homilie vpon the old testament, and is approoued by the church.

The first part of the subdiuision.

Two rules to be noted.

The kingdome of Israel signifieth the false Church.

The kingdome of Iuda signifieth the right church.

The second rule is, that by the brodel house and fornication mentioned in the prophets, is signified simony, and abused dispensations, and promotions of persons vnworthie, for lucres sake, or else for any other partiall fauour, which be vnlawfull waies, by all lawes of the world, to come to office and honour. *Merx dicitur namque a merendo*, that is; for gaine or price is deriued of gaining: for the which gaine or price, that is sold which by nature ought not to be sold. Therefore, to giue any thing for respect of gaine or hire, which ought to be giuen freely for vertues sake, is a kind of spirituall corruption, and as a man would say, an whorish thing, whereof the prophet Esay complaineth speaking of Ierusalem, and saying: The citie which once was faithfull and full of iudgement, how is it now become an whorish citie? And in like maner Osee also the prophet, cap. 9. Ierusalem, thou hast fornicated and gone an whoring from thy God. Thou hast loued like an harlot, to get gaine in euery barne of corne. And in many other places of scripture, where fornication cannot be otherwise expounded.

The second rule.

Esay 1.

Osee 9.

These two rules thus premised, now let vs marke the scriptures, and according to the same iudge of the whole state of the church, both that is past, and that is to come: first intreating of the causes of tribulation to come: secondlie of the vicinitie of time of the said tribulation to come.

Fiue states of the church described.

And first concerning the state of the church, and of causes of tribulation. Thus saith the Lord in the the prophet Ezechiel: 16. cap. speaking to the church vnder the name of Ierusalem: In the day of thy birth I came by thee, and saw thee trodden downe in thine owne bloud, &c. Here he speaketh of the time of the martyrdome of the church. Then it followeth: After this thou wast clensed from thy bloud, that was growne vp, and waxen great: then washed I thee with water, I purged thy bloud from thee (speaking of ceasing of persecution) I annointed thee with oile, I gaue thee change of raiments, I girded thee

1. The martyrdome of the church.

2. The prosperitie of the church.

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thee with white silke, I decked thee with costly apparell, I put rings vpon thy fingers, a chain about thy neck, spangs vpon thy forehead, and earings vpon thine eares. Thus wast thou deckt with siluer and gold, and a beautiful crown set vpon thine head. Maruellous goodly wast thou & beautiful, euen a very queene wast thou: For thou wast excellent in my beautie, which I put vpon thee, saith the Lord God, &c. This prophecy or rather history speaketh of and declareth the prosperitie of the church.

3. The corruption of the church

And now heare the corruption and transgression of the church, for so it followeth: But thou hast put confidence in thine own beauty, and plaied the harlot, when thou hadst gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredom with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires: yea thou hast taken thy garments of diuers colours and decked thine altars therewith, whereupon thou mightest fulfill thy whoredome of such a fashion as neuer was done, nor shall be. Which whoredome can in no wise be expounded for carnall, but spirituall whoredome. And therefore, see how liuely hee hath painted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

4. The correction of the church

And therefore followeth now the correction and punishment of the church. It followeth: Behold, I stretch out my hand ouer thee, and will diminish thy store of food, and deliuer thee ouer into the willes of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: And they shall breake downe thy stues, and destroy thy brodel houses (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickednesse) they shall strip thee out of thy clothes: All thy faire beautiful iewels shal they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare, &c.

Ezech. 16.

Here is plainly to be seene what shal happen to the church, and followeth more in the said chapter: Thine eldest sister is Samaria, shee and her daughters vpon thy left hand: But the youngest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whose sins were these: pride, fulnesse of meate, abundance and idlenesse, neither retched they their hand to the poore. And yet neither Sodoma thy sister with her daughters, hath done so euill as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is, the Synagogue) done halfe of thy sins, yea thou hast exceeded them in wickednesse. Take therefore and beare thine owne confusion, &c. Againe in the 23. chapter of Ezechiel:

Ezech. 23.

After the Prophet had described at large, the wickednes, corruption, and punishment of the Synagogue, turning to the church, he saith: And whē her sister saw this, she raged and was mad with lust, loue of riches, and following voluptuousnesse. Her fornication and whoredome she committed with princes and great lords, clothed with all manner of gorgeous apparell: so that her pappes were brused, and her brests were marred; and then speaking of her punishment, saith: Then my heart forsooke her, like as my heart was gone from her sister also. And moreouer repeating againe the cause thereof, addeth: Thy wickednesse and thy fornications haue wrought thee all this; &c.

The like we find also in Esay, Ieremy, Ezechiel, and in al the other prophets, who prophesying all together in one meaning, and almost in one maner of words; doe conclude with a full agreement and prophecie to come, that the church shall fall, and then be punished for her great excesses, & to be vtterly spoiled, except she repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh

Osee 2.

Oseas cha. 2. Let her put away her whordome out of her sight, and her aduoutry from her brests, lest I strip her naked and set her euen as she came naked into the world (that is, in her primitiue pouerty:) So if she doe not it, it shall follow of her as in the prophet Nahum, chap. 3. For the multitude of the fornication

Nahum 3.

of the faire & beautiful harlot, which is a mistris of witchcraft, yea and selleth the people through her whoredome, and the nations through her witchcraft. And it followeth vpon the same: Behold, I will vpon thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and wil pul thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednesse shall appeare among the heathen, and thy shame among the kingdomes, &c.

5. The reformation of the church.

Wherefore by these it is to be vnderstood, that vpon this church the primitiue iustice of God is to be reuealed hereafter. And thus much of the first of the foure members aboue foretouched.

Certaine notes and signes, that the tribulation of the church draweth neere. 1. Signe. 2. Thes. 2.

Except there come a defection first: how it is to be vnderstanded.

Now to the second member of my theme, *Iuxta est:* concerning the neerenes of time. Although it is not for vs to know the moments and articles of time: yet by certaine notes and signes peraduenture it may bee collected and gathered, that which I haue here to say. For the tractation whereof, first I ground my selfe vpon the saying of the apostle Paul, 2. Thes. 2. where he writeth: That vnlesse there come a defection first, &c. By the which defection, *Ierome vltima quæst. ad inquisitiones Ianuarij*, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the desolation of the monarchy of Rome: Betweene the which desolation, and the persecution of the church by antichrist, hee putteth no meane space. And now what is the state of that common wealth, if it bee compared to the maiestie of that it hath been, iudge your selues. Another glosse there is that saith, how by that defection is meant; that from the church of Rome shall come a departing of some other Churches.

1. Note or token.

The second note and marke is this, when the church shall be worse in manners then was the Synagogue: as appeareth by the ordinary glosse vpō the third of Ieremy, where it is written: The back-slider Israel, may seeme iust and righteous in comparison of sinful Iuda. That is, the Synagogue in comparison of the church of God. Wherefore writeth Origen, saying, Think that to be spoken of vs what the Lord saith in Ezech. 16: Thou had exceeded thy sister in thine iniquities: Wherefore now (to compare the one with the other,) First ye know how christ rebuked the Pharisies, who, as Ierome witnesseth, were then the clergie of the Iewes, of couetousnesse, for that they suffered doues to be sold in the temple of God: Secondly, for that they did honour God with their lippes and not with their hart, and because they said, but did not. Thirdly, hee rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the first then, let vs see whether it be worse to sell both church and sacraments, then to suffer doues to bee sold in the temple, or not: The second, whereas the Pharisies were rebuked for honouring God with their lips, and not with their heart; there be some, which neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips: And which neither do well, nor yet say wel, neither do they preach any word at all, but be dumbe dogs not able to barke, impudent and shameless dogs, that neuer haue enough, such pastors as haue no vnderstanding, declining and straying all in their own way, euery one giuen to couetousnes frō the highest to the lowest. And thirdly, as for hypocrisie there be also some, whose intolerable pride and malice is so manifest and notorious, kindled vp like a fire; that no cloake or shadow of hypocrisie can couer it, but are so past all shame, that it may bee well verified of them, which the prophet speaketh: Thou hast gotten thee the face of an harlot, thou wouldest not blush, &c.

The Synagogue and the church compared together in manners.

3. Note or token.

The third signe and token of tribulation approching neere to the church, may well be taken of the too much vnequall proportion seene this day in the church. Where one is hungrie and starueth, another is drunke. By reason of which so great inequalitie, it cannot bee that the state of the church as it is now, can long indure. For like as in good harmony to make the musicke perfect is required a moderat and proportionat equality of voices, which if it do much exceed it taketh away al the sweet melodie: So according to the sentence of the Philosopher, by too much immoderate inequality or disparity of Citizens, the common wealth falleth to ruine. Contrary, where mediocrity, that is, where a meane inequality with some proportion is kept, that policie standeth firme and more sure to continue. Now among all the politicke regiments of the Gentiles, I thinke none more is to be found in histories, wherein is to bee seene so great and exceeding oddes, then in the policie of priests: Of whom some be so high, that they exceed all princes of the earth, some againe bee so base, that they are vnder all rascals, so that such a policie or common wealth, may well be called Oligarchia.

Oligarchie, is where a few beare all the sway, and all the rest be nothing worth.

This may we plainely see and learne in the bodie of man, to the which Plutarchus (writing to Thracinius) doth semblablie compare the common wealth. In the which bodie, if the sustenance receiued should al run to one member, so that that member should bee too much exceedingly pampered, and all the other parts too much pined, that body could not long continue: So in the bodie of the wealth ecclesiasticall, if some who be the heads be so enormely ouergrowne in riches and dignitie, that the weaker members of the bodie be scant able to beare them vp, there is a great token of dissolution & ruine shortly. Wherupon commeth well in place the saying of the prophet Esay: Euery head is sicke, euery hart is full of sorrow: of the which heads it is also spoken in the prophet Amos chap. 6. Wo be to the secure and proud wealthy in Sion, and to such as think themselues so secure vpon the mount of Samaria, taking themselues as heads and rulers ouer other, &c. And moreouer in the said prophet Esay it followeth: From the top of the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole part in all the bodie, to wit, in the inferiors, because they are not able to liue for pouertie; in the superiors, because for their excessiue riches, they are left from doing good. And it followeth in the same place: But al are wounds and botches and stripes. Behold here the danger comming, the wounds of discord and diuision, the botch or sore of rancor and enuie, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischiefe.

Esay 1.

Amos 6.

4. Signe.

The 4. signe is the pride of prelats. Some there haue been which fondly haue disputed of the pouertie of christ, and haue inueyed against the prelats, because they liue not in pouertie of the saints. But this phantasie commeth of the ignorance of morall philosophie and diuinitie, and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all nations, and by common lawes, priests haue had and ought to haue wherewith to sustaine themselues more honestly then the vulgar sort, and prelates more honestly then the subiects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great horses, their troupes of horsemen, their superfluous pomp of their waiting men and great families, which scarselie can bee maintained without pride, neither can be sustained with safe iustice, and many not without fighting and iniuries inconuenient: not much vnlike to that as Iustine the historian writeth of the Carthaginenses: The family (saith hee) of so great emperors was intollerable to such a free citie. In semblable wise, this great pride in the church of God (especiallie in these daies) doth mooue not so few to dtie reuerence, as many to indignation: and yet moe to those things aforesaid, which thinke no lesse but to doe sacrifice to God if they may robbe and spoile certaine fat priests and parsons, namelie such as neither haue nobilitie of bloud, and lesse learning

Pride of Prelats noted.

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ning to beare themselues vpon, but are liers, seruile and fraudulent, to whom the Lord speaketh by his prophet Amos fourth: Heare you fatted kine of Samaria, yee that doe poore men wrong, and oppresse the needie, the day shall come vpon you, &c.

Amos 4.

5. Signe.

The fift signe is the tyrannie of the prelats and presidents, which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot be long lasting. For as Salomon saith, Sap. 16. For it was requisit that (without any excuse) destruction should come vpon those which exercised tyrannie. The property of a tyrant is to seeke the commoditie not of his subiects, but only his will and profit. Such were the pastors that fed not the Lords flocke, but fed themselues: of whom and to whom speaketh the prophet Ezech. 34. Woe be vnto those pastors of Israel that feed themselues. Should not the shepheards feede the flockes? With many other threatnings against them in the said chapter. Woe be vnto them which reioyce at the transgressions of such whom it lieth in their power to condemne, neither doe they seeke what he is able to pay; to whom crieth Micheas the prophet, 3. chap. Yee hate the good and loue the euill, yee plucke off mens skinnes and the flesh, from the bones: ye eate the flesh of my people, and flay off their skinne: ye breake their bones, ye chop them in peeces as it were into a cauldron, and as flesh into the pot, &c. And therfore the foresaid Ezechiel pronounceth: Behold I will my selfe vpon the shepheards, and require my sheepe from their hands, and make them cease from feeding my sheepe, yea the shepheards shall feed themselues no more, for I will deliuer my sheepe out of their mouthes, so that they shall not deuour them any more.

Sap. 16.

The tyrannie of prelates noted. Ezech. 34.

Micheas 3.

Ezech. 34.

6. Signe. Promoting of vnworthie ministers.

The sixt signe is in promoting of the vnworthy, and of neglecting them that be worthie. This, as Aristotle saith, is a great cause many times of the dissolution of common weales. And oftentimes it so happeneth in the warres of princes, that the contempt and small regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that be lesse worthie, ingendreth diuers kinds and kindlings of sedition. For by the reason partly of the same, partly of the other causes aboue recited; we haue read not only in bookes, but haue seene with our eies, diuers flourishing cities well neere subuerted. Whereas good men be not made of, but are vexed with sorrow and griefe by the euill; the contention at length brasteth out vpon the prince, as Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This hath alwaies been the peruerse incredulitie of mans hard heart, that not onely in hearing, but also in seeing: yet will they not beleeue that other haue perished, vnlesse they also perish themselues.

Haymo.

7. Signe.

The seuenth signe is the tribulation of outward policy and commotions of the people, which in a great part is now happened alreadie. And therefore forasmuch as Seneca saith: Men doe complaine commonly that euils onely come so fast: It is to be feared lest also the ecclesiasticall policie be afflicted not only outwardlie but also in it selfe. And so to be fulfilled in vs, that in Ieremy is prophesied cap. 4. Murther is cried vpon murther, and the whole land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly. And Ezec. 7. Wherfore I will bring cruell tyrants from among the heathen, to take their houses in possession, I will make the pompe of the proud to cease, and their sanctuaries shall be taken. One mischiefe and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumor shall come after another, then shall they seeke visions in vaine at their prophets, the law shal be gone from their priests, and wisdome from their elders, &c.

Ierem. 4.

Ezech. 7.

The eight signe is the refusing of correction, neither wil they heare their faults told them, so that it happened to the princes and rulers of the church, as it is written in the prophet Zach. cap. 7. They stopped their eares that they would not heare; yea they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should heare the law and words which the Lord of hosts sent in his holy spirit by the prophets aforetime. Also Esay witnessing after the same effect, chap. 30. saith: For it is an obstinat people, lying children and vnfaithfull children that will not heare the law of the Lord, which say to the prophets, meddle with nothing, and tell vs nothing that is true and right, but speake friendlie words to vs, &c. Al this shal be verified when the prelats begin to hate them that tell them truth, and haue knowledge; like vnto such of whom Amos speaketh, cap. 5. They beare him euill will that reproueth them openly, and who so telleth them the plaine truth, they abhor him. And therefore saith the Lord to the church of Ierusalem, Ose 4. Seeing thou hast refused vnderstanding, I haue refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my priest. And for so much as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so shal it be like priest, like people, &c. And many other sayings there bee in the prophets, speaking of the dejecting and casting downe of the priestly honour.

8. Signe. Zach. 7. Refusing of correction in the clergie.

Esay 30.

Truth shent. Amos 5.

Ose. 4.

Besides these foresaid signes and tokens hitherto recited, there bee also diuers others: as the backsliding from righteousnes, the lacke of discreet and learned priests, promoting of children into the church with such other like. But these being alreadie wel noted and marked, you may easily iudge and vnderstand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and cleare from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the word of the Lord be true according to my theame: *Iuxta est iustitia mea vt reueletur*, my righteousnesse is neere at hand to be reuealed, &c. And thus much of the second part.

Lack of learned priests.

Now to the third part or member of my subdiuision, which is concerning the false and perillous opinions of some, vpon this word of my theame *vt veniat, &c.* Which opinions principally be 4. repugning all against the truth of the canonicall scripture.

The third part or member of the subdiuision.

The first opinion is of such men, who hauing too much confidence in themselues, doe thinke and perswade with themselues, that the prelats bee the Church, which the Lord will alwaies keepe and neuer forsake, as hee hath promised in the persons of the apostles; Mathew 28. saying: And I will be with you to the end of the world, &c. But this is to be vnderstanded of faith, whereof Christ speaketh Luke 21. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not faile. Whereof wee read Eccle. 40. Faith shall stand for euer. &c. And albeit charitie waxe neuer so cold, yet faith notwithstanding, shal remaine in few, and in all distresses of the world: of the which distresses, our Sauiour doth prophecie in many places to come. And lest peraduenture some should thinke themselues to be safe from tribulation because they bee of the church, this opinion the Lord himselfe doth contrarie in Ieremy the 7: Trust not (saith he) in false lying words, saying, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. And a little after, but you trust in words and lying counsels which deceiue you and do you no good.

The first opinion.

The church where it is, and in whom it consisteth.

Eccles. 40.

Ierem 7.

The second opinion is of them, which deferre time: for this they will grant that the church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly: thinking thus with themselues, that these causes and tokens afore recited, haue been before at other times as wel in the church. For both by Gregorie & Bernard holy doctors, in time past, the prelats haue been in like sort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pompe and pride, for the promoting of persons and children vnfit vnto ecclesiasticall functions, and other vices moe, which haue raigned before this in the church of God more then now, and yet by God his grace, the church hath prospered and stood. Do ye not see, that if an house haue stood and continued ruinous a long season, it is neuer the more neere the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreouer, many times it commeth so to passe in realmes and kingdomes, that the posteritie is punished for the sinnes of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the booke of Lamentations the 5. chapter: Our fathers haue sinned, and are now gone, and we must beare their wickednesse, &c. Against this cogitation or opinion well doth the Lord answer by the prophet Ezechiel chapter 12. saying: Behold thou sonne of man the house of Israel saith in this maner: Tush, as for the vision that he hath seene, it will be many a day or it come to passe: It is far off yet, the thing that hee prophesieth. Therefore say vnto them, thus saith the Lord God: The words that I haue spoken shall bee deferred no longer, looke what I haue said, shall come to passe, saith the Lord, &c. Wee haue seene in our daies things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath been seene in other times also: as wee reade written in the booke of Lamentations chapter 4. The kings of the earth nor all the inhabitance of the world would not haue beleeued, that the enemie and aduersarie should haue come in at the gates of the citie, for the sinnes of her priests, and for the wickednesse of her elders that haue shed Innocents bloud within her, &c. by Hierusalem, as is said, is meant the church.

The 2. opinion.

Thren. 5.

Exech. 12.

Thren. 4.

The third opinion or error is very perillous and peruerse, of all such as say, *veniat*, let come that will come: Let vs conforme our selues to this world, and take our time with those Temporisers which say in the booke of wisdome, Sap. 2. Come let vs enioy our goods and pleasures that bee present, and let vs vse the creature as in youth quickly, &c. Such as these be, are in dangerous case, and be greatly preiudiciall to good men in the church: And if the heads and rulers of the church were so vile to haue any such detestable cogitations in them, there were no place in hell too deepe for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the bloud of so many Martyrs, enlarged and increased with the vertues and merits of so many Saints, and indued so richly with the deuotion of so many secular princes, and so long prospered hitherto: if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickednes well deserued of God to bee cursed; yea here also in this present world to incurre temporall tribulation and destruction, which they feare more: by the sentence of the Lord saying to them in the booke of the Prouerbs chap. 1. Al my counsels yee haue despised, and set my correction at nought. Therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall vpon you.

The third opinion or error.

Sap. 2.

Prou. cap. 1.

Fourthly, an other opinion or errour is of such as being vnfaithfull beleeue not any such thing to come. And this errour seemeth to haue no remedy, but that as other things and other kingdomes haue their ends and limits set vnto them, which they cannot ouerpas: so it must needs be, that such a domination and gouernment of the Church haue an end, by reason of the demerites and obstinacies of the gouernours prouoking and requiring the same: like as we read in the Prophet Ieremie cap. 8. There is no man that taketh repentance for his sinne, that will so much as say, wherefore haue I done this? But euery man runneth foorth still like a wild horse in a battell. And the

The fourth opinion or error.

Ierem. 8.

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Ierem. 13. the prophet Ieremie in the 13. chapter of his prophecie. Like as the man of Inde may change his skinne, and the Cat of mountaine her ſpots, ſo may ye that be exerciſed in euill, do good. Whereunto alſo accordeth that which is written of the ſame

Ierem. 17. phophet, chap. 17. ſpeaking of Iuda ſignifying the church: The ſinne of Iuda (ſaith he) is written in the table of your hearts, and grauen ſo vpon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw, which is as much to ſay, as indeleble, or which cannot be raced out: as alſo Ezechiel ſpeaking of the

Ezech. 21. puniſhment, chapter 21. ſaith: I the Lord haue drawne out my ſword out of the ſheath, and cannot be reuoked. Notwithſtanding, all theſe ſignifie no impoſſibilitie, but difficultie, becauſe that wicked men are hardly conuerted: for otherwiſe the Scripture importeth no ſuch inflexibilitie with God, but if conuerſion come, he will forgiue. So we reade in the prophet Io-

Ionas chap. 3. nas, chapter 3. Who can tell? God may turne and repent, and ceaſe from his fierce wrath that we periſh not. And to the like

Ierem. 26. effect ſaith the ſame Lord in Ieremie, chapter 26. Looke thou keepe not one word backe, if peraduenture they will harken and turne euery man from his wicked way, that I alſo may repent of the plague which I haue determined to bring vpon them, becauſe of their wicked inuentions, &c. For the further proofe whereof, Niniuie we ſee conuerted, and remained vndeſtroyed, &c. Likewiſe the Lord alſo had reuealed deſtruction vnto Conſtantinople by ſundrie ſignes and tokens, as Auguſtine in a certaine ſermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my diuiſion.

The fourth part or member of the ſubdiuiſion. Fourthly and laſtly remaineth to declare, ſome wholeſome concluding now vpon the cauſes preceding: That is, if by theſe cauſes and ſignes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the church, then let vs humble our minds mildely and wiſely. And if we ſo returne with heart and in deed vnto God, verily he ſhall reſcue and helpe after an ineſtimable wiſe: and will ſurceaſe from ſcourging vs, as he promiſeth by his pro-

Ierem. 18. phet Ieremie 18. If that people againſt whom I haue thus deuiſed, conuert from their wickednеſſe, immediatly I will repent of the plague that I deuiſed to bring vpon them: ſpeaking heere after the manner of men, &c. Now therefore, for ſo much as tribulation and affliction is ſo neere comming toward vs, yea lieth vpon vs alreadie, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercie. For I thinke verily theſe many yeares there haue not been ſo many and ſo deſpitefull hearts and euill willers, ſtout, and of ſuch a rebellious heart againſt the church of God, as be now adaies: neither bee they lacking that would worke all that they can againſt it, and louers of new-fanglenes: whoſe hearts the Lord happilie will turne, that they ſhall not hate his people, and worke deceit againſt his ſeruants, I meane

Eſay 5. againſt prieſts whom they haue now in little or no reputation at all: Albeit many yet there be through Gods grace, good and godly. But yet the furie of the Lord is not turned away, but ſtill his hand is ſtretched out. And vnleſſe ye be conuerted, he ſhaketh his ſword, he hath bent his bow, and prepared it readie.

Eſay 30. Yet the Lord ſtandeth waiting, that he may haue mercie vpon you, Eſay 30. And therefore as the greatneſſe of feare ought to incite vs, ſo hope of ſaluation may allure vs to pray and call vpon the Lord, eſpecially now toward this holy and ſacrat time and ſolemnitie of Chriſts natiuitie: For that holy and continuall prayer without intermiſſion is profitable, and the inſtant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iuſt man, is of great force. And if terrene kings in the day of celebration of their natiuitie, be wont to ſhew themſelues more liberall and bountious, how much more ought we to hope well, that the heauenly king of nature moſt benigne, now at his natall and birth day, will not denie pardon and remiſſion to ſuch as rightly call vnto him?

Ioſua 7. And now therefore, as it is written in Ioſue, chapter 7. Be you ſanctified againſt to morrow, &c. And ſay vnto him as it is

1. Kings 25. written in the firſt booke of Kings, chapter 25. Now let thy ſeruants I pray thee find fauour in thy ſight, for wee come to thee in a good ſeaſon. Moreouer, ye may find that ye aske, if that yee aske that which he brought in the day of his Natiuitie, that is, the peace of the church, not ſpirituall only, but alſo temporall, which the angelicall noiſe did ſound, and experience the ſame time did proue, teſtified by T. Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen ſtorie-writers, which all maruelled thereat, ſaying: that ſuch an vniuerſall peace as that, could not come on earth but by the gift of God. For ſo God did forepromiſe in the pro-

Eſay 66. Plalme 71. phet Eſay, chapter 66. Behold I wil let peace into Ieruſalem like a water floud, &c. And in the Pſalme 71. In his time righteouſneſſe ſhall flouriſh, yea and abundance of peace, &c.

Therefore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord,) and you heere in this preſent aſſemblie, behold I ſay the day of life and ſaluation: Now is the opportune time to pray vnto God, that the ſame thing which he brought into the world at his birth, hee will grant in theſe daies to his church, that is, his peace. And like as Niniuie was ſubuerted, and ouerturned, not in members but in manners: ſo the ſame words of my theme, Iuxta eſt iuſtitia mea vt reueletur, may be verified in vs, not of the primitiue iuſtice, but of our ſanctification by grace, ſo that: As to morrow is celebrated the natiuitie of our Sauiour, our righteouſneſſe may riſe together with him, and his bleſſing may be vpon vs, which God hath promiſed, ſaying: My ſauing health is neere at hand to come, &c. Whereof ſpeaketh Eſay the prophet, chapter 51. My ſauing health ſhall endure for euer, &c. This health grant vnto vs the Father, Son and holy Ghoſt, Amen. Eſay 51.

This ſermon was made by maiſter Nicolas Orem before pope Urbane and his cardinals vpon the euen of the Natiuitie of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of Aduent, in the yeare of our Lord 1364. and the ſecond of his popedome.

In the 5. yeare of this forenamed pope Urbane, began firſt the order of the Ieſuites. And vnto this time, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1367. the offices heere in England, as the lord chancellour, lord treaſurer, and of the priuie ſeale, were wont to be in the hands of the clergie. But about this yeare through the motion of the Lords in the parliament, and partly (as witneſſeth mine author) for hatred of the clergie, all the ſaid offices were remoued from the clergie, to the lords temporall. The order of Ieſuites. Anno 1367. The chiefe offices of the realme tranſlated from the clergie to the lords temporall.

After the death of pope Urbane, next ſucceeded pope Gregorie the 11. who among his other acts, firſt reduced againe the papacie out of France vnto Rome, which had from thence been abſent, the ſpace now of 70. yeares, being thereto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the anſwere of a certaine biſhop, whom as the pope ſaw ſtanding by him aſked, why he was ſo long from his charge and church at home, ſaying: not to be the part of a good paſtor, to keepe him from his flocke ſo long. Whereunto the biſhop anſwering againe, ſaid: And you your ſelfe being the chiefe biſhop, who may and ought to be a ſpectacle to vs all; why are you from the place ſo long where your church doth lie? By the occaſion whereof, the pope ſought all meanes after that to remoue and to rid his court out of France againe to Rome, and ſo he did. Pope Gregorie the 11. Anno 1370. The papacie reduced againe from France to Rome.

This Gregorie 11. in a certaine bull of his ſent to the archbiſhop of Prage, maketh mention of one named Militzius a Bohemian, and ſaith in the ſame bull that this Militzius ſhould hold opinion and teach, an. 1366. that antichriſt was alreadie come. Alſo that the ſaid Militzius had certaine congregations following him: and that in the ſame congregations were certaine harlots, who being conuerted from their wickednеſſe, were brought to a godly life. Which harlots being ſo conuerted, he vſed to ſay were to be preferred before all the holy religious virgins. And therefore commanded the archbiſhop to excommunicat and perſecute the ſaid Militzius, which in foretime had been a religious man of Prage, and after forſooke his order, and gaue himſelfe to preaching, and at length was by the foreſaid archbiſhop impriſoned. Militzius a Bohemian, for the truth perſecuted by the pope.

Iacobus Miſnenſis a learned man and a writer in the time of Iohn Hus, maketh mention of this Militzius, & calleth him a worthie and a famous preacher. Alſo citeth many things out of his writings: in the which writings this good Militzius thus declareth of himſelfe how he was moued and vrged by the holy Ghoſt to ſearch out by the ſacred Scriptures, concerning the comming of antichriſt. And that he was compelled by the ſame holy ſpirit at Rome publikely to preach, and alſo before the Inquiſitor there to proteſt plainely, that the ſame great antichriſt which is prophecied of in the holy Scriptures, was alreadie come. Moreouer his ſaying was, that the church through negligence of the paſtors was deſolat, did abound in temporall riches, but in ſpirituall riches to be emptie. Alſo that in the church of Chriſt, were certaine Idols which deſtroyed Ieruſalem, and defaced the Temple, but hypocriſie cauſed that theſe Idols could not be ſeene. Alſo that many there were which denied Chriſt, becauſe that knowing the truth, yet for feare of men they durſt not confeſſe their conſcience, &c. And thus much of good Militzius, liuing in the time of Gregorie, 11. and king Edward the third, an. 1375. Ex bulla Gregorij 11. The comming of antichriſt prophecied.

The which king of England holding a parliament in the third yeare of this pope, ſent his embaſſadors to him, deſiring him: that he from thenceforth would abſtaine from his reſeruations of benefices vſed in the court of England. And that ſpirituall men within this realme promoted vnto biſhoprikes, might freely inioy their elections within the realme, and be confirmed by their Metropolitanes, according to the ancient cuſtome of the realme. Wherefore vpon theſe and ſuch other like, wherein the king and the realme thought themſelues much grieued, he deſired of the pope ſome remedie to be prouided, &c. Whereunto the pope returned a certaine anſwere againe vnto the king, requiring by his meſſengers to be certified againe of the kings mind concerning the ſame. But what anſwere it was, it is not in the ſtorie expreſſed, ſaue that the yeare following, which was 1374, there was a tractation at Burges vpon certaine of the ſaid articles betweene the king and the pope, which did hang two yeares in ſuſpenſe, ſo at length it was thus agreed betweene them: that the pope ſhould no more vſe his reſeruations of benefices in England, and likewiſe the king ſhould no more confer and giue benefices vpon the writ, Quare impedit, &c. But as touching the freedome of elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, mentioned in the yeare before, thereof was nothing touched. King Edward complaineth of the popes reſeruation of benefices. The pope pitcheth from his reſeruing of benefices in England. Quare impedit.

As touching theſe reſeruations, proviſions, and collations, with the elections of the archbiſhops, biſhops, beneficed men and other, wherewith the pope vexed this realme of England, as before you haue heard; the king by the conſent of the

lords and commons, in the 25. yeare of his raigne enacted: that according to a statute made in the 30. yeare of his grandfather Edward the first, wherein was made an act against the rauenous pillage of the pope, through the same prouisions, reseruations, and collations, &c. but not put in execution. By the which prouisions, the state of the realme decreased more and more, the kings royaltie and prerogatiue greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the realme transported, aliens and strangers placed in the best and fattest bishoprikes, abbeyes, and benefices within the realme: And such, as either for their offices in Rome, as cardinallships and such like, could not be heere resident, or if resident, yet better away for causes infinite, as partly haue been touched before: not only reuiued the said statute made by Edward the first his grandfather, but also inlarged the same. Adding thereunto verie straite and sharpe penalties against the offenders therein, or in any part thereof, as exemption out of the kings protection, losse of all their lands, goods, and other possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the kings pleasure: and further, whosoeuer was lawfully conuict, or otherwise for want of appearance by processe directed forth, were within the lapse of this statute or premunire (for so bare the name thereof) should suffer all and euerie such molestations and iniuries, as men exempted from the protection of the king. In so much, that whosoeuer had killed such men, had been in no more danger of law therefore, then for the killing of an outlaw, or one not worthie to liue in a common weale. Like vnprofitable members were they then in that time, yea of ignorance esteemed in this common weale of England, as would offer themselues to the wilfull slauerie and seruile obedience of the pope: which thing in these daies, yea and that amongst no small fooles, is counted more then Euangelicall holinesse. Hee that list to peruse the statute, and would see euery branch and article thereof at large discussed and handled, with the penalties therefore due: let him reade the statute of prouision and premunire, made in the 25. yeare of this kings daies. And let him reade in the statutes made in the parliaments holden the 27 yeare, and 38 yeare of his raigne: And vnder the same title of prouision and premunire shall find, the popes primacie and iurisdiction within this realme more nerely touched, and much of his papall power restrained: In so much, that whosoeuer for any cause or controuersie in law, either spirituall or temporall, the same being determinable in any of the kings courts (as all matters were) whether they were personall or reall, citations or other; or should either appeale or consent to any appellation, to be made out of the realme to the pope or see of Rome; should incurre the said penaltie and danger of premunire. Diuers other matters wherein the pope is restrained of his vsurped power, authoritie and iurisdiction within this realme of England; are in the said titles and statutes expressed, and at large set forth, who euer list to peruse the same, which for breuities sake I omit, hasting to other matters.

The law of premunire with the penaltie thereof.

The popes primacie heere in England bridled.

About this time, being the yeare of our Lord 1370, liued holy Briget, whom the church of Rome hath canonized not only for a saint, but also for a prophetesse: who notwithstanding in her booke of reuelations, which hath been oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of his clergie, calling him a murtherer of soules, a spiller and a piller of the flocke of Christ: more abominable then Iewes, more cruell then Iudas, more vniust then Pilat, worse then Lucifer himselfe. The see of the pope shee prophesieth, shall be throwne downe into the deepe, like a millstone. And that his assister shall burne with brimstone: Affirming, that the prelats, bishops, and priests, are the cause why the doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extincted. And that the clergie haue turned the ten commandements of God into two words, to wit, Da pecuniam, that is, Giue money. It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth. Among the rest which I omit, let this suffice for all, where as the said Briget affirmeth in her reuelations, that when the holy Virgin should say to her Son, how Rome was a fruitfull and fertill field: yea, said he, but of weeds only and cockle, &c.

S. Briget.

Ex lib. reuelationum Dinæ Bridgittæ.

Da pecuniam.

Rome a fertill ground of weeds and cockle.

To this Briget I will ioyne also Catharina Senensis, an holy virgin, which liued much about the same time, Anno 1379. Of whom writeth Antoninus part. historiæ 3. This Katharine hauing the spirit of prophecie, was wont much to complaine of the corrupt state of the church, namely of the prelats of the court of Rome, and of the pope: prophesying before of the great schisme, which then followed in the church of Rome, & dured to the councell of Constance, the space of xxxix. yeares: also of the great warres and tribulation, which insued vpon the same. And moreouer declared before and foretold, of this so excellent reformation for religion in the church now present. The words of Antoninus be these: After this virgin in her going to Rome, had told her brother of the warres and tumults that should rise in the countries about Rome, after the schisme of the two popes: I then curious to know of things to come, and knowing that she vnderstood by reuelation what should happen, demanded of her: I pray you (good mother) said I, and what shall befall after these troubles in the church of God? And she said: By these tribulations and afflictions, after a secret maner vnknowne vnto man, God shall purge his holy church, and stir vp the spirit of his elect. And after these things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, & such a renouation of holy pastors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to reioyce in the Lord. And as I haue oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and deckt with most rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faithfull shall be glad and reioyce to see themselues so beautified with so holy shepheards. Yea and also the infidels then allured by the sweet sauour of Christ, shall returne to the catholike fold, and be conuerted to the true bishop and shepheard of their soules. Giue thankes therefore to God, for after this storme he will giue to his a great calme. And after she had thus spoken, shee staid, and said no more.

The prophecie of Catharine.

Note.

Besides these aforenamed, the Lord, which neuer ceaseth to worke in his church, stirred vp against the malignant church of Rome, the spirits of diuers other good and godly teachers, as Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian borne, who about the yeare of our Lord 1370. wrote a large booke of Antichrist, and prooueth him alreadie come, and noteth the pope to be the same. Which booke one Illiricus a writer in these our daies hath, and promiseth to put it in print. In this booke he doth greatly inueigh against the wickednesse and filthinesse of the clergie, and against the neglecting of their dutie in gouerning the church. The Locusts mentioned in the Apocalypse, he saith, be the hypocrites raigning in the church. The workes of Antichrist, he saith, be these, the fables and inuentions of men raigning in the church: the Images and fained reliques that are worshipped euery where. Item, that men do worship euery one his proper saint and sauiour beside Christ: so that euery man and citie almost hath his diuers and peculiar christ. Hee taught and affirmed moreouer, that godlinesse and true worship of God, are not bound to place, persons, or times, to be heard more in this place, then in another, at this time more then at another, &c. Hee argueth also against the cloisterers, which leauing the only and true Sauiour, set vp to themselues their Franciscans, their Dominickes, and such other: and haue them for their sauiours, glorying and triumphing in them, and fayning many forged lies vpon them. Hee was greatly and much offended with monkes and friers, for neglecting or rather burying the word of Christ, and in stead of him, for celebrating and setting vp their owne rules and canons, affirming it to be much hurtfull to true godlinesse, for that priests, monks and nuns do account themselues only spirituall, and all other to be lay and secular, attributing only to themselues the opinion of holinesse, and contemning other men, with all their politicke administration, and the office as prophane in comparison of their owne. He further writeth that Antichrist hath seduced all Vniuersities and Colledges of learned men, so that they teach no sincere doctrine, neither giue any light to the christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to passe, that God yet once againe will raise vp godly teachers, who being feruent in the spirit and zeale of Helias, shall disclose and refute the errors of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe, openly to the whole world. This Matthias in the said booke of Antichrist alleageth the sayings and writings of the Vniuersitie of Paris, also the writings of Gulielmus de sancto Amore, and of Militzius afore noted.

Matthias Parisiensis a writer against the pope.

Antichrist alreadie come.

The doctrine and protestation of Matthias.

About the same time, or shortly after, an. 1384. we reade also of Ioannes of Mountziger, Rector of the Vniuersitie of Ulme, who openly in the schooles in his Oration propounded that the bodie of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with that kind of worship called Latria, as the Sophister termeth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he also defended by writing, affirming also that Christ in his resurrection toke to him againe all his blod which in his passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to infer, that the blod of Christ which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blod of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was resisted and withstood by the monkes and friers: who by this kind of idolatrie were greatly inriched, till at length the senat and councell of the citie was faine to take vp the matter betweene them.

Ioannes Mountziger protestant & gainst the pope.

Anno 1384

Nilus was archbishop of Thessalonica, and liued much about this time. He wrote a long worke against the Latines, that is, against such as toke part and held with the church of Rome. His first booke being written in Greek, was after translated into Latin, and lately now into English, in this our time. In the first chapter of this booke, he laieth all the blame and fault of the dissention and schisme betweene the East and the West church vpon the pope. Hee affirmed that the pope only would command what him listed, were it neuer so contrarie to all the old and ancient canons. That he would heare and follow no mans aduice: that he would not permit any free councels to be assembled, &c. And that therefore it was not possible, that the controuersies betweene the Greeke church and Latine church, should be decided and determined.

Nilus the archbishop of Thessalonica.

In the second chapter of his booke, he purposedly maketh a very learned disputation. For first hee declareth that hee no whit at all by Gods commandement, but only by humane law, hath any dignitie, more then hath other bishops: which dignitie

dignitie, the councels, the fathers, and emperours haue granted vnto him. Neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinance: then for that the same citie then had the imperie of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarilie he declareth, that the same primacie or prerogatiue is not such and so great as he and his sycophants doe vsurpe vnto themselues. Also he refuteth the chiefest propositions of the papists one after another. Hee declareth that the pope hath no dominion more then other patriarches haue, and that hee himselfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that hee is subiect both to lawes and councels, as well as other bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the emperour, to call generall councels: and that in ecclesiasticall causes hee could establish and ordaine no more then all other bishops might. And lastly, that hee getteth no more by Peters succession, then that he is a bishop as all other bishops after the apostles be, &c.

Jacobus Misnensis and Militzius.

I cannot among other, following heere the occasion of this matter offered, leaue out the memorie of Jacobus Misnensis, who also wrote of the comming of antichrist. In the same hee maketh mention of a certaine learned man, whose name was Militzius, which Militzius (saith he) was a famous and worthie preacher in Praga. Hee liued about the yeare 1366, long before Husse, and before Wickliffe also. In the same his writings hee declareth, how the same good man Militzius was by the holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moued to search out of the holy Scriptures the manner and comming of antichrist: and found that now in his time hee was alreadie come. And the same Jacobus saith, that the said Militzius was constrained by the Spirit of God to go vp to Rome, and there publikely to preach. And that afterward before the Inquisitour he affirmed the same. That the same mightie and great antichrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was alreadie come.

Hee affirmed also, that the church by the negligence of the pastors, should become desolate: and that iniquitie should abound, that is, by reason of Mammon, master of iniquitie. Also, he said that there were in the church of Christ idols, which should destroy Jerusalem, and make the temple desolate, but were cloked by hypocrisie. Further, that there be many which denie Christ, for that they keepe silence: neither do they heare Christ, whom all the world should know and confesse his veritie before men, which also wittingly do detaine the veritie and iustice of God.

Militzius persecuted by the pope.

There is also a certaine Bull of pope Gregorie 11. to the archbishop of Praga: wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute Militzius and his auditours. The same Bull declareth, that he was once a Canon of Praga, but afterward he renounced his Canonship, and began to preach: who also for that he so manifestly preached of antichrist to bee alreadie come; was of John archbishop of Praga put in prison, declaring what his errour was: To wit, how he had his companie or congregation to whom hee preached, and that amongst the same were certaine conuerted harlots, which had forsaken their euill life, and did liue godlie and well: which harlots he accustomed in his sermons to preferre before all the blessed virgins that neuer offended. Hee taught also openlie, that in the pope, cardinals, bishops, prelats, priests, and other religious men, was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only hee, and such as held with him, taught the true way of saluation. His Postill in some places is yet to be seene. They alleage vnto him certaine other inconuenient articles, which notwithstanding I thinke, the aduersaries to depraue him withall, haue slanderouslie inuented against him. He had, as appeared by the foresaid Bull, verie manie of euery estate and condition, as well rich as poore that cleaued vnto him.

About the yeare of our Lord 1371, liued Henricus de Iota, whom Gerson doth much commend, and also his companion Henricus de Hassia, an excellent learned and famous man. An epistle of this Henricus de Hassia which he wrote to the bishop of Normacia, Iacobus Cartsiensis inserted in his booke De erroribus Christianorum. In the same epistle the author doth greatlie accuse the spirituall men of euery order, yea and the most holie of all other the pope himselfe, of many and great vices. He said, that the ecclesiasticall gouernours in the primitiue church, were compared to the sunne shining in the day time, and the politicall gouernours, to the moone, shining in the night. But the spirituall men he said, that now are, do neither shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darknesse do obscure both the day and the night, that is, with their filthie liuing, ignorance, and impietie. He citeth also out of the prophecie of Hildegardis these words; Therfore doth the diuell in himselfe speake of you priests: Daintie bankets and feasts, wherein is all voluptuousnesse, do I find amongst these men: In so much that mine eyes, mine eares, my bellie, and my beines, be euen filled with the froth of them, and my breasts stand astrut with the riches of them, &c. Lastly, saith he, they euerie day more and more as Lucifer did, seeke to climbe higher and higher: till that euery day with him more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.

Henricus de Hassia.

About the yeare of our Lord 1396, there were burned at Bzinga 36. citizens of Moguntina, for the doctrine of Waldenses, as Bzuthius affirmeth: which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherin they affirmed the pope to be that great antichrist, which should come: Unlesse peraduenture the pope seemed then to be more euidently conuicted of antichristianitie then at any other time before, hee was reuealed to be. The citizens of Moguntia.

For the like cause, many other beside these, are to be found in stories, which sustained the like persecutions by the pope, if leisure would serue to peruse all that might be searched. As where Masseus recordeth of diuers to the number of 140, which in the prouince of Narbone chose rather to suffer whatsoeuer grieuous punishment by fire, then to receiue the decretals of the Romish church, contrarie to the vpright truth of the Scripture. A briefe rehearsall of such as were put to death for holding against the bishop of Rome before the time of Wickliffe.

What should I here speake of the 24. which suffered at Paris, An. 1210? Also in the same author is testified that An. 1211 there were 400. vnder the name of heretiques burned, 80. beheaded: prince Americus hanged, and the ladie of the castle stoned to death.

Moreouer in the chronicles of Houedon, and of other writers be recited a marueilous number, which in the countries of France were burned for heretiques. Of whom, some were called Publicans, some Catharits, some Paterines, and other by others names. What their assertions were, I find no certaine report worthie of credit.

In Tritenius is signified of one Eckhardus a Dominican frier, who not long before Wickliffes time, was condemned and suffered for heresie at Hedelberge, An. 1330, who as hee differeth not much in name, so may he be supposed to be the same, whom other do name Beghardus, and is said to be burned at Erphord. Eckhardus a frier burned.

Of Albingenses because sufficient mention is made before, of whom a great number were burned about the time of king John, I passe them ouer.

Likewise I let passe the heremite, of whom John Bacon maketh relation, in his 2. Dist. quæst. 1. Who disputing in Pauls church, affirmed that those Sacraments, which were then vsed in the church, were not instituted by Christ, An. 1306. Peraduenture it was the same Ranulphus, mentioned in the Flowre of histories, and is said to die in prison: for the time of them doth not much differ. An heremit disputing against the popes sacrament. *Ranulphus.*

In Boetius, why the pope should so much commend a certaine king, because for one man, he had slaine 400, cutting away the genitals from the rest, I cannot iudge, except the cause were that, which the pope calleth heresie.

But to let these things ouerpasse that be vncertaine, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them which haue withstood the corruption of the popes see: neither haue we anie such firme testimonie left of their doings, credibly to stay vpon: We will now (Christ willing) conuert our storie, to things more certain and vndoubted: grounding vpon no light reports of feeble credit, nor vpon any fabulous legends without authoritie: but vpon the true and substantiall copies of the publike records of the realme, remaining yet to be seene vnder the kings most sure and faithfull custodie. Out of the which records, such matter appeareth against the popish church of Rome, and against his vsurped authoritie, such open standing and crying against the said see, and that not priuilie, but also in open parliament, in the daies of this king Edward the third; that neither will the Romish people of this our age easilly thinke it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to denie the same, so cleare standeth the force of those records. *Ex Archiuis Regia Maiestatis.*

We heard a little before, pag. 350, how John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie being sent for, and required by the king to come vnto him, refused so to do. What the cause was why he denied to come at the kings sending, is neither touched of Polydore Virgil, nor of any other monkish chronicler, writing of those acts and times. Whose part had been, faithfully to haue dispensed the simple truth of things done to their posteritie. But that which they dissemblingly and colourablie haue concealed, contrarie to the true law of storie, the true cause thereof we haue found out by the true parliament roles, declaring the storie thus. Partiall dissimulation in our histories of the church of England.

King Edward the 3. in the 6. yeare of his raigne, hearing that Edward Bailiol had proclaimed himselfe king of Scotland; required counsell of the whole estate, to wit, whether it were better for him to assaile Scotland, and to claime the demesne or demaynes of the same: or else by making him partie to take his aduantage. And thereby to inioy the seruice, as other his ancestors before him had done. For this cause hee summoned a parliament of all estates to meete at Yorke, about the beginning of December. Where the king was alreadie come, waiting for the comming of such as were warned thereunto. For the want of whose comming the parliament was reiourned till monday, and from thence to tuesday next insuing. But for so much as most of the states were absent, the assemblie required the continuance of the parliament, vntill the vtas of S. Hillarie then insuing at Yorke, which was granted. And so a new summons was especially awarded to euerie person with speciall charge to attend; so that the affaires of the king and the realme might not be hindred, because of the *Ex anno 6. reg. Edou. 3. tit. 1.*

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debate betweene the archbishop of Canturbury and archbishop of Yorke, for the superiour bearing of their crosse.

The archbishop of Canturburie came not to the parliament at Yorke, and all for bearing the crosse.

In conclusion, for all the kings summoning, none other of all the clergie came, but only the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincolne, and of Carlile, and abbats of Yorke and Selby. So that hereunto came not the archbishop of Canturburie nor any other of his prouince, and all for bearing the crosse. Wherby the same was not only a losse to the opportunitie to Scotland: but also an importable charge to the whole estate by a new reassemblie. And thus much out of the records. Whereby thou mayest easily iudge (prudent reader) what is to be thought of these pope-holy catholike churchmen: being of the popes brood and setting vp, whom such friuolous causes of contention stirre vp to such disquietnesse, both among themselues, and also to such disobedience against their prince: excuse them who can. Ex An. 6. Regis Edwardi 3.

Ex an. 17. reg. Edowardi 3. tit. 29.

The popes prouisions restrained, tit. 59.

It followeth moreouer in the same records, concerning the abandoning of the popes prouisions: how that the commons find great default at prouisions comming from Rome, whereby strangers were enabled within this realme to inioy ecclesiasticall dignities, and shew diuers inconueniences insuing thereby, namely the decay of daily almes, the transporting of the treasure to nourish the kings enemies, the discouering of the secrets of the realme, and the disabling and impouerishing of the clerkes within this realme.

The church of England spoiled by the pope and his fortreners.

They also shew how the pope had in most couert wise granted to two new cardinals within this realme, (and namely to cardinall Peragotz) aboue ten thousand markes of yearely tares: They therefore required the king and nobles to find some remedie, for that they neuer could ne would any longer beare those strange oppressions, or else to helpe them to expell out of this realme the popes power by force.

The act of king Edward the first reuiued for premunire, tit. 60.

Hereupon, the king, lords and commons, sent for the act made at Carlile, in the 35. yeare of king Edward the first, vpon the like complaint: thereby forbidding, that anie thing should be attempted or brought into the realme, which should tend to the blemishing of the kings prerogatiue, or to the preiudice of his lords or commons. And so at this time, the statute called the act of prouision was made by common consent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any Bulles, or such trinkets from the court of Rome, or the vsing, inioying, or allowing of any such bill, processe, instrument, or such ware, as thereby at large doth appeare. Whereof sufficiently is touched before, pag. 322.

An. reg. Edouardi 3. 18. tit. 32.

The penaltie of which statute afterward followed in the next parliament, An. Reg. Edw. 18. tit. 32. the which penaltie was this: the transgressors thereof to lie in perpetuall prison, or to be forfeited the land. And that all iustices of assize, goale deliuerie, and Oyer and determiner, may determine the same. Required withall, that the same act of prouision, should continue for euer.

Presentation within 4. monethes, an. reg. 18. tit. 34.

Item, that the said 18. yeere of the raigne of king Edward, tit. 34. it was moreouer propounded: that if any archbishop, or any person religious or other, do not present within 4. months some able clerke to any dignitie, where any person hath obtained from Rome any prouision, Bull, &c. but surcease the same: that then the king may present some able clerke.

No elections to be taken by the pope, but only by the king, an. reg. 18. tit. 35.

Item, propounded in the said parliament an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. that if any bishop elect, shall refuse to take any such bishoprikes other then by such Bull: that then such elect, shall not enter ne enioy his temporalties without his speciall licence.

Disposittions of benefices only in the kings hand, anno 18. Ed. 3. tit. 36.

Also that the king shall dispose all such benefices and dignities of such aliens his enemies, as remaine in the countrie of his enemies, and imploy the profits thereof to the defence of the realme.

Bulles from Rome forbidden, an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 37.

Moreouer propounded, that commissioners be sent to all the kings ports, to apprehend all such persons as shall bring in any such instrument from Rome, and to bring them forthwith before the counsell to answere thereto.

The deanrie of Yorke taken from the cardinall, an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 38.

Propounded furthermore, that the deanrie of Yorke which is to be recouered by iudgement in the kings court, may be bestowed vpon some able man within the realme, who will maintaine the same against him (meaning the cardinall, who holdeth the same by prouision from Rome, being the enemie to the king and to the realme) and that the profits may be imployed to the defence of the realme.

The kings answere and agreement to the foresaid petitions.

The kings answere. To all which petitions answere was made in forme following: It is agreed by the king, earles, barons, iustices, and other wise men of the realme, that the petitions aforesaid, be made in sufficient forme of law, according to the petitions aforesaid.

Note, that the bishops be not here named, and yet the parliament standeth in force.

¶ Note in this answere of the king (good reader) that at the grant hereof, the consent of the bishops is neither named, nor expressed, with the other lords of the parliament: and yet, the parliament standeth in his full force, notwithstanding.

Notes of the parliament holden in the 20. yeare of king Edward the 3.

Alien monkes to auoid, an. 20. Ed. 3. tit. 30.

TO passe further, in the 20. yeare of the kings raigne in the parliament holden the same yeare, it was propounded: that all alien monkes should auoid the realme by the day of S. Michael, and that their liuings should be disposed, to yong English scholars. The liuing of these the king tooke to his hands.

The liuings of strangers beneficed taken into the kings hand, tit. 21.

Item, that the king may take the profits of all other strangers liuings, as cardinals and others, during their liues. The profits of whom were also in the kings hands.

The liuings of Romish strangers disposed to English men, tit. 32. tit. 33.

That such aliens enemies, as be aduanced to liuings here in England (being in their owne countries, shoomakers, tailers, or chamberlaines to cardinals) should depart before Michaelmas, and their liuings disposed to poore English scholars. The liuings also of these remained in the kings hands.

The commons denied to pay any payment, to any cardinals lying in France, to entreat of warre or peace: which also was granted of the kings part as reasonable.

Cardinals deprined of their liuings in England, tit. 34.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yearely aduancement of two thousand markes (granted by the pope to two cardinals, out of the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke) should be restrained, and such as shall pursue therefore to be out of the law.

Likewise enacted and agreed, that no English man should take any thing in farme of any alien religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of their counsell, on paine of perpetuall imprisonment.

Enacted further, that no person should bring into the realme to anie bishop or other, anie Bull, or anie other letters from Rome, or from anie alien: vnlesse hee shew the same to the Chancellour or Warden of the Cinque ports, vpon losse of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the said parliament, the bishops were commanded before the next conuocation, to certifie vnto the Chancerie the names of such aliens, of their benefices, and the values of the same.

Notes of the 25. yeare of king Edward the third.

Ex Arch. 25. an. reg. Ed. 3.

THe parliament of the 25. yeare, was begun the 6. day of Februarie, the 25. yeare of king Edward 3. In the which parliament beside other matters moe, was propounded: that remedie might be had against the popes reseruations, by which brocage and meanes the pope receiued the first fruits of all ecclesiasticall dignities: A more consumption to the realme, then all the kings wars.

The popes first fruits and reseruations more hurtfull to ths realme then all the kings wars, tit. 14.

Also the like remedie might be had against such, as in the court of Rome presume to vndoo anie iudgement giuen in the kings court, as if they enforced to vndo the lawes of the realme.

To breake off all appeales to Rome, tit. 14.

Whereunto it was answered, that there was sufficient remedie prouided by law.

Notes of the 38. yeare of king Edward the third.

The request of the king for causes not to be determined at Rome, tit. 7.

IN the parliament holden at Westminster, the 38. yeare of Edward 3. in the vtaues of Hilarie (Simon bishop of Elie being lord Chancellour) it was required by the kings owne mouth, and declared to the whole estates: How daily citations and false suggestions were made to the pope, for matters determinable in his courts within the realme, and for procuring prouisions to ecclesiasticall dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient lawes, to the spoiling of his crowne, to the daily conueying away of the treasure, to the walking of ecclesiasticall liuings, to the withdrawing of diuine seruice, almes, hospitalitie, and other acceptable workes, and to the daily increase of all mischiefes: Wherefore, in person by his owne mouth, the king required the whole estate to prouide hereof due remedie.

What mischiefs come by transporting causes to Rome, tit. eodem.

The printed statute of prouision not agreeing in al termes against the pope with the record, tit. 9.

To be noted finallie in this parliament of the 38. yeare, that the act of prouisors, brought in this parliament, although in the printed copie, chap. 1. 2. 3. 4. doth agree with the record, in manner: yet in the said records vnprinted, are moe biting words against the pope: a mysterie not to be knowne of all men.

Notes of the 40. yeare of king Edward the third.

Ex an. reg. Ed. 40. tit. 7. vide licet.

IT followeth moreouer in the said acts of king Edward the 3. and in the 40. yeare of his raigne, another parliament was called at Westminster the 3. of May, an. 1366. the bishop of Elie being lord Chancellour and speaker. Who in the second day of the said assemblie in the presence of the king, lords and commons, declared: how the day before, generally they vnderstood the cause of this their assemblie, and now more particularly should vnderstand the same: specially how that the king vnderstood, that the pope (for the homage which king John made to the see of Rome for the realmes of England and Ireland, and for the tribute by him granted) meant by proces to cite the king to Rome, to answere thereto. Wherein, the king required their aduices, what were best for him to do, if any such thing were attempted. The bishops by their selues required respite of answere, vntill the next day. So did the lords and commons euerie of them by their selues.

The popes minister seeth to send for the king by proces.

The

King John could not without consent of parliament become tributarie to the pope, tit. 8.

The same next day, the whole estates reassembled together, and by common consent enacted in effect following, viz. For as much as neither king John, nor any other king, could bring his realme and people in such thraldome and subiection, but by common assent of parliament, the which was not done: and therefore done against his oth at his coronation (besides many other causes:) If therefore the pope should attempt any thing against the king, by processe or other matter indeed: That the king with all his subiects, should with all their force and power resist the same.

Agreed by parliament, that the king by force should resist the pope.

Braule between the foure orders of friers and the two Universities: Ex. tit. 10.

Here moreover is not to be omitted, how in the said present parliament, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge on the one side, and the friers of the foure orders mendicants in the said Universities on the other side; made long complaints the one against the other, to the king in parliament, and in the end submitted themselues to the kings order.

After which, the king vpon full digesting of the whole matter (by assent of parliament) toke order: that as well the chancellor and scholars, as the friers of those orders in the said Universities; should in all graces and other schole exercises, vse each other in friendly wise, without any rumor as before. That none of those orders should receiue any scholars into their said orders, being vnder the age of 18. yeares.

The friers subiect to the kings order only in all their controuersies, parliament tit. 12.

That the said friers shall take no aduantage, nie procure Buls or other processe from Rome, against the said Universities, or proceed therein.

And that the king haue power to redresse all controuersies, betweene them from thencefoorth. And the offenders to be punished at the pleasure of the king, and of the counsell.

Notes of the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third.

Ex Archiuis regia maiestatis. an. 50. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 94.

In processe of the foresaid acts and rolles, it followeth more, that in the 50. yeare of the raigne of king Edward the third, the yeare of our Lord 1376, another great parliament was assembled at Westminster the 24. of Aprill: Where, sir Iohn Knyuet being lord chancellor of England, a certaine long bill was put vp against the vsurpations of the pope, as being the

Against the vsurpation of the pope.

cause of all the plagues, murrions, famine, and pouertie of the realme, so as thereby was not left the third person, or other commoditie within the realme that lately was.

2 That the taxes paid to the pope of Rome for ecclesiasticall dignities, do amount to fiue fold as much, as the tare of all profits as appertaine to the king by the yeare of his whole realme: And that for some one bishoprieke or other dignitie, the pope by way of translation and death, hath three, foure, or fiue seuerall tares.

The pope cause of all mischiefes in England.

3 That the brokers of that sinfull citie, for money promote many caitifes (being altogether vnlearned and vnworthie) to a thousand markes liuing by yeare, where the learned and worthie can hardlie obtaine twentie markes, whereby learning decayeth.

The treasure of the realme conueyed away by the popes meanes, tit. 97.

4 That aliens (enemies to this land) who neuer saw ne care not to see their parishioners, haue those liuings whereby they despise Gods seruice, and conuey away the treasure, and are worse then Iewes or Saracens.

5 Also it was put vp in the said bill to be considered, that the lawes of the church, would such liuings to be bestowed for charitie only, without praying or paying.

6 That reason would that liuings giuen of deuotion, should be bestowed in hospitalitie.

7 That God had committed his sheepe to the pope, to be pastured, and not shorne or shauen.

The pope giueth example to sell benefices, tit. 99.

8 That lay patrons perceiuing the couetousnes and simonie of the pope, do thereby learne to sell their benefices vnto beasts, none otherwise then Christ was sold to the Iewes.

Inestimable that the pope hath heere out of England, tit. 100.

9 That there is none so rich a prince in christendome, that hath the fourth part of so much treasure, as the pope hath out of this realme, for churches most sinfully.

10 Diuer and besides in the said bill, repeating againe the tendering zeale, for the honor of the church: was declared and particularly named, all the plagues which haue iustly fallen vpon this realme, for suffering the same church to be so defaced, with declaration that it will daily increase without redresse.

Reseruation of the Church of England desired in the parliament, tit. 111.

11 Whereupon with much perswasion this was desired, to helpe to reedifie the same: and the rather for that, this was the yeare of Iubiley, the 50. yeare of the kings raigne, the yeere of ioy and gladnesse, then the which there could be no greater.

12 The meanes how to begin this, was to write two letters to the pope: the one in Latine vnder the kings seale, the other in French vnder the seales of the nobles, importing their particularities, and requiring redresse, of the which letter of the lords, the effect may be seene in a like letter mentioned before, pag. 352.

Acts made for no money to be transported, tit. 103.

13 And for a further accomplishment hereof, to enact, that no money were caried forth of the realme by letter of Lumbardie or otherwise, on paine of forfeiture and imprisonment, and to enact the articles hereafter ensuing.

14 The king hath heretofore by statute prouided sufficient remedie, and otherwise pursueth the same with the holy father the pope, and so mindeth to do from time to time, vntill he hath obtained as well for the matters before, as for the articles insuing, being in a manet all one.

Against the popes liegers, and collectors, tit. 104. The popes collection what is commeth to, tit. 105.

15 That the popes collector and other strangers the kings enemies, and only lieger spies for Englishe dignities, and disclosing of the secrets of the realme, may be touched.

16 That the same collectour being also receiuer of the popes pence, keepeth a house in London with clerkes and officers therto, as it were one of the kings solemne courts, transporting yearely to the pope, twentie thousand markes, and most commonly more.

The best dignities in England in the cardinals, tit. 106.

17 That cardinals and other aliens remaining at Rome, whereof one cardinall is deane of Yorke, another of Salisburie, another of Lincolne, another archdeacon of Canturburie, another archdeacon of Durelme, another archdeacon of Suffolke, another archdeacon of Yorke, another prebendarie of Thame and Nallington, another prebendarie of Buckes in the church of Yorke: haue diuers of the best dignities of England, and haue sent ouer to them yearely xx. M. markes, ouer and aboue that which English brokers lying there, haue.

The pope maintaineth the kings enemies with the kings money, tit. 107.

18 That the pope (to ransome the Frenchmen the kings enimies, who defend Lumbardie from him) doth alwaies at his pleasure leuie a subsidie of the whole clergie of England.

The popes practise in England to make money, tit. 108.

19 That the pope for more gaine maketh sundrie translations of all the bishoprickes and other dignities within the realme.

20 That the popes collector hath this yeare taken to his vse the first fruits of all benefices, by collation or prouision.

The law of premunire to be renued.

21 To renue all the statutes against prouisors from Rome, sith that the pope reserueth all the benefices of the world for his owne proper gifts, and hath this yeare created twelue new cardinals, so as now there are thirtie, where was wont to be but twelue, and all those cardinals, except two or three, are the kings enemies.

Against the popes vsurpation, tit. 112.

22 That the pope in time, will giue the temporall manors of those dignities to the kings enemies, sith he so daily vsurpeth vpon the realme, and the kings regalities.

23 That all houses and corporations of religion who vnto the kings raigne now had free election of heads, the pope hath encroched the same to himselfe.

English money paieth the popes legacies, tit. 113.

24 That in all legacies from the pope, whatsoeuer; the English clergie beareth the charge of the legats, and all for the godnesse of our money.

No good money in the realme for the pope and card. tit. 114.

25 And so it appeareth, that if the money of the realme were as plentifull as euer it was; the collectors aforesaid, with the proctors of cardinals, would soone conuey the same.

The popes collector or proctor driuen out of the realme, tit. 115.

26 For remedie hereof it may be prouided, that no such collector or proctor do remaine in England, on paine of life and member. And that no English man on the like paine, become any such collector or proctor, or remaine at Rome.

The popes collector to be examined.

27 For better information hereof, and namely touching the popes collector, for that the whole clergie being obedient vnto him, dare not displease him: It were good, that sir Iohn Strenlale, parson of S. Botolphs in Holborne, may be sent to come before the lords and commons of this parliament. Who being straitly charged, can declare much more, for that he serued the same collector in house fiue yeares.

English men good Alles.

¶ And thus much of this bill touching the popes matters: whereby it may appeare, not to be for nought that hath been vpon vs reported by the Italians and other strangers, which vsed to call English men good Alles: for they beare all burdens that be laid vpon them.

Order taken in London against vsurie, tit. 158.

Item, in the said parliament it was prouided also, that such order as is made in London against the horrible vice of vsurie, may be obserued throughout the whole realme.

Complaint against the bishop of Yorke and his officers for their excessiue taking for their admissions, tit. 171.

The commons of the diocesse of Yorke complaine of the outragious taking of the bishop and his clerkes, for admissions of priests to their benefices.

To these records of the parliament aboue prefixed of the 50. yeare of this king Edward; we will adioyne also other notes, collected out of the parliament, in the yeare next following, which was 51, and the last yeare of this kings life and raigne, An. 1377, the 27. of Januarie: Although in the printed booke, these statutes are said to be made at the parliament holden, as aboue, in the 50. yeare: which is much mistaken, and ought to be referred to the 51. yeare, as by the records of the said yeare, manifestly doth appeare.

Ex Archiuis reg. Edou. 3. an. reg. 51. tit. 36.

Against the popes prouisions from Rome anno reg. 51. tit. 36.

In which parliament, the bishop of S. Dauids being lord chancellour, making a long oration, taking his theme out of S. Paul: Libenter suffertis insipientes, &c. Declaring in the said oration many things, as first, in shewing the ioyfull newes of the old kings recouerie: then declaring the loue of God toward the king and realme, in chastising him with sicknesse: Afterward shewing the blessing of God vpon the king, in seeing his children children: Then by a similitude of the head and members, exhorting the people as the members of one bodie to conforme themselues vnto the godnesse of the head. Lastly, he turned his matter to the lords and the rest, declaring the cause of that assemblie: that for so much as the French king had allied himselfe with the Spaniards and Scots the kings enemies, which had prepared great powers, conspiring to blot out the English tongue and name: the king therefore was willing to

The effect of the chancellors Oration.

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haue therein their faithfull counsell.

The cause of this parliament chiefly for the popes vsurpation against the king.

This being declared by the bishop: sir Robert Ashton the kings chamberlaine, declaring that he was to moue them from the king, for the profit of the realme (the which words percase lay not in the bishops mouth, for that it touched the pope) viz. By protesting first, that the king was readie to do all that ought to be done for the pope. But for that diuers vsurpations were done by the pope to the king his crowne, and realme, as by particular bils in this parliament should be shewed, he required of them to seeke redresse.

Against the pope his prouisions frō Rome, an. reg. 51. tit. 35.

In this present parliament petition was made by the commons, that all prouisors of things from Rome, and their ministers, should be out of the kings protection.

The kings answere.

Whereunto the king answered, that the pope had promised redresse, which if he did not, the lawes then should stand.

Against the pope his dispensations, tit. 62.

It was also in that parliament required, that euerie person of what sexe soeuer, being professed of any religion, continuing the habit of fiftéene yeares, may vpon the triall of the same in any of the kings courts, bée in law vtterlie forebarred of all inheritance, albeit hee haue dispensation from the pope. Against which dispensation, is the chiefe grudge. Whereunto the king and the lords answered, saying, that they would prouide.

By this Anteferri, that is, præmunire, is meant, the preheminence aboue the king. The popes law of præeminere, which now we corruptly call præmunire, debarred by the king, tit. 78.

Item, in the said parliament was propounded, that the statute of prouisors made at any time may be executed, and that remedie may be had against such cardinals, as haue within the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke, purchased reseruations, with the clause of Anteferri, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand Scutes of gold against the popes collector: who was wont to be an English man, and now is a méere French, residing at London, and conueyeth yearely to the pope twentie thousand markes, or twentie thousand pounds, who this yéere gathereth the first fruits whatsoeuer. Alleaging the meanes to mét with these reseruations and nouelries, as, to command all strangers to depart the realme during the wars, that no English man to become their farmour, or to send to them any money without a speciall licence, on paine to be out of the kings protection. Whereunto was answered by the king, that the statutes and ordinances therefore made, should be obserued.

Ex actis parliamenti in an. reg. Ed. tertij 15. tit. 24.

In these rolles and records of such parliaments as were in this kings time continued, diuers other things are to be noted much worthie to be marked, and not to be suppressed in silence. Wherein the reader may learne and vnderstand the state of the kings iurisdiction heere within this realme, not to bée straitned in those daies (although the pope then séemed to be in his chiefe ruffe) as afterward since in other kings daies was séene. As may appeare in the parliament of the 15. yére of this king Edward the third, and in the 24. article of the said parliament: where it is to be read, that the kings officers and temporall iustices did then both punish vsurers, and impeached the officers of the church for briberie, and for taking mony for temporall paine, probate of willes, solemnitie of mariage, &c. all the pretensed liberties of the popish church to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Punishment of the clergie in the temporall mens hands.

Clerkes subiect to temporall law.

Furthermore, in the parliament of the 25. yeare, appeareth, that the liberties of the clergie and their exemptions in claiming the deliuerance of men by their booke vnder the name of clerkes, stood then in little force, as appeared by one Hauk-tine Hanby knight: who for imprisoning one of the kings subiects, till he made fine of twentie pound, was therefore executed, notwithstanding the libertie of the clergie, which by his booke would haue saued him, but could not.

The like also appeared by iudgement giuen against a priest at Nottingham, for killing of his master.

And likewise by hanging certaine monkes of Combe. Ex parliam. An. 23. Ed. 3.

The arraignment of the archbishop of Canturburie, an. 15. Ed. 3. tit. 49.

Item, in the parliament of the 15. yeare, by apprehending of I. Stratford, archbishop of Canturburie, and his arraignment: concerning which his arraignment, all things were committed to sir William of Kildisby.

Besides these truths and notes of the kings parliaments, wherein may appeare the toward procéedings of this king and of all his commons against the pretensed church of Rome: this is moreouer to be added to the commendation of the king, how in the volumes of the acts and rolles of the king appeareth: That the said king Edward the third sent also John Wickliffe, reader then of Diuinitie lecture in Oxford, with certaine other lords and ambassadors ouer into the parts of Italie, to treat with the popes legats concerning affaires betwixt the king and the pope with full commission: the tenor whereof héere followeth expressed.

John Wickliffe sent with the kings Ambassadors by the king.

Rex vniuersis, ad quorum notitiam præsentes literæ peruenerint, &c. In English thus.

The king to all and singuler to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we reposing assured confidence in the fidelity and wisdome of the reuerend father Iohn bishop of Bangor, and other our louing and faithfull subiects, M. Iohn Wickliffe, reader of the Diuinitie lecture, M. Io. Guntur deane of Segobyen, and M. Simon Moulton doctor of the law, Sir William Burton knight, M. John Belknap, and M. Iohn Hon-

nington, haue directed them as our ambassadors and speciall commissioners to the parts beyond the seas. Giuing to the said our ambassadors and commissioners, to six or fiue of them, of whom I will that the said bishop shall be one, full power and authoritie, with commandement speciall, to treat and consult mildely and charitablie with the legats and ambassadors of the lord pope touching certaine affaires. Whereupon of late we sent heretofore the said bishop, and William Vghtred monke of Duresme, and M. Iohn Shepie to the see apostolicall: And hereof to make full relation of all things done and past in the said assemblie, that all such things which may tend to the honor of holy church and the aduancement of our crowne and this our realme, may by the assistance of God and the wisdome of the see apostolicall be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witnesse our selues, &c. at London dated the 26. day of Iuly in the 48. yeare of our raigne.

By the which it is to be noted, what good will the king then bare to the said Wickliffe, and what small regard he had to the sinfull see of Rome.

Of the which John Wickliffe, because we are now approched to his time; remaineth consequently for our storie to entreat of, so as we haue heretofore done of other like valiant souldiers of Christs church before him.

Iohn Wickliffe.

Here beginneth the storie of John Wickliffe.

AFter al these heretofore recited, by whom (as ye haue heard) it pleased the Lord something to worke against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friers: now remaineth consequently, following the course of yeares, orderly to enter into the storie and tractation of John Wickliffe our countriman, and other moe of his time, and same countrie, whom the Lord (with the like zeale and power of spirit) raised vp here in England, to detect more fully and amplie the poison of the popes doctrine, and false religion set vp by the friers. In whose opinions and assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted: yet such blemishes they be, which rather declare him to be a man that might erre, then which directly did fight against Christ our Sauiour, as the popes procéedings & the friers did. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church, so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swarued awrie? And yet be the said articles of his, neither in number so many, nor yet so grosse in themselues and so cardinall, as those cardinall enemies of Christ perchance do giue them out to be; if his bookes which they abolished, were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes, which they haue wrested to the worst, as euill will neuer said the best.

The blemishes of Wickliffe made worse then they be.

This is certaine and cannot be denied, but that he being the publike reader of Diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Oxford; was for the rude time wherein he liued, famously reputed for a great clerke, a deepe scholeman, and no lesse expert in all kind of philosophie. The which doth not only appeare by his owne most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden his most cruell and bitter enemie. Who in a certaine epistle written vnto pope Martin the fift, saith that he was wondersully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authoritie which he had gathered, with the vehemencie and force of his reasons, &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as haue obserued the order and course of times, that this Wickliffe flourished about the yeare of our Lord 1371. Edward the third raigning in England: for thus we do find in the chronicles of Carton: In the yeare of our Lord 1371. (saith he) Edward the third, king of England, in his parliament, was against the popes clergie: He willingly harkened and gaue care to the voices and tales of heretikes, with certaine of his counsell conceiuing and following sinister opinions against the clergie. Wherefore (afterward) he talked & suffered much aduersity and trouble. And not long after, in the yeare of our Lord (saith he) 1372. he wrote vnto the bishop of Rome, that he should not by any meanes intermeddle any more within his kingdome, as touching the reseruation, or distribution of benefices: and that all such bishops as were vnder his dominion, should inioy their former and ancient libertie, and be confirmed of their Metropolitanes, as hath been accustomed in times past, &c. Thus much writeth Carton. But as touching the iust number of the yeare and time, we will not be very curious or carefull about, at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darknesse of God his truth had ouershadowed the whole earth; this man stepped forth like a valiant champion, vnto whom it may iustly be applied that is spoken in the booke called Ecclesiasticus, of one Simon the sonne of Onias: Euen as the morning star being in the middest of a cloud, and as the Moone being full in her course, and as the bright beames of the Sunne; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God.

The testimonie of Walden an enemie in commendation of Wickliffe.

The time of J. Wickliffe.

Anno 1371

Anno 1372

Ex Caxtono.

Thus doth almighty God continually succor and help, when all things are in despaire: being alwaies (according to the prophecie of the Psalme) a helper in time of need. The which thing neuer more plainly appeared, then in these latter dais and

and extreame age of the church; when as the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraued and corrupted. That like as the disease named Lethargus among the physitions, euen so the state of religion amongst the diuines, was past all mans helpe and remedie. The onely name of Christ remained amongst christians, but his true and liuely doctrine was as farre vnknowne vnto the most part, as his name was common vnto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and vse of the law, the office of Christ, of our impotencie and weakenesse, of the holy Ghost, of the greatnesse and strength of sinne, of true works, of grace and free iustification by faith, of libertie of a christian man, wherein consisteth and reseth the summe and matter of our profession; there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken of. Scripture, learning and diuinitie; was knowne but vnto a few, and that in the scholes onely; and there also turned and conuerted almost all into sophistry. In stead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the master of sentences. The world leauing and forsaking the liuely power of Gods spirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and humane traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining saluation fullie fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Insomuch, that scarcely any other thing was séene in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finallie intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping vp of certaine shadowed ceremonies vpon ceremonies, neither was there any end of their heaping.

The description of Wickliffes time.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did sée, and did sée almost nothing which they did not worship.

The church being degenerated from the true apostolicke institution aboue all measure (reseruing only the name of the apostolicke church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreame tyrannie: whereas the pouertie and simplicitie of Christ was changed into crueltie and abomination of life. In stead of the apostolicke gifts and continuall labors and trauels, slothfulnes and ambition was crept in amongst the priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung vp a thousand sorts and fashions of strange religions, being the onely rote and well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and deprauations were crept into the sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signes of things, for the very things themselues: and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials? Finally, what thing was there, in the whole state of christian religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of dailie new fangled ceremonies were the sillie consciences of men redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snarled? Insomuch, that there could be no great difference almost perceiued betweene christianitie and Iewishnesse, saue only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Iewes, might seeme somewhat more tolerable then ours. There was nothing sought for out of the true fountaines, but out of the durtie puddles of the Philistins. The christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the noses, with meere decrées and constitutions of men, euen whither as pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christs will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and ouerwhelmed with errors and darknesse. And no great maruell; for why, the simple and vnlearned people being farre from all knowledge of the holy scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them, to know onlie these things which were deliuered them by their pastors and shepheards; and they on the other part taught in a maner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the court of Rome. Whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more then to the glorie of Christ.

All good things defiled and spotted with superstition.

The christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that euerie man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and vnderstand that thing which the diuels themselues also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderfull holinesse. All men were so addict vnto outward shewes, that euen they themselues which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the scriptures, scarsly did vnderstand or know any other thing. And this euidently did appeare, not onely in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captaines of the church: whose whole religion and holinesse, consisted in a maner in the obseruing of daies, meats and garments, and such like rhetoricall circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments: so many differences of colours and meates: with so many pilgrimages to seuerall places, as though S. James at Compostella could doe that, which Christ could not doe at Canturburie: or else that God were not of like power and strength in euery place, or could not be found but being sought for by running and gadding hither and thither. Thus the holinesse of the whole yere was transported and put off vnto the lent season. No countrie or land was counted holy, but onelie

The captaines of the church seduced as well as the inferior sort.

Palestina, where Christ had walked himselfe with his corporall feet. Such was the blindnesse of that time, men did striue and fight for the crosse at Hierusalem, as it had been for the chiefe and onelie force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to reade the monuments of the former times, to see and vnderstand what great troubles and calamities this crosse hath caused almost in euery christian commonwealth. For the Romish champions neuer ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea and by quarrelling, to moue and stir vp princes minds to warre and battell, euen as though the faith and beleefe of the gospell, were of small force, or little effect without that woodden crosse. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince king Rich. vnto Hierusalem. Who being taken in the same iournie, and deliuered vnto the emperour: could scarslie be ransomed home againe, for 30. M. markes: pag. 225. In the same enterprise or iournie, Fredericus the emperour of Rome, a man of most excellent vertue, was much endamaged in the same iournie, an. 1179. And also Philip the king of France, scarslie returned home againe in safetie, not without great losses: so much did they esteeme the recouery of the holy citie and crosse.

Palestina decorned holy for Christs walking there.

Richard king of England.

Fredericke the emperour of Rome.

Philip king of France.

Upon this alone, all mens eies, mindes and deuotions, were so set and bent; as though either there were no other crosse but that, or that the crosse of Christ were in no other place but only at Hierusalem. Such was the blindnesse and superstition of those daies, which vnderstood or knew nothing but such as were outwardlie séene: whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that Urbanus did so vexe and torment himselfe? Because that Antioch with the holy crosse, was lost out of the hands of the christians. For so wee doe find it in the chronicles, at what time as Ierusalem with K. Guido, and the crosse of our Lord was taken, and vnder the power of the Sultan; Urbanus took the matter so grieuouslie, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succéeded Lambertus which was called Gregorie the 8. by whose motion it was decréed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousnesse) they should preach the crosse of Christ, and by their pouertie and humilitie first of all should take the crosse vpon them, and goe before others into the land of Ierusalem. These are the words of the historie; whereby it is euident vnto the vigilant reader, vnto what grossenesse the true knowledge of the spirituall doctrine of the gospell was degenerate and growne vnto in those daies: how great blindnesse and darknesse was in those daies, euen in the first primacie, and supremacie of the bishop of Rome: as though the outward succession of Peter and the Apostles, had been of greater force and effect to ý matter. What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that euery man should labour and studie with all their indeuour to follow the life and confession of Peter: And that man séemeth vnto me to be the true successor of Peter, against whom the gates of hell shall not preuaile. For if that Peter in the gospel do beare the type and figure of the christian church (as all men in a maner doe affirme) what more foolish or vaine thing can there bee, then through primat vsurpation, to restraine and to bind that vnto one man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it selfe free and open to so many?

Pope Urbane. Lambert pope.

The knowledge of the Gospel grossely expounded by the Romanists.

Thus in these so great and troublous times and horrible darkenesse of ignorance, what time there séemed in a maner to be no one so little a sparke of pure doctrine left or remaining: this foresaid Wickliffe by Gods prouidence sprang and rose vp: through whom the Lord would first waken and raise vp againe the world, which was ouermuch drowned and whelmed in the deepe streames of humane traditions. Thus you haue here the time of Wickliffes originall.

The rising vp of Wickliffe in a troublous time.

Which Wickliffe after he had now by a long time professed diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and perceiuing the true doctrine of Christs gospell to be adulterate and defiled, with so many filthie inuentions of bishops, sects of monks, and darke errours: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himselfe (with many secret sighes, and bewailing in his mind the generall ignorance of the whole world) could no longer suffer or abide the same, but that he at the last determined with himselfe to helpe and to remedie such things as hee saw to bee wide and out of the way. But forsomuch as he saw that this dangerous medling, could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things which had been so long time with vse and custome rooted and grafted in mens minds, could bee suddenlie plucked vp or taken away, hee thought with himselfe that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his originall at small occasions, thereby opened himselfe a way or meane to greater matters. And first he assailed his aduersaries in logicall and metaphysicall questions, disputing with them of the first forme and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like sophemes of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding did not a little helpe and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Kegningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against Iohn Wickliffe.

Wickliffe a Diuine in Oxford.

By these originals, the way was made vnto greater points,

so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the Sacraments, and other abuses of the church. Touching which things this holy man toke great paines, protesting (as they said) openlie in the schooles, that it was his chiefe and principall purpose and intent, to reuoke and call backe the church from her idolatrie to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the bodie and blod of Christ. But this bile or sore could not bee touched without the great griefe and paine of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of monks and begging friers were set on a rage or madnesse, which (euen as hornets with their sharpe stings) did assaile this good man on euery side: fighting (as is said) for their altars, paunches and bellies. After them the priests, and then after them the archbishop took the matter in hand, being then S. Sudbury, who for the same cause depriued him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. Notwithstanding he being somewhat frended and supported by the king, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the friers, and of the archbishop all this while of his first beginning, till about the yeere of our Lord, 1377. After which time now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and conflict, first I must fetch about a little compasse, as requisite is, to inferre some mention of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord Henrie Percie, which were his speciall maintainers.

Wickliffe depriued of his benefice at Oxford by S. Sudbery. *Ex Chron. D. Albani.*

Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henrie Percie, great maintainers of Iohn Wickliffe.

As yeeres and time grew on, king Edward the third, which had raigned now about 51. yeeres, after the decease of prince Edward his sonne, who departed the yeere before: was strucken in great age, and in such feebleneslie withall, that hee was vnwieldie through lacke of strength to gouerne the affaires of the realme. Wherefore a parliament being called the yeere before his death, it was there put vp by the knights and other the burgesses of the parliament (because of the misgouernment of the realme by certaine greedie persons about the king, raking all to themselues, without seeing any iustice done) that 12. sage and discreet lords, and peeres, such as were free from note of all auarice, should bee placed as tutours about the king, to haue the doing and disposing vnder him (sire at one time, and in their absence sire at another) of matters pertinent to the publike regiment. Here by the way I omit to speake of Alice Perris the wicked harlot, which (as the storie giueth) had bewitched the kings heart, and gouerned all, and sate vpon causes her self through the diuelish help of a frier Dominicke: who by the duke of Lancaster was caused to be taken, and was conuicted, and should haue suffered for the same, had not the archb. of Cant. and the friers (more regarding the libertie of their church, then the punishing of vice) reclaimed him for their owne prisoner. This Alice Perris, notwithstanding shee was banished by this parliament from the king, yet afterward shee came againe, and left him not, till at his death shee toke all his rings vpon his fingers and other iewels from him, and so fled away like an harlot. But this of her by the way.

Alice Perris the kings concubine.

The king bewitched by a woman through the helpe of a frier.

The propertie of an whore.

These 12. gouernors by the parliament aforesaid being appointed to haue the tuition of the king, and to attend to the publike affaires of the realme; remained for a certaine space about him, till afterward it so fell out, that they being againe remoued, all the regiment of the realme next vnder the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster the kings son. For as yet Richard the sonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very young and vnder age.

12. Gouernors assigned about the king.

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceiued a certaine displeasure against the popish clergie: whether for corrupt and impure doctrine ioyned with like abominable excesse of life, or for what some other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Onely by storie the cause thereof may be gessed, to rise by Willam Wickam bishop of Winchester. The matter is this.

Ex Chron. Monasterij Albani.

The bishop of Winchester (as the saying went then) was reported to affirme, that the foresaid Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, was not the sonne of king Edward, nor of the queene. Who being in trauell at Gaunt, had no sonne (as he said) but a daughter: which the same time by lying vpon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the queene fearing the kings displeasure, caused a certaine manchild of a woman of Flanders (borne the very same time) to be conueied and brought vnto her in stead of her daughter aforesaid. And so brought vp the child whom shee bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this (said the bishop) did the queene tell him, lying in extreemes on her deathbed vnder seale of confession: charging him if the said duke should euer aspire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes should fall vnto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the kings bloud, but a false heire of the king. This slanderous report of the wicked bishop, as it sauoureth of a contumelious lie, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtill zeale toward the popes religion, meaning falshood. For that the foresaid duke by fauouring of Wickliffe, declared himselfe to be a professed enemie against the popes profession. Which thing was then not vnknowne, neither vnmarked of the prelats and bishops then in England. But the sequell of the storie thus followed:

A practise of the prelats against the Duke of Lancaster.

This slanderous villanie of the bishops report being blazed abroad, and comming to the dukes eare: he therewith being not a little discontended (as no maruell was) sought againe by what meanes he could, to bee reuenged of this forenamed bishop. In conclusion, the duke hauing now all the gouernment of the realme vnder the king his father, in his owne hand; so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of parliament he was condemned and depriued of all his temporall goods, which goods were assigned to prince Rich. of Burdeur, the nert inheritour of the crowne after the king; and furthermore inhibited the said bishop not to approch neere to the court by 20. miles. Further, as touching this bishop, the storie thus procedeth: Not long after in the yeere of our Lord, 1377. a parliament was called by the meanes of the duke of Lancaster, vpon certaine causes and respects: in which parliament great request and sute was made by the clergie for the deliuerance of the bishop of Winchester. At length when a subsidie was asked in the kings name of the clergie, and request also made in the kings behalfe for spèedie expedition to bee made for the dissoluing of the parliament, the archb. therefore accordingly conuented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the B. with great lamentation complained for lacke of their fellow and brother B. of Wint. Whose iniurie, said they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: And therefore denied to ioyne themselues in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were vnited with the head: And (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) would not otherwise doe. And seemed moreouer to be moued against the archb. for that hee was not more stout in the cause, but suffered him so to be cited of ỹ duke.

M. Wickham B. of Wint. depriued.

Bishops hold together.

Liberties of the Church a great matter.

B. of Wint. sent for to the conuocation.

The archb. although hauing sufficient cause to excuse himselfe, wherefore not to send for him (as also he did) because of the perils which might ensue thereof: yet being inforced and perswaded thereunto, by the importunitie of the bishops, directed downe his letters to the foresaid bishop of Wint. willing him to resort vnto the conuocation of the clergie. Who being glad to obay the same, was receiued with great ioy of the other bishops. And at length by the meanes of Alice Perris, the kings paramour aboue mentioned, (giuing to her a good quantitie of money) the said Winchester was restored to his owne temporalities againe.

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the meane time had sent for John Wickliffe: who, as is said, was then the diuinitie reader in Oxford, and had commenced in sundrie acts and disputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the popes Church in many things: who also for the same had been depriued of his benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, first in his lectures, and sermons to intreat of, and wherefore hee was depriued, were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, then hath another. That if it bee giuen by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolue the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. Hee affirmed moreouer, that neither the king nor any temporall lord could giue any perpetuitie to the church, or to any ecclesiasticall person: for that when such ecclesiasticall persons doe sinne, habitualiter, continuing in the same still, the temporall powers ought and may meritoriously, take away from them, that before hath been bestowed vpon them. And that hee prooued, to haue been practised before here in England by William Rufus. Which thing (said hee) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now: if he did it vnlawfully, then doth the church erre (saith hee) and doth vnlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The storie which ascribeth to him these assertions being taken out (as I take it) of the monasterie of S. Albons, addeth withall: that in his teaching and preaching hee was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to bee an hypocrite, the cause was this:

John Wickliffe sent for by the Duke of Lancaster.

Example of K. Rufus.

Ex histo. Monasterij D. Albani.

First, because he resorted much to the orders of the begging friers, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their pouertie.

Secondly, because he and his fellowes vsually accustomed in their preaching to goe barefoot, and in simple russet gownes.

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how farre it was from the ambition and pride, which in the slanderous penne of Polydore Virgil, reporting in his 19. book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (conceiuing therfore indignation against the clergy) became their mortall enemie. How true this was, he only knoweth best, that rightly shall iudge both the one and the other.

The slanderous penne of Polydore.

In the meane time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly coniecture what is to be thought of the man. But howsoeuer it was in him either true or false: yet it had been Polydors part, either not so intemperatelie to haue abused his pen, or at least to haue shewed some greater authoritie and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rathlie to defame a man whose life hee knoweth not, is not the part of a faithfull storie writer.

Wickliffe falsly charged with ambition by Polydore.

But to returne from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions

Wickliffe beginneth to touch the matter of the sacrament.

opinions and assertions aboue recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to bee brought in order; hee began also then something nerelie to touch the matter of the sacrament, proouing that in the said sacrament, the accidences of bread remained not without the subiect, or substance: both by the holie scriptures, and also by the authoritie of the doctors, but specially by such as were most ancient. As for the latter writers, that is to say such as haue written vpon that argument vnder the thouland yeeres since Christs time, hee vtterly refused: saying, that after these yeeres Sathan was loosed and set at libertie. And that since that time the life of man hath bin most subiect and in danger of errors: the simple and plaine truth to appeare and consist in the scriptures, whereunto all humane traditions whatsoeuer they bee, must be referred, and specialie such as are set forth and published now of late yeeres. This was the cause why he refused the latter writers of decretals, leaning onelie to the scriptures and ancient doctors: most stoutly affirming out of them that in the sacrament of the bodie which is celebrate, with bread the accidence not to bee present without the substance. That is to say, that the bodie of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those daies did dreame. As for his arguments what they were, wee will shortly at more opportunitie by Gods grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the Poet speaketh very truely) had gotten John Wickliffe great displeasure and hatred at many mens hands: and specially of the monks and richest sort of priests.

The latter writers of the church to be misdoubted.

The accidences not to be in the sacrament without the substance.

Albeit through the fauor and supportation of the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, hee persisted hitherto in some meane quiet against their wouish violence and crueltie: Till at last about the yeere of our Lord 1376. the bishops still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudburie, who before had depriued him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters: had obtained by processe and order of citation to haue him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare after their vsuall forme was to him assigned.

The duke hauing intelligence that Wickliffe his client should come before the bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weake against such a multitude: calleth to him out of the orders of friers, foure bachelers of diuinitie, out of euery order one, to ioyne them with Wickliffe also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said Wickliffe to appeare, which day was thursday, the nineteenth of Februarie: John Wickliffe accompanied with the foure friers aforesaid, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, lord Marshall of England, the said lord Percie also going before them to make roome and way wherewith Wickliffe should come.

Thus Wickliffe (through the prouidence of God) being sufficientlie garded, was comming to the place where the bishops sate: whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor shrinke a whit at the companie of the bishops there present, who were all vnlearned (said they) in respect of him. For so proceed the words of my foresaid author, who I follow in this narration: neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselues assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harme. With these words, and with the assistance of the Nobles, Wickliffe in heart incouraged, approcheth to the church of S. Paul in London. Where a maine preasse of people was gathered to heare what should be said and done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the lords (for all the puissance of the high Marshal) vneth with great difficultie could get way through. Insomuch, that the bishop of London (whose name was William Courtney) seeing the stir that the lord Marshall kept in the church among the people, speaking to the lord Percie, said: that if hee had knowne before what maistries hee would haue kept in the church, hee would haue stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the bishop, the duke disdaining not a little, answered to the bishop againe, and said: that hee would keepe such maistrie there, though he said nay.

Exhibit. Monachi D. Albani ex accommodato D. Mash. Archiepisc. Cant.

Striuing for the Lords to passe by the people.

Wil. Courtney bishop of London.

The words of the bishop of London to the lord Percie.

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies chapell. Where the dukes and Barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops. Before whom the forsaid John Wickliffe according to the manner, stood before them, to know what should bee laid vnto him. To whom first spake the lord Percie, bidding him to sit downe, saying: that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had neede of some softer seat. But the bishop of London cast eftsoones into a fumish chafe with those words, said: he should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he which was cited there to appeare to answere before his ordinarie, should sit downe during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle betweene them. Insomuch that they began to rate and to reuile one the other, that the whole multitude therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurrey.

J. Wickliffe bid to sit downe before the bishops.

Wickliffe denied by the bishop of London to sit downe.

Strife betweene the lords Marshall and bishop of London.

The people set in a sturre.

Then the duke taking the lord Percies part with hastie words began also to take vp the bishop. To whom the bishop againe nothing inferior in reprochfull checkes and rebukes did render and requite not only to him as good as hee brought: but also did so farre excell him, in this railing art of scolding, that to vse the words of mine author, Erubuit Dux quod non potuit præualere litigio. i. that the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not ouerpasse the bishop in brawling and railing, and therefore fell to plaine threatning, menacing the bishop, that he would bring downe the pride not onely of him, but also of all the prelacie of England. And speaking moreouer vnto him: Thou (said hee) bearest thy selfe so brag vpon thy parents, which shall not be able to helpe thee; They shall haue enough to doe to help themselues. For his parents were the earle and countesse of Deuonshire. To whom the bishop againe answered, that to bee bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the eare of him next by him, said that hee would rather plucke out the bishop by the haire of his head out of the church, then hee would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretlie, but that the Londoners ouerheard him. Whereupon being set in a rage, they cried out, saying: that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuouslie to be abused. But rather they would lose their liues, then that he should so be drawne out by the haire. Thus that councell being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolued before nine of the clocke. And the duke with the lord Percie went to the parliament: where the same day, before dinner a bil was put vp in the name of the king by the lord Thomas Woltock, and lord Henrie Percie, that the citie of London should no more be gouerned by a maior, but by a captaine, as in times before. And that the marshall of England should haue all the ado in taking the arrests within the said citie, as in other cities besides, with other petitions moe, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. Which bill being read, standeth vp John Philpot burgesse then for the citie, saying to them which read the bill, that that was neuer seene so before: and adding moreouer, that the maior would neuer suffer any such things, or other arrest to be brought into the citie, with moe such words of like stoutnesse.

The bishop ouergoeth the duke in scolding.

This bishop of London was W. Courtney sonne to the earle of Deuonshire.

The duke threatneth to draw out their bishop by the haire out of the Church.

Londoners take part with their bishop.

Petitions put vp in the Parliament against the citie of London.

The next day following, the Londoners assembled themselues in a councell, to consider among them vpon the bill for changing the maior, and about the office of the marshall, also concerning the iniuries done the day before to their bishop.

Hastie counsell of the Londoners.

In which meane time they being busie in long consultation of this matter, suddenly and vnawares entred in the place two certaine lords, whether to come to spie, or for what other cause the author leaueth it vncertaine, the one called lord Fitzwalter, the other lord Guy Brian. At the first comming in of them, the vulgar sort was readie forthwith to flee vpon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an oth, declaring that their comming in was for no harme toward them. And so were compelled by the citizens to sweare to the citie their truth and fidelitie, contrary to the which oth if they should rebell, they would bee contented to forfeit whatsoeuer goods and possessions they had within the citie.

The Oration of Lord Fitzwalter to the Londoners.

This done, then began the lord Fitzwalter in this wise to perswade and exhort the citizens: first declaring how hee was bound and obliged to them and to their citie, not for the oth onlie now newly receiued, but of old and ancient good will from his great grandfathers time. Besides other diuers duties, for the which hee was chiefly bound to bee one of their principall tutors: forsomuch as whatsoeuer tended to their damage and detriment, redounded also no lesse vnto his owne, for which cause hee could not otherwise chuse, but that as hee did vnderstand to be attempted against the publike profit and liberties of the citie, hee must needs communicate the same to them. Who vnlesse they with speedie circumspection doe occure and preuent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turne in the end to their no small incommoditie. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which hee could in no wise but admonish them of: which was this, necessarie to be considered of them all, how the lord Marshall Henrie Percie in his place within himselfe had one inward and custodie, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, hee could not tell: this hee could tell, that the said L. Marshall was not allowed any such ward or prison in his house, within the libertie of the citie. Which thing if it be not seene to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would in fine breed to such a preiudice vnto their customs and liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, reforme the iniurie thereof.

The Citizens of London breake vp the lord Percie his house at Sauoy.

These words of the lord Fitzwalter were not so soone spoken, but they were as soone taken of the rash citizens, who in all hastie furie running to their armour and weapons, went incontinently to the house of the lord Percie, where breaking vp the gates, by violence they tooke out the prisoner, and burned the stocks wherein he sate, in the midst of London. Then was the lord Percie sought for; whom (saith the storie) they would doubtlesse haue slaine if they might haue found him. With their billes and iauelins, al corners and priuie chambers were searched, beds and hangings tome asunder. But the lord Percie (as God would) was then with the duke, whom one John Yper the same day with great instance had desired to dinner.

Gods prouision in sauing his seruants.

The

The house of the Duke of Lancaster searched of the Londoners.

The Londoners not finding him at home, and supposing that he was with the duke at Sauoy, in all hastie heate turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to the Dukes house. Where also in like manner they were disappointed of their cruell purpose. In the meane while as this was doing, commeth one of the dukes men running post hast to the duke and to the lord Percie, declaring what was done.

The duke and L. Percie flie to the Prince.

The duke being then at his oysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shinnes at the forme for hast, tooke boate with the lord Percie, and by water went to Kingstone, where then the princesse with Richard the young prince did lie. Who there declared vnto the princesse all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the Londoners as it was. To whom she promised againe, such an order to be taken in the matter, as should bee to his contentation. At what time the commons of London, thus as is said, were about the dukes house at Sauoy, meeteth with them a certaine priest, who marueling at the suddaine rage and concourse, asked what they sought. To whom answer was giuen againe of some, that they sought for the duke and lord marshall, to haue of them the lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had detained in prison. To this the priest answered againe more boldlie then opportunelie: That Peter (said he) is a false traitour to the king, and worthie long since to be hanged. At the hearing of these words, the furious people with a terrible shoute cried out vpon him, that hee was a traitor and one that tooke the dukes part, and so falling vpon him with their weapons striued who might first strike him. Who after they had wounded him very sore, so being wounded they had him into prison, where within few daies vpon the sorenes of his wounds he died.

A priest in the Duke of Lancasters house cruelly killed.

Neither would the rage of the people thus haue ceased, had not the bishop of London leauing his dinner come to them at Sauoy, and putting them in remembrance of the blessed time (as they tearme it) of Lent, had perswaded them to cease and to be quiet.

The villany of the Londoners against the duke.

The Londoners seeing that they could get no vantage against the duke, who was without their reach: to bewreake their anger they tooke his armes, which in most despitefull wise they hanged vp, in the open places of the citie in signe of reproch, as for a traitor. Insomuch that when one of his gentlemen came through the citie with a plate containing the dukes armes, hanging by a lace about his necke, the citizens not abiding the sight thereof, cast him from his horse, and pluckt his scutchin from him, and were about to worke the extremitie against him, had not the maior rescued him out of their hands, and sent him home safe vnto the duke his master. In such hatred was then the duke among the vulgar people of London.

The message of the princesse to the Londoners.

After this, the princesse vnderstanding the harts and broile of the Londoners set against the foresaid duke, sent vnto London three knights, sir Alured Lewer, sir Simon Burle, and sir Lewes Clifford, to entreat the citizens to bee reconciled with the duke. The Londoners answered: that they for the honor of the princesse, would obay and doe with all reuerence, what shee would require. But this they required and enioyned the messengers to say to the duke, by word of mouth, that hee should suffer the bishop of Winchester afore mentioned and also the lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their answer, and to be iudged by their peeres. Wherby either they might be quit if they were guiltlesse: or otherwise if they be found culpable, they might receiue according to their desertes after the lawes of the realme. What griefe and displeasure the duke conceiued and retained in his mind hereof: Againe, what meanes and sute the Londoners for their part made to the old king for their liberties: What rimes and songs in London were made against the duke: How the bishops at the dukes request were moued to excommunicat those malicious slanderers: And moreouer, how the duke at last was reuenged of those contumelies and iniuries: How hee caused them to bee brought before the king: How sharplie they were rebuked for their misdemeanor, by the worthie oration of the lord Chamberlain, Robert Attone, in the presence of the king, archbishops, bishops, with diuers other states, the kings children, and other Nobilities of the Realme: in conclusion, how the Londoners were compelled to this at length, by the common assent & publik charges of ỹ city, to make a great taper of ware, which with the Dukes armes set vpon it, should be brought with solemne procession to the church of S. Paul, there to burne continually before the Image of our ladie: And at last, how both the said duke and the Londoners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new king, with the kisse of peace, and the same reconcilement publikely denounced in the church of Westminster, and what toy was in the whole citie thereof: These because they are impertinent and make too long a digression from the matter of Wickliffe, I cut off with breuity, referring the Reader to other, histories namely of Saint Albones, where they are to be found at large.

The duke reuenged of the Londoners.

The Londoners caused to beare a Taper of wax in procession, in honor of the duke.

As these aforesaid for breuitie sake I passe ouer, so will I not be long, & yet cannot omit that, which happened the same time and yeere to the bishop of Norwich, to the intent that this posteritie now may see, to what pride the clergie then of the Popes church was growne to. The same time as this broile was at London, the bishop of Norwich a little after the time of Easter comming to the towne of Lennam, belonging to his lordship: being not contented with the old accustomed honour due vnto him, and vsed of his predecessours before in the same towne, required moreouer with a new and vnused kind of magnificence to be exalted: Insomuch, that when he saw the chiefe Magistrate or Maior of that towne to go in the stretes with his officer going before him, holding a certaine wand in his hand tipped at both ends with blacke horne, as the manet was: hee reputing himselfe to be lord of that towne (as hee was) and thinking to be higher then the highest, commanded the honour of that staffe due to the maior, to bee yelded and borne before his lordly personage. The maior or bailiffe, with other the townesmen, courteoulie answered to him againe, that they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibite that reuerence vnto him, and would so doe, if he first of the king and counsell could obtaine that custome, and if the same might bee induced after any peaceable way with the good wils of the commons and bodie of the towne: Otherwise, said they, as the matter was dangerous, so they durst not take in hand any such new alteration of ancient customes and liberties, lest the people (which is alwaies inclinable and prone to euill) do fall vpon them with stones, and driue them out of the towne. Wherefore kneeling on their knees before him, there humblie they besought him that hee would require no such thing of them: that he would saue his owne honor and their liues, who otherwise if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the bishop youthfull and hautie, taking occasion by their humblenesse, to swell the more in himselfe, answered that hee would not be taught by their counsell, but that hee would haue it done, though all the commons (whom hee named Ribals) said nay. Also rebuked the maior and his brethren for mecocks and dastards, for so fearing the vulgar sort of people.

Example of pride in the Popes clergie.

The courtesie of the townesmen toward the Bishop.

The stout answere of the Bishop to the townesship.

The citizens perceiuing the wilfull stoutnesse of the Bishop, meekely answering againe, said; they minded not to resist him, but to let him doe therein what he thought good: onelie desired him that hee would licence them to depart, and hold them excused for not waiting vpon him, and conducting him out of the towne with that reuerence which he required. For if they should be seene in his companie, all the suspition thereof would be vpon them, and so should they be all in danger, so much as their liues were worth. The bishop not regarding their aduice and counsell, commanded one of his men to take the rod borne before the maior, and to cary the same before him. Which being done, and perceiued of the commons; the bishop after that maner went not farre, but the rude people running to shut the gates, came out with their bowes, some with clubs and staues, some with other instruments, some with stones, and let driue at the bishop and his men, as fast as they might: in such sort, that both the bishop and his horse vnder him with most part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this iollie prelate, ruffling in his new scepter, was receiued and welcomed there. That is, was so pelted with battes and stones, so wounded with arrowes and other instruments fit for such a skirmish, that the most part of his men, with his mace bearer, and all running away from him, the poore wounded bishop was there left alone, not able to keepe his old power, which went about to vsurpe a new power more then to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true in all, so is it well exemplified here, which is commonlie said, and as it is commonly seene, that pride will haue a fall, and power vsurped will neuer stand. In like manner if the citizens of Rome, following the example of these Lennam men, as they haue the like cause, and greater to doe by the vsurped power of their bishop, would after the same sauce handle the pope, and vnscepter him of his mace and regalitie, which nothing pertaineth to him; they in so doing both should recouer their owne liberties, with more honour at home, and also winne much more commendation abroad. Ex chron. mon. D. Albani.

The towne of Lennam riseth against the bishop.

Pride will haue a fall.

Power vsurped will neuer stand.

The vsurped power of the pope would haue a bridle.

A story of the Bishop of Norwich.

This tragedy with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at Lennam, which was a little after Easter (as is said) about the month of April, An. 1377. the same yeere vpon the 12. day of the month of June next after, died the worthie and victorious prince king Edward the third, after hee had raigned 51. yeeres. A prince no more aged in yeeres then renowned for many singular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his singular meekenesse and clemencie toward his subiects and inferiors, ruling them by gentlenesse and mercie, without all rigour or austere seueritie. Among other noble and royall ornaments of his nature, worthilie and copiouslie set forth of many, thus hee is described of some, which may briefly suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: Orphanis erat quasi pater, afflictis compatiens, miseris condolens, oppressos releuans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna. That is: To the Orphans hee was as a father, compatient to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieuing the oppressed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of neede, &c. But chiefly aboue all other things, in this prince to bee commemorate in my mind, is this: that hee aboue all other kings of this realme, vnto the time

Anno 1377

The death of king Edward.

The commendation of king Edward.

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time of king Henrie the eight was the greatest brideler of the popes vsurped power and outragious oppressions: during all the time of which king, neither the pope could greatly preuaile in this realme, and also Iohn Wickliffe was maintained with fauour and aid sufficient.

But before we close vp the storie of this king; there commeth to hand that which I thought not good to omit, a noble purpose of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall remaining in the hands of Italians and Aliens, with the true valuation of the same directed downe by commissions, in the time of king Richard the second, whereof the like also is to be found: the tenour of which commission of king Edward, I thought here vnder to set downe for worthie memorie.

The king directed writs vnto all the Bishops *of England in this forme.*

EDward by the grace of God king, &c. To the reuerend father in Christ N. By the same grace bishop of L. greeting. Being willing vpon certaine causes to bee certified what and how many benefices aswell archdeaconries and other dignities, as vicarages, parsonages, prebends and chapels, within your dioceſſe, be at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they be, of what value, and how euery of the said benefices be called by name. And how much euery of the same is worth by the yeere, not as by way of taxe or extent, but according to the true value of the same: likewise of the names of all and singuler such strangers being now incumbents or occupying the same and euery of them: moreouer the names of al them, whether Englishmen or strangers, of what state or condition soeuer they be, which haue the occupation or disposition of any such benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalfe or by the authority of any the aforesaid strangers by way of farme, or title or procuration or by any other waies or meanes whatsoeuer, and how long they haue occupied or disposed the same: and withall if any the said strangers be now residents vpon any benefices: command you, as wee heretofore commanded you, that you send vs a true cerificat of all and singuler the premisses, into our high court of Chancerie vnder your seale distinctlie and openly, on this side the feast of the Ascension of our Lord next comming, without further delay: returning vnto vs this our writ withall. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster 16. day of Aprill in the 48. yeere of our raigne of England, and ouer France the 35. yeere.

{Anno 48 Edwardi tertij.}

By vertue hereof certificat was sent vp to the king into his Chancery, out of euery dioceſſe of England, of all such spirituall liuings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other strangers, whereof the number was so great, as being all set downe, would fill almost halfe a quier of paper. Wherby may appeare that it was high time for the king to seeke remedie herein, either by treatie with the pope or otherwise: considering so great a portion of the reuenues of his realme was by this meanes conueied away and employed either to the releeke of his enemies, or maintenance of the Forrainers: amongst which number, the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share. As may appeare by this which followeth.

Conentrie and Lichfield. The lord Frances of the title of S. Sabine, priest and cardinall of the holy church of Rome, doth hold & enioy the deanrie of the cathedrall church of Lichfield, which is worth in the iurisdiction of Lichfield, fiue hundred markes by the yeere. And the prebend of Brewood, and the parsonage of Adbalton to the same deanerie annered, which prebend is worth by the yeere foure score markes, and the parsonage twentie pounds, which deanerie with the prebends and parsonage aforesaid, he hath holden and occupied by the space of three yeeres. And one maister De in gris a stranger as proctor to the said cardinall, doth hold and occupie the same deanerie with other the premises with the appurtenances, by name of proctor during the yeeres aforesaid, and hath taken vp the fruits and profits, to the said cardinall, dwelling not in the realme.

Norwich. L. William cardinall of S. Angelo, a stranger, doth hold the archdeaconrie of Suffolke, by vertue of prouision apostolicall, from the feast of S. Nicolas last past; hee is not resident vpon his said archdeaconrie. And the said archdeaconrie together with the procurations due by reason of the visitation is worth by yeere, lvi.li. xiii.s.iiii.d. And maister Iohn of Pelintington, &c. doth occupie the seale of the officiall of the said archdeaconrie, &c.

Surren. L. Reinald of S. Adriane deacon cardinall, hath in the said countie, the parsonage of Godalmonge, worth by yeere forty pound, and one Edward Tewelle doth farme the said parsonage for ix. yeeres past.

Ebor. The L. Anglicus of the holy church of Rome priest and cardinall, a stranger, was incumbent, and did hold in possession the deanrie of the cathedrall church of Yorke, from the xi. day of November, An. 1366. and is yeerely worth according to the true value thereof, foure hundred pounds, and M. Iohn de Stoke canon of the said church, doth occupie the said deanrie and the profits of the same, in the name or by the authoritie of the said Lord deane, &c. But the said deane was neuer resident vpon the said deanery since he was admitted thereunto. Item, lord Hugh of our ladie in deacon and cardinall a stranger, doth possesse the prebend of Driffild in the said church of Yorke from the 7. day of June, An. dom. 1363. from which day, &c. Iohn of Gisbourne, and George of Conpemanthorpe, &c. do occupie the said prebend, worth by yeere one hundred pounds the said lord Hugh is not resident vpon the said prebend.

Item, lord Simon of the Title of S. Sixt priest and cardinall, &c. doth possesse the prebend of Wistow in the said Church of Yorke, worth by yeere, C.li. And the foresaid master Iohn of Stoke doth occupy the foresaid prebend and the profits thereof, &c. But the said lord Simon is not resident vpon the said prebend.

Item, Lord Frances of the Title of S. Sabine, priest and cardinall, a stranger, doth possesse the prebend of Stranfall in the said church of Yorke, worth by yeere C. marks. And maister William of Merfield, &c. doth occupie the said prebend, &c. but the said lord Frances is not resident vpon the said prebend.

Lord Peter of the title of S. Pyared, priest and cardinall, a stranger doth hold the archdeaconrie of Yorke, worth by yeere C.li. and M. William of Merfield, &c. for farmers.

Sarisbu. The Deanrie of the cathedrall church of Sar. with churches and chapels vnderwritten to the same deanry annered, doth remaine in the hands of lord Reginald of the title of S. Adrian deacon and cardinall, and so hath remained these 26. yeeres, and is neuer resident; his proctor is one Laurence de ingris a stranger, and is worth by yeere CCLiiii.li.xiii.s.iiii.d.

Richard Bishop doth hold the vicarage of Yeere to the said deanrie annered, and hath holden the same for xix. yeeres, worth by yeere, xl.li.

Robert Codfor farmer of the church of Heightredburie to the same annered, worth by yeere. l.li.

The deanry of Sarisbury. The church of Stoning and the chapell of Kelcomp to the same deanrie annered, worth by yeere lxx. marks.

The chapell of Yerst to the same deanrie annered, worth by yeere xl.li.

The chapell of Wokenbame to the same deanry annered, worth by yeere xxxvi.li.

The chapell of Sanhurst, worth by yeere xl.s.

The church of Godalining to the same deanry annered in the dioceſſe of Winchester, worth by yeere xl.li.

Treasorer of the Church of Sar. The dignitie of treasurer in the church of Sar. with church and chapels vnderwritten to the same annered is in the hands of lord John of the title of S. Marke priest and cardinall, and hath so continued 12. yeeres, who was neuer resident in the same, worth by yeere Cxxvi.li.xiii.s.iiii.d.

The church of Figheldon to the same annered, worth by yeere, xxvi.li.xiii.s.iiii.d.

The church of Alwardburie with the chapell of Putton, worth by yeere x.li.

The prebend of Calne to the same treasurer annered, worth by yeere C.li.

The archdeaconrie of Berck. in the cathedrall church of Sarisburie, with the church of Yordon to the same annered, is in the hands of the lord William of the title of S. Stephen, who was neuer resident in the same, worth by yeere viii. score markes.

The archdeaconrie of Dorset in the church of Sarisburie, with the church of Gilliche to the same annered, in the hands of lord Robert, of the title of the xii. Apostles, priest and cardinall, and is worth by yeere Ciii. marks.

The prebend of Woodford and Wynelkford in the church of Sarisbury, is in the hands of Robert the cardinall aforesaid, and is worth xl. markes.

The prebend of Yetworth in the Church of Sarisburie is in the hands of the lord cardinall of Agrifolio, who is neuer resident, and is worth by yeere lxx.li.

The prebend of Netherbarnby and Wemnister in the church of Sarisburie one Hugh Pelgrini a stranger did hold xx. yeeres and more, and was neuer resident in the same, worth by the yeere viii. score markes.

The church prebendary of Gillinghame in the nunrie of Salisburie lately holden of lord Richard, now bishop of Ely, is in the hands of the lord Peter of the title of S. Pyared, priest and cardinall, &c. worth by the yeere lxx.li. Canturbury.

Lord William of the holy church of Rome cardinall a stranger doth hold the archdeaconrie of Canturburie, and is not resident, the true value of all the yeerely fruits, rents and profits, is worth seuen hundred Florens.

Bath & Wels. The lord cardinal of Canturbury is archdeacon of Wels, and hath annered to his archdeaconry the churches of Yewith, Werwes, and Southbrent, which are worth by yeere with their procuration of visitations of the said archdeaconrie, C. threescore pounds.

Item, the lord cardinall is treasurer of the church of Wels, and hath the mottie of the church of Wertock annered thereunto, worth by yeere lx.li.

Item, the lord cardinall of Agrifolio is archdeacon of Tawnton in the Church of Wels, and is worth by yeere, with

with the procurations and the prebend of Mylmerton to the ſame annexed, lxx.li.

Like matter is alſo found in the time of king Richard the ſecond, vpon what occaſion it is vncertaine: but as it ſeemeth by record of that time: A new pope being come in place, hee would take no knowledge of any matter done by his predeceſſors that might any way abridge his commoditie. And therfore this king was forced to begin anew, as may appeare by this following.

An.2.Rich.2. L. Cardinall of Agrifol. is prebendarie of the prebend of Sozinghame together with a portion of S. Marie of Stowe to the ſame annexed, the fruits wherof by common eſtimat, be worth by yéere, Cl.v.li. Mall. John Vicar of Cozinghame, and maiſter Robert parſon of Ketelthorpe, and W. Thurlie, be farmors.

The archdeaconrie of Stow.

Lord cardinall Albanum is prebendarie of the prebend of Sutton, the fruits whereof bee commonly eſtéemed worth by yéere CCCC. markes. Roger Skyret of Buckinhame, and William Bedeford of Sutton doe farme the ſame prebend.

The L. Cardinall Glandacen is prebendary of the prebend of Nallington, worth by eſtimation CCC. markes. Robert of Nallington ans John, ſonne of Robert of Abethorpe, doe occupie the ſame prebend.

The archdeaconry of Northampton.

Lord cardinal Nonnacem is parſon of Adderbury, worth by eſtimation, C.li. Adam Robelyn clerke is his rector, and occupieth the ſame.

In the archdeaconry of Dron. L. cardinall of S. prebendarie of Thame, worth yéerely by common eſtimation, CC. marks. John Heyward and Thomas a lay man doe occupie the ſame prebend.

L. Peter de Yeuerino cardinall is prebendary of Ayleſbu-

In the archdeaconrie of Wick. ry, worth yéerely by common eſtimation, lxxx. markes. Holy Duſe of Aleſburie doth occupie the ſame prebend.

The cardinall of S. Angelo hath the Archdeaconrie of

In the dioceſſe of Norwich. Suff. and is worth by yéere by common eſtimation a hundred markes.

L. cardinall Neminacem treaſurer of the church of Sar. hath the archdeaconrie of Sar. the church of Figheldon to his dignitie annexed, which is let to farme to Grace, late wife of Edmund Swayne deceaſed, paying yéerely l. markes. Hee hath alſo in the ſame archdeaconrie and countie, the ſaid Church of Alwardbury with the chapels of Sutton and Farle to the ſame annexed, which is let to farme to the lord Prior of the houſe of Ederoſe for the yéerely rent of xiii.li. he hath alſo

In the dioceſſe of Sar. the prebend of Calue in the ſaid archdeaconrie and Countie, worth by yéere, C.li. and farmour thereof is Raymund. Pelegrini.

L. cardinall of Agrifolio, hath the archdeaconrie of Werck, worth by yéere, 120. markes, and remaineth in his owne hands. Item, hee hath the prebend of Worth, worth by yéere a hundred pound: Raymund Peregrine is farmour there.

Lord cardinall Gebanen hath the prebends of Wodford and Willeford in the Countie of Wiltſhire, let to farme to John Bennet of Sar. worth by yéere xl. markes.

Lord Andomar de Rupy is archdeacon of Canturbury, to the which archdeacon belong the Church of Lymin within the ſame dioces, worth by yéere after the taration of the tenth, xx.li. The church of Tenham, worth by yéere after the ſaid taration, Cxxx.li.vi.s.viii.d. The church of Hakington néere Canturbury, worth by yéere twentie markes. The church of Saint Clement in Sandwich, worth by yéere after the taration aforeſaid, eight marks. The church of Saint Marie in Sand-

In the dioceſſe of Canturbury. wich, worth by yéere viii. pound, of the which the ſaid archdeacon receiueth onlie vi. markes. The profits of all which premiſſes S. William Latimer knight, hath receiued together with the profites ariſing out of the iuriſdiction of the archdeaconrie, worth by yéere, xx.li.

In the dioceſſe of Yorke. Anglicus of the church of Rome prieſt and cardinall, hath the deanrie of the cathedrall church of Yorke, worth by yeere CCClxxiii.li.vi.s.viii.d. And the prebend of Southcane, valued yéerely at Clx. markes.

Lord cardinall Gebauen doth hold the Church of Wermouth, and archdeaconrie of Durhame, worth by yéere CC. markes. And John of Chambre, and Thomas of Harington of Newcaſtell be the farmors and proctors of the ſaid Cardinall.

In the dioceſſe of Durham.

Ex Bundello Breuium Regis de An.2.Kich.2. parte 1.

King Richard the ſecond.

K.Richard 2. AFter king Edward the third, ſucceeded his ſonnes ſonne, Richard the ſecond, being yet but young, of the age of eleuen yéeres: who in the ſame yeer of his fathers deceaſe with great pompe and ſolemnitie was crowned at Weſtminſter, an.1377. who following his fathers ſteppes, was no great diſſauourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliffe: albeit at the firſt beginning, partly through the iniquitie of time, partly through the popes letters, he could not doe that hee would. Notwithſtanding ſomething he did in that behalfe, more perhaps then in the end he had thanke for of the papiſts, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appeare. But as times do change, ſo changeth commonly the cauſe and ſtate of man. The biſhop now ſéeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whoſe old age all the gouernement of the realme depended vpon the duke of Lancaſter: And now the ſaid biſhops againe ſéeing the ſaid duke, with the lord Percie, the lord marſhall, to giue ouer their offices, and to remaine in their priuat houſes without intermedling, thought now the time to ſerue them, to haue ſome vantage againſt John Wickliffe, who hitherto vnder the protection of the foreſaid duke, and lord Marſhall had ſome reſt and quiet. Concerning the ſtorie of which Wickliffe, I truſt (gentle Reader) it is not out of thy memorie what went before pa. 393. how he being brought before the biſhops, by the meanes of the duke and lord Henry Percie, the councell was interrupted, and brake before nine of the clocke. By reaſon whereof, Wickliffe at that time eſcaped without any further trouble. Who notwithſtanding being by the biſhops forbid to deale in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellowes going barefoot, and in long friſe gownes, preaching diligently vnto the people. Out of whoſe ſermons theſe articles moſt chiefly at that time were collected.

The biſhops take vantage of time.

That the holie Euchariſt after the conſecration, is not the very bodie of Chriſt, but figuratiuely.

The firſt article collected out of Wickliffes ſermons.

That the church of Rome, is not the head of all churches more then any other church is: Nor that Peter hath any more power giuen of Chriſt, then any other Apoſtle hath.

Item, that the pope of Rome hath no more in the keies of the church, then hath any other within the order of prieſthod.

Item, if God be: the Lords temporall may lawfullie and meritoriouſlie take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending, habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall lord doe know the church ſo offending, he is bound vnder paine of damnation, to take the temporalities from the ſame.

Item, that the goſpell is a rule ſufficient of it ſelfe to rule the life of euery chriſtian man here, without any other rule.

Item, that all other rules, vnder whoſe obſeruances diuers religious perſons be gouerned, doe adde no more perfection to the goſpell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neither the pope nor any other prelate of the church, ought to haue priſons wherein to punish tranſgreſſors.

Beſide theſe articles, diuers other concluſions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the biſhops of England, which they ſent diligentlie to pope Gregorie at Rome: Where the ſaid articles being read and peruſed, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by three and twentie cardinals.

The articles of John Wickliffe ſent to the pope. Pope Gregorie the xi.

In the meane time the archbiſhop of Canturburie, ſending forth his citations, as is aforeſaid, called before him the ſaid John Wickliffe in the preſence of the duke of Lancaſter, and lord Percie, who vpon the declaration of the popes letters made, bound him to ſilence, forbidding him not to entreat any more of thoſe matters. But then through the diſturbance of the biſhop of London and the duke, and lord Percie, that matter was ſone diſpatched, as hath been aboue recorded, pag. 393. And all this was done, in the daies and laſt yéere of K. Edward the third, and pope Gregorie the eleuenth.

Wickliffe called before the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

The next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1378. being the firſt yéere of king Richard the ſecond; the ſaid pope Gregorie taking his time, after the death of king Edward, ſendeth his bull by the hands and meanes (peraduenture) of one maiſter Edmund Stafford, directed vnto the Vniuerſitie of Orford, rebuking them ſharplie, imperiouſlie and like a pope, for ſuffering ſo long the doctrine of John Wickliffe to take root, and not plucking it vp with the crooked ſickle of their catholike doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited vnto their hands, by the popes meſſenger aforeſaid: the proctors and maiſters of the Vniuerſitie ioyning together in conſultation ſtood long in doubt, deliberating with themſelues, whether to receiue the popes Bull with honour, or to refuſe and reiect it with ſhame.

{Anno 1378}

Edmund Stafford bringer of the popes Bull.

The maiſters of Orford doubt whether to receiue or reiect the popes Bull.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this ſtorie whom I follow: what exclamations, what wondrings and maruels, they make at theſe Oxford men, for ſo doubting at a matter ſo plaine, ſo manifeſt of it ſelfe, (as they ſay) whether the popes Bull ſent to them from Rome was to be receiued or contrarie. Which thing to our monkiſh writers ſeemed then ſuch a prodigious wonder, that they with bluſhing cheekes are faine to cut off the matter in the middeſt with ſilence.

The copie of this wild bull, ſent to them from the pope, was this.

Gregorie the biſhop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to his wel- beloued ſonnes, the Chancellour and Vniuerſitie of Oxford, in the dioceſſe of Lincolne, greeting, and apoſtolicall benediction.

The popes mad Bull ſent to Oxford.

WE are compelled not only to maruell, but alſo to lament that you, conſidering the apoſtolicall ſeate hath giuen vnto

vnto your Vniuersity of Oxford so great fauour and priuiledge, and also for that you flow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions & defenders of the ancient and catholike faith (without the which there is no saluation,) by your great negligence and sloth, will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow vp among the pure wheate of the florishing field of your Vniuersity, but also to waxe more strong and choke the corne. Neither haue ye any care (as wee are enformed) to extirpe and plucke the same vp by the rootes, to the great blemishing of your renoumed name, the perill of your soules, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieueth vs) the encrease of that filthie weed was more sharpely rebuked and iudged of in Rome then in England where it sprang. Wherfore let there be meanes sought by the helpe of the faithfull, to roote out the same. Grieuously it is come to our eares, that one Iohn Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a professour of diuinitie (would God he were not rather a master of errours) is runne into a kind of detestable wickednesse, not onely and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, diuers professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies. Whereby he might defile the faithfull sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, ouerthrow the state of the church, and vtterly subuert the secular policie. Of which his mischieuous heresies, some seeme to agree (onely certaine names and tearmes changed) with the peruerse opinions, and vnlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and Iohn of Gandune, of vnworthie memorie, whose bookes were vtterly abolished in the realme of England, by our predecessor of happie memorie Iohn 22. Which kingdome doth not only flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in pureness of faith: Accustomed alwaies to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in grauitie of maners, men notable in deuotion, and defenders of the catholike faith. Wherefore wee will and command you by our writing Apostolicall, in the name of your obedience, and vpon paine of priuation of our fauour, indulgences and priuiledges granted vnto your and your Vniuersitie, from the said see Apostolicall: that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, that those subtill and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good workes (howsoeuer they tearme it, or what curious implication of words soeuer they vse) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question: Lest if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked vp by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that yee apprehend immediately or cause to be apprehended the said Iohn Wickliffe, and deliuer him to be detained in the safe custodie of our welbeloued brethren, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gainesayers, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your said Vniuersitie within your iurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errours: that then in like maner yee apprehend them, and commit them to safe custodie, and otherwise to doe in this case as it shall appertaine vnto you: So as by your carefull proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premisses, may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not onely purchase vnto you the fauour and beneuolence of the seat Apostolicall, but also great reward and merit of almightie God.

The pope complaining of I. Wickliffe.

Marsilius Patauinus, Ioan. de Gandumo, noted.

Here the wild bull striketh.

Yeuen at Rome at S. Maries the greater, xj. Kalend. of Iune, and in the seuenth yeare of our consecration.

Beside this bull sent to the Vniuersitie of Oxford, the said pope Gregorie directed moreouer his letters the same time to the archbishop of Canturbury Simon Sudburie, to the bishop of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe therein inclosed, commanding them, by vertue of those his letters Apostolicall, and straitly enioyning them to cause the said Iohn Wickliffe to be apprehended, and cast into prison: and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to giue any credit to the said Iohn Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Simon Sudbury archbishop of Cant. Wil. Courtney bishop of London.

Beside this bill or bull of the pope, sent vnto the archbishop of Canturbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, 11. Calend. Iun. and the 7. yeare of the reigne of the pope: I find moreouer in the said storie, two other letters of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in forme, sent vnto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of the reigne of the said pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be supposed, that the pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to haue Wickliffe to be apprehended, which wrote three diuers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one businesse: or else that hee did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leaue to the iudgement of the reader.

Three sundry letters of the pope to one person, about one matter.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the Vniuersity, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle bearing the same date vnto king Edward; as one of my stories saith, but as another saith, to K. Richard, which soundeth more neere to the truth, forasmuch as in the 7. yeare of pope Gregorie the 11. which was the yeare of our Lord, 1378. king Edward was not aliue. The copie of his letters to the king here followeth.

The copie of the Epistle sent by the bishop of *Rome to Richard king of England, to* persecute Iohn Wickliffe.

The popes letter to king Richard against I. Wickliffe.

VNto his well beloued son in Christ, Richard the most noble king of England, health, &c.

The kingdome of England which the most highest hath put vnder your power and gouernance, being so famous and renoumed in valiancie and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches: but much more glorious, resplendent and shining through the brightnesse and cleerenesse of all godlinesse and faith, hath accustomed alwaies to bring forth men endued with the true knowledge and vnderstanding of the holy Scriptures, graue in yeares, feruent in deuotion, and defenders of the catholike faith: The which haue not onely directed and instructed their owne people through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods commandements; but also as we haue heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great greefe and heart sorrow) that Iohn Wickliffe parson of Lutterworth, in the diocesse of Lincolne, professor of Diuinitie (I would to God hee were no author of heresie) to be fallen into such a detestable & abominable madnesse, that he hath propounded and set forth diuers and sundrie conclusions full of errours, and containing most manifest heresie, the which doe tend vtterly to subuert and ouerthrow the state of the whole church. Of the which, some of them (albeit vnder coloured phrase and speech) seeme to smell and sauor of peruerse opinions, and the foolish doctrine of condemned memorie of Marsilius of Padua, & Iohn of Ganduno, whose bookes were by pope Iohn the 22. our predecessor, a man of a most happie memorie, reproued and condemned, &c.

Hitherto gentle Reader, thou hast heard how Wickliffe was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also heare the popes mightie reasons and arguments, by the which hee did confute him, to the king. It followeth.

Here is bishoning, but no teaching.

Therefore, forsomuch as our reuerend brethren the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London haue receiued a speciall commandement from vs by our authoritie, to apprehend and commit the forenamed Iohn Wickliffe vnto prison, and to transport his confession vnto vs: if they shall seeme in the prosecution of this their businesse to lacke your fauor or helpe, we require and most earnestly desire your maiestie, euen as your most noble predecessors haue alwaies beene most earnest louers of the catholike faith (whose case or quarrell in this matter is chieflie handled) that you would vouchsafe euen for the reuerence of God, and the faith aforesaid, and also of the apostolike seate, and of our person, that you will with your helpe and fauor, assist the said archbishop and all other that shall goe about to execute the said businesse. Whereby besides the praise of men, you shall obtaine a heauenly reward and great fauour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kalend. of Iune, in the 7. yeare of our bishoprike, An. 1378.

The articles included in the popes letters which hee sent to the bishops and to the king against Wickliffe, were these as in order do follow.

The conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited *in the conuocation of certaine bi*shops at Lambeth.

Certaine conclusions of I. Wickliffe.

ALl the whole race of mankind here on earth besides Christ hath no power simplie, to ordaine that Peter and all his ofspring should politickely rule ouer the world for euer.

2 God cannot giue to any man for him and his heires any ciuill dominion for euer.

3 All writings inuented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible.

4 Euery man being in grace iustifying, hath not onely right vnto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed aboue all the good things of God.

5 A man cannot only ministratoriouslie giue any temporall or continuall gift, either as well to his naturall son, as to his son by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall lords may lawfully and meretoriouslie take away the riches from the church when they doe offend *habitualiter*.

7 We know that Christs vicar cannot, neither is able by his buls, neither by his owne will and consent, neither by the consent of his colledge, either make able or disable any man.

8 A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or vndoing, except he be first and principally excommunicate by himselfe.

9 No man ought, but in Gods cause alone, to excommunicat, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to reuenge by any ecclesiasticall censure.

10 A curse or excomunicatiō do not simply bind, but in case it

be pronoũced & giuen out against the aduersary of Gods law.

11 There is no power giuen by any example, either by Christ or by his apostle, to excommunicate any subiect, specially for denying of any temporalties, but rather contrariwise.

12 The disciples of Christ, haue no power to exact by any ciuill authoritie, temporalties by censures.

13 It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other christian, doe pretend by any meanes to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

14 We ought to beleeue that the vicar of Christ, doth at such times onely bind and loose, when as he worketh conformablie by the lay and ordinance of Christ.

15 This ought vniuersally to bee belecued, that euery priest rightly and duly ordered, according vnto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolue any man confessing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same.

16 It is lawfull for kings (in causes licensed by the law) to take away the temporalties from the spiritualtie, sinning *habitualiter*, that is, which continue in the custome of sin, and will not amend.

17 Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoeuer they be, which haue endowed any church with temporalties: it is lawfull for them to take away the same temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, for to auoide sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiasticall censure, forsomuch as they are not giuen but vnder a condition.

18 An ecclesiasticall minister, and also the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subiects, and for the profit of the church, be accused either of the clergie or of the laity.

These letters with the articles inclosed being thus receiued from the pope, the bishops toke no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themselues and that in open profession before their prouinciall Councell, that all manner respects of feare or fauour set apart, no person neither high nor low should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreatie of any man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most surely vpright iustice and equitie: yea albeit present danger of life should follow thereupon. But these so fierce braggs, and stout promises, with the subtill practises of these bishops, which thought them so sure before: the Lord (against whom no determination of mans counsell can preuaile) by a small occasion, did lightly confound and ouerthrow. For the day of the examination being come; a certaine personage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the bishops; commanded them that they should not procéed with any diffinitiue sentence against John Wickliffe. With which words all they were so amazed and their combes so cut, that (as in the storie is mentioned) they became so mute and speechlesse, as men hauing not one word in their mouthes to answere. And thus by the wondrous worke of God his prouidence, escaped John Wickliffe the second time out of the bishops hands, and was by them cleerely dismissed vpon his declaration made of his articles, as anon shall follow.

The stout braggs of the bishops ouerthrowne.

Wickliffe against called before the bishops. Lewes Clifford.

John Wickliffe against deliuered from the bishops.

Moreouer, here is not to be passed ouer, how at the same time, and in the said chapell of the archb. at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting vpon John Wickliffe, the storie writing of the doing thereof, addeth these words, saying: Non dico ciues tantùm Londinenses, sed viles ipsius ciuitatis se impudenter ingerere præsumpserunt in eandem capellam, & verba facere pro eodem, & istud negotium impedire, confisi, vt reor, de ipsorum præmissa negligentia prælatorum, &c. That is, I say not onely, that the Citizens of London, but also the vile abiects of the citie, presumed to be so bold in the same chapell at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting vpon J. Wickliffe; both to entreate for him, and also to let and stop the same matter, trusting, as I suppose, vpon the negligence which they saw before in the bishops, &c.

Ouer and beside, here is not to be forgotten, how the said John Wickliffe, the same time of his examination, offered and exhibited vnto the bishops, in writing, a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his owne mind, vpon the said his articles, the effect whereof here followeth.

The protestation of Iohn Wickliffe.

The protestation of John Wickliffe.

First I protest (as I haue often before done) that I doe mind and intend with my whole heart (by the grace of God) to be a true christian, and as long as breath shall remaine in me, to professe and defend the law of Christ. And if it shall happen that through ignorance or otherwise, I shall faile therein; I desire my Lord God of pardon and forgiuenesse. And now againe as before also, I do reuoke and make retractation, most humblie submitting my selfe, vnder the correction of our holy mother the church. And forsomuch as the sentence of my faith, which I haue holden in the schooles and elsewhere, is reported euen by children, and moreouer, it is caried by children euen vnto Rome: therfore lest my deare beloued brethren should take any offence by me, I will set forth in writting the sentence and articles. for the which I am now accused and empeached: the which also euen vnto the death I will defend. As I beleeue all Christians ought to doe, and specially the bishop of Rome and all other priests and ministers of the Church. For I do vnderstand the conclusions after the sense and maner of speaking of the scriptures and holy doctors, the which I am readie to expound: And if they shall be found contrarie vnto the faith, I am readie to reuoke and spéedily to call them backe againe.

An exposition vpon the conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited by him to the bishop.

ALL the race of mankind, here in earth beside Christ, hath no power simply to ordaine, that Peter, &c.

Exposition of John Wickliffe vpon his conclusions.

This conclusion of it selfe is euident, for as much as it is not in mans power to stop the comming of Christ to his finall iudgement, but he must néeds come, according to the article of our créed, to iudge both the quicke and the dead. And then (as the scripture teacheth) shall surcease all ciuill and politike rule here, I vnderstand the temporall and secular dominon, pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortall life. For so doe the Philosophers speake of ciuill dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called sometimes perpetuall: yet because in holy scripture, and in vse of the Church, and in the bookes of Philosophers most commonly that is taken to be perpetuall, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which sense, the Church singeth Gloria patri, &c. nunc & in perpetuũ: I also after ỹ same signification do take here this word (perpetually); and so is this conclusion consonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in mans power to ordaine the course and votage of the Church, here perpetually to laste.

2. God cannot giue to any man, &c.

Exposition of the second conclusion.

To the second conclusion I answere, vnderstanding ciuill dominion, as in the conclusion before. And so I hold, that God first by his ordinat power cannot giue to any person ciuill dominion here for euer: Secondly, by his absolute power it is not probable for him so to do: For so much as he cannot euer detaine his spouse in perpetuall prison of this life, nor alwaies deserre the finall beatitude of his Church.

3. To the third conclusion. Many writings or charts inuented by men, as touching perpetuall heritage ciuill, be vnpossible.

The veritie of this conclusion is incident. For we must not canonize all maner of Charts, whatsoeuer, as catholicke, or vniuersall: for then it were not lawful by any means to take away or sequester things giuen by Chart or charter, when any doth vniustly occupy the same. And so, if that stand confirmed and ratified by the faith of the Church, great occasion thereby should be ministred to men so chartered, to trust to their temporal charts, and so might grow thereby much libertie and licence to sinne. For like as by what supposition, euery truth is necessary: so by the same supposition, euery false thing is possible, as it is plaine by the testimonie of the Scripture, and of holie doctors speaking of necessitie of things to come.

4. Euery man being in grace iustifying finally, hath not onelie right vnto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed, ouer all the good things of God.

In gratia gratificante finaliter.

The veritie hereof is euident, by holy Scripture, Mat. 24. Where verity promiseth to euery man entring into his ioy: verily (saith he) I tell you, he shall set and place him ouer all the goods he hath. For the right and title belonging to the communion of Saints, in their countrie (he meaneth in the kingdom of heauen) Fundatur obiectiue super vniuersitatem bonorum dei: That is: Hath his relation, as vnto his obiect, to all the goods and possession of God.

Note here he speaketh only of the right of things in the countrie to come, and not in this exile.

5. A man can but only ministratoriously, giue any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall sonne, as to his sonne by imitation.

It is euident. For euery man ought to recognise himselfe in all his works and doings, as an humble seruant and minister of God. As the words of Scripture doe teach vs. Let a man so esteéme of vs as the ministers of Christ. Yea, so Christ himselfe did teach his chefe Apostles to minister; but in their countrie, the Saints shall giue vnto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goods, vt patet de suis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura, according to the words of Luk. 6. They shall giue you, and put into your bosoms a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped vp, and running ouer.

6. If God be, temporal Lords may lawfully, and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from the Church when they do offend, *habitualiter*.

This conclusion is correlatiue with the first article of our faith: I beléeue in God the father almightie, &c. Where I vnderstand this word (may) in this conclusion after the maner of autentike Scripture, which saith and granteth, that God is able of these stones to raise vp children to Abraham; for otherwise all Christian princes were heretikes. For this conclusion, thus standeth the reason: If God be, he is omnipotent: and if he be almightie, hee is able to command the Lords temporal so to do: and if he may so command, then may they lawfully so take away such goods, &c. And so by the vertue of the same principle, Christian princes haue practised the said sentence vpon the Churchmen heretofore, as did William Rufus, &c.

But

But God forbid that any should beleeue hereby my intention to haue been, that secular lords may lawfully take away what goods soeuer and by what meanes soeuer, by their owne naked authoritie at their pleasure: but onely by the authoritie of the church may so doe, in cases and forme limited by the law.

7 We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ is able by his pure Bulles &c.

¶ This is manifest by the Catholike faith, forasmuch as the church doth fully beleeue that the abling of any man, ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore, no man being Christ his vicar, hath any power in this matter, but onely as vicar in the name of the Lord so far forth as hee is enabled of the Lord, to notifie vnto the church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any man do any thing not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethinke to be his author and head: it is a presumption of Lucifer, forsomuch as Christ by his apostle saith, 1. Cor. 3. All our abilitie or sufficiencie commeth of God. And so consequently, it commeth not purely by the ministery of his vicarship, that he is inabled, but the ableness or vnableneslle of him being the vicar of Christ, commeth to him another way from aboue.

8 A man cannot be excommunicate to his hurt or vndoing, except he be excommunicate first and principally of himselfe.

It is euident, forasmuch as al such excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his owne sin which is damnified: Whereupon Augustin saith, De verbis Domini Sermone 51. Do not thou conculcate thy selfe, and man ouercommeth thee not. And moreouer the saith of the church doth teach, quòd nulla ei nocebit aduersitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas: that is to say, No aduersitie shall hurt, if no iniquitie haue the vpper hand. And yet notwithstanding, euery excommunication for many causes is also to be feared, although that the excommunication of the church to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable but wholesome.

9 No man ought but in Gods cause alone to excommunicate, suspend, &c.

It is cleare, forasmuch as euery iust cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be waighed and pondered. Yea the loue of the person excommunicate ought to surmount the zeale of reuengement, and the desire of all temporall goods whatsoeuer; for otherwise he that doth excommunicate, doth damnifie himselfe. To this 9 conclusion notwithstanding it is congruent, that a prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of man, so that his principall respect in so doing be had to the iniurie done to his God, as appeareth 13. quæst. 4. Inter querelas.

10 No curse or excommunication can bind simply, but in case it be giuen out against the aduersarie of Christs law.

And it appeareth thus, because that God doth bind simplie euery one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but onely for transgression of his law. Whereunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the church doth not bind simplie, but secondarilie in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the aduersarie of the members of the church.

11 There is no example of Christ, which giueth power to his disciples to excommunicate any subiect (especially for denying of any temporalties) but contrarie.

Which is thus declared by the saith, whereby wee beleeue that God is to be beloued aboue all things, and our neighbour and enemie are to be beloued aboue all temporall goods of this world necessarily; for the law of God cannot be contrarie vnto it selfe.

12 The disciples of Christ haue no power by any ciuill coaction, to exact temporall things by their censures.

This appeareth by the saith of the Scripture, Luke 23. Where Christ did forbid his apostles ciuilly to raigne or to beare any lordship. The kings (saith he) of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them, but you not so. And after this sense it is expounded of S. Bernard, of S. Chrysostome, and other holy men: which conclusion notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporall things by ecclesiasticall censures incidently, if case be that it appertaine to the reuengement of their God.

13 It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other christian do pretend to bind or loose at their pleasure by what meanes soeuer, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

The contrary of this conclusion will destroy the whole catholike saith, importing no lesse but him to be a blasphemer which so vsurpeth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet by this conclusion I intend not to derogate from the power of the pope, or of any other prelate of the church, but that hee may by the vertue of the head so bind and loose. But do vnderstand the conditionall of this negatiue (to be impossible) after this sense, that it cannot bee that the pope or any other prelate of the church can pretend by himselfe to bind or loose (how and after what maner he list himselfe) except in such sort, that hee doe indeed so bind and loose before God, as he doth pretend to doe.

14 We ought to beleeue, that the vicar of Christ doth at such times onely bind and loose, when as he worketh conformablie by the law, and ordinance of Christ, &c.

The reason thereof is this, because otherwise it is vnlawfull for him so to do, except he should doe it in the vertue of that law, and so consequently, vnlesse it be conformable to the law and ordinance of Christ.

15 To this conclusion, this ought vniuersally to bee beleeued, that euery priest rightly and duely ordered, hath power according to his vocation, &c. *The power of all priests toward God quall. Ordo sacerdotalis non suscipit magis & minus. Potestas ordinis. Potestas regiminis.*

The reason hereof is this, because that the order of priesthood in his owne nature and substance, receiueth no such degrees, either of more or of lesse. And yet notwithstanding, the power of inferiour priests in these dates is vpon due consideration restrained, and sometimes againe in time of extreme necessitie, released. And thus according to the doctors, a prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of iurisdition or regiment. And according to this second power, the prelats are in a higher maiestie, and regiment.

16 It is lawfull for princes and kings (in cases by the law limited) to withdraw temporall commodities from churchmen, abusing the same, habitualiter. *16. q. 7. filijs.*

The reason therof is plaine, for that temporall lords ought rather to leane to spirituall almes, which bringeth with it greater frut, then to corporall almes the case so standing, that sometime it were a necessarie worke of spirituall almes, to chastise such clerkes by taking from them their temporall liuings, which vse to abuse the same to the damnifying both of their soule and body. The case which the law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his spirituall head, or else for lacke of correcting the faith of the clerke which so offendeth, as appeareth, 16. q. 7. filijs. Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

17 Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoeuer, which haue endued any church with temporalities, &c.

The truth thereof is euidently seene, for that nothing ought to stop a man from the principall workes of charitie necessarilie, because in euery action and worke of man is to bee vnderstood a priuie condition necessarie of God his good will concurring with all, as it is in the ciuill law de c. Conradi cap. 5. in fine collat. 1. And yet God forbid, that by these words occasion should bee giuen to the lords temporall to take away the goods of fortune from the church.

18 An ecclesiasticall minister, yea the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subiects, and for the profit of the church be accused, either of the clergie, or of the laity.

The proofe of this is manifest hereby, because the said bishop of Rome is subiect to fall into the sinne against the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, sauing the sanctitude, humility and reuerence due to such a father. For so long as our brother is subiect vnto the infirmitie of falling, hee lieth vnder the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole colledge of cardinals may be slothfull in ministring due correction for the necessary prosperity of the church: it is apparant that the residue of the body of the church, which possiblie may stand most of lay men, may wholesomely correct the same, accuse and bring him to a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, Dist. 40. Si Papa. If the pope doe erre from the right faith, &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to bee supposed in the lord pope without manifest euidence: so againe, such an obstinacie ought not to be supposed in him, possible being fallen, but that hee will humblie receiue the wholesome medicine of his superiour, correcting him in the Lord. The practise of which conclusion also is testified in many chronicles. Farre be it from the church of Christ, that veritie should bee condemned which soundeth euill to transgressors and other slothfull persons, for then the whole saith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus John Wickliffe in giuing his exposition vnto his foresaid propositions and conclusions, as is aboue prefired, through the fauour and diligence of the Londoners, either shifted off the bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearely away, onely being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that hee should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the lasie people.

Thus this good man being escaped from the bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun.

Vnto whom also (as it happeneth by the prouidence of God) this was also a great helpe and stay, for that in the same yeere, or in the beginning of the next yeare following, the foresaid pope Gregory xi. which was the stirrer vp of al this trouble against him, turned vp his heeles and died. After whom ensued such a schisme in Rome, betweene two Popes, and other succeeding after them, one striuing against another; that the schisme thereof endured the space of xxxix. yeares, vntill the time of the councell of Constance. *The death of pope Gregorie 11. A schisme in Rome.*

The occasioner of which schisme first was pope Vrban the 6. who in the first beginning of his popedome was so proud and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queenes, and so set to aduance his nephew and kinsred, with iniuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers by little and little shrunke from him, and set vp an other French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned 2 xi. yeares. And after *Vrbanus 6. pope.*

him Benedictus the 13. who reigned yeares 26. Againe of the contrarie side after Urbanus the sixth, succeeded Boniface the ninth, Innocentius the viij. Gregorious the xij. Alexander the fifth, Iohn 13.

¶ Papæ,	yeares.	moneths.	¶ Antipapæ.	yeares.
Vrbanus 6	11.	8.	Clement.	11.
Bonifacius 9.	14.	9.	Benedictus. 13.	26.
Innocentius 8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius 12.	2.	7.		
Alexander 5.	0.	11.		
Iohannes 13	5.	10.		

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schisme, it would require heere another Iliade to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragicall parts thereof, what trouble in the whole church, what partstaking in euery countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelats, taken by land and sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof. How Otho duke of Brunswicke and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murthered. How Joan Queene of Jerusalem and Sicilia his wife, who before had sent to pope Urban, beside other gifts at his coronation, xl. M. Duckets in pure gold; after by the said Urban was committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled. What cardinals were racked, and miserablie without all mercy tormented on gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what battels were fought betweene the two popes, whereof 5000. on the one side were slaine, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of fiue cardinals together after long torments, and how the bishop Aquilonensis, being suspected of pope Urban, for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slaine by the popes commandement, sending his souldiers vnto him, to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with other diuers moe acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of this abominable schisme, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodorcike Niem, who was neere to the said pope Urban, and present at all his doings: therefore as a thing needlesse, I here pretermit, referring them who couet to be certified more amply herein, vnto the three bookes of the said Theodoricke aboue mentioned.

Was not here a folly agreemẽt?

Theodoricus a Niem de schismate.

About the same time also, about 3. yeares after, there fell a cruell dissension in England, betweene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a little disturbe and trouble the common wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie, was taken by the rusticall and rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place after, succeeded William Courtney, which was no lesse diligent then his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out hereticks. Notwithstanding, in the meane season Wicklifs sect increased priuilie, & daily grew to greater force, vntill the time that William Barton Vicechancellor of Oxford, about the yeare of our Lord 1380. had the whole rule of that Universitie: who calling together 8. monasticall doctors, and 4. other, with the consent of the rest of his affinitie, putting the common seale of the Universitie vnto certaine writings: he set forth an edict, declaring vnto euery man, and threatning them vnder a grieuous penaltie, that no man should be so hardie, hereafter to associat themselues with any of Wickliffes fautors or fauourers: and vnto Wickliffe himselfe hee threatned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, vnlesse that they after three daies canonicall admonition or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. The which thing when Wicklife vnderstood, forsaking the pope and all the clergie, hee thought to appeale vnto the kings maiestie: but the duke of Lancaster comming betweene, forbad him that hee should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himselfe vnto the censure and iudgement of his ordinarie. Whereby Wickliffe being beset with troubles and perations, as it were in the midst of the waues, he was forced once againe to make confession of his doctrine: in the which his confession, to auoid the rigor of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and allwage the rigor of his enemies.

Rebellion in England by Iacke Straw.

Simon the archbishop beheaded.

Wil. Courtney archb. of Cant.

Barton chancellor of Oxford.

Anno 1380

An edict against the Wickliuists.

Anno 1382

The next yeare after, which was 1382. by the commandement of William archbishop of Canturbury, there was a conuocation holden at Londõ, where as John Wickliffe was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally, or not, I find it not in story certainely affirmed. The mandate of the archbishop William Courtney (sent abrode for the conuenting together of this councell) here followeth vnder written, truely copied out of his owne registers.

The mandate of the archb.

Ex Registro Archb. Cant. Courtney.

Memorandum, that where as well amongst the nobles as commons of this realme of England, there hath a certaine brute bin spread of diuers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the subuersion of the whole church, and to our prouince of Canturburie, and also to the subuersion of the whole realme, being preached in diuers and sundrie places of our said prouince, generally, commonly, and publikely: We William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legat of the see apostolicall, being minded to execute our office and dutie herein; haue conuocated or called together certain our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well Doctours and Bachelers of diuinitie, as doctors of the canon and ciuill law, and those whom we thought to bee the most famous men, skilfullest men, and men of soundest iudgement in religion, that were in all the realme, whose names here vnder ensue. And the same being (the 17. day of the moneth of May) in the yeare of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the priorie of the friers preachers of London before vs & our foresaid fellow brethren assembled, then & there personally present: After that ẏ said conclusions (the tenor wherof here vnder ensueth) were openly proponed, and distinctly and plainely read: Wee burthened our foresaid fellow brethren, doctors, and bachelers, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answere before the high iudge in the day of iudgement, that they should speake their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what euery of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had vpon the premisses, the foresaid our brethren, the bishops, doctors and bachelers, reassembled before vs the 21. day of the same moneth in the foresaid chamber, the foresaid conclusions being againe and againe repeated and plainely read: by vs and by the common consents of vs all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are hereticall, and othersome erroneous and contrarie to the determination of the church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appeare. And for as much as by sufficient information wee find and perceiue, that the said conclusions in many places of our said prouince, haue beene, as is said, both taught and preached; and that diuers other persons doe hold and maintaine the same, and be of heresie vehemently and notoriously suspected: we haue thought good as well generally as specially, to send out this processe vnder written.

The names of the Iurers were these.

IN primis viij. bishops, Canturburie, Winchester, Durham, Exceter, Hereford, Sarum, Rochester, and Frier Botlesham. B.

Item, 3. friers preachers, Siward, Paris, Langley.

Item, 4. minorites, Foluile, Carlel, Frisly, Bernwel.

Item, Augustine friers foure, Alyborne, Bowkin, Woldley, Horninton.

Item, Carmelites 4. Glanuile, Dis, Loney, Kimingham.

Item, Monks 4. Wels, Ramsey, Bloram, Parton.

Item, doctors of the canon and ciuill law 14. Appelby, Waltrom, Baketon, Chadesden, Tregision, Stow, Blanchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flatneburgh, Mortrum, Brandon and Prophet.

Item, Bachelers of Diuinitie 6. Humbleton, Pickwech, Lindlow, Wich, Chiselden, Tomson.

The articles of John Wickliffe here aboue specified, whereof some were 10. which were by these friers condemned as heretical, the rest as erroneous; here in order follow, and are these. Although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting, then hee ment them in his owne workes and writings.

The articles of Iohn Wickliffe, condemned as hereticall.

1 THe substance of materiall bread and wine, doth remaine in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.

2 The accidents, do not remaine without the subiect in the same sacrament, after the consecration.

3 That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporall person.

4 *That if a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, hee doth not order, consecrate, nor baptise.

*This article either is slanderously reported, or else can hardly be defended.

5 That if a man be duely and truly contrite and penitent, all exteriour and outer confession, is but superfluous and vnprofitable vnto him.

6 That it is not found or stablished by the Gospell, that Christ did make or ordaine masse.

7 If the pope be a reprobate and euill man, and consequently a member of the diuell; he hath no power by any maner of meanes giuen vnto him ouer faithfull christians, except peraduenture it be giuen him from the emperor.

8 That since the time of Urban the 6. there is none to be receiued for pope, but to liue after the maner of the Grecians, euery man vnder his owne law.

9 *To be against the Scripture, that ecclesiasticall ministers should haue any temporall possessions.

*he meaneth church goods not to be so peculiar to ministers but that they may be taken away if they so deserue.

The

The other articles of Iohn Wickliffe, *condemned as erroneous.*

10 That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to bee excommunicate of God.
11 That he which doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himselfe either an heretike or excommunicated.
12 That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergie, which hath appealed to the king or to the counsell, is thereby himselfe a traitor to the king and realme.
13 That all such which doe leaue off preaching or hearing the word of God or preaching of the Gospell, for feare of excommunication: they are alreadie excommunicated, and in the day of iudgement, shall be counted as traitors vnto God.
14 That it is lawfull for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God, without the authoritie or licence of the apostolike see or any other of his catholicks.
15 ¶ That so long as a man is in deadly sin, hee is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.
16 * Also that the temporall lords, may according to their owne will and discretion, take away the temporall goods from the churchmen, whensoeuer they doe offend.
17 That tenths are pure almes, and that the parishioners may for the offence of their Curats, detaine and keepe them backe, and bestow them vpon others, at their owne will and pleasures.
18 Also, that all speciall praiers applied to any priuate or particular person, by any prelate or religious man: doe no more profit the same person, then generall or vniuersall praiers doe profit others, which be in like case or state vnto him.
19 Moreouer, in that any man doth enter into any priuate religion, whatsoeuer it be, hee is thereby made the more vnapt and vnable to obserue and keepe the commandements of God.
20 That holy men which haue instituted priuate religions, whatsoeuer they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also the order of begging friers, hauing no possessions) in so doing, haue grieuously offended.
21 That religious men, being in their priuat religions are not of the christian religion.
22 That friers are bounden to get their liuing by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.
23 That whosoeuer doth giue any almes vnto friers, or to any begging obseruant, is accursed or in danger thereof.

¶ This article peraduenture was not so straitly ment of him as it was gathered of them, as is aforesaid.
* This article expounded the 17. article aboue.

¶ The letter of the archbishop directed *to the bishop of London, against Wickliffe* and his adherents.

A letter of the archbishop of Cant. against Wickliffe.

William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburie, Metropolitane of all England, and of the apostolicall see legate: To our reuerend brother by the grace of God bishop of London, salutation. The prelats of the church ought to bee so much the more vigilant and attentiue about the charge of the Lords flocke committed vnto them: how much the more they shall vnderstand the Wolues being clothed in sheeps apparell, fraudulently to go about to worry & scatter the sheepe. Truely by the continuall crie and bruted fame (which it grieueth me to report) it is come to our knowledge, that although by the canonicall sanctions, no man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publikely or priuilie without the authority of the apostolicall see or bishop of that place, vsurpe or take vpon him the office of a preacher: Some notwithstanding such as are the children of damnation, being vnder the vaile of blind ignorance, are brought into such a doting mind, that they take vpon them to preach, and are not affraid to affirme and teach diuers and sundrie propositions and conclusions here vnder recited, both heretical, erroneous and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the subuerting of the whole state of the same, of our prouince of Canturburie, and destruction and weakning of the tranquillity of the same: and that as well in the churches, as in the streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said prouince, generally, commonly, and publikely, do preach the same, infecting very manie good christians, causing them lamentablie to wander out of the way, and from the catholike church, without which there is no saluation. Wee therefore considering, that so pernicious a mischiefe which may creepe amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to passe ouer, which may with deadly contagion slay the soules of men, lest their blood be required at our hands: are willing so much as God will permit vs to doe, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsell and consent of many of our brethren and Suffragans, wee haue conuented diuers and sundrie doctors of Diuinitie, as also professors and other clerks of the canon and ciuill lawes, the best learned within the realme, and of the most soundest opinion and iudgement in the catholike faith, to giue their opinions and iudgements concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions being in the presence of vs, and our fellow brethren and other conuocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by common counsell and consent, as well of them as of vs, and so declared that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the church, as here vnder are described: Wee will and command your brotherhood, and by vertue of holy obedience straitly enioyne all and singuler our brethren, and suffraganes of our body and church of Canturburie, that with all speedie diligence you possiblie can, you likewise enioyne them (as we haue enioyned you) and euerie of them. And that euery one of them in their churches and other places of their citie and Dioceese, doe admonish and warne, and that you in your church and other churches of your citie and Dioces, doe admonish and warne, as we by the tenour of these presents, doe admonish and warne the first time, the second time and the third time: and yet more straitely doe warne, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonical and peremptory, another day: That no man from henceforth of what estate or condition soeuer, doe hold, preach, or defend the foresaid heresies and errours or any of them: nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the heresies or errours of him or any of them, or that he fauour or leane vnto him either publikely or priuily: but that immediately he shun him as he would auoide a serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison, vnder paine of the greater curse; the which wee command to be thundred against all and euery one which shall be disobedient in this behalfe, and not regarding these our monitions, after that those three daies be past which are assigned for the canonicall monition, and that their delay, fault or offence, committed require the same: That then according to the tenour of these writings, we command both by euery one of our fellow brethren and our suffragans in their cities and dioces, and by you in your city and dioceese (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the vttermost, both yee and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore, wee will and command our foresaid fellow brethren, and all and singuler of you apart by your selues, to bee admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Iesus Christ we likewise admonish you: that according to the institution of the sacred canons, euery one of them in their cities and dioces, be a diligent inquisitor of this hereticall prauitie: and that euery one of you also in your cities and dioces, bee the like inquisitor of the foresaid hereticall prauitie: And that of such like presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalfe) with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preseruation of the christian faith and religion.

hauing tried them by the truth, you should haue found them otherwise.

Brute Fulmin.

He that killeth you shall thinke he doth God good seruice.

Yea rather for the honor of your pope, and destruction of christian faith.

Here is not to be passed ouer, the greate miracle of Gods diuine admonition or warning: for when as the archbishop and suffragans, with the other Doctors of Diuinitie, and lawyers with a great companie of babling friers, and religious persons were gathered together to consult, as touching Iohn Wickliffes bookes, and that whole sect: When as they were gathered together at the gray friers in London, to begin their businesse, vpon saint Dunstans day after dinner, about two of the cloche, the very houre and instant that they should goe forward with their businesse, a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England: whereupon diuers of the suffragans being feared, by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should meane, thought it good to leaue off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chiefe captaine of that armie, more rath and bold then wise) interpreting the chance which had happened, cleane contrarie to another meaning or purpose, did confirme and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with feare, stoutly to proceede and goe forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing Wickliffes articles, not according vnto the sacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but vnto their owne priuate affections and traditions, pronounced and gaue sentence, that some of them were simplie and plainely heretical, other some halfe erroneous, other irreligious, some seditious, & not consonant to the church of Rome.

In earthquake what time Wickliffe was examined. *Ex Chron. mon. Albanensis.*

Item, the twelfth day of June, in the yeare aforesaid, in the chamber of the friers preachers, the foresaid maister Robert Rigges, Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and Thomas Bizghtwell professors of Diuinitie, being appointed the same day and place, by the foresaid reuerend father in God archbishop of Canturburie: appeared before him, in the presence of the reuerend father in God, lord William, by the grace of God bishop of Winchester, and diuers others doctors and bachelars of Diuinitie and of the canon and ciuill law, whose names are before recited. And first the said Chancellor by the said lord archbishop of Canturburie, being examined what his opinion was touching the foresaid articles: publikely affirmed and declared, that certaine of those conclusions were heretical, and certaine erroneous, as the other doctors and clerks afore mentioned had declared: And then immediately next after him, the foresaid Thomas Bizghtwell

Determination vpon the articles of Wickliffe.

well was examined, which vpon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but in the end being by the said archbishop diligently examined vpon the same, did affirme and repute the same to be hereticall and erroneous, as the foresaid Chancellor had done. Another Bachelar of Diuinitie also there was, named N. stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the iudgement of the foresaid Chancellor and Tho. as is aboue declared. Whereupon, the said lord archbishop of Canturburie, willing to let and hinder the perill of such heresies and errours: deliuered vnto the foresaid Chancellour, there being publikely read, his letters patents, to be executed, the tenour whereof in these words doth follow.

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. to the Chancellor of Oxford.

WIlliam by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolicall see: To our welbeloued sonne in Christ the Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, within the diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, grace, and benediction. The prelats of the church, about the Lords flocke committed to their charge, ought so much to bee more vigilant as that they see the Wolfe clothed in sheeps attire, fraudulently goe about to worrie and scatter the sheepe. Doubtlesse, the common fame and brute is come vnto our eares, &c. *Vt in mandato precedenti.* Wee will therefore and command, straitly inioyning you, that in the church of our blessed Ladie in Oxford, vpon those daies in the which accustomablie the sermon is made, as also in the schooles of the said Vniuersitie vpon those daies the Lectures bee read, yee publish and cause by others to bee published to the clergie and people, as well in their vulgar tongue, as in the Latine tongue, manifestly and plainely without any curious implication, the same hereticall and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy church, as is aforesaid: to haue beene and be condemned, and which conclusions also we declare by these our letters to be vtterly condemned. And that furthermore you forbid, and canonically admonish, and cause to bee admonished, as we by the tenour of these presents doe forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorilie: that none hereafter hold, teach, preach, or defend the heresies and errours aboue said, or any of them, either in schoole or out of schoole by any sophisticall cauillation or otherwise: or that any admit to preach, heare, or hearken vnto Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppingdon, canon regular, or Iohn Ashton, or Laurence Redman, which bee vehemently and notoriouslie suspected of heresie, or else any other whatsoeuer, so suspected or defamed: or that either priuately or publikely, they either aide or fauour them or any of them, but that incontinently they shun and auoide the same as a Serpent which putteth forth most pestiferous poyson. And furthermore, wee suspend the said suspected persons from all scholasticall act, till such time as they shall purge themselues before vs in that behalfe: and that you denounce the same publikely, by vs to haue beene and be suspended; and that ye diligently and faithfully enquire of all their fautors and fauourers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the halles of the said Vniuersitie. And that when you shall haue intelligence of their names and persons, that yee compell all and euery of them to abiure their outrages by ecclesiastical censures and other paines canonicall whatsoeuer, vnder paine of the greater curse, the which against all and singuler the rebellious in this behalfe, and disobeying our monitions, wee pronounce: so that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalfe, deserue the same (the said monition of ours being first sent) which in this behalfe wee esteeme and allow canonicall, that then and againe according to the effect of these our letters, &c. The absolution of all and singuler such, which shall incurre the sentence of this instrument by vs sent forth (which God forbid) we specially reserue vnto our selues: exhorting you the Chancellor by the aspersion of the blood of Iesus Christ, that to the vttermost of your power hereafter you doe your endeuour, that the clergie and people being subiect vnto you, if there bee which haue straied from the catholike faith by such errours, may be brought home againe, to the laud and honour of his name that was crucified, & preseruation of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatsoeuer you shall doe, in the premisses in manner and forme of our processe in this behalfe, to be had and done: that you for your part, when you shall bee required thereunto, plainely and distinctly doe certifie vs by your letters patents, hauing the tenour hereof.

Make sure worke.

The conclusions and articles here mentioned in this letter are aboue prefixed. Of which some were condemned for hereticall, some for erroneous.

After this, within few daies the foresaid archbishop W. Courtney, directed downe his letters of admonition to Robert Rigge commissarie of Oxford, for the repressing of this doctrine. Which yet notwithstanding both then, and yet to this day (God bee praised) doth remaine: the copie of his monition to the commissary here out of his owne Register followeth.

The monition of the archbishop, vnto the *foresaid Chancellor.*

IN *Dei nomine, Amen.* Whereas wee Wil. by the permission of God archbishop of Canturburie, lord primate of England and legate of the apostolicall see, by the consent of our suffragans, haue caused to be assembled together, diuers clerkes both secular and regular of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, within our prouince of Canturbury & other catholike persons, to informe vs of and vpon certaine conclusions hereticall and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and published in diuers places of the said prouince of Canturburie, to the subuersion of the whole state of the church, and our said prouince: And also mature deliberation had vpon the same, by the common counsell of the said our suffragans and their conuocates, it was declared, that certaine of the said conclusions, to haue beene and be condemned, some for hereticall, and some for erroneous, and notoriouslie repugnant to the determination of the church, which we also our selues haue declared to bee damnable: And haue vnderstood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Vniuersity aforesaid, hast and doest incline partly to the foresaid damnable conclusions, whom also we in this part haue partly suspected, dost intend to molest these our clerks aboue specified, and others adhering vnto vs in this behalfe, as they ought to doe, through thy subtill and sophisticall imaginations, sundrie and manifold waies: therefore wee admonish thee M. Rob. Chancellor aforesaid, the first, second, and third time, and peremptorily: that thou doest not grieue, let, or molest, iudicially or extraiudicially, apertly or priuilie, or cause to bee grieued, let, and molested, or procure directly or indirectly, by thy selfe or any other as much as in thee lyeth to be grieued, the foresaid clerks secular or regular, or such as fauour them, in the premisses, in their scholasticall acts, or in any other condition whatsoeuer: And that thou suffer none hereafter to teach, maintaine, preach, or defend any such heresies or errors in the said Vniuersitie, either within or without the schooles: Neither that thou do admit Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Repingdon, Iohn Ashton, or Laurence Redman, which are vehemently and notoriouslie suspected of heresie, or any other so suspected or defamed, vnto that office of preaching: but that thou denounce the said persons to bee suspended, whom wee haue suspended from all scholasticall act, whilest they cleare their innocencie in this part before vs, vnder the paine of the greater curse, which we here in these writings denounce against thy person if thou shalt not obey those our admonitiõs, with effect, as thy crime, subtilty and offence in this behalfe shall require according to this our admonition premised, which we repute in this part for canonicall, as well then as now, and now as well as then, reseruing the absolution of this sentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to light vpon thee, (as God forbid) specially vnto our selues. Testified with the hands of the Iurers, aboue in the pag. 400. before specified.

Another letter of the archb. to the Commissary of Oxford.

The examination of Nicolas Herford, Philip *Repingdon, and Iohn Ashton.*

THe 18. day of the moneth and yeare aforesaid, in the chamber of the preaching friers afore mentioned, before the foresaid archbishop in the presence of diuers Doctors and Bachelars of diuinitie, and many lawyers both canon & ciuill, whose names are vnder written: appeared M. Nic. Herford, Philip Repingdon, and Iohn Ashton Bachelars of Diuinity. Who after a corporall oth taken to shew their iudgement vpon the conclusions aforesaid, were examined seuerally each one by himselfe, before the archb. Who there required day and place to deliberate vpon the conclusions aforesaid, and to giue their answere vnto the same in writing. And also required to haue a copy of the said conclusions to be deliuered vnto them. The which copy, the said Nicolas and Philip (being openly read vnto them) receiued. Also the foresaid M. Iohn Ashton likewise was examined, and iudicially admonished by the said archb. by vertue of his oth, that he setting aside all sophisticall words and subtilties, he fully and plainely would say his mind vpon the conclusions aforesaid. And being asked moreouer by the said archb. whether he would haue a further day to deliberate vpon his answeres, as the foresaid Nicolas and Philip had before: said expressly that he would not, but would answere presently to those conclusions, and so for finall answere said, as concerning all these conclusions (containing them all together) that his iudgement was in this behalfe to hold his peace. Wherfore the foresaid archbishop reputing the said Iohn herein to be suspected, admonished him in forme of words as followeth: We admonish thee Iohn Ashton, whom we repute to bee defamed, and notoriouslie suspected of heresie, the first, the second, and third time: that in our prouince of Canturbury hereafter, thou doe not preach publikely or priuately without our speciall licence, vnder paine of the greater curse, which wee denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then. And consequently, forasmuch as the said Iohn being asked of the archb. confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the archb. Mandate, wherein was inhibited ỹ no person prohibited or not sent, should preach hereafter: the foresaid archbishop assigned to him friday next following, which was the 20. day of the same moneth, after dinner to appeare before him, either at Lambeth, or in the same place: to say for himselfe, wherefore hee might not bee pronounced

M. Iohn Ashton examined.

The answere of I. Ashton.

M. Ashton monished againe to appeare.

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pronounced for an heretike, and for such a one to be denounced through his whole prouince. Also the said archbishop assigned to the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, the said day and place to answer peremptorily, and to say fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophisticatiō of words and disputation set apart.

The names of the friers that sate vpon them.

Friers Preachers:

Thomas Barnwell, William Swinherd, William Picworth, Thomas Whatley, Laurence Grenham, John Leigh, John Baker.

Carmelites 3.

Walter Dish, John Kimningham, John Louey.

Augustine Frier:

Thomas Alhborne, doctor.

20. of June. In the twentith day aforesaid of the said month of June, the yeere and place aboue prefixed, before the foresaid archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, in the presence of diuers doctors of Diuinitie, and lawyers, both ciuill and canon; personally appeared master Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppingdon, bachelars of Diuinitie, and John Ashton, master of Art. Where the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, being required by the said archbishop to answere, and say fully and plainly their iudgement vpon the conclusions prefixed, whereunto the said archbishop had assigned to the said Nicolas & Philip the same terme; did exhibit to the said archbishop there iudicially sitting, certain answers in writing contained, after the manner of indenture: the tenor whereof here vnder is contained, and after the same forme answered to the said conclusions. The tenor of which indenture containing the foresaid conclusions to them moued as afore, followeth in these words.

Herford and Reppingdon appeare.

The protestation of Nicolas, Philip, and Iohn, with their articles and answers to the same.

The protestation of Herford and Ashton, prohibited to the archbishop. WE protest here as before, publikely in these presents; that we intend to be humble & faithfull children to the church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the church. And if it shall chance vs at any time, which God forbid, to swarue from this our intention, we submit our selues humbly to the correction of our reuerend father, lord archbishop of Canturbury, and primate of all England: and of all other which haue interest to correct such swaruers. This protestation premised, thus we answer to the cōclusions aforesaid.

Articles with the answers. That the substance of materiall bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.

After the sense contrary to the Decretall, beginning Firmiter credimus, we grant that it is heresie.

That the accidents doe not remaine without the subiect, after consecration of the sacrament.

After the sense contrary to that Decretall Cum Marthe, we grant that it is heresie.

That Christ is not in the sacrament, the selfe same truly and really in his owne corporall presence.

Although this conclusion as the words stand, sound to be probable and intelligible, yet in the sense contrary to the Decretall in Cle. Si dudum: we grant that it is heresie. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the sacrament of the altar, as touching also all other things, we professe that we will both in word and sense, hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church, and sayings of the holy doctors.

Obstinatly to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Gospell, that Christ ordained the masse.

We grant that it is heresie.

That God ought to obey the diuell.

In this sense, that God in his own person or essence, ought to obey the diuell with the obedience of necessity.

We grant that it is heresie.

If a man be duly contrite, that all externall confession is to him superfluous and vnprofitable.

We grant that it is heresie.

If the pope be a reprobat and an euill man, and consequently a member of the the diuell, he hath no power ouer the faithfull of Christ, giuen to him of any, vnlesse it be of Cesar.

We grant that it is heresie.

That after pope Vrban the 6. none is to be receiued for pope, but that we ought to liue after the manner of the Grecians, vnder our owne lawes.

We grant that it is heresie.

To say, that it is against the holy Scripture for ecclesiasticall persons to haue temporall possessions.

If obstinacie be ioined withall, we grant that it is heresie.

That no prelat ought to excommunicat any man, vnlesse he know him before to be excommunicat of God.

We grant that it is an error. Vnderstanding this knowledge to meane an experimental knowledge: so that herewith may stand the decree of the church. 11. q. 3. Nemo Episco.

That hee which doth so excommunicat, is thereby an heretike or excommunicat.

After the sense agreeing with the other before, we grant to be an error.

That a prelat excommunicating a clerke, which appealeth to the king or counsell of the realme, in so doing, is a traitor to God, the king, and the realme.

We grant it is an error.

That they which leaue off to preach, or to heare the word of God and the Gospell preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicat, and in the day of iudgement shall be counted for traitors to God.

Vnderstanding this conclusion vniuersally so, as scripture and lawes doe vnderstand such indefinit propositions: wee grant it as an error.

To affirme that it is lawfull for any deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the authority of the sea apostolike, or catholike bishop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient.

We grant it is an error.

To affirme that there is no ciuill lord, no bishop nor prelat whilest he is in mortall sinne, we grant it is an error.

That temporall lords may at their pleasure take away the temporall goods from churches, offending habitualiter: wee grant it is an error, after this sense, that they may so take away temporall goods of the churches, without the cases limitted in the lawes of the church and kingdomes.

That the vulgar people may correct the lords offending at their pleasure: vnderstanding by this word may, that they may doe it by the law: we grant it is an error, because that subiects haue no power oue their lords.

That tithes be pure almes, and that parishioners may for the offences of their curats, detaine the same, and bestow them to others at their pleasure: vnderstanding by this word may, as before, to may, by the law: we grant it is an error.

That spectall praiers applied to any one person by prelats or religious men, doe no more profit then the generall praiers, if there be no let by the way to make them vnlike: vnderstanding this conclusion vniuersally negatiuely, and vnderstanding by speciall praiers, the praiers made vpon speciall deuotion, and generall praiers of generall deuotion: then after this sense, no such spectall praiers applied to any one person, by special orators doe profit more specially the said person, then generall praiers doe, which are made of the same, and for the same persons; we grant it is an error.

Hee that giueth almes to the friers, or to any frier that preacheth, is excommunicat, both he that giueth, and he that taketh: vnderstanding this proposition vniuersally, or conditionally, as is aforesaid; we grant to be an error.

That who so entreth into any priuat religion whatsoeuer, is thereby made more vnapt and vnmeet to obey the commandements of God: we grant it is an error.

That such holy men as did institute any priuat religions whatsoeuer, as well of secular hauing possessions, as of friers hauing none, in so instituting, did sinne: vnderstanding this reduplicatiuely or vniuersally: we grant it is an error. After this sense, that what Saint soeuer did institute priuat religions, instituting the said religion vpon that consideration as they did, did sinne.

That religious men liuing in priuat religions, be not of the religion of Christ: vnderstanding the proposition vniuersally, as is aforesaid: we grant it is an error.

That friers are bound to get their liuings by the labour of their hands, and not by begging: vnderstanding this proposition vniuersally, as before: we grant it is an error.

These things haue we spoken reuerend father and lord, in all humility, vnder your gracious supportation and benigne correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities for this present (the honor of God, the veritie of our beliefe, and safe conscience in all points reserued:) more humbly yet beseeching you, that if any other thing there be, that seemeth meet vnto your excellencie and discretion to bee more or otherwise said and spoken, that your gracious fatherhod would vouchsafe to informe vs as children by the sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the church, or authorities of the holy doctors. And doubtlesse with ready wils, and obedient minds, we will consent and agree vnto your wholsome doctrine. May it therefore please your fatherhod, right reuerend in God, according to the accustomed manner of your benignitie, fauorably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the foresaid conclusions were neuer by vs either in schooles affirmed, or else in sermons publikely preached.

Further examinations and proceedings against the foresaid Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppingdon, and Iohn Ashton.

Further examinations against the said Nicolas, Philip, and John, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington. WHen al these answers were made vnto the said lord arch. of Canturbury, the said Nicolas and Philip, for that they answered not vnto the meaning and words of the first conclusion expressly; but contrary to the sense of the decretall Firmiter credimus, were there iudicially examined what their sense and meaning was; but they would not expresse the same. Then was it

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John Ashton examined. 20. *Iunij, an.* 1382.

it demanded of them according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the behalfe of the said lord of Canturbury, whether the same materiall bread in numero, which before the consecration is laid vpon the altar, remaine in the proper substance and nature, after the consecration in the sacrament of the altar; and likewise of the wine? To this the said Nicolas and Philip answered, that for that time they could say no more therein, then that they had already answered, as is before alleaged in writing. And for that vnto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expresly, but in a sense contrary to the Decretall Cum Marthe, being asked what was the meaning, would not expresse the same: therefore it was demanded of them according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared in the behalfe of the said lord of Canturbury, whether those corporall accidences which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them: after the consecration were in the same bread and wine, or else were subiected in any other substance? To this they answered; that better to answer, then before in their writings they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and words of the third conclusion, for that they answered not plainly and expresly, but in sense contrary to the Decretall in the Clementines Si dudum, being asked what was that sense and meaning, would not declare the same: Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared on the behalfe of the said lord of Canturburie: Whether the same body of Christ, which was assumpted of the Virgin, be in the sacrament of the altar, secundum seipsum, euen as he is really in carnall substance, proper essence and nature. To this they answered; that for that time they could say no more then that they had said, as before is specified in writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth conclusion, for that they answered not fully and expresly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the diuell or not: they said, yea, as the obedience of loue, because he loueth him, and punished him as he ought. And to proue that God ought so to obey the diuell, they offered themselues to the fire.

To the 11. conclusion, for that they answered not expresly, being asked whether a prelat might excommunicat any man being in the state of grace: said, yea.

Vnto the 20. conclusion, for that they answered not fully, simply, and expresly, being demanded whether speciall or generall praiers did most profit, and were of greater force: they would not say but that speciall.

Vnto the last conclusion, for that they answered neither simply, nor expresly, and being demanded particularly, whether any frier were bound to get his liuing with his manuall labor, so that it might not bee lawfull for them to liue by begging: they would make no answer at all.

The iudgement of the doctors vpon these Articles.

After that, the foresaid lord archbishop of Canturbury demanded of all the foresaid doctors, what their iudgement was touching the answers that were made vpon all and singuler such conclusions. All which doctors and euery of them seuerally said: that there all the answers giuen vnto the first, second, third, and sixth conclusions (as is before recited) were insufficient, heretical & subtill; and that all the answers made specially to the tenth, ninth, and last conclusions, as is aboue mentioned; were insufficient, erroneous, and peruerse. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canturbury, considering the said answers to be heretical, subtill, erroneous, and peruerse, accordingly as the said doctors (as is aforesaid) had weighed and considered; admonished the said Nicolas and Philip sufficiently vnder these forme of words.

Admonition and citation of the archbishop against the examinats.

The name of Christ being called vpon: we William by Gods permission, archbishop of Canturbury, metropolitan of all England, and legat of the Apostolike sea, and through all our prouince of Canturbury, inquisitor of all heretical prauitie; doe sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppingdon, professors of Diuinitie, hauing this day and place assigned you by your owne consent and our petition, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinions touching these conclusions, whereunto we doe refer you (all subtil, sophisticall, and logicall words set apart) being thereunto sworne, cited and commanded. Which thing to doe, without cause reasonable or any licence giuen thereunto, you neither haue bin willing, nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuously refused to answere to some of those conclusions before vs iudicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commandement beforesaid. But for that yee haue answered vnto some of them heretically, and to othersome erroneously, although not fully, wee admonish and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily: that plainly and fully (all subtill, sophisticall and logicall words set apart) you and euery of you answer vnto the same conclusions, and vnto that sense and meaning by vs limitted; vnder the paine that otherwise such conclusions deserue by you confessed, and that for the same conclusions, you ought to haue.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the foresaid Nicolas and Philip would make none other answer; the said lord archbishop of Canturbury concluded that businesse, prefixing and assigning vnto the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, eight daies space; that is to say, vntill the 27. day of the same month: and that then they should appeare before the said lord archbishop of Canturbury, whersoeuer within the same his prouince of Canturbury he should fortune to be, to heare his decree that should be made in that behalfe. This done, the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently, John Ashton vnder the tenor of these words following.

Another day assigned for the examinats to appeare.

Procesle made by the archbishop against John Ashton.

In the name of God: We William by Gods permission, archbishop of Canturbury, primat of all England, legat of the sea Apostolicall, and through all our prouince of Canturbury, of all heretical prauity chiefe inquisitor: doe monish and cite thee, John Ashton, maister of Art, and student in Diuinity, appearing before vs, iudicially to say and speake the plaine veritie touching these conclusions, to the which we doe referre thee: and to the which we haue caused thee to sweare, laying thy hand vpon a booke: as being also otherwise by vs admonished and commanded, to keepe this day and place by vs appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone such reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced an heretike. And sufficiently and lawfully we monish and cite thee, the first, second and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou, fully and plainly (all subtill, sophisticall, and logicall words set apart,) doe answere vnto the same conclusions, vnder the paine that vnto such conclusions belong and on thy part confessed, and that thou for such conclusions oughtest to suffer. Which monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read the first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein: and hereupon he said his mind concerning the foresaid monition. Then the foresaid John Ashton, being often required by the archbishop, that he would answere in the Latine tongue, to those questions which were demanded of him, because of the lay people that stood about him; hee crying out in the English tongue, vttered friuolous and opprobrious contumelies to moue and excite the people against the said archbishop, as it should seeme. Neither did hee vnto the first conclusion, nor vnto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seeme to them to answere: but rather by subtilties and shifts, saying oftentimes, and as expresly as Luke said, it was sufficient for him to beleeue as the holy church beleeued. Then the said archbishop examined him vpon the first conclusion touching the sacrament of the altar: whether that after the words of consecration, there remaineth materiall bread, particular bread, or vniuersall bread? He said the matter passed his vnderstanding, and therefore said, he would in that forme and manner answere, and otherwise not. But amongst other things, hee spake in deriding wise vnto the said archbishop against this word Materiall, saying: you may put that in your purse, if you haue any. Whereupon the said archbishop, calling that an vnwise and foolish answere, as the rest of the doctors did (of whom mention was made before) rather for that he was a graduat in the schooles, farther proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

John Ashton seuerally examined.

The archbishop and his frier: doe flee the English tongue for the people.

Whether materiall bread remaine in the sacrament.

And thou John Ashton monished & commanded by vs, as is aforesaid, after thine oth taken; without any reasonable cause or any other licence, neither wouldst thou, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet doest cõtemptuously, to answere vnto such conclusions before vs, iudicially according to our monition and commandement aforesaid; we hold all such conclusions by thee confessed, and thee the foresaid John, with all thy said conclusions, conuicted. And therefore we doe pronounce and declare by sentence giuing, that thou John Ashton, concerning those conclusions, which by vs with good deliberation of diuers prelats our suffragans, and also diuers and sundry professors of Diuinitie, and other wise men and learned in the law, according to the canonicall sanctions, being condemned and declared for an hertike and heretical, to haue bẽn, and still is an heretike, and thy conclusions heretical. And as touching thy other conclusions, by vs heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned: wee doe pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that both thou hast erred, and doest erre.

Maister Thomas Hilman suspected to be a fauorer of John Ashton.

The 20. day of June.

Upon the same 20. day of June, in the yeere and place aboue recited, the foresaid lord of Canturbury being desirous, as he pretended, to be informed by Thomas Hilman, bachelar of Diuinity, there being present, and somewhat fauoring the said maister John Ashton, what his iudgement and opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions, prefixed and assigned vnto the said Thomas (for that time demanding the same deliberation and day) eight daies after, that is to say, the 28. of the said month, that he appeare before the archbishop of Canturbury, whersoeuer within his said prouince of Canturbury, he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his iudgement and opinion was, touching the foresaid conclusions. Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

Daies giuen to Thomas Hilman to answer.

The names of friers and doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.

Friers Obseruants, Botletham bishop of Nauaton, frier John Langley, William Suard,

Friers

Friers of Dominicks order, John Kingham, John Louey, Peter Stokes, Master Dish.

Friers Carmelites, Thomas Aylburn, Baukine, Robert Walbey.

Doctors and Friers Augustines, master John Barnet, master Thomas Backton, master John Blanchard, master John Shillingford, M. Lidford, M. Thomas Southam.

28 day of June an. 1381.

The Friday next following, that is to say, the 28. day of June, the foresaid M. Nicolas, Philip, and Thom. Hilman, appeared before the said archbishop, and lord Inquisitor of Canturbury, in the chapel of his manor of Otford, in the diocesse of Canturbury, there sitting in his tribunall seat. To whom the said bishop of Canturbury saying; that for because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the doctors in diuinity, and of the canon and ciuill law; he continued the said businesse touching the said Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, til Tuesday next & immediatly ensuing: that is to say, the first day of July, the yeere of the Lord aforesaid, and prefixed vnto the said Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman the same day to appeare before him, wheresoeuer within his prouince of Canturbury, he should then chance to be, to doe that which vpon the said 28. day, they were purposed to doe together or apart.

The 1. day of July, an. 1382.

Which Tuesday being come, the foresaid archbishop in the chiefe house of his church at Canturbury, before the houre of 9. with the doctors, whose names are vnder contained and other clerks a great multitude; expected the foresaid Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas, long time, by the beadle calling them and looking after them, who neuertheless appeared not before two of the clocke after dinner the same day, continuing the foresaid businesse in the priuine state till the same houre. At which houre, the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury hauing assistants, the doctors and clerks vnder recited, examined the foresaid master Thomas Hilman, then and there iudicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions: who at them and the meaning of them somewhat stammering, at last, to all and singuler the same conclusions then to him read and expounded, thus answered: I suppose and iudge all and singuler those conclusions lately condemned by my lord of Canturbury that now is, together with the counsell and consent of his clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, euen as the same my lord of Canturbury and other doctors of diuinitie, of the canon and ciuill law, by common consent and counsell haue supposed and thought. And that the same (being for heresies and errors as before is said condemned) doe as much as in mee is condemne; protesting that I will hold and affirme the contrary of those conclusions, and in the same faith liue and die. Then said the archbishop of Canturbury, then and there sitting as tribunall or Iudge, pronouncing the said masters, Nicolas and Philip, (long in court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing) guilty of contumacie and disobedience: excommunicated them for the penalty of this their contumacie, in tenor of these words following.

The answer of Tho. Hilman.

Mr. Herford and Phil. Reppington for not appearing, excommunicated.

Excommunication pronounced by the archbishop.

We William by the grace of God archbishop of Canturbury, Primat of England, Legat of the apostolicall sea, and through all our prouince of Canturbury, of all hereticall prauitie chiefe inquisitor; doe pronounce master Nicolas Herford, and master Philip Reppington, professors of Diuinity, hauing this day and place by our prefixion, appointed to heare and decree in this businesse of hereticall prauitie (being in court by our Bedle long called and taried for, and yet not appearing) to be stubborne and disobedient persons: and for the penaltie of this their contumacie, we doe excommunicat them and either of them by these presents.

The denouncing of the excommunication against *Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington.*

The 12. day of July, an. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Pauls crosse.

William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturbury, &c. To our beloued sonne in Christ, whosoeuer hee be, that this instant sunday shal preach at Pauls crosse in London, salutation, grace and blessing. Forasmuch as we prefixed a certaine competent day and place to master Nicolas Herford, and master Philip Reppington, Canon regular of the monastery of our Lady of Leicester, being doctors of Diuinitie, and of heretical prauitie vehemently suspected: After certaine answers not fully made, but impertinently and nothing to the purpose, as also heretical and erroneous: In diuers places of our said prouince commonly, generally, and publikely taught and preached, and therefore that they should iudicially appeare before vs, to doe and to receiue peremptorily in that behalfe, what thing soeuer the quality of that businesse should moue vs vnto: and that we haue for their contumacie, in not appearing before vs at that day and place iudicially appointed, as right therein required: Wee by these presents command and commit vnto you, firmely inioining you, that when all the multitude of people shall be gathered together to heare your sermon, that in the day and place appointed, you publikely and solemnly denounce the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, holding vp a crosse, and lighting vp a candle, and then throwing downe the same vpon the ground, to haue been so and in such maner excommunicated, and still be.

Fare ye well. In our manor house at Lambeth, the 13. day of July, the yeere of our Lord, 1382. and first yeere of our translation.

The citation against the said Nicolas and Philip.

William by the grace of God, &c. To our welbeloued son M. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, salutation, &c. For as much as we haue prefixed a competent day and place to M. Nicolas Herford, and M. Philip Reppington, &c. as before: We straitly charge and command you, that you publikely and solemnly denounce in the church of our Lady, and in the schooles of the Vniuersity, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, to haue bin by vs excommunicated, and still be. And that you further cite, or cause to be cited peremptorily, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, that they & euery of them appeare before vs within 15. daies after the date of this citation, wheresoeuer it shall fortune vs, within our said prouince of Canturbury, then to bee To heare and see how we meane to proceed against them, and euery of them, concerning the foresaid heretical and erroneous conclusions, according to the forme of retroactions and quality of the businesse in this behalfe had and vsed. And that both of the day of the receit of this present citation, of the maner and forme thereof; or if that you shall apprehend by personall citation the said Nicolas and Philip, or either of them, or whether they shall be absent and hide themselues, as of euery thing else, which in this behalfe you shall thinke meet to be done: that betweene this and the feast of S. Laurence, you cleerly certifie vs by your letters patents, containing the effect of these things.

Fare ye well. At our manor of Lambeth the 13. day of Iuly, the yeere of our Lord 1382. and first yeere of our translation.

The names of the doctors and friers *assistants at this sitting.*

Seculars, M. William Blanckpaine, M. Will. Barton.

Friers Carmelits, Robert Euerie, prior, John Reningham, prior, and John Lynne.

Friers Minors, William Barnwel, John Rydden, and William Branscombe.

Friers Augustins, John Court, Patrington, Tomson and Keepes.

The excommunication of Herford and Reppington denounced at Pauls crosse.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archbishop, the parties excommunicat commenced and exhibited their appeale vnto the bishop of Rome. Which appeale of theirs as insufficient, or rather to him vnpleasant, the said archbishop vtterly reiected (as might oftentimes ouercommeth right) proceeding in his preconceiued excommunication against them, and writting moreouer his letters to him that should preach next at Pauls crosse, as is aforesaid, to denounce & to publish openly the said Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington to be excommunicat, for that not appearing at their terme assigned. Which was in the 13. day of the month of July.

13. day of July, an. 1382.

Other letters of the archbishop sent to the Chancellor of Oxford.

Which archbishop moreouer the said yeere, month and day aforesaid, sent also another letter to M. Rigge, commissary of Oxford, straitly inioining and charging him not onely to denounce the said sentence of excommunication, and to giue out publike citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all Oxford for them, to haue them apprehended and sent vp to him, personally before him to appeare at a certaine day prescribed for the same. Whereby may appeare how busie this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poore men, whom rather hee should haue nourished and cherished as his brethren. But as his labor is vaik, so his reward will follow, at what day the great archbishop of our soules shall iudicially appeare in his tribunall seat, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

Hitherto no law to burne any man for religion.

The archbishop yet not contented with this, doth moreouer by all meanes possible, follicite the king to ioine with all the power of his temporall sword, for that he well perceiued, that hitherto as yet the popish clergie had not authoritie sufficient by anie publike law or statute of this land to proceede vnto death against any person whatsoeuer, in case of religion, but onely by the vsurped tyrannie and example of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle Reader) for thy better vnderstanding, the practise of the Romish prelats in seeking the kings helpe to further their bloudie purpose against the good saints of God. Which king being but young, and vnder yeeres of ripe iudgement, partly induced, or rather seduced by importune suite of the foresaid archbishop, partly also either for feare of the bishops (for kings cannot alwaies doe in their realmes what they will) or else perhaps inticed by some hope of subsidie to be gathered by the clergy, was content to adioine his priuate assent (such as it was) to the setting downe of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law that is to be found made against religion and the professours thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, Anno 5. Rich. 2. Where among sundry other statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed bookes of

The king circumuented by the archbishop.

The first law to be found practised by the clergy for burning the professors of religion.

An. 5. R. secundi.

of Statutes, this supposed statute is to be found, cap. 5. & vltimo, as followeth.

This statute was made by the clergy, without consent or knowledge of the commons.

Item forsomuch as it is openly knowne that there be diuers euill persons within the realme, going from countie to countie, and from towne to towne, in certaine habits vnder dissimulation of great holinesse, and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authoritie, preaching daily not onely in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, faires, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, diuers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian faith and destruction of the lawes, and of the estate of holy church, to the great perill of the soules of the people, and of all the realme of England, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proued before the reuerend father in God the archbishop of Canturbury, and the bishops and other prelats, maisters of Diuinitie, and doctors of canon and of ciuill law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realme, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons doe also preach diuers matters of slander, to ingender discord and dissension betwixt diuers estates of the said realme, as well spirituall as temporall, in exciting of the people to the great perill of all the realme: which preachers cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their summons and commandements, nor care not for their monitions nor censures of the holy church, but expresly despise them. And moreouer, by their subtile and ingenious words, doe draw the people to heare their sermons, and doe maintaine them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the kings commissions be made and directed to the Shiriffes and other ministers of our soueraigne Lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelats thereof to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abetters, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will iustifie to them according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king willeth & commandeth, that the Chancellor make such commissions at all times, that he by the prelats or any of them shall bee certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid.

Note that this statute was repealed afterwards at the instance of the commons.

An examination of the foresaid supposed *Statute, and of the inualiditie thereof.*

Which supposed Statute, for as much as it was the principall ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time; it is therefore not impertinent to examin the same more particularly, whereby shall appeare, that as the same was fraudulently and vnduely deuised by the prelats onely; so was it in like manner most iniuriously and vnorderly executed by them. For immediatly vppon the publishing of this law, without further warrant either from the king or his counsell, commissions vnder the great seale of England were made in this forme. Richard by the grace of God, &c. vt patet act. pag. 541. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 26. day of Iune, in the sixth yeere of our raigne. Without more words of warrant vnder written, such as in like cases are both vsuall and requisite: Viz. per ipsum Regem: per Regem & consilium: or per breue de priuato Sigillo. All or any of which words being vtterly wanting in this place, as may bee seene in the kings records of that time: it must therefore be done either by warrant of this foresaid Statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said Statute appointed the commissions to bee directed to the Shiriffe, or other ministers of the kings, or to other sufficient persons learned for the arresting of such persons: the said commissions are directed to the archbishop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth parties in the case, authorising them further without either the words, or reasonable meaning of the said Statute, to imprison them in their owne houses, or where else pleased them.

No vsuall words of warrant affixed to this commission.

Besides also, what manner of laws this was, by whom deuised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, iudge by that that followeth: viz.

In the Vtas of S. Michael, next following at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth yeere of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this forme, Article 52.

The petition of the commons for the repealing of this foresaid statute.

Item, prayen the commons, that whereas an Statute was made the last parliament in these words: It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the Shiriffes and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilfull, and according to the certificats of the prelats thereof to be made vnto the chancery from time to time to arrest all such preachers, and their fautors, maintainers, and abetters. And them to detaine in strong prison, vntill they will iustifie themselues according to reason, and law of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth, that the Chancellor make such commissions at all times, as shall be by the prelats or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid. The which was neuer agreed nor granted by the commons: but whatsoeuer was moued therein, was without their assent. That the said Statute be therefore disanulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselues, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further iustified or bound by the prelats, then were their ancestors in former times, whereunto is answered, il plaist aa, Roy. 1. the king is pleased.

The king ratifieth the repeale.

Hereby notwithstanding the former vniust law of an. 5. was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discouered: yet such meanes was there made by the prelats, that this act of repeale was neuer published, nor euer sithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. Insomuch as the said repeale being concealed, like commissions and other processe were made from time to time, by vertue of the said bastard statute, as well during all the raigne of this king, as euer sithence against the professors of religion; as shall hereafter by the grace of God appeare in the second yeere of king Henry the 4. where the clergy pursued the like practise. And now againe to the story of our Oxford Diuines, and of the archbishop, to whom the king writeth his letters patents, first to the archbishop, then to the Vicechancellor of Oxford in forme as followeth.

The kings letters patents to the *Archbishop.*

The kings letter against the fauorers of Wickliffe.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland: To all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reuerend father in God, William archbishop of Canturbury, Primate of England, exhibited vnto vs, we right well vnderstand: That diuers and sundry conclusions, very contrary to wholsome doctrine, and redounding both to the subuersion of the catholike faith, the holy church, and his prouince of Canturbury, in diuers and sundry places of the same his prouince haue beene openly and publikely preached, although damnably preached. Of the which conclusions, some as heresies, othersome as errors haue been condemned; but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and vsed, and by common counsell of the said archbishop, his suffragans, and many doctors in Diuinity, and other clerks, and learned men in the holy scriptures, were sententially and wholesomely declared. Whereupon the said archbishop hath made this supplication vnto vs; that both for the coertion and due castigation of such as shall henceforth of an obstinat mind preach or maintaine the foresaid conclusions, that wee would vouchsafe to put to the arme and helping hand of our kingly power. We therefore moued by the zeale of the catholike faith, whereof we be and will be defenders, and vnwilling that any such heresies or errors should spring vp within the limits of our dominion: Giue and grant speciall licence and authoritie by the tenor of these presents, vnto the foresaid archbishop, and to his suffragans, to arrest and imprison either in their owne prisons, or any other, all and euery such person and persons, as shall either priuily, or apertly preach and maintaine the foresaid conclusions, so condemned; and the same persons so imprisoned there at their pleasures to detaine, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such hereticall prauities, or else shall be of such arrests by vs and our counsel otherwise determined and prouided. Further charging and commanding all and singuler our liegemen ministers and subiects, of what state and condition soeuer they be, vpon their fidelity and allegiance, wherein they stand bound to vs, that by no meanes they either fauor, counsell, or helpe the preachers, or else maintainers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their fauourers, vpon paine and forfeiture of all that euer they haue. But that they obey and humbly attend vpon the said archbishop, his suffragans and ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and manifest publication against the foresaid conclusions and their maintainers, without any perturbation may be done and executed, as for the defence of our realme and catholike faith shall be thought most meet and requisite. In witnes whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made.

The 16. day of Iune, an. 1382.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 16. day of Iune, and 6. yeere of our raigne.

The kings letters patents to the *Vicechancellor.*

Another letter of the king to the Vicechancellor.

THe king: To the Chancellor and the procurators of the Vniuersitie of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall bee, greeting. Moued by the zeale of Christian faith, whereof wee be, and alwaies will be defenders, and for our soules health induced thereunto, hauing a great desire to represse, and by condigne punishment to restraine the impugners of the foresaid faith, which newly and wickedly goe about and presume to sow their naughty and peruerse doctrine, within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the peruerting of our subiects and people, as wee vnderstand. Before they any further proceed in their malicious

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malicious errors, or else infect others: We haue by these presents appointed you to bee inquisitor generall (all the chiefe diuines of the said Vniuersitie being your assistants) and the same likewise to be done of al and singuler the graduats, diuines and lawyers of the same Vniuersity. And if they shall know any which be of the iurisdiction of the said Vniuersitie of Oxford, which be probably of them to be suspected in the fauour, beleefe, or defence of any heresie or error, and specially of any of the conclusions publikely condemned by the reuerend father, William, archbishop of Canturbury, by the councel of his clergie, or els of any other conclusion like vnto any of them in meaning, or in words; and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall beleeue, fauour, or defend any of the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be so bold to receiue into their houses and inns, master John Wickliffe, M. Nic. Herford, M. Philip Reppingdon, or M. John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspition of any the foresaid heresies, or errors, or any other like vnto them in meaning, or in word: Or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or fauour any of such fauorers, receiuers, communicants and defenders, within seuen daies after the same shall appeare and be manifest vnto you, to banish and expell them from the Vniuersitie and towne of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocencie before the archbishop of Canturburie for the time being, by manifest purgation. So notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselues, you certifie vs and the said archbishop vnder your seales, from time to time within one moneth that they be such maner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the halles of the said Vniuersitie, ye cause diligentlie to be searched and inquired out of hand: If anie man haue anie book or tractation of the edition or compiling of the foresaid master Iohn Wickliffe, or Nicholas Herford: and that when and whersoeuer ye shall chance to find any such booke or tractation, yee cause the same to be arrested and taken, and vnto the foresaid archbishop within one moneth (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatsoeuer) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore wee straitly enioyne and command you, vpon your fidelitie and allegeance wherein ye stand bound vnto vs, and vpon paine of forfeiture of al and singuelr your liberties and priuiledges of your said Vniuersitie, and of all that euer you haue besides: that you giue your diligent attendance vpon the premisses, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and forme aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid archbishop, and his lawfull and honest mandates, that he shall thinke good to direct vnto you in this behalfe, as it is meete ye should. And we giue in charge vnto the Vicechancellor and maior of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singuler our sheriffes, vndersheriffes, bailiffes, and subiects, by these presents: that they aid, obey, and bee attendant vpon you in the execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse the king at Westminster, the 13. day of July, the sixth yeere of his raigne.

The 13. day of July, an. 1382.

Another sharpe letter of king Richard sent to Oxford against Wickliffe and his fellowes.

The effect of the kings letter briefly comprehended.

Besides these letters patents, the said young king moued by the vnquiet importunitie of the archbishop, sendeth moreouer another speciall letter to the Vicechancellor and proctors of the Vniuersitie of Oxford. Wherein vnder a pretensed zeale of defence of Christian faith, he straitly and sharpely enioyneth and assigneth them (for the vtter abolishing of those conclusions and opinions) to make a generall inquisition through the whole Vniuersitie, as well for the parties aforesaid, Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Keppington, Iohn Ashton, and such other, as also for all other whom they know or iudge to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receiuers, and defenders of the foresaid parties, or their conclusions any manner of way; to the intent, that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may bee within seuen daies of their admonitions expulsed the vniuersitie, and cited vp to the archb. of Cant. Before him to appeare, and to stand to their answers. Willing moreouer and commanding the said vicechancellor and proctors with other regents their assisters, that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or colledge, or in any other place shall be found to haue any of their bookes, or treatises compiled by the said John Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, &c. they will cause without delay the said person or persons, with their books to be arrested and attached,

The persons with their bookes to be arrested.

and presented within one moneth, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foresaid archbishop, vpon their faith and alleageance, as they will auoid the forfeiture of all and singuler the liberties and priuiledges to the vniuersitie appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his iniunctions to bee obeied in all things lawfull and honest. Giuing moreouer in these our letters charge and commandement to the maior, bailiffes, and other the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant vnto the foresaid vicechancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premisses, bearing the date of the fourteenth day of July: which was the yeere of our Lord, 1382.

The 14. day of July, an. 1382.

Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vicechancellor of Oxford, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Repington, with others.

Robert Rigs Vicechancellor of Oxford.

The Vicechancellor the same time in Oxford was M. Robert Rigges. The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dilly, who then as far as they durst, fauored the cause of John Wickliffe and that side. Insomuch, that the same time and yeere, which was an. 1382. when certaine publike sermons should be appointed customablie at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the cloyster of S. Frideswide (now called Thrists Church) before the people, by the vicechancellor aforesaid and the proctors (the doings thereof the vicechancellor aforesaid, and proctors had committed to Philip Repington and N. Her. so that N. Her. should preach on the Ascension day, and Repington vpō Corpus Christi day.) First Herford beginning was noted to defend John Wickliffe, openly to be a faithfull, good and innocent man: for the which no small adoe with outeries was among the friers. This Herford, after he had long fauoured and maintained Wickliffes part, grew first in suspition amongst the enemies of the truth. For allone as he began somewhat liberally and freelie to pronounce and vtter any thing which tended to the defence of Wickliffe, by and by the Carmelites, and all the orders of religion were in his top, and laid not a few heresies vnto his charge, the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, and had compiled together in a certaine forme, by the hands of certaine notaries, through the industrie and diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite, a kind of people prone and readie to all kind of mischiefe, byzores, debate, and dissension. After this the feast of Corpus Christi drew neere, vpon which day it was loked for that Repington should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree vnto doctorship: who preaching the same time at Brodgates, for the same sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the Pharisaicall brode of the friers. But through the great and notable dexteritie of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modestie and honestie: he did so ouercome, or at the least asswage this crueltie and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after by the consent of the whole fellowship, hee was admitted doctor. Who as soone as he had taken it vpon him, by and by hee stepped forth in the schooles, and began immediatly to shew forth and vtter, that which hee had long hidden and dissembled. Protesting openly, that in all morall matters, he would defend Wickliffe. But as touching the sacrament he would as yet hold his peace, vntill such time as the Lord shall otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the clergie.

Nicolas Herford preaching on the Ascension day, defended Wickliffe.

Repington first canon of Leicester, after bishop of Lincolne.

Repington commenceth doctor.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approching neere, when the friers vnderstood that this man should preach shortly, fearing lest that hee would rub the galles of their religion, they conuented with the archbi. of Cant. that the same day a little before that Philip should preach; Wickliffes conclusions which were priuatly condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole vniuersitie. The doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes frier, standerd bearer and chiefe champion of that side against Wickliffe.

Peter Stokes standerd bearer to the papists.

There were also letters sent vnto the commissarie, that he should helpe and aide him in publishing of the same conclusions, as is before declared.

These things thus done and finished, Repingdon at the houre appointed proceeded to his Sermon. In the which sermon among many other things, he was reported to haue vttered these sayings, or to this effect.

That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended aboue temporall lords.

Notes of the Sermon of Repington.

Also that in morall matters he would defend master Wickliffe as a true catholike doctor.

Moreouer, that the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be receiued vnder his protection: Besides many things mo which touched the praise and defence of Wickliffe.

And finallie, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence: I will (said hee) in the speculatiue doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keepe silence and hold my peace, vntill such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy.

When the sermon was done, Repington entred into S. Frideswides Church, accompanied with many of his friends: who, as the enemies surmised, were priuilie weaponed vnder their garments, if need had been. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himselfe within the Sanctuarie of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The Vicechancellor and Repington, friendly saluting one another in the Church porch, sent away the people, and so departed euery man home to his owne house. There was not a little ioy through the whole vniuersitie for that Sermon: but in the meane time, the vnquiet and busie Carmelite, slipt not his matter:

The Vniuersitie reioyceth.

matter. For first by his letters hee declared the whole order of the matter vnto the archbishoppe, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his helpe and aid, pretermitting nothing, whereby to moue and stirre vp the archbishops minde, which of his owne nature was as hot as a tosse, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (three daies after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said Frier breathing out threatnings and heresies against them, took the way vnto the schooles, minding there to proue, that the pope and the bishops ought to be praied for before the lords temporall. Whiles this frier was thus occupied in the schooles, hee was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after hee was sent for by the archbishop to London: whom immediatly after, the vicechancellor and Brightwell followed vp, to purge and cleere themselues and their adherents from the accusations of this Frier Peter. At the length they being examined vpon Wickliffes conclusions that were condemned: they did all consent, that they were worthily condemned. The vicechancellor being afterward accused for the contempt of the archbishops letters, when as he perceiued and saw, that no excuse would preuaile to auoid that danger, humbling himselfe vpon his knées, hee desired pardon. The which when he had now againe (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtained; by the helpe of the bishoppe of Winchester, hee was sent away againe with certaine commandements, and suspensions of heretikes. Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appeare and shew, and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these Friers and religious men, vpon whom whatsoeuer trouble or mischiefe was raised vp, they did impute it as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Cistertian, a well learned diuine, which afterward was accused by the bishops of heresie. Yee at that time was openly suspected by the Commissary, because in his lectures he called the heretikes Lollards, from his acts (as they terme them) in the Schole. Then he comming by and by vp to London, made his complaint vnto the archbishop and to the kings counsell.

Whether the lords temporall were to be praied for before the pope and bishops.

The frier derided and mocked in the schooles.

Religious men first causers of this trouble.

Henry Crompe first an accuser of other, after accused himself for heresie.

Whereupon he obtaining the letters of the king, and of his counsell, by the vertue thereof (returning againe to the Vniuersitie) was released and restored againe to his former state: the words of which letter here followeth vnder written.

The copie of the kings letter.

The kings letter to the vicechancellor and procters of Oxford.

THe king to the Vicechancellour and procurators of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we of late vnderstanding by the grieuous complaint of Henry Crompe, monke, and regent in Diuinitie within the said Vniuersity, how that he, being assisted by the reuerend father in God the archbishop of Canturbury, and by other clerks and diuines in the citie of London, to proceed in the condemnation of certaine conclusions erroneous and hereticall, hath been therefore molested by you: and that you through sinister suggestion of some aduersaies (pretending the peace of the said Vniuersity) to haue been broken by the said Henry in his last lecture, did therefore call him before you to appeare and answere; and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obstinat, and conuict of peace breaking: also haue suspended the said Henrie from his lectures, and all scholasticall acts. And whereas we by our writ, did call you vp for the same, to appeare and answere before our counsell vnto the premisses: so that all things being well tried and examined by the said counsell, it was found and determined, that all your processe against the said Henry, was void and of none effect, and commandement giuen, that the said Henry should be restored and admitted againe to his former lectures and scholasticall acts, and to his pristine state as you know. To the intent therefore that this decree aforesaid should be more duly executed of your part, we here by these presents straitly charge and command you, that you speedily reuoking againe all your processe against the said Henry in the Vniuersitie aforesaid, with all other that followed thereof; doe admit and cause to be restored againe the said Henry to his scholasticall acts, his accustomed lectures and pristine estate, without all delay according to the forme of the decree and determination aforesaid. Enioining you moreouer, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all other masters, regent and not regent, and other presidents, officers, ministers, and schollers of the Vniuersitie aforesaid, vpon your faith and allegiance you owe to vs, that you doe not impeach, molest or grieue, or cause to be grieued (any manner of way, priuie or apert) the said Frier Henry for the causes premised, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occasion of his absence from the Vniuersity, or Frier Stephan Packington Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person fauoring them, vpon the occasion of any either word or deed whatsoeuer, concerning the doctrine of master Iohn wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington, or the reproofe and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the correction of their fauorers, but that you doe procure the peace, vnity, and quiet, within the said Vniuersity, and chiefly betweene the religious and secular persons: and that you with all diligence nourish, increase, & preserue the same to the vttermost of your strength. And that you in no case omit to doe it accordingly, vpon the forfaitures of all and singuler the liberties and priuiledges of the Vniuersity aforesaid. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 14. day of Iuly.

Henry Crompe complaineth to the kings counsell of the most secular masters of Oxford.

Henry Crompe, Peter Stokes, Carm. Stephā Packington, Carm. restored by the king to their scholastical acts.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how master Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford, comming vp with master Brightwel to the archbishop of Canturbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliffe, where hee notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester, obtained pardon, and was sent away againe with commandements and charges, to seek out all the fauorers of John Wickliffe. This commandement being received, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington (being priuily warned by the said vicechancellor) in the meane season conueied them out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succor and helpe: but the duke, whether for feare, or what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsoke his poore and miserable clients.

Herford and Reppington fled to the duke of Lancaster.

In the meane time, whyle they were fled thus to the duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoeuer they might be found. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturbury William Courtney, directed out his letters first to the vicechancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London named Robert Braybroke; charging them not onely to excommunicat the said Nicolas and Philip within their iurisdiction, and the said excommunication to bee denounced likewise throughout all the diocesse of his suffragans: but also moreouer, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might bee apprehended: requiring moreouer, by them to be certified againe, what they had done in the premisses. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, anno 1382. Ex Regist.

Letters of the archbishop to the vicechancellor.

Letters of the archbishop to the bishop of London.

Robert Braybroke bishop of London.

The 14. day of July, an. 1382.

Vnto these letters receiued from the archbishop, diligent certificat was giuen accordingly, as well of the bishop of London his part, as also of the vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this.

The letter certificatorie of the Vicechancellor to the archbishop.

The letter of Rob. Rigges vicechancellor of Oxford to the archbishop.

TO the reuerend father in Christ, lord William, archbishop of Canturbury, primat of all England, and legat of the Apostolike sea: Robert Rigges, professor of Diuinity, and vicechancellor of the Vniuersity of Oxford, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14. of Iuly I haue receiued: by the authority whereof I haue denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, to haue bin, and to be excommunicat publikely and solemnly in the church of S. Mary, and in the schooles, and to be cited also personally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid for them of my part, to haue them personally cited and apprehended, I could not finde neither the said M. Nicolas, nor M. Philip: who haue hid or conueied themselues, vnknowne to me, as here is well knowne. Whereof I thought here to giue signification to your Fatherhood. Sealed and testified with the seale of mine office. From Oxford the 25. of Iuly.

The 25. day of July, an. 1382.

In the meane time, Nicolas Herford and Reppington being repulsed of the duke, and destitute (as was said) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their owne accord went to the archbishop, it was vncertaine. This I finde in a letter of the foresaid archbishop, contained in his register: that Reppington the 23. day of October the same yeere 1382. was reconciled againe to the archbishop, and also by his generall letter was released, and admitted to his scholasticall acts in the Vniuersitie. And so was also John Ashton: of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of Nicolas Herford all this while I finde no speciall relation.

Herford and Reppington repulsed from the duke of Lancaster.

The 23. day of October, Reppington released by the archbishop.

John Ashton reconciled by the archbishop.

In the meane time, about the twenty three of the month of September the said yeere, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for collecting of a subsidie, and to haue a conuocation of the clergy summoned, against the nert parliament, which should begin the eighteenth day of Nouember. The archbishop likewise on the fifteenth day of October, directed his letters monitory (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke bishop of London, to giue the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his prouince for the assembling of the conuocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament begunne, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth day of Nouember, where the conuocation was kept in the monastery of Fridesswide in Oxford. In the which conuocation, the archbishop, with other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly, whereby (saith he) to represse heresies, which beganne newly in the realme to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church. The other cause (said he) was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidie of money to be gathered, which thus declared

A parliament summoned the 15. of October. 1382.

The conuocation of S. Fridesswide in Oxford the 18. day of Nouember.

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declared, the conuocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19. of Nouember.

The 19 day of Nouember, An. 1382.

At the said day and place, the archbishop with the other prelats assembling themselues as before: the archbishop after the vsed solemnitie, willed the procurators of the clergie, appointed for euery diocesse, to consult within themselues, in some conuenient seuerall place, what they thought for their parts touching the redresse of things, to bee notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

Furthermore, forsomuch (saith he) as it is so noysed through all the realme, that there were certaine in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, which did hold and maintaine conclusions (as he calleth them) hereticall and erroneous condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of Diuinitie: hee therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford and Rochester, with William Rugge then vicechancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford (for belike Robert Rigge was then displaced) as also William Berton, and John Middleton doctors; giuing them his full authoritie with cursing and banning, to compell them to search and to enquire with all diligence and waies possible, ouer all and singuler whatsoeuer, either Doctors, Bachelors, or scholars of the said Vniuersitie, which did hold, teach, maintaine, and defend, in schooles or out of schooles, the said conclusions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous; and afterward to giue certificate truely and plainely touching the premisses. And thus for that day the assemblie brake vp to the nert, and so to the nert, and the third being Monday, the 24. day of Nouember: Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

Rob. Rigge displaced from the Vicechancellorship.

Inquisition made at Oxford.

The 24. day of Nouember, An. 1382.

On the which day, in the presence of the prelats and the clergie in the chapter house of S. Frideswide, came in Philip Repington (otherwise called of the brethren afterward Rampington) who there abiured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid, in this forme of words as followeth.

In Dei nomine, Amen. I Philip Repington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholike and apostolike faith, doe curse and also abiure all heresie, namely these heresies and errors vnder written, condemned and reproued by the decrees canonicall, and by you most reuerend father, touching which hitherto I haue beene diffamed: condemning moreouer and reprouing both them and the authors of them, and do confesse the same to bee catholically condemned: And sweare also by these holy Euangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and doe promise, neuer by any perswasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions vnder written: but doe and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy catholike church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Ouer and besides, all such as stand contrarie to this faith, I do pronounce them with their doctrine and followers worthie of euerlasting curse. And if I my selfe shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrarie to the premisses, I shall be content to abide the seueritie of the canons. Subscribed with mine owne hand, and with mine owne accord, Philip Repington. And thus the said Rampington was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincolne, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realme, as in processe hereafter may appeare.

The abiuration of Philip Repington.

Philip Repington after his abiuration became a terrible persecutor.

After the abiuration of this Repington, immediatly was brought in John Ashton, student of Diuinitie; who being examined of those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered: that he was too simple and ignorant; and therefore would not, and could not answere any thing clearely or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him Doctor W. Rugge the vicechancellor, & other diuines, such as he required himselfe, to be instructed in the mysterie of those conclusions against the after noone: who then appearing againe after dinner before the archbishop and the prelats, did in like sort and forme of words abiure as did Repington before.

A short time my lord, for a man in one fore noone to learne a faith against his conscience.

The abiuration of John Ashton.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterward by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, hee was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we haue yet no certainetie to shew. This is certaine by the plaine words of the Chronicle of saint Albons, that when the archb. with his Doctors and friers sat in examination vpon this said John Ashton in London: the Londoners brake open the doore of the conclaue, ipsumq; Archiepiscopum in ciuitate sedentem impediuerunt, cum processum fecisset contra Iohannem Ashton, &c. That is, and did let the archbishop himselfe sitting in the citie of London, when he would haue made processe against J. Ashton, An. 1382. And thus much of J. Ashton.

Ex chron. Monast. D. Albani. J. Ashton.

The Londoners open the doore where the archbishop sat against J. Ashton.

As touching Nicolas Herford, during the time of this conuocation, he did not appeare; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he put his appeale from the archbishop to the king and his counsell. The archb. would not admit it, but finding staies and stops caused him to bee apprehended and inclosed in prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God, and good meanes he escaped out of the prison, returning againe to his former exercise, and preaching as hee did before, albeit in as couert and secret maner as hee could. Whereupon the archbishop thundring out his bolts of excommunication against him, sendeth to all parsons and ministers, willing them in all churches, and all festuall daies, to diuulge the said his excommunication against him, to all men: Writeth moreouer and sendeth speciall charge to all and singuler of the laitie, to beware that their simplicitie be not deceiued by his doctrine, but that they like catholike children will auoide him, and cause him of all other to be auoided.

M. Herford would not appeare.

N. Herford appealed from the archbishop.

N. Herford cast into prison.

Herford escapeth out of prison.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his letter vnto the king, requiring also the aide of his temporall sword to chop off his necke, whom he had alreadie cast downe. See and note Reader, the seraphicall charitie of these priestly prelats towards the poore redeemed flocke of Christ. And yet these be they which washing their hands with Pilate, say and pretend: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam: It is not our parts to kill any man. The copie of the letter written to the king is this.

The letter of the archbishop to the king.

TO the most excellent prince in Christ, &c. William, &c. greeting in him by whom kings doe reigne, and princes beare rule. Vnto your kingly celsitude by the tenour of these presents we intimate, that one master Nicolas Herford doctor of Diuinitie, for his manifest contumacie and offence in not appearing before vs being called at the day and place assigned, therfore is inwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publikelie by our ordinarie authoritie: And in the same sentence hath continued now fortie daies, and yet still continueth with indurate heart, wickedly contemning the keyes of the church, to the great perill both of his soule, and to the pernicious example of other. Forsomuch therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to doe or to proceede any further in this matter; we humblie desire your kingly maiestie, to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate according to the custome of this realme of England, wholesomelie obserued and kept hitherto: to the intent, that such whom the feare of God doth not restraine from euill, the discipline of the secular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From Lambeth the 15. of Ianuarie.

The cruell letter of the archb. against M. Herford to the king.

This is not to seeke againe that which is lost by the rule of Ezechiel.

To this letter of the archbishop, might not the king (gentle Reader) thus answere againe, and answere well?

Prosopœia. What the king might haue answered againe.

YOur letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained we haue receiued and well considered. For the accomplishing whereof, ye shall vnderstand, that as we are readilie bent to gratifie and satisfie your mind in this behalfe on the one side: so we must beware againe on the other, that our authoritie be not abused either to oppresse before wee know, or to iudge before wee haue tried. Wherefore forsomuch as you in your letters doe excite and sharpen the seuere discipline of our secular sword, against one Nicolas Herford, for his not appearing before you: and yet shewing in the said your letters no certaine cause to vs what you haue to charge him withall: we therefore following the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equitie in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part as the other, doe assigne both to him, whenas he may be found, and to you when ye shall be called, a terme to appeare before vs. To the intent that the controuersie betweene you and him, standing vpon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferentlie may be ministred according as the offence shal be found. In the meane time, this we cannot but something maruell at in your said letters; First, to see you men of the church and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondlie, to consider you againe so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the expresse law of God and his commandements. Thirdly, to behold the vnstable doublenesse in your proceedings, who pretending in your publike sentence, to become as intreaters for them to vs in the bowels of Iesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigor of our seueritie, and yet in your letters you be they which most set vs on. If not appearing before you, be such a matter of contumacie in case of your law, that it is in no case to bee spared: what should then our princelie discipline haue done to men of your calling? Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, being at Canturburie, was sent for by our speciall commandement to come to our speech, denied to come, and yet we spared him. Iohn Stratford archbishop your predecessor, being required of our progenitor king Edward the third to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occasion whereof, Scotland the same time was lost, and yet was he suffred. The like might be said of Robert Winchelsey in the daies of king Edward the first, and of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, in the daies of king Henrie the third; Stephan Langton was sent for by king Iohn to come, he came not. The like contumacie was in Becket toward K. Henrie the 2. Also in Anselme toward king Henrie the first. All these for their not appearing before their princes, ye doe excuse, who notwithstanding might haue

Bishops of Cant. appeared not before their kings, and yet they were not persecuted.

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appeared without danger of life, this one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthie of death: whose life you would haue condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. It is no reason if the Squirill climing to the tree from the Lions clawes would not appeare, being sent for to be deuoured; that the Eagle therefore should seise vpon him without any iust cause declared against the partie. Wherefore according to this and to that aforesaid, when he shall appeare, and you be called, and the cause iustly weighed, due execution shall be ministred.

And thus far concerning Nicolas Herford, and the other aforesaid. But all this meane while what became of J. Wickliffe it is not certainely knowne. Albeit so farre as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driuen to exile. In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but he was aliue during all this while, whersoeuer he was, as by his letter may appeare, which he about this time wrote to pope Vrbane the 6. In the which letter he doth purge himselfe, that being commanded to appeare before the pope at Rome, hee came not: declaring also in the same a briefe confession of his faith. The copy of which epistle here followeth.

The epistle of Iohn Wickliffe sent vnto pope *Vrbane the 6. An.* 1382.

The epistle of J. Wickliffe to pope Vrbane.

VErilie I doe reioyce to open and declare the faith which I doe hold vnto euery man: And specially vnto the bishop of Rome: the which forsomuch as I doe suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirme my said faith, or if it bee erroneous amend the same.

First I suppose, that the Gospell of Christ, is the whole body of Gods law, and that Christ which did giue that same law himselfe, I beleeue him to be a very man, and in that point, to exceede the law of the Gospell, and all other parts of the Scripture. Againe, I doe giue and hold the bishop of Rome, forsomuch as he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men vnto that law of the Gospell. For the greatnesse amongst Christs disciples, did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the neere and exact following of Christ, in his life and maners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poore man, abiecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospell of Mat. the 8. and the 2. Cor. 8. chap.

The true disciples of Christ seeke no honor.

Hereby I doe fully gather, that no faithfull man ought to follow, neither the pope himselfe, neither any of the holy men, but in such points, as he hath followed the Lord Iesus Christ. For Peter, and the sonnes of Zebede by desiring worldly honour, contrarie to the following of Christs steps, did offend, and therefore in those errours, they are not to be followed.

Hereof I doe gather, as a counsell, that the pope ought to leaue vnto the secular power, all temporall dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to moue and exhort his whole clergie, for so did Christ; and specially by his apostles. Wherfore if I haue erred in any of these points, I will most humblie submit my selfe vnto correction, euen by death if necessitie so require: And if I could labour according to my will, or desire in mine owne person, I would surely present my selfe before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrarie, and hath taught me rather to obey God then men. Forsomuch then, as God hath giuen vnto our Pope, iust and true euangelicall instinctions, we ought to pray, that those motions be not extinguished by any subtle or craftie deuice.

And that the pope and cardinals be not moued to doe any thing, contrarie vnto the law of the Lord. Wherfore let vs pray vnto our God, that he will so stir vp our pope Vrbane the sixth as he began, that he with his clergie may follow the Lord Iesus Christ, in life and maners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let vs specially pray, that our pope may be preserued from all maligne and euill counsell, as which doe know that euill and enuious men of his household would giue him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer vs to bee tempted aboue our power, much lesse then wil he require of any creature to doe that thing which they are not able, forsomuch, as that is the plaine condition and maner of Antichrist.

The pope occupied so in schismaticall wars that he had no leisure to other matters.

Thus much wrote Iohn Wickliffe vnto pope Vrban. But this pope Vrbane, otherwise tearmed Turbanus, was so hot in his warres against Clement the French pope his aduersarie, that he had no leisure, and lesse list, to attend vnto Wickliffes matters. By the occasion of which schisme, God so prouided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in some more rest and quietnesse. Concerning which schismaticall warres of these popes, forasmuch as we haue here entred into the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of Iohn Wickliffe, to touch something of the tragicall doings of these two holy popes, striuing for the triple crowne: to the intent that the christian Reader (iudgeing by their fruits and proceedings) may see and vnderstand what difference is betweene these popes, and Christ and his apostles. For though in the storie of the Gospell it is read, that certaine of the disciples did striue which should be the greater; yet neither doe we reade that one of them tooke euer weapon against the other: and moreouer in the said storie of the Gospell it doth appeare, that they in so striuing as they did, were therefore sharpely rebuked of our Sauiour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

Difference betweene the apostles and the popes in striuing for preeminence.

About the beginning of the next yeare following, which was An. 1383. Pope Vrbane setting all his studie how to represse and conquer the contrarie pope his aduersarie, being then at Auenion (seeing all his other meanes to faile, and that his crosskeyes could doe no good) tooke to him the sword of Romulus, and set vpon him with open warre. And first deuising with himselfe whom hee might best chuse for his chefe champion: thought none meeter for such affaires then Henry Spencer being then bishop of Norwich a yong and a stout prelate, more fitter for the camping cure, then for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appeare before by his acts done at Lennam in striuing for the maiors mace, mentioned before, pag. 394. Vnto this bishop of Norwich, the pope had sent his buls about this time, to Croisy whosoeuer would go with him into France, to destroy the Antipope, which named himselfe Clement, and to make warre against all those that tooke his part. Which buls, for that they gaue vnto him such great authoritie, he caused to be published, in the parliament house, and caused the copies of the same to be sent all about, and to bee set vp and fastned vpon all the church doores and in mastserie gates, that all men might reade them. In the which buls these priuiledges were granted, the copie wherof here followeth.

Anno 1383. The pope set to warre.

The very fruits of Antichrist.

1 In primis, that the said bishop of Norwich may vse his sword against the Antipope, and all his adherents, fauorers and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

2 Item, that he hath full power to inquire of all and singuler such schismatiks, and to put them in prison: and to confiscate all their goods, moueable and immoueable.

3 Item, that he hath power and authoritie to depriue al lay men that are such schismatiks of all maner secular offices whatsoeuer, and to giue their offices to other fit and conuenient persons.

4 Item, that he may depriue all such clerks, and declare them to be schismatiks, and in this behalfe to giue and bestow their benefices either with cure or without cure, their dignities, parsonages or offices, to other persons more meet for the same.

5 Item, he hath power and authoritie ouer lay persons that are exempt, and clerks both secular and regular, yea although they be friers mendicants, or masters and professors of other houses or hospitals of S. Johns of Ierusalem, or saint Marie of Flanders, or professors of what order soeuer else.

6 Item, he hath power to dispence with what secular clerke soeuer, being beneficed either with cure or without cure, and also with such as haue dignities, parsonages or offices, being regulars either exempt or not exempt, that euery one of them may be absent with him from their dignities and benefices, &c. vnder the standard of the crosse, without licence of any of their prelats required, and yet to receiue and take the intire commodities of their benefices, as though they had been personally resident vpon the same.

7 Item, there is granted to al that passe the seas in this quarell, either at their owne expences or at the expenses of any other, full remission of their sinnes: and as large priuiledges are granted to all those that goe ouer the sea with him, as to any that pay their money, or go to fight for the holy land.

8 Also al such as with their proper goods and substance shall giue sufficient stipend to able souldiers, at the discretion of the foresaid lord bishop mustered, or by any other his deputie, although he himselfe be not personally at this businesse aforesaid: yet shall hee haue like remission and indulgence, as they which haue been personally with him in this expedition.

9 Item, all they are partakers of this remission, which shall giue any part of their goods to the said bishop to fight against the said schismatiks.

10 Item, if any shall chance to die in the iourney, that are souldiers vnder the said standard of the crosse, or else before the quarrell by some meanes be finished: shall fully and wholly receiue the said grace, and shall be partakers of the foresaid remission and indulgence.

11 Item, he hath power to excommunicate, suspend and interdict what persons soeuer be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of his power and authoritie committed vnto him, of what dignitie, state, degree, preeminence, order, place, or condition soeuer they shall be: whether they shall be either of regall, queenly, or imperiall dignitie, or of what dignitie else soeuer either ecclesiasticall or mundane.

12 Item, he hath power and authoritie to compell and inforce what religious person soeuer, to appoint them and send them ouer sea, if it seeme good to him: yea although they be professors of the friers mendicants for the execution of the premisses.

The popes absolution by the bishop pronounced.

BY the authoritie apostolicall to mee in this behalfe committed, wee absolue thee A. B. from all thy sinnes confessed with

with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and therof thou wouldest be confessed if they came vnto thy memory: and we grant vnto thee, plenarie remission of all manner of sins, and once promise vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iust men, and of euerlasting saluation. And as many priuiledges as are granted to them that goe to fight for the holy land, wee grant vnto thee: and of all the praiers and benefits of the church, the vniuersall Synod, as also of the holy catholike church, we make thee partaker of.

Christs passion hath here no place.

This couragious or rather outragious bishop, armed thus with the popes authoritie, and prompt with his priuiledges, in the yeare aforesaid, 1383. about the time of Lent, came to the parliament, where great consultation and contention and almost no lesse schisme was about the voyage of this popish bishop in the parliament, then was betweene the popes themselues. In the which parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the kings people and subiects, vnto a rude and vnskilfull priest. So great was the diuersitie of iudgements in that behalfe, that the voyage of the said bishop was protracted vnto the Saturday afore passion Sunday. In the which Sunday was sung the solemne antheme, Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes aduersæ. That is, Behold the crosse of the Lord; Flie away all you aduersaries. After which Sunday, the parties so agreed amongst themselues by common decree, that the bishop should set forward in his voyage, hauing to him giuen the fifteenth which was granted to the king in the parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the parliament, this warlike bishop preparing before all things in a readinesse set forward in his pope-holy iourney. Who about the moneth of May, being come to Canturburie, and there tarying for the wind, in the monasterie of saint Augustine, receiued a writ from the king that he should returne to the king, and to know further of his pleasure. The bishop fearing that if he turned againe to the king, his iourney should be staid, and so all his labour and preparance lost with great derision and shame vnto him: thought better to commit himselfe to fortune with that little armie he had, then by tarying to be made a ridicle to his aduersaries. Wherefore he sent word backe againe to the king, that he was now readie prepared, well forward on his iourney. And that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talke, which peraduenture should bee to no maner of purpose: and that it was more conuenient for him to hasten in his iourney to Gods glory, and also to the honour of the king. And thus he calling his men vnto him, entred forthwith the seas, and went to Calis: where he waiting a few daies for the rest of his armie, after the receite of them, toke his iourney first to the towne of Grauenidge, which hee besieged so desperately, without any preparance of engins of warre or counsell, or of politicke men skilfull in such affaires: that he seemed rather to fly vpon them, then to inuade them. At length through the superstition of our men, trusting vpon the popes absolution, he so hardily approched the walles and inuaded the enemies, that a great number of them were piteously slaine with shot and wild fire: till at the end (the inhabiters being oppressed and vanquished) our men entred the towne with their bishop, where they at his commandement destroying both man, woman, and child, left not one aliue of all them, which remained in the whole towne. Sicque crucis beneficio factum, vt crucis hostes ita delerentur, quòd vnus ex eis non remansit: that is, And so it came to passe by the vertue of the crosse, that our men croysed so preuailed against the enemies of the crosse, that not one of them remained aliue. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

O bloodines of Antichrist.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Rich. 2.

From Grauenidge this warlike bishop set forward to Dunkyrke, where not long after the Frenchmen meeting with him ioyned with them in battell: in which battell (if the storie bee true) 12. thousand of the Frenchmen were slaine in the chase, and of our men but seuen onely missing. It would require a long tractation here to discourse all things done in these popish warres. Also it would be no lesse ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temeritie of this new vpstart captaine. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitifull slaughter and murther of Christs people, by the meanes of these pitilesse popes, during these wars in France: As when the bishop comming from Dunkyrke to the siege of Ypres, a great number of Englishmen there were lost, and much money consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignominie of the bishop. Againe, after the siege of Ypres (thus with shame broke vp) the said bishop proceeding with a small power, to fight with the French kings campe, contrarie to the counsell of his captaines, which counted him rash and vnskilfull in his attempt, was faine to breake companie with them, whereby part of the armie went vnto Burburgh, and the bishop with his part returned to Grauenidge, which both townes shortly after were besieged by the French armie, to the great losse both of the English and French men. In fine, when the bishop could keepe Grauenidge no longer, the said bishop with his croysies, crossing the seas, came home againe as wise as he went. And thus making an end of this pontificall warre, we will returne againe from whence we digressed, to the storie and matter of John Wickliffe.

Which John Wickliffe returning againe within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson, there quietly departing this mortall life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the yeare 1384. vpon Silluesters day.

Here is to be noted the great prouidence of the Lord in this man, as in diuers other, whom the Lord so long preserued in such rages of so many enemies, from all their hands, euen to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entituled De Sacramentis contra Wicleuum: that he was well aged before hee departed: by that which the foresaid Walden writeth of him in the Epilog, speaking of Wickliffe in these words: Ita vt cano placeret, quod iuueni complacebat, &c. That is: so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being yong. Whereby it seemeth that Wickliffe liued till hee was an old man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom hee will haue kept, nothing can hurt.

Waldensis 2. tom. de Sacramentis.

This Wickliffe had written diuers and sundrie workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410. were burnt at Oxford, the abbat of Shrewsburie being then commissarie, and sent to ouersee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme likewise, the bookes of the said Wickliffe were set on fire, by one Subincus archbishop of Prage, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them: The number of the volumes, which hee is said to haue burned most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich corerings (as Eneas Siluius writeth) were aboue the number of two hundred.

The number of Wickliffes bookes came to 200. volumes. Eneas Siluius.

Iohannes Cocleus in his booke De historia Hussitarum, speaking of the bookes of Wickliffe, testifieth, that hee wrote verie many bookes, sermons, and tractations. Moreouer, the said Cocleus speaking of himselfe, recordeth also: that there was a certaine bishop in England which wrote vnto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custodie two huge and mightie volumes of John Wickliffes workes, which for the quantitie thereof might seeme to be equall with the workes of saint Augustine. Hæc Cocleus.

The bookes of Wickliffe.

Amongst other of his treatises I my selfe also haue found out certaine, as de sensu & veritate scripturæ. Item, De Ecclesia. Item, De Eucharistia confessio Wickleui; which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abrode.

As concerning certaine answeres of John Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the 2. touching the right and title of the king, and of the pope: because they are but short, I thought here to annere them. The effect whereof here followeth.

Iohn Wickliffes answere vnto king Richard the second, as touching the right and title of the king and the pope.

IT was demanded, whether the kingdome of England may lawfully in case of necessitie, for his owne defence, detaine and keepe backe the treasure of the kingdome, that it be not carried away to forren and strange nations, the pope himselfe demanding and requiring the same vnder paine of censure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliffe setting apart the minds of learned men, what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England or the ciuill law, it resteth (saith he) now onely to perswade and proue the affirmatiue part of this doubt by the principles of Christs law. And first I proue it thus: Euery naturall body hath power giuen of God to resist against his contrarie, and to preserue it selfe in due estate, as Philosophers knew very well.

Insomuch, that bodies without life, are indued with such kind of power (as it is euident) vnto whom hardnesse is giuen to resist those things that would breake it, and coldnesse to withstand the heate that dissolueth it. Forsomuch then, as the kingdome of England (after the maner and phrase of the Scriptures) ought to bee one body, and the clergie with the communaltie, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdome hath such power giuen it of God; and so much the more apparant, by how much the same body is more precious vnto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forsomuch then as there is no power giuen of God vnto any creature, for any end or purpose, but that hee may lawfully vse the same to that end and purpose: it followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keep backe and detaine their treasure for the defence of it selfe, in what case soeuer necessitie do require the same.

Secondarilie, the same is proued by the law of the Gospell. For the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdome, but vnder the title of almes, and consequently vnder the pretence of the workes of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

The popes riches is but the almes of good men.

But in case aforesaid, the title of almes ought vtterly to cease: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realme shall cease also in the presupposed necessitie. For forsomuch as all charitie hath his beginning of himselfe, it were no worke of charitie, but of meere madnesse, to send away the treasures of the realme vnto forren nations, whereby the realme it selfe may fall into ruine, vnder the pretence of such charitie.

Necessitie taketh away the popes almes.

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It appeareth also by this, that Christ the head of the church, whom all christian priests ought to follow, liued by the almes of deuout women, Luke 7. 8. Hee hungred and thirsted, hee was a stranger, and many other miseries he sustained, not only in his members, but also in his owne body, as the apostle witnesseth, Corin. 8. He was made poore for your sakes, that through his pouertie, you might bee rich: whereby in the first endowing of the church, whatsoeuer hee were of the clergie that had any temporall possessions, hee had the same by forme of a perpetuall almes, as both writings and chronicles doe witnesse.

Note well the saying here of Bernard.

Wherupon S. Bernard, declaring in his 2. booke to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the vicar of S. Peter, writeth thus: That if saint Iohn should speake vnto the pope himselfe, as Bernard doth vnto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be so, that you doe challenge it vnto you, by some other waies or meanes; but truely by any right or title apostolicall, you cannot so doe. For how could hee giue vnto you that which hee had not himselfe? That which hee had hee gaue you, that is to say, care ouer the church: but did hee giue you any lordship or rule? Hearke what hee saith: Not bearing rule (saith he) as lords in the clergie, but behauing your selues as examples to the flocke. And because thou shalt not thinke it to be spoken onely in humilitie, and not in veritie, marke the word of the Lord himselfe in the Gospell: The kings of the people do rule ouer them; but you shall not doe so.

The pope must leane his lordship or else apostleship, let him chuse whether.

Here lordship and dominion is plainely forbidden to the apostles, and darest thou then vsurpe the same? If thou wilt be a lord, thou shalt lose thine apostleship; or if thou wilt bee an apostle thou shalt lose thy lordship. For truely thou shalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou shalt lose both, or else thinke thy selfe to be of that number, of who God doth so greatly complaine, saying: They haue reigned, but not through me: They are become princes, and I haue not knowne it. Now if it doe suffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou hast thy glory, but not with God. But if wee will keepe that which is forbidden vs, let vs heare what is said: He that is the greatest amongst you (saith Christ) shall bee made as the least, and he which is the highest shall bee as the minister; and for example, set a child in the middest of them. So this then is the true forme and institution of the apostles trade: Lordship and rule is forbidden, ministration and seruice commanded.

The maner of the apostles.

By these words of this blessed man, whom the whole church doth reuerence and worship, it doth appeare that the pope hath not power to occupie the church goods as lord thereof, but as minister, and seruant, and procor for the poore. And would to God that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and lordship which this seate doth challenge vnto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way vnto Antichrist. For it is euident by the Gospell, that Christ through his pouertie, humilitie, and suffering of iniurie, got vnto him the children of his kinngdome.

How the pope ought to occupie the church goods.

The way to obtaine the kingdome of Christ.

And moreouer, so farre as I remember, the same blessed man Bernard in his third Booke writeth also thus vnto Eugenius: I feare no other greater poison to happen vnto thee, then greedie desire of rule and dominion.

This Wickliffe albeit in his life time had many grieuous enemies, yet was there none so cruell vnto him, as the clergie it selfe. Yet notwithstanding hee had many good friends, men not only of the base and meanest sort, but also nobility, amongst whom these men are to bee numbred: John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Neuill, John Mountegew, who plucked downe all the Images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earle of Salisburie, who for contempt in him noted towards the Sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was enioyned by Radulfe Exgom bishop of Salisburie, to make in Salisburie a crosse of stone, in which all the storie of the matter should bee written, and he euery Friday during his life to come to the crosse barefoot, and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling vpon his knees, to do penance for his fact. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric. 2.

J. Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, T. Latimer, W. Neuell, John Mountegew.

The earle of Salisburie.

The penance of the earle of Salisburie.

The Londoners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the Maiors authoritie, who for that yeare was John of Northampton; tooke vpon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to ciuill law) of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adulterie. For first they put the women in the prison which amongst them then was named Dolium. And lastly bringing them into the market place, where euery man might behold them, and cutting off their golden lockes from their heads; they caused them to be caried about the streetes, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them, to the intent they should bee the better knowne and their companies auoided: according to the maner then of certaine theeues that were named Appellatores, (accusers or peachers of others that were guiltlesse) which were so serued. And with other such like opprobrious and reprochfull contumelies, did they serue the men also that were taken with them in committing the forenamed wickednesse and vices. Here the storie recordeth how the said Londoners were incouraged hereunto by Io. Wickliffe and others that followed his doctrine to perpetrate this act, in the reproch of the prelats being of the clergie. For they said, that they did not so much abhor to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthie auarice they did as much detest: which for greedinesse of money were choked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to such persons by the lawes appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons fauourablie to continue in their wickednes. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickednesse perpetrated within the citie and so apparantly dissimuled; that God would take vengeance vpon them and destroy their citie. Wherefore they said, that they could doe no lesse then to purge the same: lest by the sufferance thereof, God would bring a plague vpon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow vp both them and their citie. Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

The fruits of good and true doctrine.

Ex Chron. Monast. D. Albani.

¶ This storie (gentle Reader) albeit the author thereof whom I follow, doth giue it out in reprochfull wise, to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing: yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memorie; which seemeth to me rather to tend vnto the worthie commendation both of the Londoners that so did, and to the necessarie example of all other cities to follow the same. After these things thus declared, let vs now adioyne the testimoniall of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, of Iohn Wickliffe.

The publike testimonie giuen out by the Vniuersity of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of Iohn Wickliffe.

VNto all and singuler the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come; the vicechancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetuall health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seene, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed ouer and hidden with perpetuall silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abrode the same in strange and farre distant places, both for the witnesse of the same, and example of others: Forsomuch also as the prouident discretion of mans nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath deuised and ordained this buckler and defence, against such as doe blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that whensoeuer witnesse by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supplie the same:

Ex tomo operum Ioan. Huss. fol. vlt.

Hereupon it followeth, that the speciall good will and care which we bare vnto Io. Wickliffe, sometime child of this our Vniuersitie, and professour of Diuinitie; mouing and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no lesse) with one mind, voice, and testimonie, wee doe witnesse, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life, to haue been most sincere and commendable: whose honest maners and conditions, profoundnesse of learning, and most redolent renoune and fame, wee desire the more earnestly to bee notified and knowne vnto all faithfull, for that we vnderstand the maturitie and ripenesse of his conuersation, his diligent labours and trauels to tend to the praise of God, the helpe and safegard of others, and the profit of the church.

Great learning ioyned with good life and godlinesse.

Wherefore we signifie vnto you by these presents, that his conuersation (euen from his youth vpwards, vnto the time of his death) was so praise worthie and honest, that neuer at any time was there any note or spot of suspition noysed of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, hee behaued himselfe laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilful beggery blasphemed and slandered Christs religion. Neither was this said doctor conuict of any heresie, either burned of our prelats after his buriall. God forbid that our prelats should haue condemned a man of such honestie, for an heretike: who amongst all the rest of the Vniuersitie, had written in Logicke, Philosophie, Diuinitie, Moralitie, and the speculatiue art without peere. The knowledge of which all and singuler things, wee doe desire to testifie and deliuer forth: to the intent, that the fame and renoune of this said doctor, may be the more euident and had in reputation, amongst them, vnto whose hands these present letters testimoniall shall come.

The bones of Wickliffe were not yet commanded by the councell of Constance to be burned.

Ex 2. tomo operis I. Huss. fol. vlt.

In witnes wherof, we haue caused these our letters testimoniall to bee sealed with our common seale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation house, the 5. day of October, in the yeare of our Lord, 1406.

The testimonie and words of master Iohn Hus, as touching M. Iohn Wickliffe.

VErilie, as I do not beleeue neither grant that M. J. Wickliffe is an heretike: so do I not denie, but firmely hope that he is no heretike: Forsomuch as in all matters of doubt I ought as neere as I can, to chuse the best part. Wherfore I surely trust, that M. J. Wickliffe is one of the number of them which are saued. The words of Christ moue me thereunto, saying, Mat. 7. Doe ye not iudge, that yee bee not iudged: and Luke

The testimony and iudgement of M. Iohn Hus concerning Iohn Wickliffe.

the

the 6. Doe not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned, and the words of the apostle, 1. Cor. 4. Doe yee not iudge before the Lord himselfe doe come, the which shall open those things that are hid in darknesse, to manifest the priuities of all harts.

Secondly, the loue and charitie which I ought to beare vnto my neighbor (louing him as my selfe) doth moue me thereunto, Luk. 10.

Thirdly, his good fame and report moueth me, the which he hath of the good prelats, of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar sort; although not of the couetous, proud, and luxurious prelats.

Fourthly, his owne workes and writings doe stirre mee thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole indeauor, to reduce all men vnto the law of Christ, and specially the clergie: that they should forsake the pompe and dominion of this world, and with the apostles leade the life of Christ.

Fifthly, his owne protestations, which he doth oftentimes vse in his sentences, often repeating the same, doe not a little moue me.

Sixthly, his earnest desire and affection which he had vnto the law of Christ, doth not a little allure me thereunto, disputing of the veritie thereof, the which cannot faile in any one iot or title. Whereupon hee made a booke of the veritie of the holy Scripture, approuing euen vnto the vttermost, the truth of Gods law.

Lib. de sensu & veritate scripturæ per I. Wicklauum.

Wherefore it were too foolish a consequent to say, that because the number of the prelats & clergie in England, France, and Boheme doe count Iohn Wickliffe for an heretike, that therefore he is an heretike, &c. Like as the reason for burning of the bookes; for it is written in the first booke of Machabes, first chapter: that they did burne the bookes of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whosoeuer was found to haue kept any bookes of the testament or will of the Lord, or the which obserued and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the kings commandement put to death. If then the burning of the bookes by wicked men did argue or proue the euilnes of these bookes, then was the law of God euill and naught.

True iudgement standeth not vpon number and multitude.

Burning of bookes proueth not by and by an hereticke.

So likewise the burning of S. Gregories bokes, and diuers other saints and good men, should argue and proue that they were euill and naughtie men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the bishops, Scribes and Pharises, with the elders of the people, condemned Christ Iesus as an heretike, that therefore he is an heretike: So likewise doth it not follow, of any other man: The bishops, maisters of Diuinitie, monks and prelats condemned this man as an heretike: Ergo hee is an heretike. For this consequent is reproued by Iohn Chrysostome, which was twice condemned as an heretike by the bishops and the whole clergie. Likewise S. Gregorie in his bookes, was condemned by the cardinals.

A false consequent reproued by I. Chrysostome.

John duke of Lancaster defender of Iohn Wickliffe.

By like proofe also as they affirme M. Iohn Wickliffe to be an heretike; Iohn D. of Lancaster (a man of worthie memorie and progenitor of Henrie king of England) should also be an heretike. For the said duke defended, fauoured and greatlie loued M. Iohn Wickliffe: Ergo the said duke is or was an heretike: the consequent is good. The minor is well knowen vnto the Englishmen. The Maior appeareth in the canon, where it is said, He which defendeth an heretike, &c.

I. Wickliffe proued no heretike.

But these things set apart, I demand of the aduersarie, whether maister Iohn Wickliffe be damned for euer or no: If he say that he is damned because he is an heretike: I propound this vnto him, whether maister Iohn Wickliffe whiles hee liued, held any false doctrine contrarie to the holy Scripture: If he doe affirme it, let him then shew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that hee held it obstinately: And hee shall find, that in his bokes hee alwaies wrote most commendable protestations against obstinacie and stiffenecked nesse. And by and by after, maister Iohn Stokes in his Intimation saith, that maister Iohn Wickliffe in England, is counted for an heretike. This seemeth also false by the letter testimoniall of the Vniuersitie of Oxford: vnto the which there is more credit to bee giuen, then vnto him. And this shall suffice for this present.

The councell of Constance against Iohn Wickliffe.

¶ Now as wee haue declared the testimony of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and of Iohn Hus, concerning the praise of Iohn Wickliffe: it followeth likewise, that wee set forth and expresse the contrary censure and iudgements of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the popes councell gathered at Constance, proceeding first in condemning his bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copie of which their sentence giuen against him by that councell here followeth.

The sentence giuen by the councell of Constance, *in condemning the doctrine and* 45. *articles of* Iohn Wickliffe.

The sentence of the councell of Constance against Iohn Wickliffe.

THe most holy and sacred councell of Constance, making and representing the catholike church for the extirpation of this present schisme, and of all other errours and heresies, springing and growing vnder the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, for the perpetuall memorie of the time to come.

We are taught by the acts and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholike faith, without the which, as the holy apostle saint Paul saith, it is vnpossible to please God, hath beene alwaies defended by the faithfull and spirituall souldiers of the church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather peruerse impugners: which through their proud curiositie will seeme to know more, and to bee wiser then they ought to bee, and for the desire of the glorie of the world, haue gone about oft times to ouerthrow the same: These kinds of warres and battels haue beene prefigured to vs before in those carnall warres of the Israelites against the Idolatrous people. For in those spirituall warres the holy catholike church, through the vertue and power of faith, being illustrate with the beames of the heauenly light, by the prouidence of God, and being holpen by the helpe and defence of the saints and holy men, hath alwaies continued immaculate, and (the darkenesse of errours, as her most cruell enemies, being put to flight) she hath most gloriously triumphed ouer all. But in these our daies, the old and vnicleane enemie hath raised vp new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might bee knowne, whose prince and captaine in time past was one Iohn Wickliffe a false christian. Who during his life time, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles contrarie and against the christian religion, and the catholike faith. And the same Iohn Wickliffe wrote certaine bookes which he called a Dialogue, and a Trialogue, besides many other treatises and workes, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which hee wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles: the which his bookes, for the publication and aduancement of his peruerse doctrine, hee did set forth openly for euery man to reade. Whereby beside many offences, great hurt and damage of soule, hath ensued in diuers regions and countries, but specially in the kingdomes of England and Boheme. Against whom the maisters and Doctors of the Vniuersities of Oxford and Prage, rising vp in the truth and veritie of God, according to the order of scholes, within a while after did reprooue and condemne the said articles.

The dialogue and trialogue of I. Wickliffe.

Moreouer, the most reuerend fathers the archbishops, and bishops, (for that time present) of Canturburie, Yorke, and Prage, legats of the apostolike see, in the kingdome of England and Boheme, did condemne the bookes of the said Wickliffe to be burnt. And the said archbishop of Prage, commissarie of the apostolike see, did likewise in this behalfe determine and iudge. And moreouer he did forbid, that any of those bookes which did remaine vnburned, should bee hereafter any more read. And againe, these things being brought to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the apostolike see, and the generall councell: the bishop of Rome in his last councell, condemned the said bookes, treatises and volumes, commanding them to bee openly burned. Most straitly forbidding, that any men which should beare the name of Christ, should be so hardy either to keepe, reade, or expound any of the said bookes or treatises, volumes, or workes, or by any meanes to vse or occupie them: either else to alleage them openly or priuilie, but to their reproofe and infamie. And to the intent that this most dangerous and filthie doctrine should be vtterly wiped away out of the church, hee gaue commandement throughout all places; that the ordinaries should diligently enquire and seeke out by the apostolike authoritie and ecclesiasticall censure, for all such bookes, treatises, volumes, and workes. And the same so being found, to burne and consume them with fire: prouiding withall, that if there bee any such found, which will not obey the same; processe to bee made against them, as against the fauourers and maintainers of heresies. And this most holy Synod hath caused the said 45. Articles to be examined and oft times perused, by many most reuerend fathers of the church of Rome, cardinals, bishops, abbats, maisters of Diuinitie and doctors of both lawes, besides a great number of other learned men: the which articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it was no lesse) that many, yea and a great number of them to be notoriously for hereticall reproued and condemned by the holy fathers; other some, not to be catholike, but erroneous: some full of offence and blasphemie: certaine of them offensiue vnto godly eares, and many of them to be rashfull and seditious. It is found also, that his books do containe many articles of like effect and qualitie, and that they doe induce and bring into the church, vnsound and vnwholesome doctrine, contrary vnto the faith and ordinance of the church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Iesu Christ, this sacred Synod, ratifying & approuing the sentences & iudgements of the archbishops & councel of Rome: doe by this their decree and ordinance, perpetually for euermore condemne and reproue the said articles, and euerie one of them, his bookes which he intituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, and all other bookes of the same author, volumes, treatises and workes, by what name soeuer they be intituled or called, the which wee will here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also we forbid the reading, learning, exposition, or alleaging of any of the said bookes, vnto all faithfull christians, but so farre forth as shall tend to the reproofe of the same:

The bookes of Wickliffe condemned to be burned.

Words of authority without probation.

Like my fellow if I be a thiefe.

So we speake you say.

Vnwholesome, because they teach against the pompe of the pope.

So thought the souldiers perpetually to keepe downe Christ from rising.

O marueilous sacred Synod.

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Rub a gald horse on the backe and he will wince. At Rome, &c. neither barrell better herring. Though the sepulchre be watched Christ will rise.

forbidding all and singuler catholike persons vnder the paine of curse, that from henceforth they bee not so hardie openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any meanes to alleage the said articles or any of them, except (as is aforesaid) that it doe tend vnto the reproofe of them: commanding all those bookes, treatises, workes and volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the synod at Rome, as is afore expressed. For the execution whereof duely to be obserued and done, the said sacred Synod doth straitly charge and command the ordinaries of the places, diligently to attend and loke vnto the matter, according as it appertaineth vnto euery mans dutie by the canonicall lawes and ordinances.

What these articles were here condemned by this councell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to that said councell, to the number of 45. the copie of them following vnder written declareth.

Certaine other articles gathered out of Wickeliffes bookes by his aduersaries, to the number of 45. exhibited vp to the councell of Constance, after his death, and in the same councell condemned.

Other articles of Wickliffe to the number of 45 condemned by the councell of Constance.

BEsides the 24. articles aboue mentioned, there were other also gathered out of his bookes, to the number of 45. in all, which his malitious aduersaries peruerslie collecting, and maliciouslie expounding, did exhibit vp to the councell of Constance: which to repeate all, though it be not here needfull, yet to recite certaine of them as they stand in that councell, it shall not be superfluous.

25 All such as be hired for temporall lining to pray for other, offend and sinne of simonie.

26 The prayer of the reprobate preuaileth for no man.

27 Hallowing of churches, confirmation of children, the sacrament of orders be reserued to the pope and bishops onely, for the respect of temporall lucre.

28 Graduations, and doctorships in Vniuersities and Colledges as they be vsed, conduce nothing to the church.

29 The excommunication of the pope and his prelats, is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.

30 Such as found and build monasteries, do offend and sin, and all such as enter into the same be members of the diuell.

31 To enrich the clergie, is against the rule of Christ.

32 Siluester the pope, and Constantine the emperour were deceiued, in giuing and taking possessions into the church.

33 A deacon or priest may preach the word of God without the authoritie of the apostolike see.

34 Such as enter into order, or religion monasticall, are thereby vnable to kéepe Gods commandements, and also to attaine to the kingdome of heauen, except they returne from the same.

35 The pope with all his clergie, hauing those great possessions as they haue, bee heretikes in so hauing, and the secular powers in so suffering them doe not well.

36 The church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan, neither is the pope immedatly the vicar of Christ, nor of the apostles.

37 The decretals of the pope bee apocrypha and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the clergie that studie them be fooles.

38 The emperour and secular lords be seduced, which so inrich the church with such ample possessions.

39 It is not necessarie to saluation to beleeue the church of Rome to be supreme head ouer all churches.

40 It is but follie to beléeue the popes pardons.

41 All othes which be made for any contract or ciuill bargaine betwixt man and man, be vnlawfull.

42 Benedict, Frances, Dominicke, Bern. with all such as haue beene patrons of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with such also as haue entred into the same; bee in a damnable state, and so from the pope to the lowest nouices, they be all together heretikes

Besides these articles to the number of 45. condemned (as is said) by the councell of Constance; other articles also I find diuerslie collected or rather wrested out of the bookes and writings of Wickliffe: some by William Woodford, some by Walden, by frier Tillington and other, whom they in their bookes haue impugned rather then confuted. In the number of whom, William Woodford especially findeth out these articles, and writeth against the same, to the number of 18. as here vnder follow.

W. Woodford, Tho. Walden, Tillington, writers against J. Wickliffe.

Articles against Wickliffe by W. Woodford.

1 The bread remaineth in his owne substance, after the consecration thereof vpon the altar, and ceaseth not to bee bread still.

2 As John was figuratiuely Helias, and not personally; so the bread figuratiuely is the body of Christ, and not naturally. And that without all doubt, this is a figuratiue speech, to say, This is my body; as to say, This John is Helias.

3 In the decrée, Ergo Berengarius, the court of Rome, hath determined, that the sacrament of the holy Eucharist, is naturally true bread.

4 They which do affirme, that the infants of the faithfull departing without the sacrament of baptisme, are not to bee saued, be presumptuous and fooles in so affirming.

5 The administration of the sacrament of confirmation, is not onely reserued to the bishops.

6 In the time of saint Paul, onely two orders of clerkes did suffice in the church: Priests, and deacons. Neither was there in the time of the apostles any distinction of popes, patriarkes, and archbishops, and bishops; but these the emperors pride did find it out.

7 Such as in times past, either for couetousnes of temporall lucre, or of hope of mutuall succour by kindred, or for cause to excuse their lust (although they despaired of issue) were married were coupled together, not by true matrimonie.

8 The causes of diuorcement, either for spirituall consanguinitie or for affinitie, be not founded in Scripture, but are onely ordinances of men.

9 These words, I will take thée to wife, are rather to bee taken in contract of matrimonie, then these words, I doe take thée to wife. And the contract with any partie by the words of the future tence, ought not to be frustrate for the contract with any partie afterward made, by the words of the present time.

10 There be 12. disciples of Antichrist, popes, cardinals, patriarkes, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deanes, monks, canons, friers, and pardoners.

11 In the booke of Numbers the 18. chapter, and in Ezechiel 44. chapter, it is commanded simplie, that neither the priests of Aaron, nor the Leuites should haue any part of inheritance with other tribes, but should liue meerely of tithes and oblations.

12 There is no greater heretike or Antichrist, then that clerke which teacheth, that it is lawfull for Priests and Leuites of the law of grace, to be indued with temporall possessions. And if there be any heretikes, apostataes, or blaspheamers, these clerks be such.

13 It is not onely lawfull for the lords temporall to take away goods of fortune from the churchmen, sinning vsually: but also are bound so to do, vnder paine of eternall damnation.

14 Hee that is the more humble and more seruiceable to the church, and more enamored with the loue of Christ, he is in the church militant the greater and the more nere vicar of Christ.

15 If corporall vnction or anoyling were a sacrament (as now it is fained to bee) Christ and his apostles would not haue left the ordinance thereof vntouched.

16 Vnto the true dominion secular, is required vertuous life of him that ruleth.

17 All things that happen, do come absolutely of necessitie.

18 Whatsoeuer the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearely out of the Scripture, that onely is to be beleeued, or to bee done at their monition: and whatsoeuer otherwise they do command is to be condemned as hereticall.

Besides this M. Woodford afore mentioned, diuers other there were which wrote against these articles of Wickliffe afore said, maintaining the popes part, as séemeth for flatterie, rather then following any iust cause so to doe, or shewing forth any reason or learning in disproouing the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrarie part, some there were againe both learned and godly, which taking the part of Wickliffe, without all flatterie, defended the most of the said articles, openly in schooles and other places, as appeareth by the workes of John Hus: who in his publike determinations in the Vniuersitie of Prage, stood in defence of the same against all his aduersaries. As partly is here to bee seene in these tractations vnder following.

Tractatus fratr. W. Woodford contra trialogum Wicklem.

¶ The publike defence of certaine articles of Iohn Wickliffe, in the first Act before the whole Vniuersitie of Prage, in Charles Colledge.

¶ The determination of Iohn Hus vpon the xiiij. Article of Wickliffe, as touching the preaching and hearing of the word of God, made in the yeare of our Lord 1412.

FOrasmuch as to condemne the truth wittingly or without reasonable examination doth tend to great danger of saluation, as the Lord saith, Luke 6. Doe yee not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned: Therfore to auoide this great danger, the Vniuersitie of Prage, and the whole communaltie thereof, the Rector, Maisters, Doctors, Bachelers and Students, in their generall assemblie, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctours in their councell house, requireth of the said Doctours a reasonable proofe of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authoritie, or infallible reason, proue the falshood of euery those fiue and fortie articles. The which being once done, the said Vniuersitie will agree to the said condemnation as iust: For the Vniuersitie doth well know, that as Augustine saith, in the end of his second booke of christian doctrine: That whatsoeuer a man doth learn besides ẏ holy Scriptures, if it be hurtfull, there it is condemned: If it bee profitable, there

The whole Vniuersitie is against the iudgement of the Doctors which condemned the 45. articles.

Augustl. lib. de doct. christ. lib. 2.

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there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, hee shall much more abundantly finde those things which are found in no place elle, but are learned in the maruellous depth, and maruellous profoundneſſe of thoſe moſt sacred Scriptures only.

Gregor. moral lib. 23. Thus writeth Auguſtine. And Gregory in his three and twentith booke of Morals, saith thus; God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoeuer thing may happen vnto any man, and in the same hath, by the examples of thoſe which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reforme their liues. Whereby it appeareth, that euery of the fiue and forty articles, containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and vntruth, the same is either plainly or darkly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, it followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the fiue and forty articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy scriptures. And where as againe Saint Auguſtine writeth vnto Saint Hierome, in his eighth epiſtle and the ninth Diſtinction: I (saith he) haue learned to attribute this honor and reuerence vnto thoſe writers only which are called canonicall, that I dare affirme none of them to haue erred in their workes or writings. As for all other writers, I doe so reade them, that although they abound with neuer so much holineſſe, or excell in doctrine, I doe not by and by thinke it true, because they themselues doe so iudge: but if they can by other canonicall authors or probable reasons, perſwade or proue that they doe not digreſſe from the truth.

Also the said Auguſtine in his booke De vnico Baptiſmo, lib. 2. saith thus: Who doth not know or vnderſtand, the holy canonicall Scripture to bee contained in his owne bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other letters and decrees of bishops, &c. And a little after he hath the like saying: As for the letters of other bishops which haue bin written, or be written, (after the canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reproued, both by the word of them that be more skilfull in that matter, and also by the ancient authoritie of other bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by generall councels, if it so chance that they in any point haue erred and gone allray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of S. Auſten and other like, &c. the Vniuerſitie of Prage hath concluded and determined, that they will not receiue the condemnation of the fiue and forty articles, made by the doctors in their councell house as iuſt and true, except they which condemned them, will proue their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons vpon euery of the fiue and forty articles.

Wherefore for the due examination of the foresaid condemnation, whether it be effectuall or no, we will at this present take in hand the fourteenth article of the number of the fiue and fortie; which article is this:

The 14. article of J. Wickliffe. They which leaue off preaching and hearing of the word of God for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicat, and in the day of iudgement shall be counted the betraiters of Christ.

The defence of this 14. article. This article containeth, firſt that all prieſts omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, they are already excommunicat.

Secondly, it containeth, that all such as doe omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication, are already excommunicated.

Thirdly, that both these sorts of men in the day of iudgement, shall be counted traitors of Christ.

The preaching of the Goſpell commanded of God. As concerning the firſt point, it is presuppoſed that the preaching of the word of God is commanded vnto the Apoſtles and their followers, as it appeareth in Matth. 10. where it is said: Jeſus sent his twelue diſciples, commanding them and saying; Go and preach, that the kingdome of heauen is at hand. Also in the laſt of Matthew, and the 10. of Luke. Whereupon, Peter the Apoſtle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandement for himselfe, and for the other Apoſtles and succeſſors, in the tenth of the Acts, saith thus; He commanded vs to preach and teſtifie, that it is he which is ordained of God the iudge both of the quick and the dead. This commandement also the other Apoſtles did acknowledge, and specially the chosen veſſell, pronouncing vnder a great threatning in the firſt Corinthians, 9. chap. Woe be vnto me if I doe not preach the Goſpell. And pope Nicolas considering that great threatning in 43. Diſtinction, saith: The diſpenſation and diſtribution of the heauenly seed is commanded and inioined to vs: Wo be vnto vs if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing, when as the veſſell of election did feare and cry out vpon, how much more ought all other inferiors to feare and dread the same? To the same purpoſe doth S. Gregory write in his paſtorall in the diſtinction, Sit rector. It is also euident by many other doctors and holy men, as by S. Auguſtine, Hierome, Iſidore, Bernard, whoſe words it were too long here to rehearſe.

Gregorius Diſt. 44. cap. Sit rector.

The hearing of the word commanded by God. As touching the second point, that the hearing of the word and law of God, is commanded vnto the people, it is euident both by the old and new law: for it is said in the 28. of the Pro-

uerbs; He that turneth away his eare, and will not heare the law of God, his praier shall be curſed. And our Sauiour reburking the Scribes and Phariſies, concludeth thus in the 8. of saint John, saying; He that is of God heareth Gods word: but forasmuch as you are not of God, therefore you heare not his word.

Thirdly, it is to be noted, that excommunication is a separation from the communion, the 11. Queſtion 3. Nihil. & cap. Canonica. And 27. queſtion, firſt, Viduas. 34. queſtion 3. Cum ſacerdos. And this excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifeſt. The secret excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the myſticall body of Christ, and so from God through sin, according vnto the 59. of Eſay: Your iniquities haue made separation betweene your God and you. And with this excommunication both the Apoſtle excommunicat euery man which doth not loue the Lord Jeſu Christ: saying in the firſt Corinth. and laſt chapter; If any man do not loue the Lord Jeſu Christ, let him be accurſed. The manifeſt and apert excommunication may bee diuided into a manifeſt excommunication by God: whereof it is spoken, Mat. 25. Go ye curſed, &c. And often times elſe in the law of God. Also into a manifeſt excommunication by men, whereby the prelat doth either iuſtly or vniuſtly call out any man from the participation of the communion of the church. Whereof this shall ſuffice at this preſent.

Excommunication. Excommunication double.

The probation of the firſt part. Then, as touching the firſt part of the article, it is thus argued, &c.

Whoſoeuer forſaketh or leaueth the commandements of God vndone, they are excommunicate of God. But the prieſts which leaue off the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the vniuſt excommunication of men, doe leaue the commandement of God vndone. Ergo, thoſe prieſts which doe leaue off preaching the word of God, are excommunicated of God.

The firſt part of this article is true: The Maior appeareth by the Pſalme: Curſed bee they which doe decline and ſwarue from thy precepts. The Minor is euident by the firſt propoſition, which proueth that the preaching of the word of God, is the commandement of God inioined vnto thoſe prieſts and miniſters. Whereupon the saying of our Sauiour, Mat. 15. is spoken vnto them: Wherefore doe you tranſgreſſe the commandements of God for your owne traditions: preaching the word of God for feare of vniuſt excommunication, and so diſhonouring the Father Christ, and the mother the holy church.

It is thus confirmed: All they which do omit or let slip any maner of worke, principally and ſtraitly inioined them of the Lord Jeſus Christ, vnder the cloke and colour of grace, for feare of any excommunication of men, they are already excommunicat. But prieſts, and specially Curats, admoniſhed by the ſpirit of God, leauing off the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, they omit and leaue off for feare of the ſame excommunication, a worke principally and ſtraitly inioined vnto them of the Lord Jeſus Christ, vnder the cloke and colour of grace: Ergo, prieſts, and ſpecially curats, and ſuch as be admoniſhed and warned by the ſpirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of excommunication, are excommunicat. The conſequence is well knowne. The Maior appeareth by the Pſalme; Curſed be they which doe decline and goe away from thy commandements. The Minor is also euident againe by the firſt ſuppoſition.

The Apoſtles did not obey any wicked inhibition. Item, if the Apoſtles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, which the Lord did foreſhew vnto them in the 16. of S. John, saying: They ſhal excommunicat you out of their ſynagogues: They had been excommunicated of God. Ergo, by like euidence, the prieſts and miniſters of Christ, being inſpired with the ſame ſpirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leaue it vndone for feare of the excommunication of men: They are already excommunicat. The conſequent dependeth vpon a ſimilitude. And the antecedent is euident: for if the Apoſtles had left off preaching for feare of excommunication, they had broken the commandements of God: And ſo conſequently, had been accurſed. Wherefore they willing to obſerue and keepe the commandements of God, and to put off the excommunication of men, said vnto the high Prieſts, Elders, and Scribes at Jeruſalem, to Annas, Caiphas, to John and Alexander, and all other of the kindred of the prieſts which were gathered together and commanded them that they ſhould not preach nor teach in the name of Jeſu: If it be iuſt in the ſight of God, that we ſhould rather obey you then God, that iudge you. Acts 4. And in the 5. of the Acts, they said vnto them: We ought rather to obey God then man. By this saying of the holy Ghoſt, it is concluded, that the prieſts and miniſters of Christ, inſpired by the holy Ghoſt to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the holy Ghoſt then thoſe which ſhall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to ſuffer the excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon pope Anacletus ſpake very well in this, as it is written diſtinction 43: We know (saith he) that many doe goe about to moleſt and trouble the doctors and teachers to this end, that they might vtterly

Anacletus, Diſt. xliij.

vtterly deſtroy them, and fulfill their owne proper luſts and deſires: yet notwithſtanding the ſaid doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or goe backe from their good doings and intent, knowing aſſuredly that bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake. Thus much writeth he. And the reuerend Bede (vpon theſe words: Yee ſhall finde an aſſe tied vp, and an hee fole with her, loſe her and bring her vnto mee: and if any man ſay any thing vnto you, ſay ye that the Lord hath need of them) writeth thus. Here it is myſtically commanded vnto the doctours and teachers, that if any aduerſitie doe let or hinder, or any man doe prohibit or ſtop, that ſinners cannot bee loſed from their bonds or ſnares, and be brought vnto the Lord, by the confeſſion of their faith, that they notwithſtanding ſhould not leaue off preaching, but conſtantly and boldly affirme and ſay, that the Lord hath need of ſuch, to edifie and build againe his church. For ſo did the Apoſtles: ſo likewiſe ought all the humble and meeke miniſters of Chriſt to doe. And Saint Hierom writing vnto Ruſticus the biſhop of Narbone ſaith thus: Let no biſhop from henceforth be puffed vp or inflamed with the enuie of diuelliſh temptation, if the prieſts now and then doe exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the churches; or as it is ſaid, doe bleſſe the people. For vnto him which ſhould deny vnto mee the doing hereof, I would ſay in this manner: Yee that will not that prieſts ſhould doe thoſe things which they are commanded by God, let him ſay that hee is greater and aboue Chriſt. By the which words Saint Hierom doth openly declare, that prieſts are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the churches. Secondly, that a biſhop denying or forbidding the ſame to be done, ſpecially the prieſts or miniſters being apt men thereunto, is extolled aboue Chriſt. And therefore conſequently, is not to be obeied nor heard in his doings.

Hieronymus ad Ruſticum.

Item, admit that the pope be an heretike, and teach peruerſe and contrary doctrine vnto the holy Scriptures, and that the biſhop bee a catholike man vnto whom the pope giueth in commandement that hee ſhall not ſuffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion; as it happened in Pope Leo, and Saint Hillary the biſhop: adding this alſo, that the biſhop doe execute the popes commandement vnder paine of excommunication: this notwithſtanding if the catholike prieſts learned in the law of God, doe leaue off preaching againſt the popes hereſies, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicat. The which thing is euident, for ſo much as they are accurſed through the conſent of their ſilence, as Saint Iſidor ſaith 11. Queſtion 1. He that doth conſent vnto ſinners, or defendeth a ſinner, hee ſhall be curſed both before God and man, and ſhall be puniſhed with a moſt ſeuere rebuke; and in the 7. Queſtion. 4. Omnis, it is ſaid; Yee that doth neglect to amend that which hee may correct, committeth no leſſe fault then hee which had before offended: for not onely they which doe commit the offence, but alſo they which conſent thereunto, are iudged partakers therof. In like caſe, prieſts which doe not preach againſt the hereſie which the pope teacheth, are dumbe dogs, not able to open their mouthes, or barke againſt the wolfe, which will kill the ſheep of Jeſus Chriſt: Ergo, how can it then be otherwiſe, but they muſt needs be betraiers of the ſheepe of their owne ſhepheard?

If the pope be an heretike, the godly biſhops may preach againſt him.

Item, let it ſo be, that the biſhop with the chiefe prelats be an adulterer or otherwiſe an open offender, and that he together with his prelats doe command vnder paine of excommunication, that none be ſo hardy to preach againſt adulterie, in ſuch a caſe they which doe omit their dutie in preaching againſt adultery, for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God: Ergo, the firſt part of the article is true. The Antecedent is proued; for our Sauiour in the eighth of Marke ſaith thus: He that acknowledgeth mee and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the ſonne of man ſhall alſo acknowledge and confeſſe him when hee ſhall come in the glory of his Father with his angels. Therefore hee that ſhall confeſſe Chriſt, and theſe words of Chriſt, Matth. 5. You haue heard that it was ſaid to them in old time, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery: But I ſay vnto you, that euery one which ſhall behold a woman to luſt after her, he hath already committed adultery with her in his heart: He, I ſay, that ſhall confeſſe theſe things before an adulterous biſhop with his chiefe prelats, the which perchance are the wicked and adulterous generation, the ſonne of man ſhall alſo acknowledge him, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father, and ſo conſequently is he bleſſed. Contrariwiſe, hee which for the feare of excommunication of men will not confeſſe Chriſt and his words, before the ſinfull and adulterous generation, is accurſed. The conſequent holdeth by the words of Chriſt, Luke 9. He that is aſhamed of me and my words, him ſhall the Sonne of man bee aſhamed of, when he ſhall come in his maieſtie, and in the glory of his Father and his holy Angels, pronouncing that which is ſpoken Matth. 25. Verily, I ſay vnto you, I know you not; goe you curſed into euerlaſting fire.

Albeit the chief prieſts be adulterers, yet ought the miniſters to preach againſt adultery.

Alſo our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt, did not omit or leaue off the preaching of the kingdome of God, for any pretended excommunication of the Biſhops, Scribes and Phariſies: ſo likewiſe his true and humble prieſts, ought not to omit their preaching for any pretenſed excommunication of men: the conſequent holdeth by the ſaying of Chriſt, John 15. Be yee mindfull of the words which I haue ſpoken vnto you, the ſeruant is not greater then his maſter: If they haue perſecuted me, they will perſecute you alſo. The antecedent is apparant by the ſaying of Saint John in his 9. chapter. Euen now the Jewes had conſpired, that whoſoeuer did confeſſe him to bee Chriſt, ſhould be excommunicat. And likewiſe John 7. Whether did any of the princes or rulers, or any of the Phariſies beleeue in him. But this people which knoweth not the law, are accurſed.

The example of Chriſt.

The obedience of Chriſtian prieſts toward their prelats.

Alſo the humble and iuſt miniſters of God ought not vnder paine of ſinne to ceaſe from the fruitfull preaching of the law of God for any vniuſt excommunication, or vnlawfull commandement; and it is proued thus: the humble and iuſt miniſters of Chriſt ought to obey their prelats, in ſuch things as are not contrary to God; as all the holy doctors, and ſuch as are learned in the laws of God doe wholly with one conſent affirme. And forſomuch as an vniuſt excommunication, and vnlawfull commandement, are againſt God, therefore the iuſt and true miniſters of God, ought not to obey ſuch vnlawfull excommunication and commandements, and conſequently ought not to ceaſe for them, from the fruitfull preaching of the Goſpell of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the ſame. Forſomuch as the Lord doth comfort them in the 5. of Matth. ſaying thus: Bleſſed and happy are ye when as men doe curſe you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all kind of euill againſt you, making lies and ſlanders vpon you for my ſake; reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen.

The power of preaching to edification, ought not to ceaſe.

Alſo euery miniſter hauing power giuen him from aboue, to preach the Goſpell, he hath the ſame giuen vnto him for the edifying of the Church, and not for the deſtruction of the ſame.

And the Apoſtle ſaith 2. Cor. 10. But euery one leauing off the preaching of the Goſpell, for feare of any pretenſed excommunication of men, he ſhould fruſtrate the power giuen him, for the edifying of the church. And therefore in ſo doing, ſhould ſinne againſt God and his church; and conſequently, ought rather to chuſe, not to ceaſe from preaching, for feare of any ſuch excommunication, leſt that he be excommunicat of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt.

The preaching of the Goſpell is not to be left off for all the popes prohibition.

Item, ſet caſe that the pope doth command that there ſhall be no preaching in any place; then the miniſters of Chriſt leauing off their preaching, for feare of the popes curſe, are already excommunicated of God. It is euident, forſomuch as they haue neglected the commandement of God, for the commandement of men. And this caſe is poſſible: for by what reaſon the pope may command vnder paine of excommunication, that there ſhall bee no preaching in any place, neither in the pariſh churches, by the ſame reaſon, he may comnand that no man ſhould preach in any place.

The firſt part is euident by the prohibition of pope Alexander, who in his bull did prohibit to preach the word of God vnto the people in chapels, although the ſaid chapels were confirmed by the priuiledge of the ſea apoſtolike. The which bull, the lord Subincon archbiſhop of Prage, with his canons, obtained. By theſe aforeſaid, the firſt part of the article is euident, which is this; that all prieſts omitting the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

The ſecond part of the article.

The ſecond part of the article is this, that all they which do omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

And it is proued thus; all ſuch as neglect the commandements of God are excommunicat. But they which neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are they which neglect the commandements of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

Meanes neceſſary vnto ſaluation are not to be omitted.

The Maior is apparant by the 118. Pſalme: Curſed bee they which decline from thy commandements. And the Minor is euident by the ſecond ſuppoſition, which ſaith; that the hearing of the word of God is commanded vnto the people.

This is confirmed: all ſuch as omit the neceſſary meane vnto ſaluation, are excommunicat: but ſuch as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication by men, be ſuch as do omit the neceſſary meane vnto ſaluation. Therefore in ſo doing, they are excommunicat. The conſequent is plaine: the Maior is made euident by this; That al ſuch as do omit the neceſſary meane vnto ſaluation, doe alſo neglect their ſaluation, and ſo are out of the way of ſaluation, and be excommunicated of God. The Minor appeareth hereby, that to heare the word of God, is the meane more neceſſary vnto ſaluation, as the Apoſtle doth proue in his 10. chapter to the Romans: How, ſaith he, ſhall they beleeue on him, whom they neuer heard of? And how ſhall they heare without a preacher? And by and by after, the Apoſtle inferreth vnto the purpoſe; That faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

Item,

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A man ought to doe nothing against his conscience.

Item, whatsoeuer is done contrary vnto conscience, doth edifie vnto eternall damnation: as it is said, as touching the restitution of the spoiled goods, chap. Literas porro. But to omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, is a thing which is done against conscience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the word of God for excommunication, doth edifie vnto eternal damnation: and therefore consequently ought not to bee done, for feare of any excommunication. Wherefore a woman being iudged vnto a man, whom shee knoweth to bee within the degrees of consanguinitie, which Gods law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that iudgement, lest that she offend against God; but meekely and patiently to sustaine the excommunication; as it appeareth in the chapter before alleaged. So likewise all true christians ought rather then to offend against God, meekly to sucker the excommunication of men, then to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose also serueth that which is spoken in the 11. quest. 3. He that feareth the omnipotent God, will not presume by any meanes to do any thing contrary vnto the Gospel or Apostles, either contrary vnto the Prophets, or the institutions of the holy fathers. By these premisses, the second part of this article is manifest, that all such as doe omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicated.

The proofes of the third part.

And forsomuch as all christians being of lawfull age, not repenting at the end, shall be counted in a manner as traitors of Christ in the day of iudgement, because that they were vnfaithfull seruants of Christ; therefore they which through feare omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, shall be counted as traitors of Christ, and shall render account thereof vnto the Lord. Whereupon Chrysostome touching both those sorts in the 41. Homily, shewing how the Lord would haue some to be teachers, and other some to be disciples, saith thus: For vnto those which he would haue to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his Prophet Esay: Ye priests, speake in the hearts of the people, for if the priests doe not manifest all the truth vnto the people, they shall render account therof at the day of iudgement: and likewise if the people doe not learne the truth, they shall also giue an account at the day of iudgement. It is also made more euident by him vpon the 10. of Matthew: Doe not feare them which kill the body, lest that through the feare of death, you doe not freely speake that which you haue heard, neither boldly preach that vnto all men, which you alone haue heard in your eares. So that hereby alone it is euident, that not only he is a betraier of the truth, which transgressing the truth doth openly speake lies in stead of the truth: but he also which doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defend, is also a traitor vnto the truth. For like as the priest is a debter to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord; euen so the lay man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the minister approued by the scriptures; which if he doe not, then is he a traitor vnto the truth. For stedfast beleefe with the heart, preuaileth vnto righteousnesse; the confession which is made with the mouth, helpeth vnto saluation. Thus much writeth Chrysostome: who together with the people, meekly bearing the excommunication of the bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so by his word and his workes he freely taught the truth, lest he should be a traitor vnto the truth, and consequently be counted as a traitor vnto our Lord Iesu Christ in the day of iudgement. And thus the third part of the Article aforesaid is manifest.

Chrysostome in his 41. Homily.

Chrysostome, although he was excommunicat, yet he did preach.

The defension of the xv. article of Iohn *Wickliffe by Iohn Hus.*

The 15. article of Wickliffe.

IT is lawfull for any deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolike sea, or of his catholikes.

First, I vnderstand here by the authoritie of the apostolike sea, properly his speciall consent authorising. And likewise I vnderstand by authoritie of the bishop, a speciall consent of the bishop, authorising the said deacon or priest to preach.

The confirmation of the article.

Now as touching the truth of this article, I thus argue: Like as after matrimonie once complete, the man and wife may lawfully without any speciall licence of the pope or bishoppe, procreate carnall children: so likewise deacons or priests, by the motion of God through the Gospell of Iesu Christ, may lawfully without any speciall licence either of pope or bishop, generate spirituall children. Ergo, this article is true, and the antecedent is thus proued. For as it is an acceptable worke vnto God, for man and wife without the speciall licence of the pope or bishop to generate carnall children; so it is acceptable vnto him, that deacons or priests, by the motion of God through the Gospell of Iesu Christ, should lawfully generate spirituall children, without the speciall licence of the pope or of any other bishop: Ergo, the assumption is true.

Euery man being lawfully called of the church, ought to preach the word of God without the popes licence.

But if any man will deny this similitude, let him shew the diuersitie. Yea seeing it is worse not to receiue, or to choke the seed of Gods word, then the carnall seed: so contrariwise is it better to receiue and sow abroad that seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raised vp vnto God, then to receiue or giue such seed, whereby carnall children may be gotten. Whereupon our Sauiour in the 10. of Matthew saith thus: Whosoeuer doth not receiue you, neither heareth your words, wipe off the dust from your feet: verily I say vnto you, that in the day of iudgement, it shall be more better vnto the land of Sodome and Gomer then to that citie.

Also a deacon or priest being stirred by the spirit of Iesus Christ may preach the word of God without the speciall licence of the pope or bishoppe. Ergo, it is lawfull for him so to doe. The consequent is thus manifest; for so much as the spirit of God moueth the deacon or priest vnto the preaching of the Gospell, is of greater force then any prohibition of pope or bishop inuented by man: Ergo, according vnto the rule of the Apostles, they ought infallibly to bee obedient vnto the spirit of Christ, which doth so moue them thereunto, and rather to obey God then man: Acts 5. Also by like reason, as Heldad and Medad vpon whom the spirit of God did rest, did lawfullie prophecie without requiring any licence at Moyses hands, as it is written Numeri 11. By the same reason may the meeke minister of Christ, vpon whom the spirit of God doth rest, without the requiring of any licence, either of the pope or bishop, lawfully preach the word of God vnto the people. And would to God in this behalfe all prelats had the spirit of Moyses: for it is said, Numeri 11. That when as Heldad and Medad were prophecying in the tents, a child ran vnto Moyses, and told him, saying: Heldad and Medad doe prophecie in the tents, and by and by Iosue the sonne of Nunne, the seruant of Moses, which he had chosen out amongst many, (said) my master Moses forbid them; and he said; Why enuiest thou for my sake? would God that all the people could prophecie, and that the Lord would giue them his spirit. O would to God the pope and bishops had the affections which this holy man the friend of God had. Then would he not prohibit the meeke deacons and ministers of Iesus Christ, to preach the Gospell of Iesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed man Gregory, which in his 22. booke of Morals, writing vpon these words of Iob: And I haue afflicted the soule of his husbandmen: hee saith thus: The husbandmen of this earth are these, which being set in small authoritie, with as feruent desire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, doe worke by the preaching of grace, to the erudition of the holy church, the which husbandmen of this world not to afflict, is not to enuie their labors and doings: neither ought the ruler of the church, albeit he doe challenge vnto himselfe alone the title of preaching, through enuie gainsay others which doe preach truly and vprightly. For the godly mind of the pastor which seeketh not his owne glory amongst men, desireth to be holpen: the which thing also the faithfull preacher doth wish, if it might by any meanes be brought to passe, that the truth which he alone cannot sufficiently expresse, all mens mouthes might declare.

God graunt that all the people may prophecie.

Wherefore, whenas Iosua would haue resisted the two which were prophecying in the host, why doest thou enuie (said he) for my sake? for he did not enuie that good in other which he himselfe had. Thus writeth S. Gregory.

Also the meeke ministers of Christ haue by a speciall gift of God, knowledge and mind to preach the Gospell; but neither is it lawfull for the pope or bishop, or any other man to let or hinder them, lest thereby they should let the word of God, that it haue not his free course. Ergo, this article is true; for the king doth not so much rule ouer the goods of his subiects, no not of his owne sonnes, but that they may giue almes to whom they will: much more the bishop hath not so great authoritie ouer the knowledge of the meeke minister, with his other gifts of God, but that he may freely vnder the title of spirituall almes freely preach the Gospell vnto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it should seem strange, that a bishop should forbid any man to giue any corporall almes to the poore that are an hungred, much more strange and maruellous would it be, if that he should prohibit the spirituall minister of Christ to giue spirituall almes, by the preaching of the Gospell of the word of God.

The course of the word of God ought not to be stopped. Bernard.

Item, no catholike man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose, is more bound to teach them which are ignorant, to counsell and comfort the weake in spirit, to correct such as are vnruly, to forgiue those that doe them wrong, then to doe any other worke of mercie: forsomuch then as he that hath sufficient, is bound vnder paine of damnation to giue corporall almes, as it appeareth Mat. 25. much more he which is able, is bound to doe spirituall almes. And this almes S. Bernard writing vnto Eugenius in his 3. booke, perceiued to be very necessary for the bishop of Rome, where as he said thus; I feare no greater poison, nor greater sword or mischiefe will happen vnto thee, then this vnsatiable desire of dominion. With what face then can the faithfull minister withdraw or keepe backe the spirituall almes from the pope and any other, euen without the speciall licence of the pope or of the bishop; which licence through the farre distance from the pope, the ministers cannot so easily obtaine or come by: For all prohibition of any prelat being broken through necessitie, is

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is not to bee blamed, 11. Quest. 3. Intercessor, and also in the chapter following.

Item, all authority of preaching giuen vnto deacons and priests in their consecration were but vaine, except that in case of necessity, without any speciall licence, they might preach the Gospell. It is euident, forsomuch as it is not lawfull for them to vse that authority by their aduersary, without a speciall licence. Ergo, it is giuen them in vaine. The consequent is euident by the common saying of the Philosopher, That power is but vaine, whereof proceedeth no vse of action. But forsomuch as this article doth as it were depend vpon the article before passed, therefore this shall suffice, spoken thereof at this present.

Obiection. But against the affirmations of both these articles, this is obiected out of the 16. quest. 1. All faithfull people, and specially all priests, deacons, and all others of the clergy, ought to take heed that they doe nothing without the licence of their bishop. It is also obiected out of the 5. booke of Decretals, Titulo de hæreticis cap. cum ex iniuncto. Where it is said, no man ought to vsurpe to himselfe, indifferently the office of preaching, forsomuch as the Apostle saith; How shall they preach, except they be sent? Whereas also Innocentius doth declare, that it is not sufficient for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach, except he doe shew the same. As touching the first point, the Glosse doth sufficiently answer vpon this word, without licence; That is to be expounded, saith he, without generall licence: the which is obtained and giuen, when as a bishop doth appoint any priest to gouerne the people. For thereby (saith hee) it seemeth a bishop is thought to giue him generall power to minister vnto the people, and to rule the church. Thus much in the Glosse. And to the same end and purpose it is said in the 7. quest. 1. chapter. Episcopi, bishops or priests, if they come into the church of another bishop, for to visit the same, as it is said Glosse 1. in honore suo. Let them be receiued in their degree, and desired as well to preach the word, as to doe any other consecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, that which is very well spoken in the same place: No man ought to vsurpe vnto himselfe the office of preaching, as a thing indifferent. For to vsurpe, is vnlawfully to vse any thing: Ergo, the same deacon or priest, doth then vsurpe the office of preaching as indifferently, who liuing vitiously, contrary vnto the law of Christ; or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for gaine, or couetousnesse of liuing, either for his belly or daintie life, or for any vaine glorie: but he which doth liue according vnto the lawes of Christ, and being moued with the affection of sincere charitie, intending purely the honor of God, and the saluation of himselfe and his neighbors, doth preach no lies nor vaine iests, or other things not authorized, but only the law of Christ, and the minds of the holy doctors. And he that doth so preach, necessitie occasioning or mouing him thereunto, in case there be no pope or bishop, or in case possible to withstand the preaching of heretikes or false preaches, he in so doing doth not vsurpe the office of preaching; and in such case there is no doubt but he is sent of God. And this doth also answere vnto that, which is consequently said, that if any man will peraduenture craftily answere, that such preachers are inuisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, whenas that inuisible sending of God is much more better then the visible sending of men: A man may reasonably answere thereunto, that forsomuch as that internall sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man onely to say that he is sent of God, forsomuch as euery heretike may so say; but he ought to proue the same his inuisible calling, by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of the scripture.

The answers to the obiection.

What is falsly to vsurpe the office of a preacher.

Who is a true minister of the church.

Foure kinds of sending or calling. Here it is to bee noted, according to Saint Augustine in his 63. booke of quest. vnto Orosius, that there are foure kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we reade in Moses and other, which were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the danger of the statute: so that he whom the spirit of God hath inspired, this prelat giuing thanks, may procéede vnto a better life. Whereupon pope Urban said 19. quest. 2. There be (said hee) two lawes, the one publike, the other priuat. The publike law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy fathers, such as is the canon law, which is onely giuen for transgressions. As for example, it is decréed in the canons, that none of the clergy shall goe from one bishoprick vnto another, without the letters commendatory of his bishop; the which was ordained onely for offendors, that no infamed persons should be receiued of any bishop. For they were wont when they could not celebrate or doe their office vnder their owne bishoprick, to goe vnto another: which now is forbidden by the lawes and precepts.

The common law.

The priuat law. The priuate law is that, which by the instruction of the holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the Apostle speaketh, of manie, which haue the law of God written in their hearts. And in another place: Forsomuch as the Gentiles haue not the law of God, but naturally doe those things which are of the law, they are lawes vnto themselues. And afterward he saith, the priuat law is much more worthy then the publike law. For the spirit of God is a law: And they which are moued by the spirit of God, are led by the law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the holy Ghost? Whosoeuer therefore is led by the spirit of God, albeit his bishop doe say him nay, let him goe freely by our authority, for the law is not appointed for the iust man: for where as the spirit of God is, there is libertie, and if ye be led by the spirit of God, ye are not vnder the law.

The words of pope Urban.

Behold here it is affirmed, that the sending by God, through inspiration, is not bound vnder the bondage of the law, for that law is more worthy then the publike law. Secondly, that the law is made for transgressers and offenders, and not for the iust. Thirdly, that whosoeuer is led by the spirit of God, although his bishop stand against him, hee may proceed vnto a better life. Whereby it is euident, that a deacon or priest, disposed to preach, and being led by the spirit of God, he may freely preach the Gospell of Christ, without the spirituall licence of his bishop. It is euident, forsomuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest doe liue well, and preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may proceed from idlenesse vnto the labor and office of preaching, and so vnto a better life.

Euery man may pretend to be sent of God immediatly. But whereas it is said afore, that forsomuch as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man, barely to affirme onely that he is sent of God, whenas euery heretike may so say; but it is necessary, that he doe confirme and proue his inuisible sending, by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of the Scripture: Here is to bee noted, that there are two kinds of preachers: some true preachers of our Sauiour Christ; and others seducers of antichrist. The first sort following the master Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching faith, resist against the veritie: and through couetousnesse, by their fained words doe make merchandise of the people. And these men doe giue, and shall giue miracles, as our Sauiour saith Matth. 24. There shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, the which shall shew great signes and wonders, insomuch that euen the elect themselues, if it were by any meanes possible, should bee brought into error. And the Apostle in the 2. to the Thessal. 2. as touching their head antichrist, writeth thus: Whose comming shall be according to the operation of Satan, with all power and signes, false miracles, seducing vnto iniquitie those which doe perish, because they haue not receiued the charitie and loue of truth, that they might be saued: therefore will the Lord send vpon them the operation of error, that they shall giue credit vnto lies; that all such as haue not beleeued the truth, but consent vnto wickednesse, should be iudged. Behold how expressly our Sauiour by himselfe, and by his Apostle doth teach vs, how the disciples of antichrist with their head, should shine through their great signes and wonders. But the true disciples of Christ shall not so doe in the time of antichrist. For as Saint Isidor saith in his first booke, 22. De summo bono: Before that antichrist shall appeare, all vertues and signes shall cease from the church, that he may the boldlier persecute the same, as an abiect. For this profit shall all miracles and signes cease vnder antichrist, that thereby the patience of the holy men might be knowne, and the lightnesse of the reprobat which are offended, may be opened, and also that the crueltie of the persecutors should be made more fierce. Thus writeth Saint Isidor. And Saint Gregory in his 24. booke of Morals saith: For why by a terrible examination of Gods secret dispensation, shall all signes of vertue or power bee taken away from the holy church, before that the Leuiathan appeare in that most wicked and damnable man, whose shape he doth take vpon him. For prophecie is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the vertue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of doctrine are put to silence, and the wonderful works of miracles are extinguished: which things nothing can vtterly take away, but onely the dispensation of God. But this dispensation is not so openly and manifoldly declared as it hath béen in times past: the which also is done by a marueilous dispensation, that through one onely thing, both Gods loue and iustice should be fulfilled. For a while the power of miracles being taken away, the holy church appeareth the more abiect and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, which reuerenced the same for the hope of heauenly riches, and not for any present signes: and that the minds of euill men against the same, might the sooner be known, which neglect to follow the inuisible things, which the church doth promise, whiles they be led with visible signes.

Two kind of preachers.

Of the signes and wonders of antichrist.

Why true miracles shal cease vnder Antichrist.

Forsomuch then as the humilitie of the faithfull, as it were destitute of the multitude, and appearing of signes by the terrible working of Gods secret dispensation, whereby mercy is giuen vnto the good and iust, wrath heaped vpon the euill. Forsomuch then as it is truly said, that before this Leuiathan shall plainly and manifestly come, pouertie shall goe before his face; for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithfull. Then shall that ancient enemy shew himselfe against them by open wonders: that as he is extolled through signes and wonders, so shall he the more manly bee vanquished of the faithfull, without any signes or miracles. Also in his 16. booke vpon these words, which the blessed man Iob said; Who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall call in his teeth, what he hath done, whilest hee did

Iob 34.

speake

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The description of antichrist out of S. Gregory.

speake of the body of all euill, he suddenly conuerted his speech vnto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that toward the end of the world Satan should enter into man, whom the Scripture calleth antichrist, he shall be exalted with such pride, he shal rule with such power, he shal be exalted with such signes and wonders, vnder the pretence of holinesse, that his doing cannot be controlled of men, forsomuch as his signes and tokens are ioined with power and terror, and with a certaine shew of holinesse. Wherefore he saith; who shall controll his waies before him, what man is hee that dare once rebuke or checke him, whose looke or countenance is he afraid of? But notwithstanding, not onely Enoc and Elias, the which are brought as example for his probation, but also the elect doe argue and reproue his way, whiles that they doe contemne, and by the force and power of their mind, resist his malice. But forsomuch as this thing is not done by their owne power and strength, but by Gods helpe and grace, therefore it is very well said; Who shall argue or reproue his waies before him: who but only God? By whose helpe, the elect are aided and made able to resist.

And a little after, vpon the same booke of Job, Gregory saith, insomuch as holy men doe withstand his iniquity: It is not they themselues which doe so rebuke his waies, but it is he, through whose helpe they are strengthened. Also in his second booke he saith: Now the holy church doth not regard, but despise the signes and miracles of the heretikes, if they doe any; forsomuch as the church doth sufficiently vnderstand, that it is no kind of holinesse: for why? the proofe of holinesse is not to make signes or wonders, but to loue euery man as himselfe, to think truly of the very true God, and to thinke better of thy neighbour then of thy selfe: for true vertue and holinesse consisteth in loue, and not in shewing of miracles. This the veritie declareth, saying: Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye loue one another: but he saith not, that hereby men shall know that ye are my disciples, because yee worke miracles; but contrariwise, if ye loue one another: declaring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the mere charity and loue of God, which maketh vs the seruants of God. Wherefore the chiefe testimony of being Gods disciple, is to haue the gift of brotherly loue. This throughout doth S. Gregory write, and often times in other places he speaketh very much of miracles, how that they shall cease amongst the iust, and abound amongst the wicked.

The proofe of holinesse.

Also Chrysostome in his fiue and fiftith homily saith thus: It is a common & an indifferent worke between the ministers of God and the ministers of the diuell, to cast out diuels; but to confesse the truth and to worke righteousnesse, is the only work of the Saints and holy men: therefore whomsoeuer thou doest see casting out of diuels, if hee haue not the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousnesse in his hands, he is not a man of God: but if thou doest see a man openly confessing and declaring the truth, and doing iustice, although he doe not cast out any diuels, yet is he the mã of God. And it followeth: Let vs know, that like as the comming of Christ, before him, the Prophets, and with him the Apostles wrought miracles through the holy Ghost, for such as the thing is which is stirred, such sent and fauor will proceed from the same. He writeth also vpon the beginning of Matthew: The whole world did maruell and wonder at three things; that Christ rose againe after his death; that flesh ascended into heauen; and that he did couert the whole world by his twelue Apostles. There are foure causes which wrought the same: that is to say, the contempt of riches or mony; the despising of pompe and glory; the separation of themselues from all worldly occupation and businesse, and the patient suffering of torments. Thus much writeth Chrysostome also. Also S. Isidore in his first booke and twenty fiue chapter, De summo bono, writeth thus: Like as in the Apostles, the maruellous effect and power of works was much more commendable then the vertue of their signes; euen so now in the church is it much more better to liue well, then to work any signes or miracles. And the cause why that the church of God doth not at this present worke miracles, as it did in the time of the Apostles, is this: that it was necessary at that time that the world should beleeue miracles, and now at this present, euery faithfull beleeuer ought to shine with good works, for to this end were signes & miracles then outwardly wrought, that their faith thereby might be inwardly strengthened and stablished; for whatsoeuer faithfull man he be that seeketh to worke miracles, he seeketh vainglory to be praised of men; for it is written: Miracles are signes and tokens vnto the infidels and misbeleeuers, and not vnto the faithfull. Thus much writeth Isidore.

Signes common and indifferent to the ministers of Christ and antichrist.

The principall miracles.

The cause why the church now worketh not miracles.

Item, Saint Augustine in his booke of confession saith thus: There is no greater miracle amongst men, then to loue our enemies. By these words of these holy men, a man may easily gather, that both in our daies and in the time to come, the disciples of antichrist both doe, and shall more flourish and shew themselues by strange signes and miracles, then the disciples of Christ, according to the saying of our Sauiour Iesu Christ: There shall rise vp amongst you false prophets, which shall worke strange miracles. Secondly, it is approued, that they are greater and stranger miracles, to confesse the truth,

A great miracle to loue a mans enemy.

and to doe iustice, then to worke any other kinde of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered thereby, that whatsoeuer minister or deacon doth loue his enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the world, and flieth from all worldly troubles, meekly sustaineth and suffereth most terrible and cruell threatnings and strokes for the gospel sake, hee worketh miracles, hauing thereby a testimony and witnesse, that he is the true disciple of Iesu Christ. And it is euident by the saying of our Sauiour Iesu Christ, Mat. 5. Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your father which is in heauen. And likewise John 10. Trust vnto your good works. Whereupon S. Gregory in his first booke of Dialogues, writeth thus: The estimation of a true life, consisteth in the vertue of his works, and not in the shewing of signes. Whereby it is fourthly concluded, by that which is aforesaid, that it is a more effectuall testimony and witnesse for a priest or deacon, that he is sent of God to confesse the truth, and follow Christ in the foresaid vertues, then to cast out diuels, or to doe any other miracles: as it is euident by the saying of Chrysostome before alleaged; Whomsoeuer thou doest see to cast out diuels, if the confession or acknowledging of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousnesse nor iustice in his hands, he is not a man of God. This is also confirmed by the words of Christ, Mat. 7. Many shall say vnto me in that day; Lord, Lord, haue not we prophecied in thy name; haue not we cast out diuels in thy name; and haue not we also wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will answer and say vnto them: forsomuch as I haue not knowne you at any time, depart from me yee workers of iniquitie. And as touching the second part, Chrysostome saith: If you see a man confessing and preaching the truth, and working righteousnesse, although he doe not cast out diuels, he is a man of God.

The true miracles of Christs ministers.

The testimony of a true priest.

Hereby it appeareth, that euery deacon, priest, or minister confessing the truth, and working iustice, hath a perfect and sure testimony that he is sent of God, and that it is not necessary for him to approue this his sending by the working of any miracle, in stead of working righteousnesse, neither by any testimoniall, the which should plainly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach.

The first part appeareth manifest by that which is already spoken, that all miracles in the time of antichrist shall cease in the elect.

The second part is also euident, forsomuch as none of the present preachers, can shew by the scripture of the law of God, that he is specially named thereunto.

And likewise doe I also affirme and say, as touching all preachers which shall come hereafter, that they are not named by name. But let no man here obiect Enoc and Elias, which were ancient preachers, and prophecied by the holy spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to proue, that this priest or deacon is sent of God to preach, because he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to proue, that he is not sent of God to preach, because he doth no miracles; but to confesse the truth, to worke righteousnesse, to contemne the world with the glory thereof, patiently to suffer rebukes, is a sufficient testimony for any priest or deacon, hauing knowledge of the law of God, freely to preach the Gospell of Iesus Christ, forsomuch as in such case he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the Apostle speaketh of in the 10. to the Romans: How should they preach, except they be sent? Whereupon the glosse of S. Augustine writeth thus: These things serue to set forth Gods grace, declaring that all our goodnesse is preuented of grace.

For he saith, beleefe commeth of hearing, hearing commeth of preaching, and preaching by the sending of God; so that al together wholly commeth out of the fountaine of grace, and preaching truly commeth of sending. This hath the glosse: how shall they then preach, without they be sent of God? And this is euident, that the first and principall sending is from God alone, as it is approued by Moyses.

The second sending is both from God and man, as by the example of Iosua and others, which were sent both by God and the rulers to preach.

The third sending is from man alone, the which is not founded in the law of God, but in mens traditions, which they rather esteeme.

The fourth sending, which hath but the name onely, is proper to them, which of themselues vnworthily vsurpe the office of preaching, as those false Prophets of whom God speaketh in the 23. of Jeremy; I did not send them, and they ran: I spake not vnto them, and they prophecied: if they had continued in my counsels, and had declared my words vnto my people, I would haue conuerted them from their euill waies, and wicked imaginations. And our Sauiour speaketh of these prophets in Matthew, saying: There shall arise false prophets. And Peter his true vicar, in his second Epistle and second chapter, prophecying vnto the faithfull beleeuers in Christ, speaketh thus of them: There were amongst the people false prophets, as there shall be amongst you also maisters of lies, through whom the truth shall be blaspheined and slandered. And that he might the better instruct the people to know them,

them, he addeth that they shall go about with fained words, for couetousnesse sake, to make merchandise of you.

The difference betweene the ministers of Christ and antichrist.

Wherefore euery faithfull man, diligently weighing these things in his mind, may now easily perceiue how great a number of false prophets there be, through whom the christian truth is blasphemed: and all couetous dealing is exercised: and these are they which freely preach lies. But the humble and true ministers of Christ, whersoeuer they doe appeare, by and by they are persecuted, whereby the prophecie of the Apostle is verified, which is written in the second Epistle to Timothy, the 3. All men, saith he, which desire to liue godly, shall suffer persecution: but the euill men and seducers shall prosper in their wickednesse, running daily more and more into all kind of errors. The wicked haue now so much preuailed, that they doe preach lies, making heretikes of the faithfull christians, neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, so that they doe not preach against the vices of the prelats. How then can you say, that antichrist is not exalted aboue all that which is called God, suppressing downe the members of Christ in his office, fortifying and fostering his members in lying? Therefore the true and faithfull disciples of Christ ought to stand ready girt about their loines, and shoes vpon their feete in defence of the Gospell, taking the sword in hand, which is the word of God: Ephes. 6. And to fight against the crafts of antichrist, who goeth about vtterly to extinguish the true preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Iesu Christ.

The ministers of antichrist do cloke the vices of their prelats.

¶ The second disputation in the Vniuersitie of *Prage, vpon the seuenteenth Article of Iohn Wickliffe,* most fruitfull to bee read; prouing by foure and twentie *reasons out of the Scriptures, how that princes and lords* temporall, haue lawfull authority and iurisdiction ouer the spiritualty and churchmen *both in taking from them, and correcting their abuses, according to their doings and deserts.*

TO the honor of almighty God, and of our Lord Iesu Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother the church, according to the congregation of our Vniuersitie of Prage, which auoiding alwaies to doe that shall be preiudiciall to the truth, hath deferred to giue their consent vnto the condemnation of the 45. Articles, wishing euen vnto this present, sufficient probation to be giuen of the condemnation of the said Articles, & particularly of euery one of them. Whereupon the said Vniuersitie doth alwaies require due proofe of the same, forsomuch as pope Damasus in his canon distinction 68. chap. Chorepiscopi, saith thus: That it is necessarie that whatsoeuer thing standeth not by due reason, should be rooted out. Whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the 45. Articles, if it stand not with proofe and sufficient demonstration for euery Article, it is necessary to be rooted out.

The condemnation of the xlv. articles lacketh reason, and therefore is not to be allowed.

But if any man will obiect and say, that to require a reason of euery thing, is to derogat from Gods diuine power. Vnto this obiection master William doth answer himselfe in his Philosophie, the first booke, almost at the end; where he intreating of the place, in Gen. 2. God made man of the slime of the earth, &c. hath these words: For in what point (saith we) are we contrary to the holy Scriptures, if wee seeke by reason to declare wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if that a wise man should say that a thing is done, and doe not declare how it is done: and another man speaketh the very selfesame thing, and declareth how it is done, what contrarietie is there? But forsomuch as they themselues know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might haue all men partakers with them of their ignorance, they would haue no man to inquire it out. But they would haue vs beleeue as ignorant people, neither to seeke any reason of our beliefe, that the prophecie might be fulfilled; Such as the people is, such shal be the priest. But we truly doe say, that in all things a reason is to be sought, if it may by any meanes bee found. But if that any man doe stay at any thing which the Scripture doth affirm, let him comit the same vnto faith, & vnto the holy Ghost. For Moses saith; If the lambe cannot be eaten, let it not be by and by consumed in the fire: but let him first call his neighbour which dwelleth next house vnto him; and if they also be not sufficient to eat the lambe, then let it be burned in the fire. So likewise, whenas we goe about to seeke any thing as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our selues to comprehend the same, let vs call our neighbour which dwelleth next house vnto vs: that is to say, let vs seeke out such a one as dwelleth in the same catholike faith with vs; and if then, neither we, neither yet hee be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of faith.

An allegorie vpon the Paschall lambe.

But these men, albeit they haue many neighbours dwelling neere vnto them, yet for very pride they will not call any man vnto them, chusing rather to continue still ignorant, then to ask anie question. And if they doe know any man to inquire for his neighbor in such case, by and by they cry out vpon him as an heretike: presuming more vpon their own heads, then hauing confidence in their wisdome. But I exhort you to giue no credit vnto their outward appearance, for already it is verified in them which the Satyrical Poet saith, No credit is to be giuē vnto the outward shew: for which of them all is it that doth not abound with most shamefull and detestable vices? And in another place he saith: They are very dainty of their speech, and haue great desire to keep silence. And thus much hath master Wilhelmus. Let all such heare whom this parable doth touch: for I with the rest of the masters, bachelors, and students of our Vniuersitie, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the 45. articles of Wickliffe without reason, is, and how greeuous a thing it were, if we should thereunto cōsent, do call together my neighbors, the doctors of this Vniuersitie, & all others which would obiect any thing against the same, that we might presently finde out the reason of the condemnation of this article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the clergy.

A protestation, whereby he giueth light vnto the reader, how the proposition aforesaid is to be vnderstood, and addeth, that the goods of the clergy are not vtterly to be taken away, but in case they doe abuse the same.

Notwithstanding I do professe that it is not my intent, like as it is not the meaning of the Vniuersity, to perswade that princes or secular lords should take away the goods from the clergy when they would, or how they would, and conuert them to what vse they list. But our whole intent is, diligētly to search out whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporalities from the clergy, may haue in it any true sense, whereby it may be defended without reproofe. Wherefore this article being the 17. in the number of the 45. is propounded vnder this forme: The lords temporall may at their owne will & pleasure, take away the temporall goods from the clergy, if they do offend, and therein continue. It is thus proued: The kings of the old Testament tooke away the temporall goods at Gods commandement from the clergy: that is to say, from the priests offending. Therfore the kings also of the new Testament, at Gods commandement, may doe the like, whenas the priests of the new law doe offend. The consequent dependeth vpon a similitude. And the antecedent is euident. First, it is proued by Salomon in the 3. of the kings, 2. chap. Which Salomon deposed Abiathar the high priest, because he had taken part with Adonias the brother of Salomon, to make him king, without the aduice either of Dauid, or of Salomon himselfe, which ought to raigne; and set vp Sadoc the priest in the place of Abiathar, because he had not consented with Abiathar, vnto Adonias, as it is written in the 3. booke of Kings, 1. chapter: where it is said; Adonias the sonne of Agithe, exalted himselfe, saying; I will raigne, and made vnto himselfe chariots and horsemen, and fortie men which should run before him: neither did his father rebuke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done this? For he was very comely, being second sonne, next to Absolon, and his talke was with Ioab the sonne of Saruia and Abiathar the priest, which tooke part with Adonias. But Sadoc the priest, and Banaias the son of Ioiada, and Nathan the Prophet, and Semei, and Serethi, and Felethi, and all the power of Dauids host, were not on Adonias part.

The seuenteenth article proued by 44. arguments.

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar, because he tooke part with Adonia, that he should be king against Salomon, the eldest son of king Dauid: wherefore it is written in the 3. booke, and 2. chap. of the kings: The king said vnto Abiathar the priest, go your waies vnto Anathoth thine owne field, for thou art a man of death; but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast carried the arke of the Lord before my father Dauid, and didst labor in all things wherein my father labored. Then did Salomon cast out Abiathar, that hee should be no more the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which he spake vpon the house of Hely in Silo.

Behold the most prudent king Salomon, according to the wisdome which was giuen him of God, did exercise his power vpon the said priest, putting him out of his priesthood, and setting in his place Sadoc the priest. This was a greater matter thē to take away the tēporalities. If thē in the law of Christ, which now raigneth ouer vs, a bishop should likewise rebell against the true heire of the kingdome, willing to set vp another for king, why should not the king or his heire haue power in like case, to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

1. Nabuchodonozor.

Item, it is also euident by the king Nabuchodonozor, which had power giuen him of God, to lead away the children of Israel, with their Priests and Leuites, into the captiuitie of Babylon: as it is written 4. booke of the Kings, 25. chapter.

2. Ioas.

Item, it is read in the 4. booke of Kings, and 12. chap. how that Ioas the most godly king of Iuda, according to the wisdome which God had granted him, took away all the consecrat vessels which Iosaphat, Ioram, and Ochosias, his fore-fathers kings of Iuda had consecrated, and those which he himselfe had offered, and all the treasure that could be found in the temple of the Lord, and in the kings palace, and sent it vnto Azahel king of Syria, and he departed from Ierusalem. Marke how this most holy king exercised his power, not onely in taking away the temporalities of the priests, but also those things which were consecrat in the temple of the Lord, to procure vnto the common wealth the benefit of peace.

4. Ezechias.

Item, in the 4. booke, and 18. chap. of the Kings, it is written, how that the holy king Ezechias took all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the kings treasury, and brake

brake downe the pillers of the temple of the Lord, and all the plates of gold which he himselfe had fastned thereupon, and gaue them vnto the king of the Assyrians, yet was he not rebuked of the Lord therefore, as he was for his other sinnes, as it appeareth in the second booke of Paralip. 32. chapter. For so much then as in time of necessitie, all things ought to be in common vnto christians, it followeth then that the secular lords in case of necessitie, and in many other common cases, may lawfully take away the moueable goods from the clergie, when they do offend.

5 Item, it is also read in the 12. of Matthew, that the disciples of Iesus for to slake their hunger vpon the Sabbath day, pulled the eares of corne, and did eate them, and the Pharisies rebuked them therefore; vnto whom Christ answered, Haue ye not read what Dauid did, when he was hungrie, and those that were with him; how he entred into the house of the Lord, and did eate the shew bread, which it was not lawfull for him, neither for them that were with him to eate, but only for the Priests? This storie is written in the first booke of the Kings, and 21. chapter. And the commandement in the 12. of Deuteronomie. Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawfull in time of necessitie to vse any thing, be it neuer so much consecrat. Otherwise, children by giuing their moueables to the consecration of any temple, should not bee bound to helpe their parents; which is contrarie and against the Gospell of S. Matthew in the 16. chapter: whereas our Sauiour sharpely rebuked the Pharisies, that for their owne traditions they did transgresse the commandement of God.

Dauid.

Case of necessitie.

6 Item, Titus and Vespasian secular princes, had power giuen them of God 24. yeares after the Lords ascension, to take away the temporalities from the priests which had offended against the Lords holy one, and thereby also bereft them of their liues: and it seemeth vnto many they did and might worthily do the same according to Gods good will and pleasure. Then for so much as our priests in these daies may transgresse and offend as much, and rather more against the Lords annointed, it followeth that by the pleasure of God, the secular Lords may likewise punish them for their offence.

Titus and Vespasian.

7 Our Sauiour being King of kings, and high Bishop, with his disciples, did giue tribute vnto Cæsar, as it appeareth Matth. 17. and commanded the Scribes and Pharisies to giue the like vnto Cæsar, Matth. 22. Whereby he gaue example vnto all priests that should come after him to render tribute vnto their kings: whereupon blessed S. Ambrose in his fourth booke vpon these words in the 5. of Luke, (Cast out your nets) writeth thus: There is another kind of fishing amongst the Apostles, after which manner the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, Cast out thy hooke, and that fish which commeth first vp, take him. And then vnto the purpose he saith: It is truly a great and spirituall document, whereby all christian men are taught, that they ought to be subiect vnto the higher powers, and that no man ought to thinke that the lawes of a king heere on earth are to bee broken. For if the Sonne of God did pay tribute, who art thou so great a man, that thinkest thou oughtest not to pay tribute? He payed tribute which had no possessions: and thou which daily seekest after the lucre of the world, why doest thou not acknowledge the obedience and dutie of the world? Why doest thou through the arrogancie of thy mind exalt thy selfe aboue the world, when as through thine owne miserable couetousnesse, thou art subiect vnto the world? Thus writeth Saint Ambrose, and it is put in the 11. quæst. 1. *Magnum quidem*. He also writeth vpon these words in the 20. of Luke, Shew me a penie, whose image it hath: If Christ had not the image of Cæsar, why did he pay any tribute? He gaue it not of his owne, but rendred vnto the world, that which was the worlds: And if thou wilt not be in danger of Cæsar, possesse not those things which are the worlds; for if thou hast riches, thou art in danger of Cæsar.

The example of Christ paying of tribute.

S. Ambrose mind.

Christ commanded tribute to be paid vnto the emperour.

Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing vnto any earthly king, forsake all those things, and follow Christ. If then all ecclesiasticall Ministers, hauing riches, ought to be vnder the subiection of kings, and giue vnto them tribute: it followeth that kings may lawfully by the authoritie which is giuen them, take away their temporalities from them.

8 Hereupon S. Paul acknowledging himselfe to be vnder the iurisdiction of the emperour, appealed vnto Cæsar, as it appeareth, Act. 25.

Paul appealed to the emperor. S. Ambrose there in the 8. distinct. Daniel 2.

I stand, saith he, at Cæsars iudgement seat, there I ought to be iudged. Whereupon in the 8. distinction, chapter, *quo iure*, S. Ambrose alleageth, that all things are lawfull vnto the emperour, and all things vnder his power. For the confirmation whereof, it is said, Daniel second chapter; The God of heauen hath giuen vnto thee a kingdome, strength, empire, and glorie, and all places, wherein the children of men do dwell, and hath giuen into thy power the beasts of the field, and fowles of the aire, and set all things vnder thy subiection.

9 Also in the 11. question and 1. he saith: If the emperour require tribute, we do not denie that the lands of the church shall pay tribute; if the emperour haue need of our lands, hee hath power to challenge them, let him take them, if he will; I do not giue them vnto the emperour, neither doe I denie them. This writeth S. Ambrose, expressely declaring that the secular lord hath power at his pleasure to take away the lands of the church; and so consequently the secular lords haue power at their owne pleasures to take away the temporall goods from the ecclesiasticall Ministers, when they do offend.

10 Item, S. Augustine writeth: If thou sayest, what haue we to do with the emperour? But now as I said, wee speake of mans law. The Apostle would be obedient vnto kings, and honor them, saying, Reuerence your kings: and do not say, what haue I to doe with the king? What hast thou then to do with possessions? By the kings law thy possessions are possessed. Thou hast said, what haue I to do with the king? but do not say, what haue thy possessions to do with the king? For then hast thou renounced the lawes of men, whereby thou diddest possesse thy lands. Thus writeth S. Augustine in his 8. distinction, by whose words it is manifest, that the king hath power ouer the church goods, and consequently may take them away from the clergie, transgressing or offending.

S. Augustine.

11 Item, in his 33. epistle vnto Boniface, he saith: What sober man will say vnto our kings, care not you in your kingdome, by whom the church of the Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it pertaineth not vnto you, who will be either a religious man, or who will be a church robber? Vnto whom it may be thus answered: Doth it not pertaine vnto vs in our kingdome, who will either liue a chast life, or who will be an vnchast whoremonger? Behold, this holy man sheweth heere how that it is the dutie of kings, to punish such as are robbers of churches, and consequently the proud clergie when as they do offend.

Magistrates, keepers of both tables.

The dutie of kings to punish the clergie.

12 Item, he writeth in the 33. quest. 7. *si de rebus*: The secular lords may lawfully take away the temporall goods from heretickes: and for so much that it is a case greatly possible that manie of the clergie are vsers of Simonie, and thereby heretikes; therefore the secular lords may very lawfully take away their temporalities from them. For what vnworthie thing is it, saith Saint Augustine, if the Catholikes do possesse according vnto the will of the Lord, those things which the heretikes held? For so much as this is the word of the Lord vnto all wicked men, Matth. 21. The kingdome of God shall be taken away from you, and giuen vnto a nation, which shall do the righteousnesse thereof; is it in vaine which is written in the 11. chapter of the booke of Wisdome? The iust shall eate the labours of the wicked.

Matth. 21.

Wisdome 11.

And whereas it may be obiected as touching the desire of other mens goods; Saint Augustine answereth, that by that euidence the seuen nations, which did abuse the land of promise, and were driuen out from thence by the power of God, may obiect the same vnto the people of God, which inhabite the same. And the Iewes themselues, from whom, according vnto the word of the Lord, the kingdome is taken away and giuen vnto a people, which shall doe the workes of righteousnesse, may obiect the same vnto the church of Christ, as touching the desire of other mens goods; but Saint Augustines answere is thus:

An obiection of the desire of other mens goods.

Wee, saith hee, do not desire another mans goods, for so much as they are ours by the commandement of him, by whom all things were made. By like euidence the clergie hauing offended, their temporall goods are made the goods of others, for the profit of the church. To this purpose also, according to Saint Augustine, scrueth the 14. question 4. Vnto a misbeleeuer, it is not a halfe-penie matter, but vnto the faithfull is a whole world of riches: shall we not then conuince all such to possesse another mans goods, which seemed to haue gathered great riches together, and know not how to vse them; for that truelie is not anothers, which is possessed by right, and that is lawfullie possessed, which is iustly possessed, and that is iustlie possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that is euill possessed is another mans, and he doth ill possesse it, which doth euill vse it.

S. Augustine 14. question 4.

If then any of the clergie doe abuse the temporall goods, the temporall lords may at their owne pleasure, according vnto the rule of charitie, take away the said temporall goods from the clergie so transgressing. For then according to the allegation aforesaid, the clergie doth not iustly possesse those temporall goods, but the temporall lords proceeding according to the rule of charitie, do iustly possesse those temporalities, for so much as all things are the iust mans. 1. Corinth. 3. chapter. All things, saith the Apostle, are yours; whether it be Paul or Apollo, or Cephas, either the world, either life, or death, or things present, or things to come; for all things be yours, you be Christs, and Christ is Gods. Also 23. quest. 7. *Quicunque*, it is written: *Iure diuino omnia sunt iustorum*. The words of Saint Augustine in that place, *ad Vincentium*, bee these: Whosoeuer, saith hee, vpon the occasion of ths law or ordinance of the emperour, doth molest or persecute you, not for loue of anie charitable correction, but onely for hatred and malice to doe you displeasure, I hold not with him in so doing.

1. Corinth. 3.

By Gods law, *cuncta iustorum esse dicuntur.*

And although there is nothing heere in this earth, that anie man may possesse assuredly, but either hee must hold it by Gods law, by which *cuncta iustorum esse dicuntur*: that is, all things be said to pertaine to the possession of the iust: or else by mans law, which standeth in the kings power to

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set and to ordaine, &c. Here by the words of Augustine alleaged, yee see all things belong to the possession of the iust, by Gods law.

13 The clergie subiect vnto the Emperour and King, by meanes of their possessions.

Item, for so much as the clergie by meanes of their possessions are in danger of the Emperor and King: it followeth, that if they doe offend, the Emperor or King may lawfullie take away their possessions from them. The consequent dependeth on this poynt, for so much as otherwise they were not in subiection vnder the Emperor or King: and the antecedent is manifest by the 11. question and 1. Parag. *His ita respondetur*. Where as it is specified in Latine thus: [*His ita respondetur, Clerici ex officio Episcopo sunt supposti, ex possessionibus prædiorum imperatori sunt obnoxij: ab Episcopo vnctionem, decimas, & primitias accipiunt; ab imperatore verò prædiorum possessiones nanciscuntur:*] that is to say: The clergie by meanes of their office are vnder the Bishop, but by reason of their possessions they bee subiect vnto the Emperor: Of the Bishop they receiue vnction, tithes, and first fruites; of the Emperor, they receiue possessions. Thus then it is decreed by the Emperiall law, that liuelihoods should be possessed: whereby it appeareth, that the clergie by the possession of their liuelihoods are in danger of the Emperour: for him to take away from them, or to correct them according to their deseruings, and to haue the controlement of them, as it shall seeme good vnto him.

14 Vsers of Simonie are punished by the ciuill Magistrate.

Item, the temporall Lords may take away the temporalities from such as vse Simonie, because they are heretickes. *Ergo*, this Article is true.

The antecedent is manifest, for so much as the secular Lords may refuse such as vse Simony, and punish them except they doe repent. For by the decree of Pope Paschasius in the first and last question it appeareth, that all such as vsed Simonie, were to be refused of all faithfull people, as chiefe and principall heretickes; and if they doe not repent after they be warned, they are also to be punished by the externe power. For all other faults and crimes, in comparison of Simonie, be counted but light, and seeme small offences.

Paschasius in 1. q. vlt. cap. pater.

The Laitie correcters of the Clergie.

Whereupon the glosse expounding the same text, saith, that by this word externe, is vnderstood the laitie, which haue power ouer the clergie, besides the Church, as in the 17. distinct. [*Non licuit, & 23. quæst. 5. principes.*] Whereby it is euident, that the temporall Lords may take away the temporall goods from the clergie when as they doe offend.

Gregorie writeth to the French Queene.

Item, Saint Gregorie in the Register vpon his 7. booke and 9. Chapter, writeth thus vnto the French Queene: For so much as it is written that righteousnesse helpeth the people, and sinne maketh them miserable: then is that kingdome counted stable, when as the offence which is knowne, is soone amended.

Wicked priests the destruction of the people.

Therefore, for so much as wicked priests are the cause of the ruine of the people, (for who shall take vpon him, to be intercessor for the sinnes of the people, if the Priest which ought to intreate for the same, haue committed greater offences?) and vnder your dominions the Priests doe liue wickedly and vnchastly: therefore that the offence of a few might not turne to the destruction of many, we ought earnestly to seeke the punishment of the same. And it followeth: If we doe command any person, we doe send him forth, with the consent of your authoritie, who together with other Priests, shall diligently seeke out, and according vnto Gods word correct and amend the same. Neither are these things to be dissimuled, the which we haue spoken of, for he that may correct any thing, and doth neglect the same, without all doubt he maketh himselfe partaker of the sinne or offence.

Therefore foresee vnto your owne soule, prouide for your nephews, and for such as you doe desire to raigne after you, prouide for your countrey, and with diligeuce prouide for the correction and punishment of that sinne, before our Creator doe stretch out his hand to strike.

S. Gregorie to the french King.

And in his next Chapter, he writeth vnto the French King: Whatsoeuer you doe vnderstand, to pertaine either vnto the honour and glory of our God, to the reuerence of the church, or to the honour of the priests, that doe you diligently cause to be decreed and in all points to be obserued. Wherefore once againe we doe mooue you, that you commaund a Synode to be congregate, and as we wrote lately vnto you, to cause all the carnall vices which raigneth amongst your Priests, and all the wickednesse and Simonie of your Bishops, which is most hard to be condemned and reproued; vtterly to be banished out of your kingdome; and that you will not suffer them to possesse any more substance vnder your dominion, then Gods commandement doth allow.

Beholde how carefully blessed Gregory doth exhort the Queene and the King to punish the vices of the clergie, lest through their negligence they should be partakers of the same: and how they ought to correct their subiects. For as it is conuenient to be circumspect and carefull against the outward enemies, euen so likewise ought they to be against the inward enemies of the soule. And like as in iust warre against the outward enemies, it is lawfull to take away their goods, so long as they continue in their malice, so also is it lawfull to take away the goods of the clergie, being the inward enemie. The consequent is prooued thus, for so much as the domesticall enemies are most hurtfull.

Item, it is thus argued: If God be, the temporal Lords may meritoriouslie and lawfully take away the temporall goods from the Clergie, if they doe offend. For this point let vs suppose that wee speake of power, as the true autentike Scripture doth speake, Matth. 3. 9. God is able euen of these stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham.

Whereupon it is thus argued: For if God he, he is omnipotent, and if he so bee, hee may giue like power vnto the secular Lords. And so consequently they may meritoriouslie and lawfully vse the same power. But lest that any man may obiect, that a proofe made by a strange thing is not sufficient, it is therefore declared how that the temporall Lords haue power to take away their almes bestowed vpon the church, the church abusing the same, as it shal be prooued hereafter. And first thus: It is lawfull for kings in cases limited by the law to take away the moueables from the Clergie when they do offend: it is thus proued; For the temporall Lords are most bound vnto the works of greatest mercie most easie for them, but in case possible, it should be greater almes, and easier temporall dominion, to take away their almes from such as build therwithal vnto eternall damnation, through the abuse therof, then to giue the said almes for any bodily relefe. *Ergo*: the assumption is true.

Whereupon first this sentence of the law of Christ in the 2. Thes. 3. is noted, whereas the Apostle writeth thus: When we were amongst you, we declared this vnto you, that hee that would not worke should not eate. Wherefore the law of nature doth licence all such as haue the gouernance of kingdomes, to correct the abuse of the temporalities which would be the chiefe cause of the destruction of their kingdomes: whether the temporall Lords or any other had endowed the Church with those temporalities or not. It is lawfull for them in some case to take away the temporalities, as it were by way of physicke to withstand sinne, notwithstanding any excommunication, or other ecclesiasticall censures, for so much as they are not endowed, but only with condition thereunto annexed.

When and how the title of any gift is lost.

Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the endowing, or inriching of any church, is, that God should be honoured; the which condition if it once faile, the contrarie taking place, the title of the gift is lost: and consequently the Lord which gaue the almes ought to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not to let the fulfilling of iustice. Secondlie, according to the Canon law, 16. quest. 7. this sentence is noted, where it is thus spoken as touching the children, nephewes and the most honest of the kinred of him which hath builded or endowed any church: That it is lawfull for them to bee thus circumspect, that if they perceiue the priest do defraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish or warne him, or else complaine of him to the bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the bishop himselfe attempt to do the like, let them complaine of him to his Metropolitane: and if the Metropolitane doe the like, let them not deferre the time, to report it in the eares of the king. For so saith the canon, Let them not deferre to report it in the eares of the king. To what end I pray you, but that he should do correction? neither is it to be doubted, but that correction doth more appertaine vnto the king in this point for their goods, whereof he is chiefe Lord by a subtraction proportional, according to the fault or offence.

It is lawfull for the ciuill rulers to correct the clergie.

Item, it is thus prooued: It is lawfull for the secular Lords by their power to doe correction vpon the clergy by some kind of fearefull discipline apertaining to their secular power. *Ergo*, by like reason it is lawfull for them by their power to doe such correction, by all kind of fearefull discipline pertaining vnto their secular power. For so much then as the taking of their temporalities is in kind of fearefull discipline pertaining vnto the secular power: it followeth that it is lawfull for them thereby to doe such correction. And consequently it followeth that the truth is thus to be prooued. The consequent is euident: and the antecedent is prooued by Isidore 23. *quest.* 5. *Principes*. Where it is thus written: There should bee no secular powers within the church, but only for this purpose, that whatsoeuer thing the priests or ministers cannot bring to passe by preachings or teachings, the secular powers may command the same by the terror & feare of discipline. For oftentimes the heauenlie kingdome is profited and holpen by the earthly kingdome, that they which are in the church, and doe any thing contrarie vnto faith and discipline, by the rigour of the princes may bee troden downe, and that the power of the rulers may lay that discipline vpon the necks of the proud and stifnecked, which the vtility and profit of the church cannot exercise or vse.

Item, all things that by power ought to worke or bring to any perfect end by the reasonable measuring of the meane thereto, it may lawfully vse by power, the subtraction or taking away of the excesse and the addition of the want of the meanes, according as shall bee conuenient or meete for the measure to be made. For so much then as the secular Lords ought by their power to prouide for the necessarie sustentation of the Christian Clergie by the reasonable measuring of their temporalties, which they are bounde to bestow vpon the Christian clergie, it followeth that they may lawfully by their power vse ỹ taking away or putting vnto of those tẽporalties according

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according as shall be conuenient for the performance of that reasonable matter.

Item, it is lawfull for the clergie, by their power to take away the sacraments of the church from the laity customably offending, for so much as it doth pertaine to the office of the christian ministers by their power to minister the same vnto the laie people. Wherefore, for so much as it doth pertaine vnto the office of the laitie, according vnto their power to minister, and giue temporalities to the clergie of Christ, as the Apostle saith, 1. Cor. 9. It followeth, that it is also lawfull for them by their power to take away the temporalities from the clergie, when they doe customablie sinne and offend.

20 Item, by like power may he which giueth a stipend or exhibition, withdraw and take away the same from the vnworthie labourers, as he hath power to giue the same vnto the worthie labourers: for so much then as temporalities of the clergie, are the stipends of the laytie; it followeth that the lay people may by as good authoritie take away againe the same from the clergy, which will not worthily labour, as they might by their power bestow the same vpon those, which would worthily labour, according to the saying of the Gospell, Matth. 21. The kingdome shall be taken away from you, and giuen vnto a people which shall bring forth the fruits thereof.

21 Item, it is also lawfull for the secular lords, by their power to chastise and punish the lay people when they do offend, by taking away of their temporalities, according to the exigent of their offence, for so much as the lay people are subiect vnder their dominion. Wherefore the clergie being also subiect vnder the dominion of the secular lords, as appeareth, Rom. 13. and many other places, it is euident that it is lawfull by their power to punish the clergie, by taking away of their temporalitities, if their offence do so deserue.

22 Item, the true and easie direction of the clergie vnto the life of Christ and the Apostles, and most profitable vnto the laitie, that the clergie should not liue contrarie vnto Christs institution, seemeth to be the taking away of their almes, & those things which they had bestowed vpon them. And it is thus proued: That medicine is most apt to be laid vnto the sore, whereby the infirmitie might sooneſt be holpen, and were most agreeable vnto the patient: Such is the taking away of the temporalities: Ergo, this article is true. The minor is thus proued, for so much as by the abundance of temporalities the worme or serpent of pride is sprung vp, whereupon vnsatiable desire and lust is inflamed, and thereby proceedeth all kind of gluttonie and leacherie. It is euident in this point, for so much as the temporalities being once taken away, euery one of those sinnes is either vtterly taken away, or at the least diminished, by the contrarie vertue induced and brought in. It seemeth also most pertinent vnto the laitie, for so much as they ought not to lay violent hands vpon their ministers, or to abiect the priestly dignitie, neither to iudge any of the clergie in their open courts. It seemeth also by the law of conscience, to pertaine vnto the lay people, for so much as euery man which worketh any worke of mercie, ought diligently to haue respect vnto the abilitie of them that he bestoweth his almes vpon, lest that by nourishing or helping loiterers, he be made partaker of his offence. Whereupon, if a priest do not minister of their spiritualties, as Hostiensis teacheth in his third booke, of their tithes, first fruits and oblations, that the people ought to take away the almes of their tithes from them.

23 Item, it is confirmed by the last chapter of the 17. question, out of the decree of rents appropriat vnto the church, quicunq;. Whereas the case is put thus, that a certaine man hauing no children, neither hoping to haue any, gaue all his goods vnto the church, reseruing vnto himselfe the only vse and profits thereof: it hapned afterward that he had children, and the bishop restored againe his goods vnto him, hoping not for it. The bishop had it in his power, whether to render again or no, those things which were giuen him, but that was by the law of man, and not by the law of conscience. If then by the decree of the holy doctor S. Augustine in his sermon of the life of the clergie, Aurelius the bishop of Carthage had no power by Gods law to withhold that which is bestowed vpon the church for the necessitie of children, by the which law, the wanton, proud, and vnstable clergie being more then sufficiently possessed and inriched, do detaine and keepe backe the temporalities to the detriment and hurt of their owne state, and of the whole militant church, the secular patrons being thereby so impouerished, that they are compelled by penurie to rob and steale, to oppresse their tenants, to spoile and vndo others, and often times by verie necessitie are driuen to beggerie.

24 Item, suppose that a priest and minister, how grieuously soeuer he do offend, by what kind or signe of offence soeuer it bee, as it was in the bishop Iudas Iscarioth, of the religious Monke Sergius, of pope Leo the heretike, and manie other priests, of whom the Scripture and chronicles make mention, and daily experience doth teach vs the same: it is euident that as it is supposed, the priests in the kingdome of Boheme grieuouslie offending, it is the kings part, for so much as he is supreme head next vnder God, and lord of the kingdome of Boheme, to correct and punish those priests. And for so much as the gentlest correction, and punishment of such as be indurate in their malice, is the casting away of their temporall goods, it followeth, that it is lawfull for the king to take away temporalities. Wherefore it should seeme verie maruellous and strange, if that priests riding about, should spoile virgins, violently corrupt and defile honest matrons, if in such case it were not lawfull for them to take away their armours, weapons, horses, guns and swords from them. The like reason were it also, if they had vnlawfully conspired the death of the king, or that they would betray the king vnto his enemies.

Item, whatsoeuer any of the clergie doth require, or desire of the secular power, according vnto the law and ordinance of Christ, the secular power ought to perfome and grant the same. But the clergie being letted by riches, ought to require helpe of the secular power, for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo the secular power ought in such case by the law of Christ, to take vpon them the office or duty of getting, keeping, and distributing all such maner of riches. The minor is hereby proued, that no man ought to haue riches, but to that end, that they be helps, preferring and helping vnto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore in case that secular possession do hinder the clergie from their dutie, the secular power ought to take it away, for so did the Apostles, Act. 6. saying, It is not lawfull for vs to leaue the word of God vntaught, and to minister to tables.

And thus hitherto hath Iohn Hus prosecuted Wickliffes articles, with long arguments and reasons, the which were too long a trauell, neither agreeable for this place, to alleage all the whole order of his reasons and proofes, which he vsed in that disputation, aboue the number of twentie more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, the which he alleageth out of the Scriptures, Decretals, S. Ambrose in his booke of offices, S. Augustine in his 5. booke and 5. quest. and also vnto Macedo, Isidore, the councell of Nice, Gregorie his 11. quest. Bernard vnto Eugenius in his third booke, and out of Lincolniensis 61. epistle, besides many other moe. The sum of all which testimonies tend vnto this end, that he might vtterlie take away all earthly rule and dominion from the clergie, and to bring them vnder the subiection and censure of kings and emperours, as it were within certaine bonds, the which is not only agreeable vnto equitie and Gods word, but also profitable for the clergie themselues. He teacheth it also to be necessarie, that they should rather be subiect vnder the secular power, then to be aboue them, because that else it were dangerous, lest that they being intangled with such kind of busines, they should be an easier prey vnto Satan, and sooner trapped in his snares. And thereby it should come to passe that the gouernance and principalitie of all things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergie, the lawfull authoritie of kings and princes should not only be giuen ouer vnto them, but in a manner as it were grow out of vse: specially for so much as alreadie in certaine kingdomes and common wealthes, the Eccleſiasticall power is growne vnto such height, that not only in Boheme, but also almost throughout all the common wealthes, they do occupie the third, or at least the fourth part of the rents and reuenues. And last of all, he alleageth the example of Gregorie and of Mauritius, and afterward the propheciе of Hildegardis, writing in this maner: *Hildegardis.*

As the ecclesiasticall ministers do willingly receiue reward and praise of kings and rulers for their good deeds: So also ought they when they do offend, willingly suffer and receiue punishment at their hands for their euill doings. The consequent holdeth thus; for so much as the punishment meekely and humblie receiued for his offence doth more profit a man, then his praise receiued for any good worke. Whereupon S. Gregorie writeth thus vnto Mauritius the emperour when he did persecute him, saying: I beleeue that you do please almightie God so much the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, which haue bin so euill a seruant vnto him. If then this holy Pope did so humblie and meekely, without any offence, suffer this affliction of the emperour, why should not any of the clergie, when they do offend, meekely sustaine punishment, at the kings or rulers hands, vnder whom he is bounden to be subiect? When as the true vicar of Christ saith, the 1. of Peter and 2. chapter, Be yee subiect vnto euery creature for Gods cause, whether it be vnto the king, as most excellent, or vnto the rulers, as men sent of God, for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good, for so is the good will of God. *Gregorius ad Mauritium.*

Whereupon pope Leo, leaning vnto this rule, submitted himselfe vnto Ludouicus the emperour, as it is written in the 2. quest. 7. vnder these words: If we haue done any thing incompetently, or that we haue not obserued the vpright path and way of equitie amongst subiects, we will amend the same, either by your owne iudgement, either else by the aduice or iudgement of those which you shal appoint for that purpose. For if we which ought to correct and punish other mens faults, do commit more grieuous our selues, we are not then the disciples of the truth (but as with sorow we speake it) we shall bee aboue all other, the masters of errour. *Pope Leo submitteth himselfe vnto the emperor Ludouicus.*

And in the tenth distinction he writeth thus: As touching the obedience vnto the emperour, as concerning the precepts and commandements of our emperours, and our predecessours bishops (the which the Glosse nameth emperours, which are annoynted after the manner of bishops) to bee obserued and

kept vnbroken, we do professe our selues by all meanes possible, as much as in vs lieth, or that we may and can by the helpe of God preserue and keepe them both now and euer. And if peraduenture any man do informe, or hereafter shall informe you otherwise, know you him assuredly, to be a lier and slanderer.

Marke how this deuout and holy pope, calling the emperors bishops, submitted himselfe according to the rule of S. Peter the Apostle vnder the obedience, and also punishment of the emperour. Wherefore then should not the clergie of the kingdome of Boheme submit themselues vnder the obedience of their king, for Gods cause, for to be punished if they do offend, and not only submit themselues vnto the king, but also vnto the rulers, and not only vnto the rulers, but vnto euery other creature? For by how much they do so humble, and abase themselues in this world for Gods sake, so much the more shall they be exalted with him: but what is the let thereof, but only pride, whereby antichrist doth exalt himselfe aboue the most humble and meeke Lord Iesus Christ?

The tyrannie and pride of the clergie.

Also it seemeth to appeare by that which is afore said vpon the taking away of the temporalities out of the prophecie of Hildegardis the virgin, the which he writeth in his bookes vnder Eugenius the pope in the councell of Treuerse, approued and allowed by many bishops of France, Italie, and Almanie, which were there present, where as also S. Bernard himselfe was present; the which virgin prophesying, spake in this manner. The kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred vp by the iust iudgement of God, shall set themselues against them, and runne vpon them: saying, We will not haue these men to raigne ouer vs with their rich houses, and great possessions, and other worldly riches, ouer the which we are ordained to be lords and rulers, and how is it meete or comely that those shauelings with their stoles and chisils should haue more souldiers, or more or richer armour or artillerie then wee? So is it not conuenient that one of the clergie should be a man of war, neither a souldier to be one of the clergie. Wherfore let vs take away from them, that which they do not iustly, but wrongfullie possesse. And immediatly after she sayeth thus: The omnipotent father equallie diuided all things: that is to say, the heauens he gaue vnto the heauenly creatures, and the earth vnto the earthlie. And by this meanes was there a iust diuision made betweene the children of men, that the spiritualtie should haue such things as belong vnto them, and the secular people, such things as are meete and necessarie for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppresse each other by violence, for God doth not command that the one sonne or child should haue both the cloke and the cote, and the other should go naked, but he willed that the one should haue the cloke, and the other the cote. Wherefore the secular sort ought to haue the cloke for the greatnesse of their worldly cares, and for their children, which dailie increase and multiply. The cote he giueth vnto the spiritualtie, that they should not lacke clothing, and that they should not possesse more then necessitie doth require. Wherefore we iudge and thinke it good that all these aforesaid be diuided by reason and equitie. And whereas the cloke and the cote are both found, there the cloke be taken away, and giuen vnto the needie, that they do not perish for lacke or want. These aforesaid spake the virgin Hildegardis, plainly foreshewing the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy by the secular Lords, and shewing for what cause they shal be so taken away. And what manner of diuision shall be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent vnprofitablie.

The prophecie of Hildegardis.

For so much as mention is heere made of Hildegardis, it shall not seeme impertinent, moued by the occasion hereof, to giue forth vnto the reader such things as we haue found in certaine old volumes, touching her prophecie of the comming of certaine false prophets, only meaning, as it seemeth, the begging friers, which sprang vp shortly after her time. The tenour whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

Hildegardis prophesying of friers and monkes.

In those daies, there shall rise vp a people without vnderstanding, proud, couetous, vntrustie, and deceitfull, the which shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certaine order of foolish deuotion, vnder the fained cloke of beggerie, preferring themselues aboue all other, by their fained deuotion, arrogant vnderstanding, and pretended holines, walking without shamefastnes, or the feare of God, inuenting many new mischiefes, being strong and stout: but this order shall be accursed of all wise men, and faithfull christians; they shall cease from labour, and giue themselues ouer vnto idlenesse: chusing rather to liue through flatterie, then by begging. Moreouer, they shall together studie, how they may peruersly resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noble men: how to seduce and deceiue the nobilitie, for the necessitie of their liuing and pleasures of this world; for the diuell will graft in them foure principall vices: that is to say, flatterie, enuie, hypocrisie and slander. Flatterie, that they may haue large gifts giuen them. Enuie, when they see gifts giuen vnto other, and not vnto them. Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation, they may please men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend themselues, and backbite others, for the praise of men and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach without deuotion or example of the martyrs, and shall detract the secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiuing almes of the poore, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselues with the common people, hauing familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceiue their husbands and friends by their flatterie and deceitfull words, and rob their husbands to giue it vnto them: for they will take all these stollen and euill gotten, and say, giue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you, so that they being curious to hide other mens faults do vtterly forget their owne; and alas, they will receiue all things of rouers, pickers, spoilers, theeues and robbers, of sacrilegious persons, vsurers, and adulterers, heretikes, schismatikes, apostataes, whores and bauds, of noble men, periurers, merchants, false iudges, souldiers, tyrants, princes, of such as liue contrarie to the law, and of many peruerse and wicked men, following the persuasion of the diuell, the sweetnesse of sinne, a delicate and transitorie life, and fulnesse euen vnto eternal damnation. All these things shall manifestly appeare in them vnto all people, and they day by day, shall waxe more wicked and hard hearted; and when as their wickednesse and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they go about their houses hungrie, and as mad dogs looking downe vpon the earth, and drawing in their neckes as doues, that they might be satisfied with bread: then shall the people crie out vpon them; Woe be vnto you ye miserable children of sorow, the world hath seduced you, the diuell hath bridled your mouthes, your flesh is fraile, and your hearts without sauour, your minds haue been vnstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanitie and folly, your dainty bellies desire delicate meats; your feet swift to run vnto mischiefe. Remember when you were apparantly blessed, yet enuious, poore but rich, simple, mightie deuout flatterers, vnfaithfull betrayers, peruerse detracters, holy hypocrites, subuerters of the truth, ouermuch vpright, proud, vnshamefast, vnstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gaine, meeke slanderers, religious, couetous, humble, proud, pitifull, hard hearted liers, pleasant flatterers, peace makers, persecutors, oppressors of the poore, bringing in new sects newly inuented of your selues, mercifull, wicked, louers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honor, maintainers of mischiefe, robbers of the world, vnsaciable preachers, men pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord: for Moyses the glorious prophet, spake verie well of you in his song: A people without counsell or vnderstanding: would to God they did know, vnderstand and foresee the end. You haue builded vp an high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall; euen as Simon Magus, whom God ouerthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you likewise through your false doctrin, naughtines, lies, detractions and wickednes, are come to ruine: and the people shall say vnto them, go ye teachers of wickednesse, subuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamitie, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which haue fained your selues to follow the life of the Apostles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in any part, sonnes of iniquitie, we will not follow the knowledge of your waies, for pride and presumption hath deceiued you, and insaciable concupiscence hath subuerted your erroneous hearts. And when as yet yee would ascend higher then was meete or comely for you, by the iust iudgement of God, you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobrie and shame. This blessed Hildegardis whose prophecie this is, flourished about the yeare of our Lord 1046, as it is written in Martins chronicles.

Also Hugo in his second booke of Sacraments, in the 2. part, 3. chap. and 7. saith: The laytie forsomuch as they intermeddle with earthlie matters necessarie vnto an earthly life, they are the least part of the bodie of Christ. And the clergie, for so much as they do dispose those things which pertaine vnto a spirituall life, are as it were the right side of the bodie of Christ. And afterward interpreting both these parts himselfe, he saith: A spirituall man ought to haue nothing, but such as pertaineth vnto God, vnto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the tithes and oblations which are offered vnto God: but vnto the christian and faithfull laytie, the possession of the earth is granted, and vnto the clergie the whole charge of spirituall matters is committed, as it was in the old Testament. And in his 7. chapter he declareth how that certaine things are giuen vnto the church of Christ, by the deuotion of the faithfull, the power and authoritie of the secular power reserued, lest there might happen anie confusion: For so much as God himselfe cannot allow no disordered thing. Whereupon oftentimes the worldly princes do grant the bare vse of the church, and oftentimes vse and power to exercise iustice, which the clergie cannot exercise by any Ecclesiasticall Minister, or any other person of the clergie. Notwithstanding they may haue certaine lay-persons, ministers vnto that office. But in such sort, saith he, that they do acknowledge the power which they haue, to come from the secular prince or ruler, and that they do vnderstand their possessions can neuer be alienat away from the kings power, but (if that necessitie or reason do require) the same possessions in all such case of necessitie do owe him obeysance and seruice. For like as the kings power ought not to turne away the defence or safegard which hee oweth vnto other: so likewise the possessions obtained and possessed by the clergie, according

Hugo de sacramentis part. 2.

to

to the dutie and homage which is due vnto the patronage of the kings power cannot by right be denied. Thus much writeth Hugo.

In the third act the same yeare, after the feast of S. Vitis, as touching Tithes, &c.

¶ Tithes are pure almes.

Almes. Mercie.

VPon this article it is to be noted, that for so much as almes is a worke of mercie, as S. Augustine, Chrysostome, and others do ioyntly affirme, and that mercie (according to Lincolniensis mind) for the present is a loue or desire to helpe the miserable out of his miserie: and for so much as the miserie of mankind is double: that is to say, spirituall and bodily: the which is the want or taking away of the good, and the goods of man is either the goods of the soule or of the bodie: And the goods of the soule is double (that is to say: the lightning of the mind, and the vprightnes of affection) the miserie of the soule is also double, as the darknesse of ignorance, and a froward and wilful swaruing from the truth. And both the goods of the soule are wont to be comprehended vnder one title of name: that is to saie, wisdome; and both the miseries of the soule vnder the name of follie. Whereupon all the whole goodnes of the soule is wisdome, and all the whole miserie thereof is ignorance: the miseries of the bodie are, lack of meat, that is to say, hunger, and lack of drinke, called thirst: and briefly, all miserie is the want of some thing which is desired. Also these are bodily miseries, nakednes, lacke of harbour, sickneſſe, and imprisonment. All the miseries therefore being numbred together, are but one of the soule, the which is follie and lacke of wisdome, and six of the bodie, the which the Lord in the 25. of Matthew doth plainely rehearse. There are also commonly appointed seuen bodily almes, that is to saie, to feed the hungrie, to giue drinke vnto the thirstie, to clothe the naked, to harbour the stranger or harbourlesse, to visit the sicke, and to burie the dead, the which all together are contained in these verses:

Two kinds of miseries. Two kinds of goodnesse.

Ill reason. Follie.

The miseries of the mind and bodie.

Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Visit the sicke, the hungrie feed,
Giue drinke to the thirstie, cloth the naked:
Burie the dead, the captiue redeeme,
The harbourlesse receiue to thy lodging.

What is almes.

There be also seuen other spirituall almes appointed, which are these: to teach the ignorant, to counsel him that is in doubt. To comfort him which is in heauines. To correct the offender. To forgiue him which hath offended against thee. To beare those which are grieuous. And to pray for all men: the which are also contained in these verses following:

Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora.

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Instruct the ignorant, the weake confirme,
Comfort the heaule heart, and correct sinne:
Forgiue the offender, beare with the rude,
Pray for all men both euill and good.

So that notwithstanding vnder the same, counsels and doctrine be comprehended. Thus writeth Thomas in the second part of the second quest. 32. article 2.

What almes is.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that in this present article our intent is only to intreat of bodilie almes, the which (as Thomas writeth in his 2. part. 2. quest. 32. artic. 1.) according vnto some mens minds is thus defined: Almes is a worke whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needie of compassion for Gods sake. And for so much as this definition serueth as well for the spirituall, as for the corporall almes: therefore to the purpose, almes is a worke, wherby any thing is giuen vnto the needie in body for compassion, and for Gods sake. Or that is giuen of compassion or pitie vnto the bodilie needie for Gods sake.

Whereupon it is manifest that almes, as S. Augustine and other holy men say, is a worke of mercie, as also to giue almes. As it appeareth by the name, for in the Greeke it is deriued from this word Elemonia, which is, mercie: for as in the Latine, this word Miseratio, which signifieth pitie, is deriued of Misericordia, which is, mercie; so this word Eleemosyna, which signifieth almes, is deriued of the Greeke word Elemonia, which is to say, mercie, and of the word Sina, which is to say, commandement, as it were a commandement of mercie, or otherwise of this word Elemonia. By this letter I, which is to say, God, and this word Sina, which is, commandement: As if it were said, the commandement of God, as Ianuensis in his booke intituled Catholicon affirmeth.

For our sauiour doth command in the 11. of Luke, to giue almes, saying, Giue almes, and behold all things are cleane vnto you: lest that in this point there may be any equiuocation, it is supposed presently, that the almes giuen of men, is a corporall almes giuen simply vnder the name of almes. Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tithes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of fortune, giuen by a man simplie vnder the name of almes for Gods sake.

Tithes.

These things being thus noted and supposed, the article is thus proued. Euerie gift of fortune, or temporall gift simplie giuen vnder the name of almes, is almes: But some tithes are the gift of fortune, or temporall gift vnder the name of almes. Therfore some tithes are almes. This consequent is manifest of it selfe. The maior appeareth by the first supposition: And the minor by the second.

Item, euerie gift giuen by a man euen of loue, to relieue and helpe the miserable out of his miserie, is an almes. The tenth part of the goods of fortune giuen by a man, simplie vnder the name of almes, for Gods sake, is giuen by the same man euen of loue, to helpe the miserable out of his miserie: Therefore the tenth part of the goods of fortune being giuen by any man simplie vnder the name of almes for Gods sake, is almes. The consequent is manifest. The maior appeareth by this, that euery such gift is either a spiritual or bodily almes. The minor seemeth hereby true, for so much as many holy men haue giuen, and do giue, euen for loue to relieue the miserable out of his miserie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that such kind of tithes are almes. For S. Augustine vpon these words of the Lord in the Gospell writeth thus: Woe be vnto you Pharisies which do tithe mint and anise: If they cannot be clensed without they beleeue in him, he which doth clense his heart through faith, to what purpose is it, that he saith, giue almes, and behold, all things are cleane vnto you? Let vs giue eare, and peraduenture he doth expound it himselfe. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gaue it for almes; the which any christian man doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, when he spake these words to them, as vnto men which would doe no almes. This the Lord foreknowing, said: Woe be vnto you Pharisies, which tithe mint and rue, and all kind of herbes; and passe ouer the iudgement and charitie of God; for this it is to do almes, if thou doest vnderstand it, begin with thy selfe: For how canst thou be mercifull vnto another, which art vnmercifull vnto thy selfe? This writeth S. Augustine, in plainly saying that tithes are almes.

S. Augustine proueth tithes to be pure almes.

Also in his Enchiridion 76. chap. vpon these words of Luke in the 11. chapter: Notwithstanding that which is more then sufficient, giue in almes, and all things shall be cleane vnto you, he saith thus: When he had rebuked them that they washed themselues outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniqitie and abomination, admonishing them, what, and how a man ought first to bestow almes vpon himselfe, and first to clense himselfe inwardly, he saith: That which doth remaine, giue in almes, and behold all things are cleane vnto you. Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had giuen them warning of, and what they neglected to do, that they should not iudge him ignorant of their almes, he saith, Woe be vnto you Pharisies: as though he should say, I verily gaue you warning that you should giue such almes, whereby all things might be cleane vnto you; but woe be vnto you which doe tithe mint, rue, and all kind of herbes, for I do know these your almes, that you should not thinke with your selues that you had giuen me warning therof, and neglect and passe ouer the iudgement and charitie of God, by the which almes ye might be clensed from all your inward filthinesse. And your bodies also which you do wash should be cleane. For all these things both inward, and also outward, as it is said in another place, clense that which is within, and the outward things shall be also cleane.

Augustin. in Enchirid.

But lest that he should seeme to refuse those almes which are giuen of the fruits of the earth, he said, you ought to haue done these things: That is to say, the iudgement and loue of God, and not to neglect the same. That is to say, the almes of the fruit of the earth. This writeth S. Augustine, expresly calling the tithes almes.

Also Chrysostome vpon the same words in the 11. of Luke, That which remaineth giue in almes, he saith thus: Whereas it was spoken of the Iewish kind of clensing, it is wholly passed. But for so much as tithes is a certaine almes, and the time was not yet expresly come to kill the sacrifices of the law, for this cause he saith, ye ought to do those things, and not to omit the other. And S. Thomas alleageth him in his glosse vpon S. Luke. And Chrysostome himselfe doth touch two points. First, that tithes is almes. Secondly, that tithes are in a maner lawfull, for so much as the gift thereof vnto the priests did not cease in the time of Christ.

Chrysostomus in 11. Luc.

Also Augustine in a certaine Sermon of giuing almes, saith thus, What is to say, Giue almes: and behold all things are cleane vnto you? Let vs giue eare, and peraduenture he doth expounded it himselfe. When he had spoken these words, without doubt they thought within themselues, who did giue almes, and how they did giue it. They tithed all that they had, and tooke out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gaue it for almes: the which no christian lightlie doth so. Marke what the Iewes did, they tithed not only their wheat, but their wine and oyle, and not that only, but also vile things, for the commandement of the Lord, as commin, rue, and anise, of the which they tooke the tenth part, and gaue it for almes. I thinke therefore, for so much as they called vnto their minds, and thought with themselues, that our Lord Christ spake in vaine vnto them that they did no almes, when as they knew their own works, that they tithed the smallest, and worst of all their fruits, and giue almes thereof: they mocked him amongst themselues, because he did speake in such sort vnto them, as vnto men that did no almes. The which the Lord foreseeing, by and by

added notwithſtanding: Wo be vnto you Scribes, Phariſies and hypocrites, which tithe your mint, commin, and rue, and all kind of herbs: that you may know, I do vnderſtand your almes. Truly, theſe are your tithes. Theſe are your almes: you tithe out the leaſt and worſt of all your fruits, and haue left the waightie matters of the law vndone. Heere S. Auguſtine often expoundeth, that tithes are almes: Alſo he writeth the like in his booke of homilies in his 6. homilie.

Item, for the proofe of this article that tithes are pure almes it is thus argued. For this propoſition, Tithes are pure almes, is indefinite, taking the truth for many of his particularities. It is moſt certaine that it is not damnable, but moſt catholike, that God is ſomething, the which being falſe in all particulars, it is only true for that alone which doth ſurmount all kind, Ergo, by like reaſon this particular is true, tenths are pure almes: For it is thus proued. Theſe tenths of a good lay-man being wholly diſtributed by a faithfull miniſter vnto a needie lay-man, according to a good intent, how can they be but pure almes, yea, and more pure then any almes giuen by any of the clergie being a fornicator? The whole antecedent I ſuppoſe as poſſible, and doubtfull vnto the condemners, if it be true.

Item, it is alſo thus proued: Theſe tithes, and all other goods of fortune, are pure almes in reſpect of God. For ſo much as euerie man, emperour and king, is a begger of God. As S. Auguſtine doth oftentimes affirme, and conſequentlie if he do receiue fruitfully any ſuch goodnes at the hand of God, the ſame is pure almes in reſpect of God: neither is there any faithfull man that will denie the ſame, but that it ſimplie followeth that the ſame is pure almes before God, Ergo it is pure almes.

It is alſo thus argued: All tithes are by themſelues, and euerie part of them almes: neither is there any reaſon contrarie vnto this, that they are almes. Ergo, they are pure almes. For they are by no other meanes or reaſon, then almes, if they be altogether themſelues almes: For ſo much as it followeth, if they bee by any other meanes or otherwiſe them almes, then they are otherwiſe then ſome almes, and for ſo much as they themſelues are ſome almes, it followeth, that they are otherwiſe then they are indeed; the which is falſe.

Sustenance and clothing, giuen to the Apoſtles, was almes, ergo alſo tithes.

But now to paſſe beyond the bounds of Logicke, it is to be demanded, whether before the church was indowed, or that ſuſtenance and clothing were giuen vnto the Apoſtles, there was any pure almes, or that they were giuen by any other meanes by bond of debt, amongſt men. And for ſo much as the reaſon is not to be fained, but that they were pure almes, ſo afterward the cuſtome of the ſame thing according vnto like reaſon doth not alter the kind of the reaſon. For ſo might beggers challenge by cuſtome beyond the puritie of almes, the temporalities vvhich they do beg. Neither doth debt vtterly exclude the puritie of almes before God: for euery man duely giuing almes, doth as he ought to do: as euery man duly receiuing his almes, ought ſo to receiue it as according to Gods will. And ſimplie to eſtabliſh any humane title, vpon the continuance of anie ſuch almes, it is altogether contrarie vnto the reaſon of almes. Therfore they do continually obſerue, and keepe the reaſon of the puritie of almes, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned, doth not deſtroy the puritie thereof: wherefore there is no cauſe why it ſhould be denied that tithes are pure almes, except that the proud ſhould be maruellouſlie extolled, contrarie to the humilitie of Chriſt. For they do challenge by the title of their lacke or want ſo to be pleaſed for their tithes. For ſo might the begging frier, by the continuance of his daily begging challenge according vnto the like quantitie or circumſtance. But it is no argument, that if the curat doe performe his corporall miniſterie, that he ought therefore to challenge tithes by any ciuill title, becauſe that as wel on the behalfe of him, which giueth the tithe, as alſo in the behalfe of the curat, euerie ſuch miniſterie ought freelie to be giuen, and not by any ciuil exchange. For ſo much as it is not required, but that rather the compariſon of ſuch exchanges are repugnant, for ſo much as alſo no man freely giueth any almes, except he do looke for the dutie of recompence, by the law of conſcience.

Item, all temporall goods beſtowed vpon the clergie, by the lay people vnder condition, as the goods of the church, are the almes of them which giue it; it is proued thus, for ſo much as all thoſe goods are the goods of the poore, as it appeareth by manie ſayings of holy men and by the lawes.

But they were not the goods of the poore, after they were meere ſecular goods, but only by the meane of the worke of mercie, whereby they were beſtowed vpon the poore: Ergo, they were pure almes. The conſequent dependeth vpon the definition of pure almes.

Item, all things changed to the vſe and power of another, either by ciuill exchange or Euangelicall is changed. But the church goods are ſo changed by one of theſe miniſteries. But the Euangelicall exchange is not to be fained, becauſe it is not done, either by buying or ſelling, or any other ciuil exchange. Therefore there doth not remaine, but only a pure gift, for hope of a heauenlie reward, the which is mercie, and ſo pure almes. And it ſeemeth to follow conſequently, that all the clergie receiuing ſuch almes, are not onlie in reſpect of God, as all other men, but in reſpect of men, beggers. For they would not ſo inſtantly require thoſe almes except they had need of them:

The clergie beggers.

neither ought we to be aſhamed thereof, or to be proud beggers: for ſo much as Chriſt touching his humanitie became a begger for vs, becauſe he declared his need vnto his Father, ſaying, &c.

Item, when anie king, prince, knight, citizen, or any other man doth giue vnto the clergie, or to any prieſt for his ſtipend, he giueth the ſame vnto the church of God, and to the priuate partie, as a perpetuall almes, that he ſhould attend to his vocation, preaching, praying and ſtudying. But this kind of giuing doth not ſuffice to ground any ſecular dominion amongſt the clergie, it followeth that the bare vſe remaineth in them, or the ſecular vſe without any ſecular power.

The maior appeareth hereby, for ſo much as otherwiſe almes ſhould not be a worke of mercie. Whereby it may alſo appeare, that tenths are pure almes giuen to the church, to the vſe of the poore.

And hereupon the holy men do ſay that tenths are the tributes of the needie ſoules. Whereupon S. Auguſtine in a Sermon made vpon the reſtoring of tiths ſaith: The giuing of tiths, moſt deare brethren, are the tributes of the poore ſoules, therefore pay your tribute vnto the poore. And by and by after hee ſaith; Therefore who deſireth either to get any reward, or to haue any remiſſion of ſinnes, by giuing of his tenthes, let him ſtudie to giue almes euen of the ninth part: ſo that whatſoeuer ſhall remaine more then a competent liuing, and decent clothing: that it be not reſerued for riot, but that it be laid vp in the heauenly treaſurie, by giuing it in almes to the poore. For whatſoeuer God doth giue vnto vs more then we haue need of; he doth not giue it vs ſpecially for our ſelues: but doth ſend it vs to be beſtowed vpon others by our hands: if we do not giue it, we inuade another mans poſſeſſions.

Tithes are to be giuen of the ninth part of goods.

Thus much writeth S. Auguſtine, and is repeated in the 16. queſtion, 1. Decimæ.

Alſo S. Ierome in an epiſtle, and it is put in the 16. queſtion, and 2. chap. Quicquid. Whatſoeuer the clergie hath, it is the goods of the poore.

Alſo S. Auguſtine in his 33. epiſtle vnto Boniface, and it is alleaged in the firſt queſtion and 12.

Alſo in the 23. queſtion 7. If we do poſſeſſe any thing priuatly, the which doth ſuffice vs, they are not ours, but the goods of the poore, whoſe ſtewards we are, except we do challenge to our ſelues a propertie by ſome damnable vſurpation. The gloſſe vpon that part of the 23. queſtion 7. ſaith: The prelats are but only the ſtewards of the church goods, and not Lords thereof.

S. Ambroſe alſo vpon this ſaying of the Goſpell, Luke the 16. Giue account of your bailiffeſhip, or ſtewardſhip: Hereby then do we learne, that they are not Lords, but rather ſtewards and bailiffes of other mens ſubſtance.

And S. Ierome, writing to Nepotianus ſaith: How can they be of the clergie? which are commanded to contemne and deſpiſe their owne ſubſtance, and to take away from a friend, it is theft, to deceiue the church it is ſacrilege, and to take away that which ſhould be giuen vnto the poore.

The clergie are ſtewards of the church goods, and not lords thereof.

And S. Bernard in his ſermon vpon theſe words (Simon Peter ſaid vnto Ieſus, chap. 17.) ſaid: Trulie the goods of the church, are the patrimonie of the poore: And whatſoeuer thing the miniſters and ſtewards of the ſame, not Lords or poſſeſſors, do take vnto themſelues more then ſufficient for a competent liuing, the ſame is taken away from the poore, by a ſacrilegious crueltie.

And Euſebius in his treatiſe vpon the pilgrimage of S. Ierome writeth thus: If thou doeſt poſſeſſe a garment, or anie other thing more then extreame neceſſitie doth require, and doeſt not helpe the needie, thou art a theefe and a robber. Wherefore dearely beloued children, let vs be ſtewards of our temporalities, and not poſſeſſors.

And Iſidore in his treatiſe De ſummo bono, chap. 42. ſaith: Let the biſhop know that he is the ſeruant of the people, and not Lord ouer them.

Iſidorus de ſummo bono.

Alſo in the 5. booke of decretals, extra. de donationibus, ſub authoritate Alexandri tertij, epiſcopi Pariſienſis; he ſaith: We beleeue that it is not vnknowne vnto your brotherhood, that a biſhop, and euerie other prelat is but a ſteward of the church goods, and not lord thereof. By theſe ſayings of theſe holy men it is euidentlie declared, that not only tithes, but alſo all other ſubſtance which the clergie hath by gift of worke of mercie, are pure almes, which after the neceſſitie of the clergie once ſatisfied, ought to be tranſported vnto the poore.

Secondly it is declared how that the clergie are not lords and poſſeſſours of thoſe goods, but miniſters and ſtewards thereof.

Thirdly it is ſhewed, that if the clergie do abuſe the ſame, they are theeues, robbers, and ſacrilegious perſons, and except they doe repent, by the iuſt iudgement of God they are to bee condemned.

And thus hitherto I may peraduenture ſeeme to haue made ſufficient long recitall out of Iohn Hus, but notwithſtanding that the commoditie of thoſe things, may abundantlie recompence the prolixitie thereof. Wherefore if I ſhall ſeeme vnto any man in the rehearſall of this diſputation to haue paſſed verie farre the bounds of the hiſtorie: let him thinke thus of mee, that at what time I toke in hand to write

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wite of these ecclesiasticall matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly ioyned with the cause of the church.

Neither that I did make more account of the historie which I had taken in hand then of the common vtilitie, whereunto I had chiefe respect. There were besides these certaine other articles: Whereupon the said John Hus had verie wisely and learnedly disputed, but these shall suffice vs for this present. And for the residue wee will passe them ouer, to the intent we may the more speedily returne whereas our story left, declaring what crueltie they vsed not onely against the bookes and articles of John Wickliffe, but also in burning his bodie and bones, commanding them to be taken vp 41. yeeres after he was buried, as appeareth by the decree of the said Synode, the forme whereof, wee thought hereunto to annex as followeth.

The order and maner of taking vp the body of Iohn Wickiffe, and burning his bones 41. yeeres after his death.

❧ The Decree of the Synode of Constance, touching the taking vp of the bodie and bones of Iohn Wickliffe to be burned, 41. yeeres after he was buried in his owne parish at Lutterworth.

The decree of the councell for the burning of Wickliffs dead bones.

Ex Actis concilij Constant.

FOrsomuch as by the authoritie of the sentence and decrée of the councell of Rome, and by the commandement of the church & the apostolicall sée after due delayes being giuen, they proceéded vnto the condemnation of the said John Wickliffe, and his memorie: hauing first made proclamation, and giuen commandement to call forth whosoeuer would defend the said Wickliffe, or his memorie (if there were any such;) but there did none appeare, which would either defend him or his memorie. And moreouer, witnesses being examined by commissioners appointed by pope John and his councell, vpon the impenitencie and finall obstinacie and stubbornnesse of the said John Wickliff (reseruing that which is to be reserued, as in such busines the order of ỹ law requireth;) & his impenitencie & obstinacy euen vnto his end, being sufficiently proued by euident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses of credit, was lawfullie giuen thereunto. Wherefore at the instance of the steward of the treasurie, proclamation being made to heare and vnderstand the sentence against this day: the sacred Synod declareth, determineth, and giueth sentence, that the said John Wickliffe was a notorious obstinat heretike, and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condemning both him and his memorie.

This Synod also decreéth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the said John Wickliffe, if it might be discerned and knowne from the bodies of other faithfull people, to bee taken out of the ground, and throwne away farre from the buriall of any church, according vnto the canon lawes and decrées. Which determination and sentence definitiue being read and pronounced, the lord president, and the foresaid presidents of the 4. nations, being demanded and asked whether it did please them or no? They all answered (and first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they allowed and confirmed all the premisses, &c.

¶ What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weépe, to sée these so sage and reuerend Catoes, to occupie their heades to take vp a poore mans bodie, so long dead and buried before, by the space of 41. yeeres? and yet peraduenture were not able to find his right bones, but tooke vp some other bodie, and so of a catholicke made an hereticke. Albeit, herein Wickliffe had some cause to giue them thanks that they would at least spare him so long till hee was dead, and also to giue him so long respite after his death, 41. yeeres to rest in his sepulchre before they vngraued him, and turned him from earth to ashes: which ashes also, they tooke and threw into the riuer. And so was he resolued into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby vtterly to extinct and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliffe for euer. Not much vnlike to the example of the old Pharisies and sepulcher-knights, which when they had brought the Lord vnto the graue, thought to make him sure neuer to rise againe. But these and all other must know, that as there is no counsell against the Lord: so there is no keeping downe of veritie, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged vp his bodie, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes: yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine with the fruit and successe thereof they could not burne, which yet to this day for the most part of his articles doe remaine. Notwithstanding, the transitorie bodie and bones of the man was thus consumed and dispersed, as by this picture here aboue set forth to thine eies (gentle Reader) may appeare.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the storie and time of Wickliffe: let vs now (by the supportation of the Lord) proceéd to intreate and write of the rest, which either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same Vniuersitie, and raised vp (as ye would say) out of his ashes were partakers of the same persecution. Of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his booke, De sacramentis & sacramentalibus, cap. 53. Where he saith, that after Wickliffe many suffered most cruell death, and many mo did forsake the realme.

Ex Th. Walden. lib. de sacrament.

In the number of whom was William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purney, Richard White, William Thorpe, Raynold Pecocke B. of S. Assaph, and afterward of Chichester.

Laurence Redman, Dauid Sawtre, John Aschwerby, M. James, Th. Brightwell, William Hawlam, Rafe Grenhurst, I. Scut, Philip Norice.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Laurence Redman master of Arte, Dauid Sautre diuine, John Aschwarby vicar, as they call him, of S. Marie Church at Oxford, William James an excellent young man well learned, Thomas Brightwell, and William Hawlam a ciuillian, Rafe Grenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norice: which

which being excommunicated by pope Eugenius the fourth, in the yeere of our Lord, 1446. appealed vnto a generall or œcumenical councell.

Peter Paine. Peter Paine, who flying from Oxford vnto Boheme, did stoutlie contend against the Sophisters, as touching both kinds of the sacrament of the last supper. Who afterward among the rest of the Orators was one of the 14. that was sent vnto the councell at Basill: whereas by the space of three daies, he disputed vpon the 4. article, which was as touching the ciuill dominion of the clergie, Anno 1438. Also the Lord Cobham, &c. with diuers others besides whose names are mentioned in the kings writ sent to the shiriffe of Northampton, which writ of the king followeth in this tenor: Rex vicecomiti Northamptoniæ salutem, &c. For somuch as John Attpate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, Ro. Bzewod, &c. bee Recettours and fautors of heretikes, and especially of John Woodward priest, publikely defamed and condemned of heresie, will not be iustified by the censures of the church, as the reuerend father John bishop of Lincolne hath certified vs: We therefore willing to withstand all defenders and fautors of such heresies, do will and command as well the forenamed, as namely the foresaid John Woodward to bee apprehended, straitly charging the same to bee emprisoned by their bodies or otherwise punished as shall seeme good to the Iustices, vntill they and euery of them shall submit themselues to the obedience of the foresaid bishop in this behalfe accordinglie. Wherof faile you not vnder paine of an hundred pound. Witnesse our selues: Beauen at our Manor of Langley the eight day of March, the 12. yeere of our raigne.

Lord Cobham.

To these aboue rehearsed and other fauourers of Wicklike, within this our countrie of England, wee may adde also the Bohemians: forsomuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliffe, in that countrie also tooke rote, comming from England to Boheme, by this occasion as in storie here followeth.

The occasion how the doctrin of Wickliffe came to Boheme.

There chanced at that time a certaine student of the countrie of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthie house and also of a noble stocke. Who returning home from the Vniuersitie of Oxford, to the Vniuersitie of Prage: carried with him certaine bookes of Wickliffe, De realibus Vniuersalibus, De ciuili iure, & diuino, De ecclesia, De quæstionibus varijs contra clerum, &c. It chanced the same time, a certaine noble man in the citie of Prage, had founded and builded a great church of Matthias or Mattheus, which church was called Bethleem: giuing to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers euery day, to preach both holie day and working day to the people. Of the which two preachers, this John Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellentlie fauoured for his worthie life amongst them. This John Hus hauing familiaritie with this young man, in reading and perusing these bookes of Wickliffe, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openlie in the schooles, but also in his sermons: commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heauenlie man, wishing himselfe when he should die, to be there placed whereas the soule of Wickliffe should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliffes doctrine enough.

Wicleuus vir bonus, sanctus, cœlo dignus.

The great affection of John Hus to John Wickliffe.

And thus much briefelie concerning the fauorers and adherents of John Wickliffe, in generall. Now particularlie and in order let vs (by Christs grace) prosecute the stories and persecutions of the said parties aforenamed, as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby, and walter Brute.

The historie of William Swinderby.

Anno 1389

Ex Registro Episcopi Herfordensis.

W. Swinderby first examined.

Denouncers of W. Swinderby 3. Friers, Frelby, Hincely, Blarton.

In the yeere 1389. William Swinderby priest within the diocesse of Lincolne, being accused and detected vpon certaine opinions, was presented before John bishop of Lincolne, and examined vpon certaine articles in the church of Lincolne, after the forme and order of the popes law, according to their vsuall rite obserued, his denouncers were these: frier Frisby obseruant, frier Hincely Augustine: and Thomas Blarton Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in forme of words as they put them vp, might seeme something strange here to be recited: yet to the intent that all men may see the spitefull malice of these spider friers, in sucking all things to poison, and in forging that is not true, as in processe (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appeare by his answers, I thought good here to notifie the same.

That men may aske their debts by charitie, but in no manner for debt to imprison any man: and that hee so imprisoning is accursed.

That if parishioners doe know their Curate to be a lechour incontinent, and an euill man, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or else they be fautors of his sinnes.

That tithes purelie be almose, and in case that curats bee euill men, the same may lawfullie be conferred to other men.

That for an euill curate to curse his suget for withholding of tithes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedlie and vndulie from them their monie.

That no prelat may curse a man, except hee know before that he is cursed of God.

That euery priest may absolue any sinner being contrite, and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishop) to preach the Gospell vnto the people.

That a priest taking any annuall pension vpon couenant, is in so doing a simoniacke and accursed.

That any priest being in deadlie sinne, if hee giue himselfe to consecrate the bodie of the Lord, hee committeth idolatrie rather then doth consecrate.

That no priest entreth into any house, but to euill intreate the wife, the daughter or maid. And therefore hee admonished the good man of the house, to take heed what priest he let into his house.

Another conclusion falslie to him obiected: That a childe is not truelie baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, or the godfather or godmother be in deadly sinne.

Item, that no man liuing against the law of God is a priest, how euer he were ordained priest of any bishop.

These Articles or conclusions vntruely collected, were as cruellie exhibited against him by the friers in the bishop of Lincolnes court. The which articles although he neuer preached, taught or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the processe following: yet the friers with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to bee conuict: bringing also drie wood with them to the town to burne him, and would not leaue him, before hee made them promise and sware for feare of death neuer to hold them, teach them, nor preach them priuilie, nor apertlie vnder paine of relapse: and that he should goe to certaine churches to reuoke the foresaid conclusions, which hee neuer affirmed. As first in the church of Lincolne, then in S. Margarets church of Leicester. Also in S. Martines Church in Leicester, and in our Ladies churches at Newarke: and in other Parish Churches also, of Melton Mowbray, of Haloughton, Hareburgh, and Lenthburgh. Which penance, being to him enioyned, hee did obediently accomplish: with this forme of reuocation, which they bound him vnto, vnder these words.

W. Swinderby compelled by the Friers to abiure articles, which he neuer taught.

The reuocation of William Swinderby, whereunto *he was forced by the friers.*

The forced abiuration of W. Swinderby.

I William Swinderby priest, although vnworthie, of the dioces of Lincolne, acknowledging one true catholike, and apostolicke faith of the holy church of Rome, do abiure all heresie and errour repugning to the determination of the holy mother church, whereof I haue been hitherto infamed, namely the conclusions and articles aboue prefixed, and euery one of them to me iudicially obiected, by the commissarie of the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, L. Iohn by the grace of God bishop of Lincolne: and doe reuoke the same, and euery one of them, some as hereticall, some as erroneous and false, and doe affirme and beleeue them to be so, and hereafter wil neuer teach, preach, or affirme publikely or priuily the same. Neither will make any sermon within the dioceese of Lincolne, but asking first and obtaining the licence of the foresaid reuerend father and lord the bishop of Lincolne. Contrarie to the which, if I shall presume hereafter, to say or doe, to hold or preach: I shall be content to abide the seueritie of the Canon, as I haue iudicially by the necessitie of the law, sworne, and doe sweare, &c.

Thus haue you the conclusions and articles of this good man, falslie obiected to him by the malicious and lying friers: and also the retractation, whereunto they by force compelled him: whereby it may likewise be coniectured, what credite is to be giuen to the articles and conclusions which these cauilling friers wresting all things to the worst, haue obiected and imputed both to Wickliffe and all other of that sort, whom they so falslie doe infame, so slanderoulie doe belie, and so maliciously doe persecute. After these things thus done and wrought in the dioceese of Lincolne: it so befell, the said W. Swinderby to remooue to the dioceese and countrie of Herford. Where, he was as much or more molested by the friers againe, and by John Tresnant Bishop of Herford, as by the processe and storie here ensuing set out at large out of their owne registers may appeare.

Here followeth the processe of Iohn Tresnant, Bishop of Herford, had against the aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of hereticall prauitie, as the popish heretickes call it.

The proces of the B. of Herford against W. Swinderby. The flourishing inuocation of Gods name.

The glorious name of the Prince of peace, and his counsell (whose counsellour no man is, and whose prouidence in his disposition is neuer deceiued) being inuocated: To all and singuler beleeuers of Christ, which shall see or heare this our processe vnderwritten: John by the sufferance of God B. of Herefordgreeting, and peaceable charitie in the Lord. For asmuch as God the creator of all things, the keeper of Iustice, the louer of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his prouidence the sonnes of men, now through the fall of their first father, prone and declining to dishonest and filthie and detestable mischiefes, and to keepe vnder their malice (which wicked transgression did first gender) hath appointed diuers presidents of the world stablished in sundry degrees, by whom and their circumspect prouidence, mans audacitie

Lollards by the popes interpretation, is a word derived of Lolium.

They counterfeit in the Prophets words as Apes do in princes apparell.

Who expounneth the scripture more after the letter, let the reader iudge by *Hoc est corpus meum.*

If such medicines should bee ministred to you, ye would ton your Physition little thanke.

Anno 1391

*Such as were in Queene Maries daies, as Iohn Beard, I. Anales, Robin Papist, and other like murtherers.

Lord, Lord, a latin stile of their owne making.

The denunciation of the promoters to the B. of Hereford.

Matter articulated, against M. Swinderby

kudaktie should bee restrained, innocencie should bee nourished amongst the good, and terrour should bee stricken into the wicked not to deceiue: also that their power to hurt, and their insolencie should bee bridled in all places. And whereas amongst many kinds of euils which come to our thoughts, by the dutie of the office committed vnto vs, wee are specially bound to extend our strength chiefly that the catholike faith may prosper in our times, and hereticall prauitie may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithfull: we therefore being excited through the information of many credible and faithfull christians of our diocesse, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheepe diseased with an incurable sicknesse, going about to infect the whole and sound flocke, are by the care of the shepheard to bee removed from the flocke, that is to say, Preachers, or more truely execrable offenders of the new sect, vulgarlie called Lollards, which vnder a certaine cloked shew of holinesse, running abroad through diuers places of our diocesse, and endeuouring to cut asunder the Lords vnsowed coate, that is to say, to rent the vnitie of the holie church, and of the Catholike faith, and also to teare in peeces with their tempestuous blasts the power of S. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiasticall states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy church, haue wickedly presumed and doe presume from day to day to speake, to teach, to maintaine (and that which is more horrible to bee uttered) to preach openlie many things heretical, blasphemies, schismes, and slanderous defamings, euen quite contrarie to the sacred Canons and decrees of the holy fathers, so that they know not to direct their pathes in the waies of righteousnes & truth, in that, that they expound to the people the holy scripture, as the letter soundeth, after a Judiciall sort, otherwise then the holy ghost will needs haue it: whereas the words wander from their proper significations, and appeare to bring in by gessing new meanings: whereas the words must not bee iudged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereby they be made, where as the constructions is not bound to the Donates rules: whereas faith is far placed from the capacitie of reason: But they labour by their pernicious doctrines and teachings publike and priuie, to boile out the poison of schismes betweene the clergy and the people. Wee to encounter against such kind of preachers, nay rather deceiuers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, aduancing and rowling vp our selues in Gods behalfe, and holy mother church, with the spirituall sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them medicinablie, for their health and welfare: and namelie William Swinderby priest (so pretending himselfe to bee) as a teacher of such kind of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible seducer amongst the people: to whom personallie appearing before vs on the wednesday, to wit the 14. of the month of June, in the parish church of Kington of our diocesse, in the yere of our Lord, 1391. he being vehementlie defamed to vs of heresie, schisme, and his peruerse doctrines both manifest and priuie: wee therefore haue caused many cases and articles concerning the catholike faith to be ministred vnto him, that hee should answer to the same at a day and place for him meet and conuenient, of his owne choice and freewil: that is to say, on the friday, being the last of the same moneth of June, next following, assigned to him, at the church of Wodenhame of the same our diocesse. Of which cases and articles exhibited vnto vs, by many of Christs faithfull people, * zealous followers of the catholike faith, to make information to our office (which cases and articles also were by vs administred, as is before said, to the same William Swinderby) the tenor thereof followeth, and is thus.

¶ Reuerend father and high lord, lord Iohn, by Gods sufferance bishop of Hereford: It is lamentablie declared vnto your reuerend fatherhod on the behalfe of Christs faithfull people, your deuout children of your dioces of Hereford, that notwithstanding the misbeleefe of very many lollards, which haue too long a time sprung vp here in your diocesse, there is newlie come a certaine child of wickednes, named William Swinderby: who by his horrible perswasions and mischieuous endeuours, and also by his open preachings and priuate teachings, doth peruert as much as in him is the whole ecclesiasticall state, and stirreth vp with all his possible power, schisme betweene the clergie and the people. And that your reuerend fatherhod may be the more fullie informed, who and what maner of man the same William Swinderby is: there bee proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhoode on the behalfe of the same faithfull people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles. Which if the same William shall denie, then shall the same cases and articles most euidently be proued against him by credible witnesse worthie of beliefe, and by other lawfull proofe and euidences, to the end that those being proued, the same fatherhod of yours, may doe and ordaine therein, as to your pastorall office belongeth.

In primis, the same William Swinderby pretending himselfe priest, was openlie and publikelie conuicted of certaine articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismaticall, and hereticall, preached by him at diuers places and times before a multitude of faithfull christian people. And the same articles and conclusions did hee by force of law reuoke and abiure, some as hereticall, and some as erroneous and false: auouching and beleeuing them for such, as that from thencefoorth hee would neuer preach, teach, or affirme openly or priuilie any of the same conclusions. And if by preaching or auouching hee should presume to doe the contrarie; that then hee should bee subiect to the seueritie of the Canons, accordingly as hee did take a corporall oth, iudicially vpon the holy Gospels.

3 Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openlie taught and preached, and afterward abiured and reuoked, as is aforesaid; are contained before in the processe of the bishop of Lincolne, euen as they be there written word by word. And for the cases and articles, they were consequentlie exhibited by the forenamed faithfull christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the conclusions before said, and hereafter written: of which cases and articles, the tenour hereof ensueth.

3 Item, the said William, contrarie to the former reuocation and abiuration, not conuerting to repentance, but peruerted from ill to worse, and giuen vp to a reprobate sense, came into your diocesse, where, hee running about in sundrie places hath presumed to preach or rather to peruert and to teach of his owne rashnes many hereticall, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things contrarie and repugnant to the sacred Canons and the determination of the holie catholicke church. What those things were, at what place and what time, it shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, the same William, notwithstanding your commandements and admonitions sealed with your seale, and to all the Curats of your diocesse directed: containing amongst other things, that no person of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or else expound the holy scripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places, within your diocesse, without sufficient authoritie, by any maner of pretence that could be sought, as in the same your letters monitorie and of inhibition (the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth) is more largely contained: which letters the same William did receiue into his hands, and did read them word by word in the towne of Monemouth of your diocesse, in the yeere of our lord, 1390. so that these your letters and the contents thereof came to the true and vndoubted knowledge of the same William: yet notwithstanding hath the same William presumed in diuers places and times to preach within the same your diocesse, after and against your commandement aforesaid. The tenour of the same letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

The letter inhibitorie of the B. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without his licence.

IOhn by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, to the deane and chapter of our church of Hereford, and to all and singuler abbats, priors, prouosts, deanes rurall, parsons and vicars of monasteries, priories, churches, colledges and parishes, and to other hauing cure of soules within the citie and dioces of Hereford, and to all and euery other being within the same citie and diocesse, greeting, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden laurell of teaching doctorall, is not from aboue indifferently euery mans gift: neither is the office of preaching granted, saue to such as are called, and especiallie by the church admitted thereunto: we doe admonish and require you all and singuler clerks aforesaid, and doe straitly enioyne you all in the vertue of holie obedience, that you nor any of you doe admit any man to preach or to teach the catholike faith, saiing such as the same office of preaching shall by the authoritie apostolicall, or else your bishop bee specially committed vnto: but that as much as in you shall lie, you doe by word and deed, labour to let those that would attempt the contrarie. And you lords, ladies, knights, barons, esquires, and all and singuler persons, of what estate, degree, preheminence, or condition soeuer ye be, remaining within the citie and diocesse of Hereford, wee doe beseech and exhort in our Lord, that following the words of our Sauiour, you beware of the leauen of the Pharisies.

Would God both they and all men did beware of that leauen.

Item, according to the saying of the Apostle, be not yee caried away with diuers and strange doctrines: and that in the meane while (as saith the Apostle) you be not remoued from the sense of the holy ancient fathers, lest that any man by any meanes should seduce you; but you agreeing together in one minde, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not speciallie (as is aforesaid) committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholike faith, do ye denie to giue them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies, and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and peruerse. And as for vs, we will not omit to proceed according to the sacred canons and precepts of the holy fathers, against such as doe the contrarie. Dated at London in the house of our habitation vnder our seale, the last day saue one of December, in the yeere of our Lord, 1389. and of our consecration the first.

5 Item, the same William in his preaching to the people, on Monday being the first of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1390. in the parish of Whitneie of your diocesse, did hold and affirme, that no prelate of the world of what estate, preheminence

preheminence or degree soeuer hee were of, hauing cure and charge of soules, he being in deadly sinne, and hearing the confession of any vnder his hand in giuing him absolution, doth nothing: As who neither doth loose him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits doth bind him by his sentence, except the prelat shall be free himselfe from deadly sinne, as S. Peter was, to whom our Lord gaue power to bind and loose.

That is one of Wickliffs blemishes.

6 Item, the same William in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithfull christian people, that after the sacramentall words vttered by the priest hauing the purpose to consecrate; there is not made the very bodie of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

Bread he meaneth in substance.

7 Item, that accidents cannot bee in the sacrament of the altar without a subiect: and that there remaineth materiall bread there to such as be partakers communicant with the bodie of Christ, in the same sacrament.

8 Item, that a priest being in deadly sinne, cannot bee able by the strength of the sacramentall words, to make the bodie of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the church.

9 Item, that all priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them, in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminence.

10 Item, that onlie contrition putteth away sinne, if so bee that a man shall be dulie contrite: and that, all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisit of necessitie to saluation.

11 Item, inferiour curats haue not their power of binding and losing immediatly from the pope or bishop, but immediatlie from Christ. And therefore, neither can the pope nor bishop reuoke to themselues such kind of power, when they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

12 Item, that the pope cannot grant such kind of annuall and yéerely pardons, because there shal not be so many yéeres to the day of iudgement, as are in the popes bulles or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth, that the pardons are not of such like value as they speake of, and are praised to bee.

13 Item, it is not in the popes power to grant vnto any person penitent, forgiuenesse of the punishment or of the fault.

14 Item, that person that giueth his almes to any, which in his iudgement is not in necessitie, doth sin in so giuing it.

15 Item, that it stands not in the power of any prelat, of what religion soeuer hee be of, priuatelie to giue letters for the benefit of his order, neither doth such benefit granted, profit them to the saluation of their soule, to whom they bee granted.

16 Item, that the same William vnmindfull of his owne saluation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certaine desert wood, called Werualwood, of your diocesse, and there in a certaine chapell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage; hath in contempt of the keies, presumed of his owne rashnesse to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17 Item, the same William hath also presumed to doe such things in a certaine prophane chapell, being situate in the parke of Newton nigh to the towne of Leintwarden, of the same your diocesse.

VPon Friday being the last of the moneth of Iune, in the yeere. abouesaid, about 6. of the clocke, in the said parish church of Bodenhone, hath the said William Swinderby personallie appeared before vs. And he willing to satisfie the terme to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out, word by word, before all the multitude of faithfull christian people, many answers made and placed by the same William (in a certaine paper booke of the sheet folded into foure parts) to the said articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath hee alreadie to vs exhibited, auouching them to be agreeable to the law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any moe with him) did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certaine noble personages, had promised to the same William free accesse, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without perfixing of any terme, or without citation, or else any other offence or harme in bodie or in goods.

As for the tenour of the same answers, exhibited vnto them by the same William, as is before specified; wee haue here vnder annered word for word, and in the same old language, vsed at that time, when it was exhibited. And followeth in these words.

The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers to the articles by the promoters laid against him, to the bishop of Herford, taken out of the Registers in the same old English, wherein he wrote it.

The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers.

IN the name of God, amen. I William Swinderby priest vnworthy, couenting and purposing wholly with al my hart to be a true christian man, with open confession knowledging mine owne defaults and vnwise deeds: making openlie this protestation, cleping God to record here before our worshipfull bishop John, through the sufferance of God bishop of Herford, with witnesse of all this people: that it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirme, to maintaine or to defend that is contrarie to holy writ, against the beleefe of holie Church, or that should offend the holie determination of Christs Church, or the true sentences of holy doctors. And if I haue here before through mine vncunning, been vnordered, or by euill counsell bin deceiued, or any thing said, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrarie to the law of God: whollie and fullie for that time for now and euer with full will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as euerich christen man should: Praying and beseeching ech christen man, to whom this writing shall come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I doe) or euer erred in any point, contrarie to holie writ, that it bee had and holden of them, as for thing nought said. And all the trothes that I haue said according with the law of God, that mey maintaine them, and stand by them for life or death to Gods worship, as a true christen man should, submitting mee meekelie to the correction of our bishop that héere is, or of any other christen man, after Christes lawes and holy writ; in will euer readie to be amended: and with this protestation I say and answer to these conclusions and articles that heere followen after, the which bene put to mee to answere to.

The first is this: that I William of Swinderby pretending (hee saith) my selfe a priest, was iudiciallie conuented of certaine articles, and conclusions of error, falle, schismaticke and hereste, by mee in diuers places and times preached (hee saith) before multitudes of true christen men: and the same articles and conclusions by néed of law reuoked and forsworne some as hereses, and some as errors and false: and such I affirmed and beleeued them to bee. And that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirme, openlie or priuilie, ne that I should make no sermon to the people, ne preach but by lawfull leaue asked and gotten. And if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the seueritie of the law, I should bee burom, as by néede of the law I swore.

1. Obiection.

To this I say, witnessing God that is in heauen, to my wit and vnderstanding, that I neuer preached, held, ne taught these conclusions and articles, the which falslie of friers were put vpon mee, and of lecherous priests to the bishop of Lincolne. For I was ordained by procelle * per said, of their law, by the bishop and his commissaries, so as I granted them to bring my purgation of 13. priests of good fame. And so I did, with a letter, and 12. seales thereby, from the Maior of Leicester, and from true Burgesses and 30. men to witnesse with me, as the duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the earle of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the towne, that I neuer said them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should haue made my purgation, there stooden forth fiue friers or moe, that some of them neuer saw mee before, ne heard me, and three lecherous priests openly knowne, some liuing in their lecherie xx. yéere (men sayden) or more, as by their childer was openlie knowne. Some of these they clepinden, denunciations, and some weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falslie forsworne, they sung busslie and crying with many another frier, with great instance to giue the dome vpon me, to burne me, and boughten die wood before, as men tolden in that towne: and these sleights, and swearing, and monie giuing, as men saiden, with fauour of the bishop (by what law I wot not, but soothly not by Gods law) they saiden they held me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgation. So as I fully forsoke them, and neuer granted y I said them. Duer this they made me sweare, neuer to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, priuilie ne apertlie: and that I would goe to certaine churches to reuoke the conclusions that I neuer said, in slaunder of my selfe, by great instance of the friers. And so for dred of death and for fleshlie counsell that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they maden me to sweare, that I should not preach (by instance of the friers) within that diocesse, without licence asked and granted; and neuer sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me againe: whether by friers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in slander of me it is: and therefore I will answer now (with Gods helpe) to the conclusions. Of the which the first is this.

* Y said, that is, before said. Witnesses with W. Swinderby 13. priests, and 30. other with the letter of the maior of Leicester and burgesses with 12. seales.

The charitie of votaries to be noted.

That men mowen aske their debts by charitie, but in no maner for debt to prison any man: and that hee so emprisoning, is accursed. 1. Conclusion.

So I said not: but thus I haue said, and yet say with protestation put before, that who so pursues his brother with malice, prisoneth him cruellie for debt without mercie, that faine would pay it if he might; he sinneth against Christs teaching, Estote misericordes, sicut pater vester misericors est. Answer. How debt is to be pursued.

The second conclusion, that false friers and lecherous priests putten vpon me was this: that if the parochiens knowe her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man; they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and else they bene fautors of his sinnes. 2. Conclusion.

Thus I said not, but on this wise, and yet I say with protestation Answer.

cation put before: that if it be knowne openly to the people, that parsons or curates come to her benefice by simonie, and liuen in notorie fornication, and done not their office and her duties to her parochiens by good ensample of holy life, in true preaching, liuing and residence, wending away from his cure, occupied in secular office: he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offerings, ne hemolwes, not to hold him for her curate, ny hemolwes, not to geuen him tithes, lest they bin guiltie to God of consent and maintaining of her open sinne. Nemo militans deo, implicat se negotijs secularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. quisquis per pecuniam, & dist. 80. cap. Si quis.

3. Conclusion. The third conclusion was this, that friers and priests putten vpon me, that tithes purely bene almesses: And in case that curates bene euill men, they molwen leefullie bee giuen to other men, by temporall lords, and other temporalties been done away from men of the church, actuallie and openlie trespalling.

Answere. Thus I said not in these termes: but thus I say with protestation made before: that it were medefull and leefull to secular lords by way of charitie, and power giuen to him of God, in default of prelats that amend not by Gods law, cursed curates that openly misusen the goods of holy church, that ben poore mens goods and customablie against the law of God: the which poore men, Lords ben holden to maintaine and defend, to take away and withdraw from such curates, poore mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offerings, and their bodilie almesdeeds, and giue them to such that duly serue God in the church, and beene needie in vpbearing of the charge that prelats shulden doe, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate, & sic adimplebitis legem Christi. And as anenst taking away of temporalities, I say thus with protestation made before: that it is leefull to kings, princes, dukes, and lords of the world to take away fro popes, cardinals, fro bishops and prelates, possessions in the church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them, vpon condition they shoulden serue God the better, when they verelie sene that their giuing and their taking bene contrarie to the law of God, to Christs liuing and his Apostles: and namely in that, that they taken vpon them (that shoulden bee next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poorenesse and meekenesse) to be secular lords: against the teaching of Christ and S. Peter, Luk. xxij. Reges gentium. Et 1. Pet. 5. Neque dominantes in clero. And namely when such temporalties maken them the more proud, both in heart and in aray, then they shoulden bene elsse, more in strife and debate against peace and charity, and in euill ensample to the world more to bee occupied in worldly businesse. Omnem solicitudinem projcientes in eum. And drawes them from the seruice of God, from edifying of Christs Church, in empouerishing and making lesse the state and the power of kings, princes, dukes, and lords that God hath set them in: in wrongfull oppression of commons for vnmightfulnesse of realmes. For Paul saith to men of the church (whose lore, prelats shulden soueraignly followen) Habentes victum & vestitum, hijs contenti simus.

4. Conclusion. The fourth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie, that an euill curate cursing his Soget for withholding of tithes, is naught elsse, but to take with extortion wickedlie and vndulie mony from them.

Answere. Here may you see the falshood of the papists gathering articles against good men, which they neuer said nor meant. Thus said I not: but thus I said, and yet doe with protestation made before: that an euill curate cursing his parochiens, vnmightie to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitie, for his singuler worldlie winning against charitie, and not for heed of their soules, there he is hold by his power reasonablie to helpe his needie parochiens, and doth nought of the goods of the church: wickedly and vndulie hee withholds from them, that which is due to them by the law of God. Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis: date, & dabitur vobis: verùm mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit dominus.

5. Conclusion. The fifth conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten vpon me: that no man may curse any man, but if he were wete him cursed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any manner.

Answere. Thus said I not: but thus I said, and say with protestation put before: that no man ought to curse any man, but for charity and with charitie. Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant. And sikerly I say, that no wrongfull cursing of pope or any prelate in earth, binds anenst God, but when they wrongfullie and wittinglie cursen men, for that men will not doe their singuler will, vnreasonable bidding, with highnes of heart and crueltie (standing patience and charity in them that they cursen wrongfully) he is blessed of almightie God, and they themselfe bene cursed: Matth. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines, &c, Et in Psalmo: Maledicent illi, & tu bene dices. Et Augustinus, xi. q. 3. cap. illud.

6. Conclusion. The sixth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie: that ech priest may assoile him that sinneth, contrition had: and notwithstanding forbiddings of the bishop, * is holden to preach to the people the Gospell.

* Holden, that is, bound. Answer. Thus I said not: but thus I said, and yet say with protestation made before: that ech true priest may counsell sinnefull men, that shewen to him her sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God had giuen him, to turne fro sinne to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Gospell, I say, that no bishop owes to let a true priest, that God had giuen grace, wit, and cunning to do that office: for both priests and deacons, that God had ordained deatons and priests, ben holden by power giuen him of God to preach to the people the Gospell, and namely and somely, popes, bishops, prelates, and curates: For this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue and aske of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it: Matth. 5. Luke 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Marc. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum. Et Matth. 5. Euntes autem prædicate. Et dist. 21. ca. In nouo testamento. Et Isidor. de summo bono. 44. Et Chrysost. distinct. 34. ca. Nolite. Et Aug. distinct. 34. ca. Quisquis. Et Greg. in suo pastorali, ca. 38. Et Tollitano. ca. ignorantia. Et Ierom. distinct. 95. ca. Ecce Ego.

7. Conclusion. The 7. conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten vpon me: that a priest taking any thing for annuell, through couenant; in that, he is schismatike and cursed.

Answere. This said I neuer in these termes: but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before: that no priests owes to sell by bargaining and couenant, his ghostly trauell, ne his masses, ne his prayers, ne Gods word, ne hallowings, baptisme, ne confirming, order giuing, for weddings, for shrift, for housell, or for ennointing, any worldlie mens reward to aske or take for these or for any of these, or for any ghostly thing, he erres and doth simonie. Vt patet 1. q. 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex concilio Triburenti. cap. Dictum est. Et Christus euangelio vendentes, & ementes eiecit de templo. Matth. 22.

8. Conclusion. The viij. conclusion is this, that friers and priests putted vnto me falslie, saying that I beleeue sadly as my sell saies: that yche priest being in deadly sinne, yet he put him to make Christs bodie, rather he does idolatrie then makes it.

Answere. Thus said I not: but thus I said, and yet say with a protestation put before: that what priest that puts himselfe presumptuoustlie and vnworthily in deadly sinne, wittinglie to minister and to receiue that holy Sacrament, and so recordes hit cursedly and damnablie, he receiues his doome. Qui manducat & bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat & bibit: 1. Corin. 11.

9. Conclusion. The ix. conclusion is this, that friers and priests falslie putten vpon mee: that no priests entres into any house but euill for to treate the wife, the daughter, or the wench; and therefore they sayden, that I prayed the people that their husbands should beware, that they suffer no priest to entet into her house.

Answere. And if I had said thus, then I had prayed against my selfe, for I come oft into mens houses: But thus I said, and yet I doe, praying christian men to beware that they nourith nor maintaine no lecherous priest in their sinnes: for there bee where (as men well knowne) they ben maintained in many places, continuing homely with her women. And iche man there saine they paine therfore a certaine to the bishops almes. Et ideo ait Isido. 11. q. 4. Qui consentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud deum & homines.

10. Conclusion. The x. conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie: that a child is not verelie baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, the godfather, or the godmother, bene in deadly sinne.

Answere. God wot in heauen they said full false: but thus I said, and yet I say: that the prayers that an euill priest praies (liuing in lecherie or other deadly sinne) ouer the child when it shall bee hollowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good priest. And the better and cleuner the priest is, the godfather, and the godmother; the more graciouslie God will heare him, if all they ben not greatest nor most rich in the world. Vnde gg. xiij. q. vij. cap. in grauibus. Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus proculdubio ad deteriora prouocatur.

11. Conclusion. The xi. conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie: that no man liuing against the law of God is a priest, how euer he were ordained priest of any bishop.

Answere. Certes this is false, for I said neuer thus in this termes: but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before: that what euery pope, or cardinall, bishop or priest, or any prelate of the Church comes to his state or dignitie by simonie, and in simonie occupies that office, and holy churches goods: I say that hee is a theefe, and that by the doome of God, and comes but to steale and kill: Joh. 10. Fur non venit nisi vt furetur, & mactet, & perdat. And furthermore I say, that what pope, cardinall, bishop, prelate, or priest, in manner of liuing, or teaching, or lawes making contrarie to Christs liuing and his lawes, or any other ground put in ruling of the church of Christ, but by Christ and his lawes: is very Antichrist, aduersarie to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus. Et patet 1. q. 3. c. Si quis. Et 1. q. 6. c. Ego autem. Quicunque.

The true description who was Antichrist.

But this worshipfull father bishop of Hereford, that here is, saies this in his writing: that I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the forsaid reuocation and abiuration (not setting at heart, but from euill to worse) he sais, peruerted of his

his dioces) hee saies I come running about by diuers places: and by mine own follie he saies that I haue presumet to preach many heresies, errours, blasphemies, schismes, and other dikames, and to holy canons and determination of holy Church contrarie and repugnant; which where and when within forth more speciallie it shall be shewed, that yee bee false enformed, that I haue presumed in diuers places in your dioces to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes and other dikkames. And sir, all the countrie knowes whether this be soth or not: for sir I presume not, sithen it is the office of a priest, by the law of Christ, to preach the gospell: ne nought I did it for presumption, but for the charge that I haue of God by priesthood (if all I be unworthie) and to the worship of God, and helpe of Christen soules, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will bee amended. And sir, touching your mandement that ye senden to me, there was sent none. And sir, I made neuer yet disobedience unto you, ne to your ministers: and yef all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrarie to Christs bidding. And sir as ye saine, that I had no mind of my hele, it is too lightly demet: for God forbid, but yef there lie hele more then in your bidding. For God wot for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my mind. But sir, it semes me that ye charge not by euidence of the punishing so greatly the breaking of Gods hests, as ye done of your owne. And sir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted, you to teach hem (and her curats did not) by the desire of the people that weren hungrie and thirstie after Gods word, ichone to beare up others charge as Gods law bids: I preached not for disobedience to you: but sir in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me doe, in excusing of my selfe to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holy church, with the protestation that I first made, I answere thus to the articles that ye haue put to me.

1. Article. Anno 1390

The first is this, that I William of Swinderby, the Monday the first of August, the yeere of our Lord, 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of Whitney of your dioces, held and affirmed (as ye saine) that no prelate of the world, of what state or degree that he be, hauing cure of soules, being in deadly sinne, and hearing confession of his suget, does nought in assoiling him, ne he assoiles him not of his sinne: and also in amending his suget openlie sinning and him for his deserts cursing, his sentence binds not, but if that prelat be as cleane out of deadly sinne as was saint Peter, to whom our Lord gaue power of binding and unbinding.

Note here how the papists vse falslie to wrest good mens sayings and articles.

Answere.

I neuer thought this ne spake this, ne heard it to the time that I saw it written in our booke; and that will witnesse the Lord of the towne that has the same sermon written, and many gentiles and other that hearden me that day. But thus I said, and thus I say with protestation put before: that there is no man, pope, ne bishop, prelate ne curate, that binds soothlie, verilie and ghostly, but in almuch as his binding or unbinding accords with the keies of heauen that God gaue to Peter. And as S. Gregories saies, that power han they only, that hold together the ensample of the Apostles with here teaching. Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque soluendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti Apostoli qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto sententiarum.

The popes binding how far it extendeth.

Greg. lib. 4. Sent.

2. Article. And what if he had said it?

The second article that is put upon mee, is this: that I should haue said, preached, and affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ; that after the Sacramentall words said of the priest, hauing intention of consecration: That in the Sacrament of Gods bodie, is not very Gods bodie.

Answer.

This said I neuer God wote, and true men that haue heard mee.

3. Article.

The third article is this, that our bishop put upon me; that I should haue said in many places, and affirmed, that accidents mow not be in the sacrament of the aultar without subiect, and that materiall bread leues not there with Gods bodie in the Sacrament.

Answere.

This conclusion I haue not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I haue not medled me of that matter, my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my beleefe with protestation put before: that the sacrament of the aultar made by vertue of heauenlie words, that Christ himselfe said in the Cene, when hee made this sacrament, that it is bread and Christs bodie, so as Christ himselfe saies in the gospell, and S. Paul saies, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined to this sentence. Mat. 26. Mar. 14. Luk. 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. & 11. de con. distinct. 2. panis: & de consecr. dist. 2. Corpus. Io. 6. verus panis.

Bread and Christs body in the Sacrament.

4. Article.

The fourth article is this, that our bishop accuseth mee of, that I should haue preached about and said: that a priest being in deadlie sinne, may not by the strength of the Sacramentall words make Gods bodie, or none other Sacrament of the church, either performe to minister them to members of the same.

Answere. The wickednes of the priest impaireth no Sacrament.

Thus I neuer said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it, for well I wot, the wickednesse of a priest may appaire no verie Sacrament: but the wickednesse of the priests appaires himselfen, and all that boldnesse and example of his sinne causen the people to liuen the worse against Gods law. Vnde Greg. Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.

The 5. article is this, that our bishop puts unto me: that all priests ben of euen power in al things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignitie or more passing in highnesse of degree. 5. Article.

Answere. Equalitie of priests.

Certes no man would say thus as I suppose, no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wot of: But this I say with protestation made before; that what priest liues most holilie next following the law of God, he is most louer of God, and most profitable to the church. If men speaken of worldlie power and lordships and worships, with other vices that raignen therein, what priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree so he be) he is most Antichrist of all the priests that ben in earth. Vnde Augustinus ad Valerium scribens ait: Nihil est in hac vita, & maximè hoc tempore facilius & leuius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Episcopi, presbyteri, aut decani officijs: sed si perfunctoriè aut adulatoriè, nihil apud Deum miserabilius aut tristius & damnabilius.

Aug. ad Valerium.

The sixth article is this, that only contrition does away sin, if a man be duly contrite: and all outward confession by word is superfluous and not requiret of need of health. 6. Article.

Answere.

This conclusion said I neuer that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is neuer without charitie and grace, does away all sinnes before done of that man that is verilie contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needfull and helping that men shew their life to such, trusting full to Gods mercie, and that he forgiues thy sinne. Vnde August. de conse. distinct. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus, qui est agnus tollens peccata mundi.

Confession.

God forgiueth sinne.

Aug. de conse. dist.

The 7. Article is this, that I should say that lower curats haue not here power of binding and assoiling, by meane of pope and bishop, but of Christ without mony. And therefore neither pope ne bishop may reuoke such maner power for time and place at her will. 7. Article.

Answere.

Thus said I not, but * not for thy it semes me thus, that no man should grant any thing after his owne will, ghostlie, ne bodilie. But euerich man should be well aduiset, that hee grant nothing but if it be the will of God that hee so grant it. And it is no doubt that ne God grants * by meane persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christs people. Vnde & Ioh. 19. ait Pilatus, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te? Et Christus: Non haberes potestatem aduersum me vllam, nisi esset tibi datum desuper.

* Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding.

* Some thing here lacketh in the copie.

The 8. Article that our bishop puts me to, is this, that I should say that the pope may not grant such manner indulgence of yeeres, for there shall not bee so many yeeres unto the day of doome, as bene contained in his buls, or in the popes indulgences: whereof it followes that indulgences been not so much worth as they semen and bene preached. 8. Article.

Answere.

This article I said not thus: but I say, that the pope may grant indulgences written in his letter of yeeres, all so farre forth that he may grant him in Gods law, so farre to grant, and farther not: yeeres may he grant no mo then God hath set. If indulgence ben forgiuenesse of sinne, I wot well all onelie God forgiues sinne. If it bee releasing of paines in purgatorie ordeinet of God, if God haue bidden him release so many, or ordeined that he should release so many, hee may then releasen him: if it be in his owne disposing to releasen whom him likes, and how much, then he may destroy purgatorie and let none come there and release his owne paine, as charities wots. So it seemes he may be siker to be saued, if himselfe lick. If any goe to purgatorie, then it seemes hee full failes charity. If buls ben the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not so much worth, as they costen there: for lightly they might be lost, drenched, or brend, or a rat might eaten them: his indulgence then were lost. Therefore sir haue me excuset, I know not these termes: teach me these termes by Gods law, and truly I will learne hem.

Against pardons.

The 9. Article is this, that I should haue said: that it is not in the popes power to grant to any man (doing penance) remission from paine, ne from blame. 9. Article.

Leaud I am, but this article said I not thus leaudly; But thus I say, that sithen it is onelie due to God to giue and to grant plenarie remission from paines and from blame: that what euer he be, pope or other, that presumptuouslie mistakes upon him that power that is onely due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himselfe Christ, and blasphemeth in God, as Lucifer did, when he said: Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo. Farther I say, if the pope hold men of armes, in maintaining his temporalties and lordship to benge him on hem that gilten and offenden him, and geues remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarien hem, as men sayden hee did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sword into his sheath, as God commanded Peter, Mitte, &c. he is Antichristus; for he does contrarie to the commandements of Jesus, that bad Peter forgiue to his brother seuentie sithe seuen sithe. Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quoties dimittã ei? Septies? &c. Et Christus: non dico tibi septies, sed septuagesies septies.

The pope pronued a blasphemer.

Of this Bearle Spenser bishop of Norwich, see the pag. 394.

The

10. Article. The 10. article is this, that our bishop puts to me, that I should haue said: that a man geuing his almes to anie man after his dome (not hauing need) sinnes, in so giuing.

Answere. This article soothlie I said not in these termes: But of this matter I haue spoken, and will with protestation made before on this wise: that it is meedfull to giue almes to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostlie, but not to giue to ich shameleslie begger, strong and mightie of bodie, to get his liflode leuefull and will not, and in what degree so he be, meri owen not to giue it to such a one, that hes vnreasonablie asketh, for if he giue it to him wittinglie, he sinnes as fautor of his idlenes. Vnde Sap. 12. Si beneferceris, scito cui beneferceris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

He meaneth of begging friers.

11. Article. The 11 article is this, that is put to me, that I should haue said, that it is not in the power of anie prelate of what euer priuate religion, to grant letters of the good deedes of her order, ne such benefices grauntet profits not to hele of soules to hem that they ben grauntet to.

Answere. I said neuer thus in these termes: but thus I say with protestation, that prelates of priuate religion mowen graunt, letters of the good deedes of her order: But the ghostly mede that comes of good deedes, they mow not grant, for that is onelie propriet to God. And if they blinde the people in misbeliefe for her worldlie wining, wittinglie behetting hem of her owne graunt ghostly medes in heauen by her letters and her seale (vncertaine, who shall be damned) but make the people bolder to sinne by trust of her praiers: hit is none heal to the soules, but harmes to that one and to that other. For God shall yeld to echone after here werks. Ipse reddet vnicuique secundum opera sua.

Good deedes of the order profit nothing.

12. Article. The 12. article is this: that our bishop puts to me, that I many times and oft haue come (he sates) to a desert wood, cleped, Derwalswode of his Dioces: and there in a chappell not hallowed, but accurset * shepheardes hulke, by mine owne follie he sates haue presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the keies.

Of sheepcote.

Answere. Hereto I say, that this is falsly put vpon me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a priest sings certaine daies in the yeare, with great soleinnitie: and certes I neuer long therin seth I was borne into this world.

The accusers proued with a lie.

13. Article. The 13. article is this, that I should also presume to sing in an vnhallowet chappell, that stonds in the parke of Newton, besides the towne of Leyntwardy of this same Dioces.

Another lie. Answer. Truely I wot not where the place stonds.

14 Article. The 14 article is this, that I should say that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply without other to affirme or to denie, and if he sweare he sinnes.

Answere. This article said I not that I haue mind of, in this maner: But oft I haue said and yet will, that men should not sweare by anie creature by the law of God, and that no man should sweare in idel, as welnigh all the people vseth, and therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in swearing. For from the old vnto the yong, and namely men of holie Church, breken his hest, and few bishops pursuen hem therefore.

To sweare by no creature.

15. Article. The 15. article is this, that I should haue taught to true men of Christ, that on no manner they should worship the Image of him that was done on the crosse, or the Image of the blessed mayd his mother, or of other Saints into honour and worship of the same ordeinet in ỹ mind of them. And oft sithes the worshipper of such image, he has repronet, saying and stroglie affirming, that churchmen sinnen and done Idolatrie.

Answere. This conclusion haue I not said in these termes. But this I say with protestation, that God commaundes in his lawe in diuers places: Exod. 20. Leuit. 19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobiæ 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corin 10. Esay 45. Ierc. 2. 6. 8. & 10. 22. & vltimo, Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 5. & Threnorum 4. & postremo: that men should not worshippen grauen Images that ben werkes of mens hands: And also he bids that men should not make to hem grauen Images in likenesse of the things that ben in heauen, to that end to worshippen hem: sethen neither God ne Christ by his manhood gaue neuer commandement to make these Images, ne eyrpesse counsell, ne his Apostles in all his lawe, ne to worship such that bene made. But well I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue misbeleuet in hem, that many men sinnen in maumetrie worshipping such dead Images: * Not for thy, to tho men bene Images good to whom they haue bene but kalendars, & through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshippen oft God and his Saints. And to such men they done harme that letten her hope and trust in hem or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his hest. Vnde ait Gregorius in Registro libro 10. in Epistola ad Serenum Episcopũ: Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc solicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex visione rei gestæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius trinitatis prosternantur.

Images not to be worshipped.

* Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding.

Greg. Regist. lib. 10.

These conclusions, points, and articles that I haue vnder protestation, in this booke affirmed; I will stand by hem, and maintaine hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the time that the contrarie be proued duelie by Gods law: And this protestation I make for my faith & my beliefe as I did at the beginning: that whensoeuer this worshipfull or any other christen man shewes me verily by Gods lawe the contrarie of this, I will holy forsake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better vnderstanding of wiser men, readie to be amended by the law of Jesu Christ, and be a true christen man and faithfull sonne of holy church: And of these I beseech you all beare witnesse where ye commen.

Subsequenter vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quòd idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus posset in propria persona citari, ipsum Gulielmum vijs & modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi prætoris in Ecclesia nostra cathedrali Herfordensi & parochialibus ecclesijs de Kington Crofte, & Whitney nostra dioceſis: vbi idem Gulielmus solebat commorari citari fecimus; prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba.

Will. Swinderby keeping himselfe from the Bishop was cited as followeth.

¶ The citation.

The tenor of the citation.

IOhn by Gods permission bishop of Hereford, to his deare sonnes our deane of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Almaly, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Kyngston, Lardersley, Wiggemore, and Monmouth Clifford, and of S. Iohns aultar in our cathedrall church of Hereford, and to the rest of the deanes, parsons, vicars, chapleines, parish priests, and to other, whosoeuer in any place are appointed through our citie and dioces of Hereford: sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

We bid and commaund, charging you straitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to bee cited peremptorily (and vnder the paine of excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be a priest: That he appeare before vs, or our Commissaries the 26. day of this present moneth of Iuly, at North Lodebury, within our dioces, with the continuance of the dayes following in other places also to be assigned vnto him if it be expedient, till such things as haue bene and shalbe laid against him be fully discussed, to answere more at large to certaine positions and articles, touching the catholike faith, and the holy mother churches determination, that haue been exhibited and ministred vnto the said William. And to see and heare also many things that haue openly in iudgement before vs, and a great number of faithful christians by him bene euen in writing confessed, to be condemned as hereticall, false, schismaticall and erroneous. And to see and heare positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proued by faithfull witnesses and other lawfull trials against the said William. And to receiue for his false, hereticall, erroneous and schismaticall doctrine that iustice shall appoint, or els to shewe causes why the premisses should not be done.

And if the said William lieth priuily, or els cannot be so cited in his proper person: we will that in your churches when most people shall then come togither to diuine seruice, you openly with a loud voice, and that may be vnderstanded, cause the said William peremptorily to be cited vnto the premisses, certifying the same William, that whether hee shall appeare the day and place appointed or no, wee notwithstanding will proceede vnto the premisses against the said William according to the canonicall decrees by forme of law, in the absence or contumacie of the said William notwithstanding. We will moreouer if the said William shal appeare at the said day and place, as is aforesaid, before vs, friendly heare him, and honestly, and fauourably, as farre as we may with Gods leaue, deale with him; graunting free licence to come and to go for his naturall libertie without any hurt either in bodie or goodes. And see that you fully certifie vs of the things that you or any of you shall doe about the execution of this our commandement, and that by your letters patents signed with your seale autenticall, giuing also faithfully to the said William or to his lawfull Proctor, if he require it, a copie of this our present commandement.

Giuen at our house of Whitburne vnder our seale the fift day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord 1391.

The first sitting against William Swinderby. {Anno 1391}

On Thursday, the 11. of Julie, in the yeare of the Lord aforesaid: We in the parish Church of North Lideburie aforesaid, about 6. of the clocke, sitting in iudgement, after that it was reported vnto vs how the aforesaid William was personallie taken and lawfullie cited: Caused the same Wil. then and there openly in iudgement to be called out, to do, heare & receiue such things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwise that which iustice should perswade. And the said William appeared neither by himselfe, nor by proctor: but onely by a seruant (whose name we know not) he sent a certaine schedule of paper, made like an indenture vnto vs to excuse him. After which schedule seen, read and with right deliberation waighed, and in any wise notwithstanding, we adiudged the said William, after he was often called, and long euen to the due houre taried for, and by no meanes appearing, worthily for his obstinacie, & for his stubbornnesse, assigned vnto him the 29. date of Julie in ỹ church of Ponsley, to appeare before vs with the foresaide sauegarde, to answere more fully to such articles and otherwise to heare, receiue, and doe as before is noted.

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The second dayes act.

The second sitting against William Swinderby.

Vpon Saturday being the 29. of Julie, and in the yeare of the Lord aforesaid, we John by Gods permission the fore remembred bishop in the church of Pontesburie, of our Dioces, at sixe of the clocke, or thereabout, sitting in iudgement; made the said William of Swinderby to be openlie called, that (as was to him appointed and assigned) he should appeare before vs, to answere to the foresaid articles more fully, and to declare the said articles as the darknesse of his answeres did worthilie require. And that the said William being called, and long for a due time looked for, did make no meanes to appeare: and so we pronounced him to be obstinat, and for his obstinatenesse (to ouercome his malice, and of our exceeding fauour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the 8. of August, then next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the same our dioces, vnto the said William for the same thing.

The third daies act.

The third sitting against William Swinderby.

Vpon Twesday, the 8. of August, the yeare aforesaid, I John by Gods permission Bishop of Hereford aforesaid, in the church of Cleoburie Mortemere, about sixe of the clocke, sitting in iudgement, caused ẏ foresaid William Swinderby, to be called manie times openlie, to doe and receiue about the premisses, according to the appointment of the same daie that iustice should aduise; which William did not appeare at all. Whereupon, we after that the said William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but not appearing at all, did iudge him worthilie (as of right apperteined) obstinate: and for his obstinatenesse assigned him the 16. day of the same moneth of August next following, in the parish Church of Whithorne of the same our dioces, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all lawes, muniments, and other kindes of proofes, and to see all witnesses brought forth, admitted and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to proue the foresaid articles, or at leastwise some of the same.

The fourth dayes act.

The fourth sitting against William Swinderby.

Vpon Wednesday the 16. day of the moneth of August the yeare aforesaid, we John the bishop in the parish church of Whithorne aforesaid of our dioces, sitting in iudgement, caused the said William Swinderby oftentimes to be called; who (as is aforesaid) appeared not at all: whom after that he was so called, proclaimed and long looked for, and yet by no meanes appearing, we pronounced to be obstinate. We receiued also by certaine faithfull christians, and zealous men for the catholicke faith of our dioces a certaine proces made and had at another time against the same William, before the reuerend father in God and Lord, Lord John by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincolne, confirmed by the hanging on of the seale of the same reuerend father, the Lord Bishop of Lincolne. The tenor whereof word for word is contained before. And these faithfull christians moreouer against the obstinatenesse of the said William Swinderby brought forth discreete men, M. William Leuiet, parson of the parish Church of Kynersly, and also Edmund Waterdon, parish Chaplaine of the Chapell of S. and Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, lay men of the dioces of Lincolne, asking instantlie that they might be receiued for witnesses, to proue some of the foresaid articles, whom against the obstinatenesse of the said William Swinderby, we thought good to receiue and did receiue, and their oathes to the holy Gospels of God, being layd hands on corporally in our hand. And did diligently examine them in proper person seuerallie in forme of law: whose sayings and depositions are afterward brought in, and at the instance of the same faithfull christians, we assigned the second day of September then next following to the said William Swinderby, to saie and alledge against the said proceese, witnesses, and their sayings, in the said church of Whithorne: decreeing that a copie should be made for him of these things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witnesses.

* Here we faile in our copy, till the Register come to our hands againe.

by the dore, but wendith vpon an other halke, hee is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth, how he that flieth from the flocke, is not the shepheard but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheepe.

Of this processe mention is made before pag. 428

7. Conclusion.

* To the second conclusion that he saieth is errour or heresie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalities and of Lordships of priests that bene euill liuers.

Declaration.

I say, me seemeth that the conclusion is true, and is this: that it were needefull and leefull to secular Lordes by way of charity, and by power giuen to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend naught by Gods lawe: Cursed curates that openlie misuse the goods of the holy church, that ben poore mens goods: and customably ayens the law of God, (the wich poore men, Lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend) to take awaie and to draw from such curates, poore mens goods in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offerings, and their bodily almes deedes of worldly goods, and giue them to such as duelie seruen God in the church: and ben readie in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulden doe, and done it not. And as anences taking away of temporalities: I say thus, that it is leefull to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition, that they shoulden serue God the better: when they verily seene that their giuing and taking bens contrarie to the law of God, contrarie to Christes liuing, and his Apostles, and namely in that they taken vpon them, that they shoulden be next followers of Christ and his apostles, in poorenesse and meekenesse, to be secular lords against the teaching of Christ and of Saint Peter. Truelie me seemeth that all christen men and namelie Priestes shoulden take keepe, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The Priestes of the olde law weren forbidden, to haue lordships among their brethren: for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ that was the highest Priest of the new Testament forsooke worldlie lordship, and was here in fourme of a seruant, and forbad his priests such lordships, and said, Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non sic. That is: the kings of the heathen, beare dominion and rule, &c. But you shall not do so. And as Saint Peter saith: Neque dominantes in clero, &c. Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergie, &c. So it seemeth me, that it is against both lawes of God, that they haue such lordships, and that their title to such lordships is not full good: And so it seemeth me, that if they haue bene therto of euill liuing, it is no great petill to take away from them, such lordships, but rather needfull, if the taking awaie were in charitie, and not for singular couetousnesse ne wrath. And I suppose that if friers, that bene bounden to their founders, to liue in pouertie, would breake their rule and take worldlie lordships: might not men lawfullie take from them such Lordships, and make them to liue in pouertie as their rule would: And forsooth it seemeth me, that Priestes oughten also well to keepe Christes rule, as friers owen to keepe the rule of their founder. Jeremie witnesseth, how God commended Rachabs children, for they would not breake their fadersbidding in drinking of wine. And yet Jeremie proffered them wine to drinke. And so I trowe, that God would commend his Priests, if they woulden forsake worldlie lordships, and holden them apayed with lifelot, and with clothing: and busie them fast about their heritage of heauen. And God saith, Numer. 18. In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars & hæreditas vestra in medio filiorum Israel, &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis sacerdotes & Leuitæ & omnes qui de eadem tribu estis, partem & hæreditatem cum reliquo Israel, quia sacrificia Domini & oblationes eius comedent, & nihil accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim ipse hæreditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est illis. Et Lucæ 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Et Ieronymus in Epistola 34. Et Bernardus libro 20. ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte 2. libri Secundi cap. 7. Et 12. q. pri. cap. duo sunt: Et cap. clericus. Et Bernardus in Sermone de Apostolis, super illud: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chrysost. super Matth. Et vetus Testamentum. That is: You shall haue no inheritance in their land, nor haue no part amongst them: I will bee your part and inheritance amongst the children of Israel, &c. Deut. 18. The Priests and Leuites, and all that bee of the same tribe shall haue no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israel: because they shall eate the sacrifices of the Lord and his oblations, and they shall take nothing of the possession of their brethren. The Lord himselfe is their possessions, as he spake vnto them. And the 14. chapter of Luke: Euen so euery one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. And Jerome in his 14. Epistle hath the like words. And Bernard in his 20. Booke to Eugenius the Pope. And also Hugo in his Booke De Sacramentis, the second part of his second booke the 7. chapter. And also in the 12. q. first chapter, Duo sunt, and in the chapter Clericus. And againe, Bernard in his booke De sermone de Apostolis, vpon this place: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia: Behold we leaue all, &c. Chrysostome vpon the Gospell of S. Matth. &c.

Query gift giuen vpon condition is frustrate vpon the breach of euery such condition.

If the Pope may take from the Friers to cause them keep Saint Francis rule, may not the Emperour take from the Pope to cause him keepe Christs rule?

3. Conclusion.

* The third conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of Priests, without leaue of Bishops, and is this, that such true Priests may counsell sinfull men; that shewen to them their sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God hath giuen, to turne hem from sinne to vertuous life, and as touching preaching of the Gospell.

Declaration.

I say that no Bishop oweth to let a true Priest, that God hath giuen grace, wit and cunning to doe that office. For both Priests and Deacons that God hath ordained Deacons or Priests bene holden by power geuen to them of God, to preach to the people the Gospell: and namely, and soverenlie popes, bishops, prelats and curats: for this is due to the people and the parishners, to haue it and aske it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generally to his Disciples: Ite & prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ, Goe and preach the Gospell to all creatures, as well as he said, Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Goe and baptise all nations, that also as well longeth preaching

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A priest admitted ought to preach, though the prince and bishop forbid, so that he preach the word.

thing to priests without leaue of a bishop, as doth baptising; & then why may he not preach Gods word without a bishops leaue? And sithen Christ bod his Priests preach, who should forbidden them preach? The Apostles were forbidden of a bishop at Jerusalem, to speake more of the name of Jesus; but Peter said: Si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potiùs audire quàm Dominum, iudicate. That is, whether it be iust in the sight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord; be your selues iudges. A bishop may not let a priest of giuing bodilie almes in his diocesse: much more may he not let the doing of spirituall almes in his diocesse by Gods law. A priest may say his Mattins without the bishops leaue: for the pope that is aboue the bishop, hath charged priests therewith: And me thinketh that Christs bidding should be all so much of charge as the popes. Mathelv 10. Euntes prædicate. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum, &c. Lucæ 10. Et Anacletus pap. dist. 21. cap. In nouo Testamento. Et Beda super illud: Messis quidem multa. Et Isidorus de summo bono, cap. 44. Et Gregorius in canone dist. 43. Præconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. Et Chrysostom. distinct. 43. Nolite timere. Et August. dist. 34. cap. quisquis. Et Gregorius in suo pastorali, cap. 38. qui enim est. Et Chrysostom. hom. 31. & in Tollitano concilio: Ignorantia. Et August. in Prologo sermonum suorum, & Ieronymus, dist. 9. Ecce ego. Et August. super id: Homo quidam peregrinus. That is, Go you forth and preach. And againe, Behold I send you, &c. Mark. 16. Go you into all the world, &c. and Luk. 10. cap. in nouo Testamento. And Beda vpon this place, Messis quidem multa: the harueſt is great. Also Isidorus, De summo bono, cap. 44. And Gregorius in the canon distinct. 43. Præconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. and Chrysostome in his 34. distinction, Nolite timere: And Augustine in the 34. distinction, cap. quisquis. And Gregorius in his pastorall, cap. 38. Qui enim est. And Chrysostome in his 31. Homilie, Et in Tollitano concilio, Ignorantia. And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Hierome in the 95. distinct. Ecce ego. And Augustine vpon this place, Homo quidam peregrinus: A certaine traueller.

The fourth conclusion.

Declaration.

✻ The fourth conclusion toucheth the Sacrament of the altar, and is this.

That wholly I beléeue that the sacrament of the altar made by vertue of heauenly words, is bread and Christs bodie: so as Christ himselfe saith in the Gospell, and as Saint Paul saith, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined: To this sentence John 6. Moses hath not giuen you bread from heauen, but my Father will giue you bread from heauen. Hée is the true bread that came downe from heauen, and giueth life vnto the world. My Father giueth vnto you bread in déed: the verie true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and giueth life vnto the world. I am the bread of life: The bread which I will giue is my flesh. And in the canon of the Masse, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, the holie bread of life. And Corinthians the tenth chapter and first epistle: The bread which we breake, is it not the communicating of the bodie of the Lord? Let a man proue himselfe, and so eat of that bread, &c. And Canon De consecratione, distinction 2. vnder the authoritie of Hilarius the pope: Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari, &c. And Augustine in the foresaid distinction: That which is séene, is bread, &c. That which faith requireth, is bread and is the bodie of Christ. And in the foresaid distinction, cap. Omnia quæcunque, &c. By these two sentences it is manifestly declared, that that bread and this, be not two, but one bread and one flesh. Note the words for that he saith, the bread and flesh. And the author, De diuinis officijs, and also Augustine in his booke De remedijs pœnitentiæ: Why prepareſt thou thy téeth? &c. And Ambrose, De Sacramentis: de consecratione, dist. 2. Reuera mirabile est, &c. This meate which you receiue, and this bread of one which descended from heauen, doth minister the substance of eternall life, and whosoeuer shall eat the same shall not die euerlastingly, and is the bodie of Christ. Note how he saith, and is the bodie of Christ.

The fifth conclusion.

Declaration.

✻ The fifth article telleth of forgiuenesse of sinnes, and is this. That verie contrition without charitie and grace, do away all sins before done of that man, that is verilie contrite; and all true confession made by mouth outwardly to a wise priest and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is néedfull and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting fully to Gods mercie, that he forgiueth the sinne.

And hereto I say, that there béen two remissions of sins: one that belongeth only to God: And that remission is the clensing of the soule from sin. And the other remission, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his sinnes bene forgiuen of God, if he be sorie with all his heart for them: and is in full will to leaue them for euer: and this manner of forgiuenesse longeth to priests. Of the first manner of forgiuenesse, Dauid saith: And I said I will confesse my vnrighteousnesse vnto the Lord, and thou forgauest me my mis déed. And Zacharie saith, And thou O child shalt be called the Prophet of the highest, &c. To giue knowledge of saluation vnto his people for the remission of their sinnes, by the bowels of Gods mercie. And John Baptist, Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the sins of the world. And Saint John the Euangelist saith in his epistle: If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and iust to forgiue

Remission double.

vs our sinnes, and cleanse vs from all our iniquitie. And it followeth: If any man sinne, we haue an aduocat with the Father, euen Jesus Christ, and he it is, that is the propitiation for our sins. And of the other remission of sinnes Christ speaketh in the Gospell, and saith: Whose sinnes ye forgiue, they shall be forgiuen. And mans forgiuenesse auaileth little, but if God forgiue our sinnes through his grace.

The sixth conclusion.

✻ The sixth conclusion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the pope granteth in his Buls, and men callen it an absolution, A pœna & culpa.

Declaration. Either there is purgatorie, or else the pope is cruell and vncharitable.

Of this manner of speech I cannot find in the Gospell, ne in no place of holie write, ne I haue not read that Christ vsed this manner of remission, ne none of his Apostles. But as me séemeth, if the pope had such a power sithen the paines after a mans death bene much greater then any bodilie paines of the world: me thinketh he should of charitie keepe men out of such paines, and then men néeded not to find so many vicious priests after their life, to bring their soules out of purgatorie. Another thing me thinketh, that sith the popes power ne may not keep vs in this world fro bodily paines, as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from sorow and other such paines, how should his power helpe vs from spirituall paines, when we bene dead? But for that no man commeth after his death to tell vs the soth in what paine they bene, men mow tell therof what him lust. Saint John saith in his Apocalyps, that hée saw vnder the altar, the soules of them which were slaine for the word of God, and for the testimonie which they had. And they did crie with a loud voice, saying: how long Lord holy and true, doest not thou reuenge our blod of them which dwell on the earth? And white stoles were giuen to euerie of them, to rest a while, till the number of their fellow seruants and brethren should be fulfilled, which also remained to be slaine as they were, &c. Hére séemeth it, that these soules were not assoiled à pœna, that is, from paine: for their desire is not fulfillen. And they were bidden abide a while, and that is a paine. And if Martyrs were not assoiled from paine, it is hard for anie man to say, that he assoileth other men à pœna. Also good mens soules haue not but spirituall blisse, and they want bodilie blisse, vntill their resurrection in the day of dome. And after they desiren to haue that blisse, and abiden it, and that is paine to them. And I cannot see that the pope hath power to bring him from this paine. But if any man can shew me, that he hath such a power granted in the troth of holy write, I will gladly lésen it.

The popes power can keep none from bodilie paine. Ergo much lesse from spirituall.

If the martyrs being dead, be not assured from griefe of tarying, much lesse can they assoile other from paines of purgatorie.

The pope hath no power grounded vpō Scripture, to bring from paine of purgatorie.

The seuenth conclusion.

✻ The seuenth point speaketh of the pope, and is this: Sith it is only due to God, as I haue said before, to geue and to grant plener remission, from paine, and from blame: that whatsoeuer he be pope or other that presumptuously mistaketh vpon him the power that only is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh himselfe euen with Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said: Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo: That is, I will ascend, and be like the highest, &c.

The pope maketh himselfe euen with Christ.

Declaration.

For that I say, if the pope hold men of armes in maintaining of his temporall lordship, to benge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geueth remission to fight and to slay them, that contrarien him, as men sayden he did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sword in his sheath, as God commanded to Peter: hée is Antichrist. For hée doth the contrarie of the commandement of Jesus Christ, that bad Peter forgiuen to his brother seuentie sithe seuen sithe. Well I find in the Gospell, that when Christ sent his disciples to Samaria, the Samaritans would not receiuen them. And some of them bidden Christ, that he should make a fire come downe from heauen, to destroy the citie. And he blamed them and said: Nescitis cuius spiritus estis: Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed saluare. That is, ye know not of what spirit ye are: The Sonne of man is not come downe to destroy, but to saue the liues and soules of men, &c. If Christ then come to saue men, and not to slea them: who that doth the reuers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Antichrist. Christ bad Peter put his sword in his sheath, and said: Omnes qui gladium acceperint, gladio peribunt. That is: All which take the sword, shall perish with the sword. And I cannot find that Peter drew out his sword after that time, but suffered as Christ said: Cum senueris, alius cinget te, & ducet quò tu non vis. That is, when thou shalt wax old, another shall gird thée and lead thée whither thou wilt not. And therefore said Peter, Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs example that we should follow his steps. And Paul saith, Not defending your selues, but giue place to anger: leaue reuenging to me, and I shall reward them, &c. And therefore it séemeth to me, that it is much against Christs lore, that his vicar should be a fighter, sithen that he mote be a shepheard, that should go before his shéepe, and let them come after him, and not with swords to driue them away from him. For as Christ saith, a good shepheard shall put his life for his shéepe. And sith all that Christ had two swords when that he was taken of the Jewes, he said himselfe, it was for that the Scriptures moten sit be fulfilled: Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus est: that is, he was reputed among the wicked, and not to figure two swords, that men sayen the pope hath to gouerne with the church. And when I see such doings of the pope, and many other that accordin

The bishop of Norwich, Henrie Spenser the popes warriour set vp of the pope to slay his enemies, pag. 411.

The pope contrarie to Christ.

The pope against prouerb Antichrist.

Two swords neuer giuen to the pope.

rozden not with Chziſts loze, ne his liuing: And when I reade diuers Scriptures of holy writte, I am foule aſtonied whether they ſhoulden be vnderſtanded of him, oz of any other. And I pray you foz Gods loue tell me the ſoth. Chziſt ſaith: Manie ſhall come in my name, ſaying: I am Chziſt, and ſhall ſeduce manie, &c. Chziſt (I wot well) is as much to ſay, as he that is anntomted, and two annointings there weren in the law, one of kings, another of prieſts. And Chziſt was both king and prieſt, and ſo the pope ſaith that he is. And if all that haue bene emperours of Rome, and other heathen kings haue bene Antichziſts, they come not in Chziſts name. But who ſo commeth in Chziſts name, and faineth him Chziſts friend, and he be priuilie his enemie, he may lightlie beguile manie. Saint Paul ſaith: before there commeth a defection firſt and the ſonne of perdition ſhall be reuealed, which is the aduerſarie, and is extolled aboue all that is named God, oz which is wozſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe as God. And it followeth in the ſame place: And now ye know what holdeth till he be reuealed in his time, foz he wozketh alreadie the myſterie of iniquitie. Only he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abzoad, and then that wicked one ſhall be reuealed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the ſpirit of his mouth, &c. And Saint John ſaith in the Apocalyps: I ſaw another beaſt aſcending out of the earth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He ſpake like the dzagon, and had the power of the firſt beaſt. Manie ſuch authozities aſtonieth me oft ſithes: And therefoze I praie you foz the loue of God, to tell mee what they meane.

Two ſorts of annointings in Scripture.

A defection in Antichziſts time.

The ſentence.

Mention was made of this ſchedule before in the firſt daies Act. Act. pag. 433.

THe which ſchedule afoze mentioned, with the contents thereof diligently of vs peruſed, we conſidering the diſeaſes which be not eaſily cured with gentle remedie, muſt haue harder plaiſters. Conſidering mozeouer theſe his articles with his anſweres to the ſame, and to other articles alſo laſtly againſt him pzoduced, firſt mature deliberation had before vpon the whole matter, with the fozeſaid maſters and doctozs, as well ſecular as regular, to a great number, obſeruing in the ſame all things to be obſerued in this behalfe, haue giuen ſentence againſt the ſaid William in fozme as followeth.

The ſentence giuen againſt him.

The naime of Chziſt being innocated, we John by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Hereford, ſitting in tribunall ſeat, hauing God before our eies, waighing and conſidering the articles by the foreſaid faithfull chziſtians put vp againſt the ſaid Swinderby, pretending himſelfe to be prieſt, with his anſweres vpon the ſame, Actis & Actitatis before vs in the cauſe of hereticall peruerſitie, with mature deliberation had before in this behalfe, with maſters and doctozs of diuinitie, and alſo of other faculties, with their counſell and conſent: Do pronounce, decree, and declare the ſaid William to haue bene and to be an heretike, ſchiſmatike, and a falſe informer of the people, and ſuch as is to be auoided of faithfull chziſtians. Wherefoze we admoniſh, vnder the paine of the law, all and ſinguler chziſtians, of what ſere, ſtate, condition, oz preeminence ſoeuer: that neither they noz any of them within our dioceſſe, oz any other, do beleeue, receiue, defend, oz fauour the ſaid William, till he ſhall deſerue fully to be reconciled to the boſome againe of holy church.

The appeale of William Swinderby from this ſentence of the biſhop prefixed, vnto the king and *his counſell.*

The appeale of William Swinderby from the biſhop to the king and his counſell.

IN nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. I William Swinderby prieſt, knowledge openly to all men, that I was before the biſhop of Hereford, the third day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to anſwere to certaine concluſions of the faith that I was accuſed of. And mine anſwere was this, that if the biſhop oz any man couthe ſhew me by Gods law, that my concluſions oz my anſweres were errour oz hereſie, I would be amended, and openly reuoke them before all the people. * Knowes in any of my concluſions, but ſayden ſingly with wozd, that there was errours in them, and bidden me ſubiect me to the biſhop, and put me into his grace and reuoke mine errour, and ſhewed me nought by Gods law ne reaſon, ne pzoued which they weren. And foz I would not knowledge me guiltie, ſo as I knew no errour in them, of which I ſhould be guiltie, therefoze the biſhop ſate in dome in mine abſence, and deemed me an heretike, a ſchiſmatike, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accurſed, that I come not to cozrection of the church. And therefoze foz this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kings Juſtices foz many other cauſes.

* Something there lacketh in the copie.

The kings court about the biſhops court.

One cauſe is, foz the kings court, in ſuch matter is aboue the biſhops court: Foz after that the biſhop has accurſed, hee may no feare by his law, but then mote hee ſech ſuccour of the kings law, and by a writte of Significauit, put a man in priſon.

The ſecond cauſe is, for in cauſe of hereſie there liggeth iudgement of death, and that dome may not be giuen without the kings Juſtices. Foz the biſhop will ſay: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam: That is, It is not lawfull foz vs to kill anie man: as they ſaiden to Pilat, when Chziſt ſhould be deemed. And foz I thinke that no Juſtice will giue ſodainly and vntrue dome, as the biſhop did, and therefoze openly I appeale to hem, and ſend my concluſions to the knights of the Parliament, to be ſhewed to the lozds, and to be taken to the Juſtices, to be well auiſet oz that they geuen dome.

What is an heretike.

The third cauſe is, foz it was a falſe dome: foz no man is an heretike, but he, that maſterfully defends his errozs oz hereſie, and ſtiffely maintaines it. And mine anſwere has bene alway conditionall, as the people openly knowes, foz euer I ſay, and yet ſay, and alway will: that if they cannen ſhew me by Gods law that I haue erred, I will gladly bene amended, and reuoke mine errours, and ſo I am no heretike, ne neuermoze in Gods grace will ben en no wiſe.

The biſhops law of condemnation full of hereſies and errours.

The fourth cauſe is: Foz the biſhops law, that they deme men by, is full of errozs and hereſies, contrarie to the truth of Chziſts law of the Goſpell.

Foz there as Chziſts law bids vs loue our enemies, the popes law giues vs leaue to hate them and to fley them, and grants men pardon to werren againe heathen men, and ſley hem. And there as Chziſts law teach vs to be mercifull, the biſhops law teaches to be wzetchfull. Foz death is the greateſt wzetch that men mowen done on him that guiltie is.

There as Chziſts law teaches vs, to bleſſen him that diſeazen vs, and to pzay foz him: the popes law teacheth vs to curſe them, and in their great ſentence that they vſen, they pzeſume to damme hem to hell that they curſen. And this is a foule hereſie of blaſphemie: there as Chziſts law bids vs be patient, the popes law iuſtifies two ſwozds, that wherewith he ſmiteth the ſheep of the church. And he has made lozds and kings to ſweare to defend him and his church.

There as Chziſts law fozbiddeth vs lechery, the popes law iuſtifies the abominable whozedome of common women, and the biſhops in ſome place haue a great tribute oz rent of whozedome.

The contrarie tie betweene the pope and Chziſt.

There as Chziſts law bids to miniſter ſpirituall things freely to the people: the pope with his law ſels foz money, after the quantitie of the gift, as pardons, ozders, bleſſing, and Sacraments, and pzayers, and benefices, and pzeaching to the people, as it is knowne amongſt them.

There as Chziſts law teaches peace: the pope with his law aſſoiles men foz money to gader the people, prieſts, and other to fight foz his cauſe.

There as Chziſts law fozbids ſwearing: the popes law iuſtifieth ſwearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Chziſts law teacheth his prieſts to be poze, the pope with his law, iuſtifies and maintaines prieſts to bee lozds.

And yet the fifth cauſe is, foz the popes law that biſhops demen men by, is the ſame vnrightfull law that Chziſt was demet by of the biſhops, with the Scribes and with the Phariſies. Foz right as at that time they gauen moze credens to the two falſe witneſſes that witneſſed againſt Chziſt, then they deden to all the people that witneſſeden to his true pzeaching and his miracles: ſo the biſhops of the popes law geuen moze leuen by their law to two heretikes and apoſtates, oz two comen wymen that woulden witneſſeden againes a man in the cauſe of hereſie, than to thouſands of people that were true and good. And foz the pope is this Antichziſt, & his law contrarie to Chziſt his law, fully I foꝛſake this law, and ſo I reed all chriſten men. Foz thus by another point of this law, they mighten conquer much of this wozld: Foz whan they can by this law pzeſent a man an heretike: his goods ſhulen be foꝛfet from him and from his heires, and ſo might they lightly haue two oz three falſe witneſſes to recozd an hereſie againe what true man ſo hem liked. Herefoze me thinkes, that whatſoeuer that I am a chriſten man I may lawfull appeale from a falſe dome of the law, to be righteouſly demet by the trouth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not ſerue, I appeale openly to my Lozd Jeſu Chziſt that ſhall deme all the wozld, foz he, I wot well, will not ſpare foz no man to deeme a trouth. And therefoze I pzay God almightie with Dauid in the Sauter booke, Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & iuſtitiam tuam filio regis: iudicare populum tuum in iuſtitia & pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is, O God giue thy iudgement to the king, and thy iuſtice to the kings ſonne: to iudge thy people in iuſtice, and thy pooze ones in iudgement, &c.

The cauſe why Swinderby forſooke the pope.

A letter ſent to the nobles and burgeſſes of the parliament, by maſter William *Swinderby.*

A fruitfull letter to the lords and burgeſſes of the parliament.

JEſu that art both God and man, helpe thy people that louen thy law, and make knowen through thy grace thy teaching to all chriſten men. Deare ſirs, ſo as we ſeen by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, and all that euer haue bene forth brought of Adams kind into this world ſhulen come togeder at domeſday rich and poore, ichone to geue accompt and receiue after his deeds, ioy oz paynen for euermore: Therefore make we our werkes good, ye while that God of mercie abides, and be ye ſtable and true to God, and ye ſhulen ſee his helpe

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helpe about you. *Constantes estote & videbitis auxilium Domini super vos:* This land is full of ghostly cowards, in ghostlie battell few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of al that falleth (to that his heart brast for our loue) against the fiend the doughtie duke comforteth vs thus: *Estote fortes in bello*, &c. Be ye strong in battel, he saies, and fight ye with the old adder. *State in fide, viriliter agite*, &c. Wake ye and pray ye, stond yee in beleeue, doe yee manly and bee yee comfortet, and let all your things be done with charitie: For S. Paul bids thus in his epistle, that saw the priuities of God in heauen: *Euigilate iusti*, &c. Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and vnmoueable: Awake yee quickly and sleepe nought, and stond now strongly for Gods law. For S. Iohn in the Apocalypse saies, blessed be hee that awakes: for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the houre is now as Paul saith to vs, from sleepe for to rise, for he that earely awakes to me, he shall find me, saith Christ himselue. This waking ghostly is good liuing out of sinne: this sleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans heart from ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same thorough a deceiueable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heauen: the fiend makes men bold in sin, and ferd to do worship to God: death is a likening to a theefe that priuilie steales vpon a man that now is rich, and full of wele, anon he makes him a needie wretch: therefore said God by S. Iohn in in the Apocalyps in this wise, Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre. And if the husbandman (saies Christ) wist what houre the theefe should come, he would wake and suffer him not to vndermine his house. Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith, wake and be ye ware, suffer ye no man (he saies) as a theefe, but willinglie for Gods loue, for it is time (as Peter saies) that dome begin from the house of God. Yee bene the bodie of Christ (saieth Poul) that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies bene but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore curset be he (saies Poul) that loues not Iesu Christ. And who it is that loues him, Christ himselfe tels in the Gospell, he that has my hests, and keepes them, he it is that loues me. Cursed he be therefore (saies Poul) that doth Christs workes deceiueablie. Be ye not therefore (saies Poul) ashamed of the true witnesse of Iesu Christ, for Christ our God saies in his Gospell, he that shames me and my words, him shall mans sonne ashame when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Maiesty. And each man, he saies, that knowes me and my words before men, in this sinfull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowledge him before my father, saies Christ himselfe, when he shall come with his Angels in the glorie of his father. Sith ye therefore bene christen men, that is to say, Christs men, shew in deed that ye been such as ye daren shew you the kings men, for hit had bene, as Peter saies, better not to haue knowen the way of trueth, then after the knowing thereof to bee conuerted backward there from. Wee knowen Christ, that is trought, we sain all through our beliefe, if we turne from him for dred, truly we deny the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knowes but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worship, when wee haue time. Bee true (saies God) to the death, and you shall haue the crowne of life. And thinke on Iudas Machabeus, that was Gods true knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to be the followers of his law. And geue ye, he said, your liues for the Testament of your fathers. And ye shullen win, he said, great ioy, and a name for euermore. Was not Abraham, he said, in temptation founden true, and was *arectet vnto him euermore to righteousnes: Ioseph in time of his anguish hee kept truly Gods hest, he was made by Gods prouidence lord of Egypt, for his trouth. Phinees our fadure louing, he saith, the zeale of God tooke the testament of euerlasting Priesthood. Iosue for he fulfillet the word of God was domes man in Israel. Caleph that witnessed in the church, he tooke therefore the heritage, he saith: Dauid in his mercie he gate the siege of the kingdome in worlds: Hely for that he loued the zeale of Gods law, was taken vp into heauen. Ananie, Azarie, and Misael, hee saies, weren deliuered thoore through true beliefe out of the hoat flame of fire. True Daniel in his simplenes was deliueret from the lions mouth. Bethinke ye therefore, he saies, by generation and generation, and thou shalt neuer find that he failed that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he saies, of the words of a sinfull man: his glorie is, he saies, but wormes and tords: he is to day, he saith, y made hie, to morrow he saies he is not founden, for he is turned, he saies, into his earth againe, and the mind of him is perishet. Sonnes therefore, he saies, be ye comfortet, and die manly in the law: for when ye han done that that God commands you to do, ye shullen be glorious in him. And Dauid the king saies also on this wise in the Psalter booke: blessed be they (Lord) that keepen thy law, in worlds of worlds they shall praise thee. And in Leuiticus saies God thus, gif that ye wenden in mine hests and keepen my commandements, and done hem, I shall bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shallen eat your bread in fulnesse, yee shoulen dwell in your land without drede, I shall giue peace in your costes, ye shall sleepe and no man shall feare you. Euill beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not passe your termes, ye shulne pursue your enemies, and they shal fall before you, fiftie of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies, he saith, shulen fall through sword, and your sute. I shall, he saies, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall be multipliet: And I shal strength with you my couenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in thereon. And ye shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amonges you, and shall be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that ye heare me not, ne done nought all my hests but dispisen my law and my domes, and that yee done not tho things that of me bene ordenet, and breaken my commandements and my couenant: I shall do these things to you. I shall visit you surely in hede and brenning, which shall dimme your eghenen, and shall waste your liues about nought: Ye shulne sow your sede, for hit shal be deuouret of enemies, I shal put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your enemies. And ye shullen be vnderlings to them that han hatet you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall adde thereunto thornes and seuenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnes of you, I shall geue the heauen aboue you as iron, and the earth as brasse. About nought shall your labour be, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruit, ne tree shall geue none apples to you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not heare me, I shall adde hereto, seuenfold wounds for your sins. I shall send amongest you beasts of the field that shall deuour you and your beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and waies shulne be desart. And if that ye will not receiue lore, but wenden against me, I will also wenden against you, and I shall smite you seuen sithes for your sinnes. I shall lead in vpon you, sword, venger of my couenant: and vpon the fleen into cities, I shall send pestilence in the middest of you. So that ten women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them againe by waight, and ye shall eat, and be not fillet. If that ye heare me not by these things, but wenden against me, I shall wend in against you in a contrarie woodnesse, and blame you with seuen plagues for your sins, so that they shoulen eat the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And insomuch my soule shall loth you, that I shall bring your cities into wilderneesse, and your sanctuaries I shall make desart, ne I shall not ouer that receiue sweet oder of your mouth. And I shall disperkle your land, and enemies shullen maruell thereon, when they shulen inhabit it, I shall disperkel you among Heathen, and draw my swotd after you. These vengeances and many mo, God said should fall on them that breake his bidding, and dispiseth his lawes, and his domes. Than sith Christ become man, and bought vs with his heart blood, and has shewed vs so great loue, and giuen vs an easie law, of the best that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauen, and we dispise it and louen it nought: what vengeance will be taken hereon, so long as he has suffered vs, and so mercifully abidden, when he shall come that righteous iudge in the clouds to deme this world? Therefore turne we vs to him, and leaue sinne that he hates, and ouer all things maintaine his law that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, should be demed at that day by the iust law of Christ, and the maker that them made, and then we wonne that long life and that ioy that Paul speaketh of, that eye ne see not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the blisse and ioy that God hath ordained to them that louen him and his lawes.

*Reckoned.

Daniel 14.

Psalm. 119. Leuit. 26.

Deare worshipfull sirs in this world I beseech you for Christs loue, as ye that I trow louen Gods law and trouth (that in these daies is greatly borne abacke) that they wollon vouchsafe these things that I send you written to Gods worship, to let them be shewed in the Parliament as your wits can best conceiue, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amending of holy church. My conclusions and mine appeale and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can find therin error, falsenes, or default, prouet by the law of Christ clearely to christen mens knowledge) I shall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet; euer readie to hold with Gods law openly and priuily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintaine that is contrarie to his law.

The faithfull requett of William Swinderby.

¶ Of this processe, answeres, and condemnation of this worthie Priest and true seruant of Christ, William Swinderby, you haue heard. What afterward became vpon him, I haue not certainlie to say or affirme, whether hee in prison died, or whether hee escaped their hands, or whether hee was burned, there is no certaine relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the time of king Richard the second no great harme was done vnto him. Which was to the yeere 1401. at what time king Richard being wrongfullie deposed, Henrie the fourth inuaded the kingdome of England. About the beginning of whose raigne we reade of a certaine Parliament holden at London, mentioned also of Thomas Walden (as is aboue specified) in which Parliament it was decréed: that whosoeuer shewed themselues to be fauourers of Wickliffe they should be apprehended, who at that time were called Lollards, and if so be they did obstinately perseuere in that doctrine, they should be deliuered ouer vnto the bishop of the diocesse, and from him should be committed to the correction of the secular Magistrate. This law (saith the storie) brought a certaine Priest vnto punishment the same yeere, who was

burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This we haue drawen out of a piece of an old storie: and it is most certaine that there such a priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appeare by the storie, what the priests name was. Notwithstanding by diuers coniectures it appeareth vnto me that his name was Swinderby that was forced to recant before by the bishop of Lincolne. Whereby what is to be coniectured by the premisses, let other men iudge what they thinke. I haue nothing hereof expresly to affirme. This is plaine for all men to iudge (which haue heere seene and read his storie) that if he were burned, then the bishops, friers and priests, which were the causes thereof, haue a great thing to answere to the Lord, when he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, & seculum per ignem.

The storie and processe against Walter Brute.

The storie of Walter Brute a Writon.

AFter the storie of William Swinderby, I thought good and conuenient, next to adioyne the acts and doings of Walter Brute his ioynt fellow and companion, being a lay man, and learned: brought vp as it seemeth in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, being there also graduat. The tractation of whose discourse as it is something long, so therein may appeare diuers things worthie to be read and considered.

First, the mightie operation of Gods Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicitie, his valiant constancie, his learned tractations and manifold conflicts sustained against Gods enemies. On the contrarie part in his aduersaries may appeare, might against right, mans authoritie against plaine veritie; against which they hauing nothing directly to answere, proceed in condemnation against whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefest occasion that seemed to stir vp the heart and zeale of this Walter against the pope: was the impudent pardons and indulgences of pope Vrbane, granted to Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich: to fight against pope Clement, mentioned before pag. 410. Secondlie, the wrongfull condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby, the whole order whereof, in the processe heere following more plainlie may appeare.

Ex registro Epis. Hereford.

The processe had by Iohn bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute lay man, and learned, of the dioceese *of Hereford, touching the cause of heresie, as they called it, set forward by the way of the bishops office, &c. at the instruction of certaine faithfull christians, as he termed them, but indeed cruell and false promoters.*

Wurdring hearts lurking vnder louing words.

IN the name of God, Amen. To all maner of faithfull christian people, that shall see and heare this our present processe, Iohn by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting and continuall charitie, in the Lord. We would that you all should know, that of late by many faithfull christian people, and specially zealous followers of the catholike faith, it was lamentablie done vs to vnderstand by way of complaint: that a certaine son of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute lay person, learned, of our dioceese, hath vnder a cloked shew of holines, damnablie seduced the people; and setting behind him the feare of God, doth seduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and priuily, as well the nobles as the commons, in certaine conclusions, heretical, schismatical, and erroneous, and also heretofore condemned. And they haue also probablie exhibited against the same Walter, articles vnderwritten, in maner and forme as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced to the bishop, against Walter Brute.

Articles denounced against William Brute by priests and friers.

REuerend father and lord, we the faithfull people of Christ, and zealous louers of the catholike faith, and also your humble and deuout children: do minister and exhibit to your reuerend fatherhod, the articles vnder written, touching ỹ catholike faith contrarie and against malicious persons, and detractours of the same faith, and the determinations of holy mother church, and namely against the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer amongst the people. Humblie beseeching, that you would vouchsafe to haue regard to the correction of the enormities vnder written, according vnto the canonicall constitutions, euen as to your office pastorall doth lie and belong.

The first article.

In primis, we do giue and exhibit and intend to proue, that the same Walter Brute being vnmindfull of his saluation, hath been by many and diuers faithfull christian people sundrie times accused of the cursednesse of heresie: As by the swift report, slander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the most reuerend father and lord, lord William archbishop of Canturburie, and also before the reuerend father and lord, lord John late bishop of Hereford, your predecessor, and now bishop of S. Asse, hath been testified, and also hath been many and diuers times cited to answere vnto articles by him against the catholike faith auouched, and openly and publikely taught: But he in this matter of heretical cursednesse (so grieuouslie and shamefullie spoken of) hath neuer regarded to purge his innocencie, but lurkingly and running into corners, hath many and sundrie yeeres laboured to aduance things erroneous, schismaticall, and also heresies, and to imprint them in the harts of faithfull people.

The second article.

Item, the foresaid Walter Brute hath openly, publikely, and notoriouslie auouched, and commonly said and taught, and stubbornely affirmed; that euerie christian man (yea and woman) being without sin, may make the bodie of Christ so well as the priest.

The third article.

Item, the same Walter hath notoriously, openly and publikely auouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is not the verie bodie, but a signe and a memoriall only.

The fourth article.

Item, the foresaid Walter hath said commonly and auouched, and also hath laboured to informe men and companies, that no man is bound to giue tithes, nor oblations: and if anie man will needs giue, he may giue his tithes, and oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their curats.

The fifth article.

Item, that such as do preach and preser croised matters, and pardons (granted by the high bishop to them that helpe the purpose of the reuerend father lord Henrie by the grace of God bishop of Norwich, when as he toke his iourney vpon him to fight for the holy father the pope) are schismatikes and heretikes, and that the pope cannot grant such maner of pardons.

The sixth article.

Item, the said Walter hath oftentimes said, and commonlie auouched, that the pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and vtterly against the law and life of Christ.

The seuenth article.

Item, whereas of late your reuerence did (at the instance of faithfull christian people) proceed in forme of law against William Swinderby, and that the said William Swinderby had vnto the said articles obiected against him, giuen vp his answeres in writting, containing in them errors, schismes and heresies, euen as you with the mature counsell of maisters and doctors in Diuinitie, and other faculties haue determined and giuen sentence, and haue pronounced the same William Swinderby to be an heretike, and a schismatike, and an erroneous teacher of the people: Neuertheless the forenamed Walter hath openly, publikely, and notoriously said, auouched, and stubbornely affirmed, that the said Williams answeres (whereof notice hath been giuen before) are good, righteous, and not able to be conuinced, in that they containe none error, and that your sentence beforesaid, giuen against the same William, is euill, false and vniust: And that your assistants haue wickedly, naughtily, peruerslie, and vniustly condemned the answeres aforesaid.

Otherwise bloodie promoters.

Now thereupon immediatly, those same faithfull christian people haue instantly required that we would vouchsafe that other articles giuen by the same faithfull christians against the said William Swinderby, together with the writings and answeres of the same William thereunto: should be admitted against Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of cursed heresie: of which articles and answeres, the tenors do follow in these words.

These conclusions and articles of William Swinderby heere repeated, and obiected to Walter Brute are to be found before, pag. 429. and 430.

In primis, that one William Swinderby pretending himselfe priest, was of certaine articles and conclusions erroneous, false, schismaticall and heretical, by him preached, at diuers places and times, before a great multitude of faithfull christians, iudicially conuinced: and the same articles and conclusions did he (inforced by necessitie of law) reuoke and abiure, some as heretical, and other as erroneous and false: and for such did he auouch them euer afterward, promising so to take and beleeue them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or priuily preach, teach, or affirme none of them: nor that he should make sermon or preach within your dioceese without licence demanded and obtained. And in case he should to the contrarie presume, by preaching or auouching, that then he should be subiect to the seueritie of the canons, euen as he iudiciallie sware accordingly as the law inforced. Also the conclusions abiured by the said William do follow, and are such.

1. Conclusion.

1 In primis, that men by the rule of charitie, may demand debts, but by no meanes imprison any man for debts: and that the partie so imprisoning a bodie, is excommunicated, before pag. 428.

2 Item, that if the parishioners shall know their curat to be incontinent and naughtie; they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c. pag. 428.

3 Item, that tithes are meere almes, and in case that the curats shall be ill, that they may be lawfully bestowed vpon others by the temporall owners, &c. pag. 428.

4 Item, that an euill curat to excommunicat any vnder his iurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is nought else, &c. pag. 428.

5 Item, that no man may excommunicat any bodie, except that first he know him excommunicat of God: Neither do those that communicat with such a one, incur the sentence of excommunication by any maner of meanes: ibid.

6 Item, that euery priest may absolue euery sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the Gospell vnto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops: pag. 428.

7. Item,

7 Item, that a priest receiuing by bargaine any thing of yeerely annuitie, is in so doing a schismaticke, and excommunicate: pag. 428.

8 Item, he doth assuredly beleeue (as hee auoucheth) that euery priest being in deadly sin, if hee dispose himselfe to make the bodie of Christ, doth rather commit idolatrie, then make Christs bodie, ibid.

9 Item, that no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the Wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c. pag. 428.

10 Item, that the child is not rightly baptised, if the priest, &c. ibid.

11 Item, that no manner of person if he liue against Gods law, &c. ibid.

12 Item, the same William against the things premised, and his reuocation and abiuration (not to his heart conuerting, but from euill to worse peruerting) did turne aside into our diocesse: where running to and fro in diuers places, hath of his owne rash head presumed to preach, or rather to peruert, &c. pag. 429.

13 Item, after that we had heard diuers rumors, and slanders of very many, wee directed diuers monitions and commandements comminatorie, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundrie places of our diocesse: that no person of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he were of, should presume to preach, or to teach the sacred scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our dioces, &c. pag. 429.

14 Item, that the same sort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our seale, came to the true and vndoubted knowledge of the said William.

Infandum facinus scilicet.

15 Item, the same William vnmindful of his owne saluation hath sithence and against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to bee spoken) in contempt of the high bishops dignitie, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed in diuers places of our said diocesse, to preach or rather to peruert and to teach the forementioned, and other hereticall, erroneous and schismaticall deuices.

16 Item, the same William in preaching to the people, on monday, to wit, the first of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1390. in the Church of Whitney in our diocesse, held and affirmed; that no prelate of the world, of what state, prehemminence or degree soeuer hee were of, hauing cure of soules and being in deadly sinne, &c. pag. 429.

A perilous booke to open.

17 Item, the same William in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithfull Christian people, after the sacramentall words vttered by the priest, hauing the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very bodie of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist: pag. 430.

18 Item, that accidents cannot bee in the sacrament of the altar without their subiect: and that there remaineth materiall bread Concomitanter with the bodie of Christ in the Sacrament. Vide supra, pag. ibid.

19 Item, that a priest being in deadly sinne cannot by the power of the sacramentall words, make the bodie of Christ: pag. 430.

20 Item, that all priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are in this world of higher dignitie, degree, or preheminence: pag. 430.

21 Item, that contrition onely putteth away sinne, if a man shall be duly contrite: and that all vocall confession and exercise, is superfluous, and not requisite of necessitie to saluation: ibidem.

22 That inferiour curates haue not their power of binding and loosing mediatly from the pope or bishop, but immediately of Christ, &c. pag. 430.

23 Item, that the pope cannot grant such a kind of annuall pardons, because there shall not bee so many yeeres to the day of iudgement as is contained in the popes bulles or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be: ibid.

24 Item, that it is not in the popes power to grant to any penitent body forgiuenesse of the paine, or of the trespasse: pag. 430.

25 Item, that one giuing his almes to any bodie which as he iudgeth hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giuing it: pag. ibi.

26 Item, that it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what priuate religion soeuer he bee, to giue by letters benefits of their order. Neither doe such kind of benefits giuen profit them to whom they be giuen for the saluation of soules. Vide supra, pag. ibid.

A foule fault forsooth.

27 Item, that the same William vnmindefull of his owne saluation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert wood called Derwallswood of our diocesse, and there in a certaine vnhallowed chapell (nay a prophane cottage) hath presumed of his owne proper rashnesse, to celebrate, &c. pag. 430.

28 Item, the same William hath also presumed to doe the like things in a certaine prophane chapell, situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the towne of Leyntwardyn, in the same our diocesse: pag. ibid.

¶ Which things being done, the same faithfull christian people, and specially sir Walter Pride the penitentiarie of our cathedrall Church of Hereford, personallie appearing before vs, sitting in our iudgement seat in the parish church of Whiteborne of our dioces: brought forth and exhibited two publike instruments against the same Walter Brute, in the case of cursed heresie aforesaid, of which instruments heere followeth the tenors and articles in this sort.

Walter Pride promoter, or rather a prond promoter.

The first instrument exhibited by certaine chanons of Hereford against Walter Brute.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it euidently knowne to all persons by this present publike instrument: that in the yeere from the incarnation, after the course and computation of the Church of England 1391. the indition xv. of the pontificall office of our most holy father and lord in Christ, lord Boniface the ninth, by Gods wisdome pope, the second yeere, the xv. day of the moneth of October, in the dwelling house of the worshipfull man, master John Godemestone, canon of the Cathedrall Church of Hereford, in the presence of mee the publike Notarie vnder written, and of witnesses subscribed: Walter Brute lay man, learned, of Hereford dioces, personallie appearing said, auouched, and stiffely maintained: that the said bishop of Hereford and his assistances, which were with him the third day of the foresaid month of October, the yeere of our Lord aforesaid, in the church of Hereford; did naughtilie, wickedly, peruerslie, and vniustlie condemne the answeres of sir William Swinderby chaplaine, giuen by the same sir William to the same lord bishop in writing, and also the articles ministred by the same sir William.

Bishop of Hereford vniustly condemned the articles of sir Wil. Swinderby.

And furthermore he said, held, and auouched, that the same conclusions giuen by the same sir William, euen as they were giuen, are true and catholike.

Item, as touching the matters obiected against him by them that stood by, concerning the sacrament of the altar: hee said, that after the sacramentall words, there doth remaine very bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the bodie of Christ, and that there doe not remaine accidents without substance or subiect after the consecration of the bodie of Christ. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold diuers opinions.

Matters obiected against Walter Brute.

Furthermore, as concerning the pope, he said, held, and auouched: that hee is the very antichrist, because that in life and maners he is contrarie to the lawes, doctrines and deeds, of Christ our Lord.

The pope antichrist.

All and euery of these things were done, euen as they be aboue written and rehearsed in the yeere of our Lord, pontificall office, month, day and place aforesaid, at supper time of the day aforenamed, then and there being present the worshipfull and discreete men, sir Walter Ramsburie, chiefe chaunter of the said cathedrall Church of Hereford, Roger Hore Chanon of the same church, Walter Wall, chaplaine of the said Church of Hereford, being a vicar of the chorall, and certaine other worthie witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premisses: Ex Regist. Hereford.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

And I Richard Lee wheeler, clerke of Worcester, being a publike notarie, by the authoritie Apostolike; was personally present at all and singuler the premisses, whilest that (as is before rehearsed) they were done and a doing in the yeere of our Lord 1391. pontificall office, month, day, place, and the houre aforesaid: and I did see, write, and heare all and singuler those things thus to bee done, and haue reduced them into this publike manner and forme: and being desired truely to testifie the premisses, haue sealed the said instrument, made hereupon, with mine accustomed seale and name.

Richard Lee Register and writer hereof.

The forme of the second instrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainely knowne to all persons, by this present publike instrument: that in the yeere from the incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the Church of England, 1391. the indition fiftéene, in the third yeere of the pontificall office of the most holy Father in Christ, and our lord, lord Boniface pope by the prouidence of God the ninth, and in the 19. day of the moneth of Januarie: Walter Brute layman, of Hereford dioces, personally appearing before the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, lord John by Gods grace bishop of Hereford, in the presence of me being a publike notarie, and one of the witnesses vnder written: did say, hold, publish, and affirme, the conclusions hereafter written, that is to say: that christian people are not bound to pay tithes neither by the law of Moses, nor by the law of Christ.

Matters and conclusions ministred against Walter Brute.

Item, that it is not lawfull for Christians for any cause in any case, to sweare by the Creator neither by the creature.

This conclusion seemeth to be falsly collected, as were before the articles of Wil. Swinderby.

Item, he confesseth openly and of his owne accord: that within the same moneth of Januarie, he did eate, drinke, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reuerend father: whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced an heretike, schismatike, and a false seducer of the common people. Which conclusions, the same reuerend father caused to bee written, and in writing to bee deliuered to the same Walter. Which when he had seene and read, he said also that he did maintaine and iustifie them according to the lawes aforesaid. These things were done in the chamber of the said bishop of Hereford, at his manour of Whiteborne of the said diocesse of Hereford: then being there present the same bishop aboue said, master

This conclusion also is not rightly gathered.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

Reynold

Reynold of Wolsten, Canon of Hereford, sir Phillip Dieske, parson of the parish church of Blamurin, Thomas Guldefeld parson of the Church of Englishyknore, John Crefket parson of the Church of Whiteborne, and Thomas Walleswaine houshold seruant, for witnesses specially called and desired to the premisses of the diocesse of Hereford and saint Alle.

Benedict Come register, witnes and writer of this instrument against Walter Brute.

And I Benedict Come clerk of the diocesse of S. Alle, publike notarie by the apostolike authoritie of the diocesse of saint Alle, was personally present together with the witnesse before named, at all and singuler these and other things here premised, whilest they were so done and a doing, and did see, heare, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned: and did write the same and reduce them into this publik forme, and with my wonted and accustomed seale and name haue sealed it, being desired and required truely to testifie the premisses.

At the last, the aforesaid Walter Brute, did present and cause to be presented to vs (at diuers places and times assigned by vs to the same Walter, to answere to the former cõclusions and articles) diuers scroules of paper, written with his owne proper hand, for his answers to the same articles and conclusions aboue written: he partly appearing by his owne selfe, before vs sitting in our iudgement seate, and partly by his messengers, specially appointed to that purpose: of which scroules, the tenors doe follow in order word by word, and be on this manner.

Certaine exhibits of Walter Brute in writing presented to the bishop for his defence.

Walter Brute a Briton borne.

In the name of the father, and of the son, and the holy ghost, Amen. I Walter Brute, sinner, layman, husbandman, and a Christian (hauing mine offspring of the Britons, both by my fathers and mothers side) of the Britons, haue been accused to the bishop of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the catholike Christian faith: by whom I am required, that I should write an answere in Latine to al those matters. Whose desire I will satisfie to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the world: that like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuse the knowne truth, for any reward greater or smaller, yea bee it neuer so big, nor yet for the feare of any temporall punishment: euen so it is not my mind to maintaine any erroneous doctrine for any commodities sake. And if any man, of what state, sect or condition soeuer he be, will shew me that I erre in my writings or sayings, by the authoritie of the sacred scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred scripture, I will humblie and gladly receiue his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Christ only excepted) I will not simplie beleeue, except he shall be able to stablish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: for because, that in the holy Apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found errour by the testimonie of the holy Scripture, because that Paul himselfe doth confesse that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthie to be rebuked, Galath. the 2. chapter. There haue been errours found in the holy doctors, that haue been before vs, as they themselues confesse of themselues. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is errour found in the teachers in our age: who are of contrarie opinions among themselues, and some of them doe sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemne the selfesame thing to be heresie and errour. Which protestation premised, I will heere place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions stablished vpon the same, and vpon the sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when as they shall be declared after my maner and fashion, it shall plainlie appeare what my opinion and iudgement is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and vnlearned, I will get me vnder the mightie defences of the Lord. O Lord I will remember thine only righteousnesse.

Protestation made.

No writer or doctor without his errour, the Scripture only excepted.

Errour in the Apostles.

Errour in the Doctors.

Errours and contrarieties among the papish writers.

Brute modestly excuseth his learning.

The first case or supposition.

God the Father almightie vncreate, the maker of heauen and earth, hath sent his Sonne (that was euerlastinglie begotten) into this world: that he should be incarnated, for the saluation and redemption of mankind, who was conceiued by the holy Ghost, euerlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, and was borne of Marie the virgin, to the end that we might be borne anew. He suffered passion vnder Pontius Pilate for our sinnes, laying downe his life for vs, that we should lay downe our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to vs. He was dead, that hee might redeeme vs from death, by purchasing for vs forgiuenesse of sinnes. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptisme, and that we dead to sinnes, should liue to righteousnesse. He descended into hell, thereby deliuering man from thraldome, and from the bondage of the diuell, and restoring him to his inheritance, which he lost by sinne. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glorie of his Father, that we also should walke in newnesse of life. He ascended vp to the heauens, to which no bodie hath ascended, sauing he that descended from heauen, euen the Sonne of man which is in heauen. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almightie, vntill his enemies be made his footstole. Hee being in verie deed so much better then the Angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name then they. From thence hee shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, according to their workes, because the Father hath giuen all iudgement to the Sonne. In whose terrible iudgement we shall rise againe, and shall all of vs stand before his iudgement seat, and receiue for as well bodily as spiritually, for euer to endure, if we be of the theepe placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of bodie and soule, if we shall be found amongst goates, placed on the left hand, &c.

The second case or assertion.

Jesus Christ the Sonne of God, very God and very man a king for euer, by stablishing an euerlasting kingdome, breaking to powder all the kingdomes of the world, Daniel 2. a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, whereby also he is able euermore to saue such as by him come vnto God, and alwaies liueth to intreat for vs, Heb. 7. He offering one sacrifice for our sinnes, hath made perfect for euer by one oblation, those that be sanctified, Heb. 10. Being the wisedome that cannot be deceiued, and the truth that cannot be vttered: he hath in this world taught the will of the Godhead of his Father, which will hee hath in worke fulfilled, to the intent that hee might faithfully instruct vs, and hath giuen the law of charitie to be of his faithfull people obserued, which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithfull with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be obserued aboue all other doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, because that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error, and therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if clokedly or openly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Mens doctrines being made for the peoples profit must be allowed and obserued, so that they be grounded vpon Christs doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

The first conclusion.

If the high bishop of Rome calling himselfe the seruant of the seruants of God, and the chiefe vicar of Christ in this world, do make and maintaine many lawes contrarie to the Gospell of Jesu Christ: then is he of those that haue come in Christs name, saying I am Christ, and haue seduced manie a one, by the testimonie of our Sauiour in Math. chap. 24. and the idoll of desolation sitting in the Temple of God, and taking away from him the continuall sacrifice for a time, times, and halfe a time. Which Idoll must be reuealed to the christian people by the testimonie of Daniel. Whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospell: When you shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the holy place: let him that readeth, vnderstand, and he is the pestiferous mountaine infecting the whole vniuersall earth, as witnesseth Jeremie, chapter 51. and not the head of Christs bodie. For the ancient person in yeeres, and honorable in reuerence, he is the head, and the Prophet teaching lies is the taile, as Esay alleageth chapter 9. And he is that wicked and sinfull captaine of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquitie is come in time of iniquitie, who shall take away Cidarim, and take away the crowne, Ezechiel chapter 21. to whom it was said: For so much as thy heart was exalted, and diddest say, I am a god, and sittest in the seat of God, in the heart of the sea, seeing thou art a man and not God, and hast giuen thine heart, as if it were the heart of God: therefore behold I will bring vpon thee the most strong and mightie strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swords vpon the beautie of thy wisedome, and shall defile the commandements and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slaine, and it followeth:

The pope an idoll of desolation sitting in the temple of God.

The pope if his lawes be contrarie to Christ, is the pestiferous mountaine infecting the whole earth. Jeremie 51.

The pope, the sinfull captaine of Israel, spoken of Ezechiell 21.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandize, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, from the middest of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes vpon earth. Thou art become nothing, and neuer shalt thou be any more, Ezech. chap. 28. Furthermore he is the idle shepheard forsaking his flocke, hauing a sword on his arme, and another sword on his right eye, Zach. 11. and sitting in the temple of God, doth aduance himselfe aboue all thing that is called God, or whatsoeuer is worshipped, by the testimonie of Paul to the Thessal. 2. epist. 2. chap. And in the defection or falling away shal the man of sinne be reuealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth. For euery kingdome diuided in it selfe shall be brought to desolation. He is also besides, the beast ascending vp out of the earth, hauing two hornes like vnto a lambe, but he speaketh like a dragon, and as the cruell beast ascending vp out of the sea, whole power shall continue 42. moneths. He worketh the things that he hath giuen to the image of the beast. And he compelled small and great, rich and poore, freemen and bondslaues, to worship the beast, and to take his marke in their forehead or their hands, Apocal. 13. chap. And thus by the testimonie of all these places is he the chiefe Antichrist vpon the earth, and must be slaine with the sword of Gods word, and cast with the dragon, the cruell beast and the false prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

Antichrist described.

Ezech. 28.

The pope an idle shepheard. Zach. 11.

The beast horned like the lambe.

The pope signifieth the beast ascending out of the earth.

Terrible scriptures against the pope. Apocal. 13.

If the citie of Rome do allow his traditions, and do disallow Christ holy commandements, and Christs doctrine, that it may confirme his traditions: then is the Babylon the great, or

Rome, Babylon.

of the daughter of Babylon, and the great whore sitting vpon manie waters, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotrie lying open to bawdrie. With whose spirituall whoredome, enchantments, witchcrafts, & Simon Magus marchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced: saying in her heart, I sitte as a Quéene, and widow I am not, neither shall I see sorow and mourning. Yet is thée ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruine by the testimonie of the Apoc. chap. 17. Because that from the time that the continuall sacrifice was taken away, and the abhomination of desolation placed, there be passed 1290. dayes by the testimonie of Daniel, and the Chronicles added doe agrée to the same. And the holy citie also hath bin troden vnder foot of the heathen, for 42. moneths, and the woman was nourished vp in the wildernesse (vnto which thée fled for feare of the face of the serpent) during 1260. dayes, or else for a time, times, and halfe a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the testimonie of the Apocalyps, and the Chronicles thereto agréeing. And as concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaide, it is manifest in the Apocalyps, where it is said: In one day shall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shall bee burned with fire. For strong is the Lord which will iudge her. And againe, Babylon that great citie is fallen, which hath made all nations to drinke of the wine of her whordome. And thirdly, one mightie angell tooke vp a mill stone that was a very great one, and did cast it into the sea, saying: With such a violence as this is, shall that great citie Babylon be ouerthrowen, and shall no more be found. For her marchants were the princes of the earth, and with her witchcraft all nations haue gone astray, and in her is there found, the blood of the saints & prophets. And of her destruction speaketh Esay in the 13. chapter: And Babylon that glorious citie, being so noble amongst kingdomes in the pride of the Caldeans, it shall be that like as the Lord did ouerturne Sodome and Gomorre, vpside downe, it shall neuer more be inhabited, nor haue the foundation laid in no age, from generation to generation. Ieremie saith: Your mother that hath borne you, is brought to very great confusion and made euen with the ground. And againe: The Lord hath deuised and done as he hath spoken against the inhabiters of Babylon, which dwell richly in their treasures vpon many waters, thine end is come. And thirdly: Drouth shall fall vpon her waters, and they shall begin to bee drie, for it is a lande of grauen images, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: It shall neuer more be inhabited, neither be builded vp in no age nor generation. Verily, euen as God hath subuerted Sodome and Gomorre with her calues.

Apoc. 17.

1290. dayes figured in Da. 12

The fall of Babylon. Apoc. 14.

Esay 13.

Ieremie. 51.

Pardon me (I beseech you) though I bee not plentifull in pleasant words: For if I should runne after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not bee Christes seruant. And because I am a poore man, and neither haue nor can haue notaries hired to testifie of these my writings: I call vpon Christ to be my witnes, which knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I haue written after my fashion, to the profit of all Christen people, and to the hurt of no man liuing, and am readie to be reformed if any man will shew me where I haue erred: being readie also (miserable sinner though I be) to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ & of his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his grace and loue to assist me a miserable sinner. In witnesse of all these things, I haue to this writing set the seale of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ; which I beseech him to imprint vpon my forehead, and to take from me all manner of marke of Antichrist: Amen.

¶ These two suppositions (as they are termed in the schooles) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited vnto the Bishop, although they conteined matter sufficient either to satisfie the bishop if he had béene disposed to learne, or else to haue prouoked him to replie againe, if his knowledge therein had beene better then his: yet could they worke neither of them effect in him. But he receiuing and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, neither would replie or answere by learning to that which was truth, finding other by-cauillations, said that this his writing was too short & obscure, and therefore required him, to write vpon the same again more plainelie and more at large. Whereupon the saide maister Walter (satisfying the bishops requell, and readie to giue to euerie one an account of his faith) in a more ample tractation renewelth his matter againe before declared, writing to the bishop in words and forme as followeth:

An other declaration of the same matter before, after a more ample tractation exhibited by M. Brute to the B.

REuerend father, forsomuch as it séemeth to you that my motion in my two suppositions or cases, and in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat darke: I will gladlie now satisfie your desire, according to my small learning, by declaring the same conclusions. In opening whereof, it shall plainelie appeare, what I doe iudge in all matters, that I am accused of to your reuerence, desiring you first of all that your discretion would not beléeue that I doe enterprise of any presumption to handle the secrets of the scriptures, which the holie, and iust, and wise doctors haue left vnerpounded. It is not vnknowen to manie, that I am in all points farre inferior to them, whose holinesse of life and profoundnesse in knowledge, is manifolde wayes allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of sinnes, are to my selfe and others sufficiently knowen: wherefore, I iudge not my selfe worthie to vnlose or to carrie their shoes after them. Doe you therefore no otherwise deeme of me, then I doe of mine owne selfe. But if you shall finde any goodnesse in my writings, ascribe it to God onely: who according to the multitude of his mercy doth sometimes reueale those things to Idiots and sinners, which are hidden from the holie and wise, according to this saying: I will praise and confesse thée O father, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones. Euen so O father, because it hath thus pleased thée. And in another place: I am come to iudgement into this world, that they which see not, may see, and that they which see, may be made blind. And Paul saith: that God hath chosen the weake things of the world, to confounde the mightie, that no man shall boast in himselfe, but that all men should giue the honour to God.

They that so humbly iudge of themselues and doe not so carelesly carrie, ars of God.

It was commanded to Esaie, bearing the type of Christ: Go and say to this people: Heare yee with your hearing, and doe not vnderstand? Behold ye the vision, and yet knowe yee not the thing that yee see? Make blinde the heart of this people, and make dull their eares, & shut their eyes, lest that perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their eares they should heare, and with their hearts they should vnderstand, and be conuerted, and I should heale them. And I said, how long Lord? And he said, vntill that the cities be made desolate, without inhabitants, and the house without any person within it. Also in Esay thus it is written: And the multitude of all nations, which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that haue warred, and besieged and preuailed against it, shall be as a dreame that appeareth in the night, and as the hungrie person dreameth that he eateth, but when hee shall awake out of sleepe, his soule is emptie. And like as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake, hee is still wearie and thirstie, and his soule voide of nourishment: euen so shall it be with the multitude of all nations that haue fought against the mount Sion. Be you amazed, and haue great wonder: reele ye to and fro, and stagger yee: be yee drunken, and not with wine: stagger, but not through drunkennesse: for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drousines. He shall shut your eyes, he shall couer your Prophets and Princes that see visions. And a vision shall bee to you altogether like the wordes of a sealed booke, which when he shall giue to one that is learned, he shall say: Reade here, and he shall answere, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the booke shall be giuen to one, that is vnlearned and knoweth not his letters, and it shall bee saide vnto him, Reade, And he shall answere, I know not the letters, I am vnlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith: Forasmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouthes, and glorifieth me with their lippes, but their heart is farre from me, and they haue rather feared the commandements of men, & haue cleaued to their doctrines: Behold therefore I will adde besides, & bring such a muse and maruell vpon this people which shall make men amazed with maruelling. For wisedome shall perish from their wise men, and the vnderstanding of their prudent persons shall be hidden. And soone after it followeth in the same place, yet a little while and Libanus shall bee turned into Charmell, and Charmell counted for a cops or groue, and in the same day shall the deafe folkes heare the word of this booke, and the eyes of the blinde (changed from darkenes and blindnesse) shall see.

Esay 6.

Esay 19.

Esay 29.

Libanus and Charmell, two hils, the one in Phoenicia fruitfull & pleasant: the other in the borders of Iewry, barren & vnpleasant, which is Charmel.

Nabuchodonosor enquiring of Daniel said: Thinkest thou that thou canst truely declare me the dreame that I haue seen, and the meaning thereof? And Daniel said: As for the mysterie whereof the king doth aske, neither the wise men, magicians, soothsayers, nor enchanters can declare to the king: But there is a God is heauen, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee (O king Nabuchodonosor) what things shall come to passe in the last times of all. To me also is this sacrament or mysterie disclosed (not for any wisedome that is in me more then in all men liuing) but to that the interpretation might be made manifest to the king, and that thou shouldest know the cogitations of thy minde.

Daniel. 2.

It was also said to Daniel: And thou Daniel, shut vp the words, seale vp the booke, vntill the time appointed. Verely many people shall passe ouer, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel sayde to the man that was clothed with linnen garments, who stood vpon the waters of the floud; How long will it be before the ende shall come of these maruellous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparell, who stood vpon the waters of the flouds, when hee had lift vp his right hand and his left hand vnto heauen, and had sworne by him that liueth for euermore, that for a time, times, and halfe a time. And when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holy people shall bee accomplished; then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and vnderstood not, & I said: O my Lord, what shall bee after these things? and he said: Go thy wayes Daniel, for this talke is shut and sealed vp, vntill the time that is before appointed.

Daniel 12.

All

All theſe things haue I written, to ſhew, that hee that hath the key of Dauid, who openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth: doth (when and how long it pleaſeth him) hide the myſteries, and the hid ſecrets of the Scriptures from the wiſe, prudent, and righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleaſure, reuealeth the ſame to ſinners and lay perſons, and ſimple ſoules, that hee may haue the honor and glorie in all things. Wherefore as I haue before ſaid, if you ſhal find any good thing in my writings, aſcribe the ſame to God alone: If you ſhall find otherwiſe, thinke yée the ſame to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of errour be ſhewed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

* *In ſigno Gemini.*

But why that ſuch maner of matters are moued touching the diſcloſing of antichriſt in this kingdome, more then in other kingdomes, and in this time alſo more then in time paſt: the anſwere, as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the laſt coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter in the ſigne of the * Twinnes, which is the houſe of Mercurie, being the ſignifer of the Chriſtian people: which coniunction ſeemeth to me to betoken the ſecond comming of Chriſt, to reforme his Church, and to call men againe by the diſcloſing of Antichriſt, to the perfection of the Goſpell, from their heathenith rites and waies of the Gentiles. By whom the holy citie was trampled vnder foote; for 42. moneths, euen as the coniunction of the ſaid two planets being incloſed in the ſigne of the Virgine, which is alſo the houſe of Mercurie: did betoken the firſt comming of Chriſt, for the ſaluation of all people that were periſhed of the houſe of Iſrael, whereby to call them through the ſame comming, to the full perfection of the Goſpell. As touching this calling of the Heathen, ſpeaketh Chriſt in the Goſpell, I haue alſo other ſheepe, that are not of this fold, and thoſe muſt I bring, and they ſhall heare my voice, and there ſhall bee one ſheepefold, and one ſhepeheard. For although the Gentiles be conuerted from the infidelitie of their idolatrie, to the faith of Chriſt: yet are they not conuerted to the perfection of the law of Chriſt. And therefore did the Apoſtles in the primitiue Church, lay no burthen vpon the Gentiles, but that they ſhould abſtaine from hainous things, as from things offered to Idols, and from bloud, and ſtrangled, and fornication. As touching this ſecond comming, ſpeaketh Eſay: On that day the roote of Ieſſe which ſtandeth for a ſigne, or marke to the people, to him ſhall the heathen make their homage and ſupplication, and his ſepulchre ſhall be glorious: and in that day ſhal it come to paſſe, that the Lord ſhall the ſecond time put to his hand, to poſſeſſe the remnant of his people, &c. And hee ſhall lift vp a token toward the nations, and he ſhall aſſemble the runnagate people of Iſrael that were fled, and thoſe that were diſperſed of Iuda ſhall he gather together from the fower quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim ſhall be broken to peeces, and the enemies of Iuda ſhall come to nought. Paul to the Theſſalonians ſaith: Wee beſeech you brethren, by the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and of our gathering together before him, that you bee not ſoone remooued from your vnderſtanding, neither that you be put in feare, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by letter ſent by vs, neither by ſpirit, nor yet by talke. Let not any bodie by any meanes bring you out of the way, or ſeduce you. For except there ſhall firſt come a departing, and that the man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition ſhall be diſcloſed, which maketh reſiſtance, and is aduanced aboue all thing that is called God, or that is worſhipped: ſo that he doth ſit in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe as if hee were God. Do ye not remember that whileſt I was as yet with you, I told you of this? and now ye know what keepeth him backe, that he may be vttered in his due time: For euen now doth he work the myſterie of iniquitie, only that he which holdeth, may hold ſtill vntill he be come to light: and then ſhall that wicked one be diſcloſed, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlay with the breath of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the brightneſſe of his comming, euen him, whoſe comming is according to the working of Satan, in al power, with ſignes and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards thoſe that do periſh, becauſe that they receiue not heartily the loue of truth, that they might be ſaued.

Marke here (good Reader) by this aſtronomicall coniunction of theſe two planets in Gemini, he meaneth couertly the ſchiſme betweene the two popes which laſted 39 yeeres: by the which coniunction, his meaning is, that God would haue antichriſt to be diſcloſed and his Church to be reformed. By this perfection (I ſuppoſe) he meaneth the reformation of the Church being out of the way.

Eſay 11.

The reuealing of antichriſt.

Chriſt being demanded of the Apoſtles what ſhould be the token of his comming, and of the end of the world; ſaid vnto them: There ſhall come many in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many. Alſo he telleth them of many other ſignes, of battels, famine, peſtilence, and earthquakes. But the greateſt ſigne of all he teacheth to bee this: When you ſhall ſee (ſaith he) the abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, he that readeth, let him vnderſtand. **But Luke 21. in his goſpell ſpeaketh more plainely hereof:** When you therefore ſhall ſee Ieruſalem to bee compaſſed about with an armie, then know yee, that the deſolation thereof ſhall draw nigh. **And afterward it followeth:** And they ſhall fall by the face of the ſword, and ſhall be led away captiue to all nations, and Ieruſalem ſhall bee troden vnder foote of the heathen, vntill the times of the Nations bee fulfilled. **Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter:** And after 72. weekes, ſhall Chriſt be ſlaine, neither ſhall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the citie and ſanctuarie, ſhall a people (with his captaine that will come with them) deſtroy the ſaid citie and ſanctuarie, and his end ſhall be to bee waſted vtterlie, till it bee brought to nought, and after the end of the warre, ſhall come the deſolation appointed. In one weeke ſhall hee confirme the couenant to many, and within halfe a weeke ſhall the offering and ſacrifice ceaſe. And in the temple ſhall there bee the abomination of deſolation, and euen vnto the end ſhall the deſolation continue. **And elſe where in Daniel, thus it is written:** From the time that the continuall ſacrifice ſhall be offered, and that the abomination ſhall bee placed in deſolation, there ſhall be one thouſand, two hundred, and ninetie daies.

Deſtruction of the Iewes temple.

1290. daies, in Daniel expounded.

The abomination of deſolation. Luke 21.

Now, if any man will behold the Chronicles, he ſhall find, that after the deſtruction of Ieruſalem was accompliſhed, and after the ſtrong hand of the holie people was fully diſperſed, and after the placing of the abomination, that is to ſay, the Idoll of deſolation of Ieruſalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had paſſed 1290. daies, taking a day for a yéere, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whoſe rites and cuſtomes God ſuffered the holy city to be trampled vnder foot for fortie and two moneths. For although the Chriſtian Church, which is the holy citie, continued in the faith from the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, euen till this time: yet hath it not obſerued and kept the perfection of the faith all this whole ſeaſon. For ſome after the departure of the Apoſtles, the faith was kept with the obſeruation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moſes law, nor of the law of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. Wherefore ſéeing that this time of the error of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Chriſt ſhall call the Gentiles from the rites of their gentilitie, to the perfection of the Goſpell, as hee called the Iewes from the law of Moſes to the ſame perfection, in his firſt comming: that there may be one ſheepefold of the Iewes and Gentiles, vnder one ſhepheard. Séeing therefore that Antichriſt is knowne which hath ſeduced the nations: then ſhall the elect after that they haue forſaken the errors of their gentilitie come through the light of Gods word, to the perfection of the Goſpel, and that ſame ſeducer ſhall be ſlaine with the ſword of Gods word. So that by theſe things it doth partly appeare vnto me, why at this time rather then at any other time, this matter of antichriſt is moued.

For theſe 42. moneths looke pag. 365.

Why rather at this time, then any other, the matter of antichriſt is moued: and why rather in this kingdom then in another.

And why that this motion is come to paſſe in this kingdom rather then in other kingdomes: me thinkes there is good reaſon, becauſe that no nation of the Gentiles was ſo ſone conuerted to Chriſt as were the Britons, the inhabitants of this kingdome. For to other places of the world, there were ſent preachers of the faith, who, by the working of miracles and continuall preaching of the word of God, and by grieuous paſſion and death of the bodie, did conuert the people of thoſe places: but in this kingdome, in the time of Lucius king of the Britons, and of Eleutherius biſhop of the Romans, did Lucius heare of the Romans that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Chriſtian faith, which was preached at Rome. Who beléeued ſtraightwaies, and ſent to Rome, to Eleutherius for men ſkilfull to informe him more fully in the very faith it ſelfe: at whoſe comming hee was ioyfull, and was baptiſed with his whole kingdome. And after the receiuing of the faith, they neuer forſoke it, neither for any manner falſe preaching of other, neither for any manner of torments, or yet aſſaults of the Painims, as in other kingdomes it hath come to paſſe. And thus it ſéemeth to me the Britons amongſt other Nations, haue been, as it were by the ſpeciall election of God, called and conuerted to the faith of Chriſt.

The firſt receiuing the faith in this realme by the Britons.

Britons by the ſpeciall election of God called to faith.

Of them as me ſéemeth, did Eſay prophecie, ſaying: For they did ſée to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him. And againe, Behold, thou ſhalt call a nation which thou kneweſt not: and nations that haue not known thée, ſhall run vnto thée: for the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Iſrael, ſhall glorifie thée.

The calling of the Gentiles to faith.

Of this kingdom, did ſaint Iohn in the Apocalyps prophecie (as me ſéemeth) where hee ſaid, The Dragon ſtood before the woman, which was about to bee deliuered of child, to the intent that when ſhée had brought it forth into the world, hee might deuoure vp her ſonne: and ſhée brought forth her child which was a manchild, who ſhould gouerne all nations with an iron rod. And the ſame ſonne was taken vp to God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wildernéſſe, whereas ſhe had a place prepared of God, that they may féed her 1260. daies. And againe in the ſame chapter, after that the Dragon ſaw that he was caſt out vpon the earth, hee did perſecute the woman, which brought forth the manchild. And there were giuen to the woman two wings of a great Egle, that ſhée might flée into the Wilderneſſe into her place, where as ſhe is foſtred vp for a time, times, and halfe a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did caſt as it were a flood of water after the Woman, to the intent that he might cauſe her to be drowned by the flood: and the earth opening her mouth, did helpe the woman, and did ſwallow vp the flood which the Dragon did caſt out of his mouth. Let vs ſée how

Apoc. 12.

The woman fed in the deſert 1260. daies.

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how theſe ſayings may be applied vnto this kingdome rather then to other kingdomes. It is well knowne that this kingdome is a wildernelle or a deſert place, becauſe that the philoſophers and wiſe men did not paſſe vpon it, but did leaue it for a wildernelle and deſert, becauſe it is placed without the climates.

This place of the deſert in the Scripture ſeemeth here ſome thing hardly expounded.

Vnto this place fled the woman, that is to ſay, the Church, (which by faith did ſpiritually bring forth Chriſt into the world) where as ſhe was fed with the heauenly bread, the fleſh and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, for one thouſand, two hundred and ſixtie daies, ſeeing that for ſo many daies, taking a day for a yeere, the Britons continued in the faith of Chriſt, which thing cannot be found ſo of any chriſtian kingdome, but of this deſert: and well is it ſaid, that ſhee flew to this place. For from the Eaſt came the faith into Britaine, not by walking in iourney, nor yet by ſailing: for then ſhould it haue come by Rome, Italie, Almaine, France, which cannot bee found: and therfore ſhe flew ouer thoſe places, and reſted not in them, euen as a bird flying ouer a place, reſteth not in the ſame: but reſted in this wildernelle for a time, times, and halfe a time, that is, 1260. yeeres, from the firſt comming of the faith into Britaine vntill this preſent.

Faith came into Britaine from the Eaſt, not from Italie, or Rome.

A time, times, and halfe a time expounded.

In ſaying for a time, times, and halfe a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the leſſe. The greateſt time that we name, is a 1000. yeeres, there is a time: and the next time that is leſſe in the ſinguler number, is one 100. yeere. In the plurall number, times ſignifie that there be no hundreds then one, at leaſt 200. yeeres. Wherefore if they be put vnder a certaine number, it muſt needs be that they be two, but the ſame two cannot fitly be called ſome times, except they be hundreds. For in that, that there is a going downe from the greater to the leſſe, when as it is ſaid a time, times, and halfe a time, and that the number of a 1600. is likely aſſigned for a time: it muſt needs follow that times muſt be taken for hundreds, and halfe a time for 60. becauſe it is the greater halfe of a hundred yeeres, though that 50. be the euen halfe.

And when that the ſerpent ſent the water of the perſecution after the woman to cauſe her to be drowned of the floud: then did the earth, that is to wit, the ſtablenelle of faith helpe the woman, by ſupping vp the water of tribulation. For in the moſt cruell perſecution of Dioclelian and Maximian againſt the Chriſtians, when as chriſtianitie was almoſt euery where rooted out: yet did they in this kingdome ſtand continuallie in the faith vnmoueable. And ſo, conſidering that the Britons, were conuerted to the faith of Chriſt, as you would ſay, by an election, and picking out amongſt all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had receiued the faith, they did neuer ſtart backe from the faith for no manner of tribulation: it is not to bee maruelled if in their place, the calling of the Gentiles be made manifeſt, to the profiting of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, by the reuealing of Antichriſt.

Perſecution in Dioclelians time ſwallowed vp, looke pag. 70.

But beſides this, me ſeemeth that Ezechiel doth ſpecially ſpeake of them, whereas he ſpeaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, ſaying: foraſmuch as thy heart is lifted vp as if it were the heart of God, therefore behold: I will bring vpon thee ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the heathen, and they ſhall draw their naked ſwords vpon the beautie of thy wiſedome, and they ſhall defile thy comlineſſe, and they ſhall ſlay thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt die in the ſlaughter of the ſlaine perſons, in the heart of the ſea.

This prince who ſaith, that he himſelfe is God, and doth ſit in Gods chaire in the heart of the ſea, doth ſignifie (as moſt likely it ſeemeth to mee) that Antichriſt ſhall bee deſtroyed by the moſt mightie perſons of the gentiles folke, through the ſword of the word of God. Becauſe that amongſt the other gentils, there haue been none more ſtrong then the Britons, either in their bodie or their faith, and in their bodilie warres there haue been none more mightie then they. For neuer in warres haue they been vanquiſhed, but by their owne ſeditiō or treaſon. But how many kingdomes haue they conquered? Yea, and neither by the moſt mightie citie of Rome, could they be driuen out of their kingdome, vntill that God ſent vpon them peſtilence and famine: whereby they being waſted, were compelled to leaue their countrie, which thing I haue not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, haue they been amongſt all the people, the ſtrongeſt, as is before ſaid, becauſe that by no tribulation, could they be compelled to forſake the faith.

A friend to the Welchmen.

The ſtrong faith of the Britons.

Wherefore of them, this ſeemeth to mee to bee vnderſtood: Then I will bring vpon thee ſome of the moſt ſtrongeſt people, and they ſhall draw their naked ſwords, &c. By theſe things it may plainely appeare, why at this time (rather then in time paſt) this matter is ſtirred vp: and why in this kingdome (rather then in other kingdomes) the calling of the gentiles is intreated of, to the verifying of the Goſpell, through the diſcloſing of Antichriſt.

Tales of antichriſt.

But foraſmuch as many tales and fables are told of Antichriſt and his comming, and many things which doe rather ſeduce then inſtruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the Prophets: wee will briefly write thoſe things which are ſpoken of him, and wee will ſhew that the ſame fable ſpring from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the ſcriptures prophelying. Now then they doe ſay, that antichriſt ſhall be borne in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, and conceiued of the mixture of man and woman in time, becauſe that Chriſt was borne of a virgin, and conceiued of the holy Ghoſt. They ſay, that he ſhall bee an ill fauoured perſonage, becauſe that it is written of Chriſt: Comlie and beautifull is he, beyond the ſons of men. They ſay that he ſhall preach three yeeres and an halfe where Chriſt preached, and that he ſhall circumciſe himſelfe, and ſay that he is Chriſt, and the Meſſias ſent for the ſaluation of the Jewes. And they ſay, that he ſhall three manner of waies ſeduce the people, by falſe miracles, gifts, and torments. So that whom he ſhall not bee able to ouercome with miracles nor with gifts, thoſe ſhall he goe about to ouercome with diuers kinds of torments. And thoſe that he ſhall ſeduce, will he marke with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He ſhall ſit in the temple of God, and cauſe himſelfe to be worſhipped as God. He ſhall fight (as they ſay) with the two witneſſes of Chriſt, Enoch and Helie, and ſhall kill them, and he himſelfe ſhall finallie be ſlaine with lightning. To this imagined man of their owne imagination, but of none of the prophets foreſhewed (at leaſt in no ſuch wiſe as this is) doe they apply the Prophets, as this of Daniel: When that continuall ſacrifice ſhall be taken away, and abomination ſhall bee placed to deſolation: That is (ſay they) when the worſhipping of God ſhall be taken away, and deſolation (to wit, antichriſt) ſhall abominable ſhew forth himſelfe to be worſhipped, then ſhall there bee 1290. daies: that is to ſay, three yeeres and a halfe. And this time doe they ſay is the time, times, and halfe a time. And when it is ſaid in Daniel: Bleſſed is he that loketh for, and commeth to 1335. daies: This doe they ſay, is thus to bee vnderſtood, 45. daies of repentance to ſuch as haue worſhipped antichriſt: which 45. daies added to the 1290. make 1335. daies. Which daies they that ſhall reach vnto, ſhall be called bleſſed.

A falſe imagination of antichriſt.

The Scripture and Prophets not rightly vnderſtood touching antichriſt.

They apply alſo to this antichriſt, this ſaying of the Apocalyps: I ſaw a beaſt riſing vp out of the Sea, hauing 7. heads, and 10. hornes, who had power giuen him to make 42. moneths. Which moneths (as they ſay) doe make 3. yeeres and a halfe, in which antichriſt ſhall raigne. And many other things there are told, and applied vnfitly to this imagined antichriſt, that are not truly grounded vpon the ſcriptures.

Touching theſe 42. moneths, ſee aboue pag. 365.

Now, let vs ſhew the errors of this fable. Firſt of all, if there ſhall come ſuch one (ſaying expreſſlie that hee is Chriſt) that Chriſtian would be ſeduced by him, though he ſhould do neuer ſo many miracles: neither ſhall he come after the maner of a ſeducer, which ſhall ſhew himſelfe an expreſſe aduerſarie. Neither is it likelie that the Jewes can be ſeduced by ſuch a one, ſeeing that Chriſt is not promiſed vnto them of the ſtocke of Dan by any of the prophets, but of the ſtocke of Juda: nor yet is he promiſed to them to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking warre away, and not making warre. For of Chriſt ſaith Eſay: And in the laſt daies, ſhall there be prepared the mountaine of the houſe of the Lord, in the top of the mountaines, and it ſhall be exalted aboue the hils: and to it, ſhall all the nations haue great recourſe, and many people ſhall goe and ſay: Come, let vs goe vp to the mountaine of the Lord, and to the houſe of the God of Iacob, and he ſhall teach vs his waies, and we ſhall walke in his pathes. For out of Sion ſhall there goe a law, and the word of the Lord from Ieruſalem, and he ſhall iudge the nations, and reproue much people. And they ſhal turne their ſwords into plowſhares, and their ſpeares into ſithes. There ſhall not a nation lift vp it ſelfe againſt another nation, nor yet ſhall they be any more exerciſed to war. And againe, A little babe is borne to vs, and a ſonne is giuen to vs, and his imperiall kingdome vpon his ſhoulder, and his name ſhall be called, The great counſellour, The mighty God, The father of the world to come, The prince of peace. His empire ſhall be multiplied, and there ſhall be no end of his peace. He ſhall ſit vpon the ſeat of Dauid, and vpon his kingdom: that he may make it ſtedfaſt and ſtrong in iudgement, and in iuſtice, from henceforth and for euermore. Zacharie doth ſay of Chriſt: Reioyce thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion, bee thou exceeding merrie, O daughter Ieruſalem: Behold thy king ſhall come a righteous perſon, and a Sauior vnto thee, and yet he a poore man, and getting vp vpon an aſſe, euen vpon a young colt of the ſhee aſſe. And I wil ſcatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horſe of Ierulalem: And the bow of war ſhall diſperſed, and he ſhall ſpeake peace to the nations, and his power ſhall be from the ſea to the ſea, and from the floud vnto the borders of the earth.

The old imagination touching antichriſt confuted.

Antichriſt commeth not ſo groſſely as the papiſts imagine.

Eſay cap. 2.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 9.

Zach. 9.

By which things it is manifeſt, that the wiſe Jewes knew wel enough, Chriſt to be promiſed to them of the ſtock of Juda; and not of the ſtocke of Dan; and that he was giuen, all to peace, and not to warre: Therefore it is not likelie, that they can be ſeduced by ſuch a one. But if there ſhould haue been in time to come ſome ſuch ſinguler antichriſt, then would Chriſt (ſeeing he loued his) haue ſaid ſomewhat vnto them of him. Now, of one ſingulerly doth he not ſpeake: but of many, ſaying: Many ſhall come in my name, and ſay, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many perſons. But now let vs ſee, how the prophecies in Daniel, and the Apocalyps (aforeſaid) be

Antichriſt cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

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Daniel 9.

be fallly and erroneoullie applied to the ſame imagined Anti-Chriſt. For in Daniel the 9. chap. thus it is written: And after 72. weekes ſhall Chriſt be ſlaine, and they which will deny him ſhall not be his people. And the citie and ſanctuarie, ſhall a people, with their captaine that ſhall come with them deſtroy, whoſe end ſhall be vtter deſolation, and after the end of the warre a determined deſtruction. Now, hee ſhall in one weeke confirme his couenant towards many, and in the halfe weeke ſhall the offering and ſacrifice ceaſe, and in the temple ſhall there be an abomination of deſolation, and euen to the fulfilling vp of all, and to the end, ſhall the deſolation continue. It is plaine and manifeſt that this prophecie is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their captaine, deſtroyed Jeruſalem euen to the ground, and the people of the Jewes was ſlaine and ſcattered. And the abomination, that is, the Idol of deſolation was placed of Adrian, in the laſt deſtruction, in Jeruſalem in the holy place, that is to ſay, in a place of the temple. And from that time hitherto haue paſſed neere about 1290. daies, taking a day for a yeere, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewiſe. For Daniel ſpeaking of 62. weekes, doth not ſpeake of the weekes of daies but of yeeres. So therefore when hee ſaith: From the time that the continuall ſacrifice was taken away, &c. 1290. daies muſt be taken for ſo many yeeres, from the time of the deſolation of Jeruſalem, euen vnto the reuealing of antichriſt: and not for three yeeres and a halfe, which, they ſay, antichriſt ſhall raigne. And againe, whereas Daniel ſaid, How long till the end of theſe maruellous matters: it was anſwered him: For a time, and times, and halfe a time. Behold alſo, how vnfitly they did aſſigne this time, by three yeeres and a halfe, which, they ſay, Antichriſt ſhall raigne. For when as it is ſaid, a time, times, and halfe a time; there is a going downeward from the greater to the leſſe, from the whole to the part, becauſe it is from a time to halfe a time. If therefore, there be a going downeward from the whole to the part, by the middeſt (which is greater then the whole it ſelfe) the going downeward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is ſaid, that a time, times, and halfe a time, is a yeere, two yeers, and halfe a yeere. Wherefore more fitly it is ſaid, that a time, times, and halfe a time, doth ſignifie 1290. yeeres, as is before ſaid in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecie of Daniel falſlie applied to that imagined Antichriſt.

The abomination or idoll of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place.

Antichriſt to raigne only 3. yeeres and a half, is falſe.

Looke before in the ſtory of the ten firſt perſecutions.

Likewiſe is the proceſſe of the Apocalyps applied to the ſame imagined Antichriſt, too much erroneouſlie. Becauſe that the ſame cruell beaſt which came vp out of the ſea, hauing ſeauen heads and ten hornes, to whom there was power giuen ouer euery tribe, people, and tongue, and the power giuen for the ſpace of 42. moneths: This beaſt doth note the Romane Emperors, which moſt cruellie did perſecute the people of God, aſwell Chriſtians as Jewes. For when as the condemnation of the great whore ſitting vpon the many waters was ſhewed to John: he ſaw the ſame woman ſitting vpon the purple coloured beaſt full of the names of blaſphemie, hauing 7. heads and 10. hornes: and hee ſaw a woman being drunken with the bloud of the ſaints and martyrs of Jeſu. And the angell expounding and telling him the myſterie of the woman and the beaſt that carried her, ſaid: That 7. heads are 7. hilles, and are 7. kings: Fiue are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when hee ſhall come, hee muſt raigne a ſhort time. And the ten hornes which thou ſaweſt, are 10. kings, who haue not yet taken their kingdome, but ſhall receiue their power as it were in one houre, vnder the beaſt. And finallie hee ſaith, the woman whom thou ſaweſt, is the great citie, which hath the kingdome ouer the kings of the earth. And it is manifeſt that the citie of Rome, at the time of this prophecie, had the kingdome ouer the kings of the earth. And this citie was borne vp and vpholden by her cruell and beaſtlie Emperors: who by their crueltie and beaſtlines, did ſubdue vnto themſelues in a manner, all the kingdomes of the world, of a zeale to haue lordſhip ouer others, and not vertuouſlie to gouerne the people that were their ſubiects, ſeeing that they themſelues did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the faith and from vertue.

Apoc.13.

The beaſt in the 13. of the Apocalyps expounded.

The purple beaſt in the Apocalyps meaneth Rome.

For theſe 42. moneths, looke before pag. 397.

Wherefore that cruell beaſt comming vp out of the ſea, doth rightly note the Roman Emperours, who had power ouer euery language, people, and countrie. And the power of this beaſt was for 42. moneths, becauſe that from the firſt Emperor of Rome, that is to ſay, Julius Ceſar, vnto the end of Fredericke the laſt emperour of Rome there were 42. moneths, taking a moneth for 30. daies, as the moneths of the Hebrewes and Grecians are, and taking a day alwaies for a yeere, as commonly it is taken in the prophets. By which things it may plainely appeare, how vnfitlie this prophecie is applied to that imagined Antichriſt, and the 42. moneths taken for three yeeres and a halfe, which (they ſay) he ſhall raigne in, againſt the ſaying of the prophets, becauſe that daies are taken for yeeres. As in the 1. of the Apocal. They ſhall be troubled 10. daies. Which doe note the moſt cruell perſecution of Diocleſian againſt the chriſtians that endured 10. yeeres. And in another place of the Apocalyps, it is written of the ſmoake comming vp out of the bottomleſſe pit: Out of which pit there came forth grashoppers into the earth: and to them was power

Apoc.1.

Apoc.9.

The beginning and end of the valiant beggarly friers ſpoken of in the Apocalyps, or ioumded of Armachanus: looke before pag. 378

Non concordat Pſalterium cum cithara. Whether antichriſt be alreadie come.

The pope proued antichriſt.

Annointing double in ſcripture.

Kings and prieſts annointed.

The popes make themſelues prieſts and kings.

The pope maketh himſelfe Chriſt.

The pope commeth in the name of Chriſt.

Popes proued principall Antichriſts.

The pope an outward friend and a priuie enimie to Chriſt.

Whether the pope doth maintaine any lawes againſt the lawes of Chriſt.

The lawe of loue commanded in the Goſpell.

Iohn 13.

given, as Scorpions haue power, to vexe and to trouble men 5. moneths. Now it is manifeſt, that from the beginning of the friers minors and preachers, to the time that Armachanus began to diſcloſe and vncouer their hypocriſie, and their falſe foundation of valiant begging vnder the pouertie of Chriſt, were 5. moneths, taking a moneth for 30. daies, and a day for a yeere. And to Ezechiel were daies giuen for yeeres. Wherefore it is an vnfit thing to aſſigne the 42. moneths being appointed to the power of the beaſt, vnto 3. yeeres and a halfe for the raigne of that phantaſticall and imagined Antichriſt: ſpecially ſeeing that they doe applie to his raigne the 1290. daies in Daniel, which make 42. moneths, and in the Apocalyps they aſſigne him 42. moneths. It is plaine that the Pſaltery and the harp agree not. And therefore ſeeing that it is ſufficiently ſhewed, that the ſame fabling tale of that imagined antichriſt to come, is a fable and erroneous: let vs goe forward to declare whether antichriſt be alreadie come, and yet is he hid from many, and muſt bee opened and diſcloſed within a little while, according to the truth of the holy ſcripture, for the ſaluation of the faithfull.

And becauſe that in the firſt concluſion of mine anſwer, I haue conditionallie put it, who is that antichriſt lying priuie in the hid ſcriptures of the prophets: I will paſſe on the declaration of that concluſion, bringing to light thoſe things which lay hid in darkeneſſe, becauſe nothing is hid which ſhall not be diſcloſed, and nothing couered that ſhall not bee knowne: And therefore, the thing that was ſaid in the darkeneſſe, let vs ſay in the light: and the thing that wee haue heard in the eare, let vs preach vpon the houſe tops. I therefore as I haue before ſaid, ſo ſay, that if the high biſhop of Rome, calling himſelfe the ſeruant of God, and the chiefe vicar of Chriſt in this world, doe make and inſtitute many lawes contrarie to the Goſpel of Jeſu Chriſt: then is hee the chiefe of many, which comming in the name of Chriſt, haue ſaid, I am Chriſt, who haue ſeduced many. Which is the firſt part of the firſt concluſion, and is manifeſt. For Chriſt is called of the Hebrues the very ſame that we call anointed. And amongſt them there was a double ſort of legall annointing by the law, the one of kings and the other of prieſts. And aſwell were the kings as the prieſts, called in the law, Chriſts. The kings, as in the Pſalme: The kings of the earth ſtood vp together, and the princes aſſembled themſelues in one againſt the Lord and againſt his Chriſt or annointed. And in the books of the kings very often are the kings called Chriſts. And our Saviour was Chriſt, or annointed king, becauſe hee was a king for euermore vpon the throne of Dauid, as the Scriptures doe verie oftentimes witneſſe. The prieſts alſo were called annointed, as where it is written, Doe not yee touch my Chriſts, that is, mine annointed ones, and bee not yee ſpitefull againſt my prophets. And ſo was our ſautor Chriſt, a prieſt for euer according to the order of Melchiſedech.

Seeing then, that the biſhops of Rome doe ſay, that they are the high prieſts: they ſay alſo therein that they are kings, becauſe they ſay that they haue the ſpiritual ſword pertaining to their prieſthood, and the corporall ſword, which agreeth for a kings ſtate. So is it plaine, that really and in very deed, they ſay that they are Chriſts, albeit that expreſſie they bee not called Chriſts. Now, that they come in the name of Chriſt, it is manifeſt, becauſe they ſay that they are his principall vicars in this world, ordained of Chriſt ſpecially for the gouernment of the chriſtian Church. Therfore, ſeeing they ſay, that really and in very deed they are Chriſts, and the chiefe friends of Chriſt: If they make and inſtitute manie lawes contrarie to the Goſpell of Jeſu Chriſt, then is it plaine that they themſelues in earth are the principall Antichriſts, becauſe there is no worſe plague and peſtilence, then a familiar enemie. And if in ſecret they be againſt Chriſt, and yet in open appearance they ſaie that they are his friends, they are ſo much the more meet to ſeduce and deceiue the chriſtian people, becauſe that a manifeſt enemie ſhall haue much adoe to deceiue a man, becauſe men truſt him not: but a priuie enemie pretending outward friendſhip, may eaſile ſeduce, yea thoſe that be wiſe.

But that this matter may the more fullie be knowen, let vs ſee what is the law and doctrine of Chriſt, that ought to be obſerued of all faithfull people: which being knowne, it ſhall bee an eaſie thing to ſee, if the biſhop of Rome doe make or maintain anie lawes contrarie to the law of the goſpel of Jeſu Chriſt.

I ſay then, that the law of Chriſt is charitie, which is the perfect loue of God and of Chriſt. This thing is plaine and manifeſt. For Chriſt being demanded of a certain doctor of the law; What is the greateſt commandement in the law? anſwered: Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoule, and with all thy minde: That is the principal and greateſt commandement. And as for the ſecond, it is like vnto this: Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thine owne ſelfe. In theſe two commandements, doth the whole law and prophetes depend. And in another place Chriſt ſaith: All manner of things therefore, that you would that men ſhould doe to you, the ſame alſo do ye vnto them. For this is the law and the prophets. And in Iohn the thirteenth chapter ſaith Chriſt: And now doe I ſay vnto you, I giue you a new commande-

ment,

ment, that you should loue each other as I loued you, in like maner that you also should loue one an other. In this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall haue loue one towards an other. And Iohn 15. chapter: This is my commandement, that you loue together as I haue loued you. Greater loue then this hath no body, that a man should giue his life for his friends. The apostle Peter saith in his first Epistle 4. chapter: Aboue all things hauing continually charitie one towards an other, for charitie coufereth the multitude of sinnes. Be ye harbourers, and entertaine yee one an other without grudging; euery one as hee hath receiued grace, so let him bestow it vpon an other man, as the good stewards of the manifold graces of God. If any man speake, let him speak as the word of God. If any man doe ought for an other, let it be done with singlenes and vnfeined veritie, ministred of God to vsward, that in all things God may bee honoured through Iesus Christ our Lord. Iames in his Epistle the 2. chapter: If ye performe the royall law accordingly to the Scriptures (thou shalt loue thy neighbour) ye doe well: But if ye be partiall in receiuing and preferring mens personages, ye worke wickednes, being blamed of the law as transgressors. And againe, So speake ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be iudged by the law of libertie. What shall it auaile (my brethren) if a man say he haue faith, and haue no workes? neuer shall the faith be able to saue him. For if a brother or sister bee naked, and haue need of daily fode, and some of you say to them, go ye in peace, bee ye made warme and satisfied: and if ye shall not giue those things that are necessarie for the body, what shall it auaile? Euen so faith, if it haue not works, is dead in it selfe.

Iohn 15.

1. Pet. 4.

Iames 2.

1. Iohn 3.

1. Iohn 4.

Rom. 13.

1. Cor. 13.

Galat. 5.

Ephes. 4.

Ephes. 5.

Philip. 1.

Iohn in his first epistle the 3. chapter: This is the tidings which you haue heard from the beginning, that you should loue one an other. And againe, we know that we are translated from death to life, if we loue the brethren: He that loueth not, abideth in death. And againe, Herein do we know the loue of God, because that he hath laid downe his life for vs, and wee ought to lay downe our liues for the brethren. Hee that shall haue the substance of this world, and shall see his brother haue need, and shall shut vp his bowels from him, how abideth the loue of God in him? My little children, let vs not loue in word, nor tongue, but in deed and truth. And againe 4 chapter: Most dearely beloued, let vs loue together. For loue is of God, hee that loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is loue. In this thing hath the loue of God appeared in vs, that God hath sent his onely begotten sonne into the world, that wee should liue by him. Herein is loue: not that we haue loued God, but that he hath first loued vs, and hath sent his sonne an attonement for our sinnes. Most dearely beloued, if God haue loued vs, we so ought to loue together. No man hath seene God at any time: if wee loue together, God abideth in vs, and his loue is perfect in vs. And againe, Let vs loue God, for he hath first loued vs. If a man shall say, I loue God, & do hate his brother, he is a liar. For he that loueth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he loue God whom he seeth not? And this commandement haue we of God, that who so loueth God, should loue his brother also. Paul the apostle in his epistle to the Romans the 13. chapter: Owe yee nothing to no body, sauing that yee should loue together, for hee that loueth his brother hath fulfilled the law. For thou shalt not commit adulterie, thou shalt not murther, thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not beare false witnesse, thou shalt not couet thy neighbours good: and if there bee any other commandement, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Wherefore the fulfilling of the law is loue.

Paul to the Corinths the 13. chap. saith: If I should speake with the tongues of men and angels, and yet haue not charitie, I am become as it were a piece of sounding mettall or tinkling cymball. And if I shall haue all prophecie, and know all mysteries, and all knowledge, and shall haue all faith, so that I might remoue mountaines, and yet shall not haue charitie; I am nothing. And if I shall giue abrode all my goods to feede the poore, and shall giue vp my body to be burned, and yet haue not charitie, it profits me nothing. To the Galanthians 5. saith Paul: For you my brethren, are called vnto libertie: do ye not giue your libertie for an occasion of the flesh, but by charitie of the spirit serue ye one an other. For all the law is fulfilled in one saying; Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thine owne selfe. To the Ephesians 4. chapter he saith: I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord, doe beseech you, that you would walke worthie of the calling wherewith yee are called, with all humblenesse and mildnes, with patience, forbearing one another in loue, being carefull to keepe the vnitie of the spirit, in the bond of peace: that you be one body, and one spirit, euen as you bee called in one hope of your calling. And againe in the 5. chap. Be ye followers of me, as most deere children, and walke yee in loue, as Christ also hath loued vs, and hath deliuered vp himselfe for vs, an offering and sacrifice to God of a sweete sauour. To the Philip. thus he speaketh in the first chap. Onely let your conuersation be worthie of the Gospell of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may heare of you, that you stand stedfast in one spirit labouring together with one accord for the faith of the Gospell. And in nothing be ye afraid of the aduersaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of saluation, and that of God. For to you it is giuen, not onely that you should beleeue in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you hauing the like fight and battell that both you haue seene in mee, and also now do heare of me. If therefore there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charitie, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfill you my ioy, that you may be of one iudgement, hauing one and the selfe same charitie, being of one accord, of one maner of iudgement, doing nothing of contention, nor of vaine glory, but in humblenes, accounting other amongst you, euery one better then your selues; not euery bodie loking vpon the things that bee his owne, but those that belong vnto others. And to the Colos. 3. chap. thus he writeth; You therefore as the elect of God, holy, and beloued, put vpon you the bowels of mercy, gentlenesse, humblenesse, lowlinesse, modestie, patience, bearing one with an other, and giuing place to your selues (if any haue a quarrell against any body;) euen as the Lord forgaue you, so doe you also. Aboue all things haue yee charitie, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body. And be ye kind and thankefull. And to the Thessalonians thus Paul writeth in the 4. chapter; As concerning brotherly charitie, wee haue no need to write vnto you: for you your selues haue learned of God, that you should loue one an other. And the same thing ye do towards all the brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Colos. 3.

1. Thes. 4.

Out of all these and many other places of the holy Scripture it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charitie, neither is there any vertue commanded of Christ, or any of his apostles, to be obserued of the faithfull people, but that it commeth out of charitie, or else doth nourish charitie.

The law is giuen by Moses, and the truth by Christ. Christ came not to vnloose the law & the prophets, but to fulfill them. But yet many things were lawfull and might haue beene obserued in the time of the law, which in the time of grace must not be obserued. And many things were vnlawfull to them that were vnder the law, which in the time of grace are lawfull enough. After what sort then he did not loose the law, but did fulfill it, it is necessarie to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said. For amongst christians, many things are iudged to be lawfull, because in the former testament in the law, they were lawfull; and yet they bee expresslie contrarie to Christs Gospell. But the authors of such things do argue and reason thus: Christ came not to loose the law or the prophets. Now after what sort he did not vnloose them, it is manifest by the holy Scripture: that the law giuen by Moses, was written in tables of stone, to declare the hardnes of the peoples heart towards the loue of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his law in the hearts and in the minds of his, that is to say, the law of perfect loue of God, and of Christ. Which law whosoeuer obserueth, hee doth obserue the law of Moses, and doth much greater workes of perfection, then were the workes of the law. Thus therfore were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charitie of Christ, and not vnlooſed: because they are much more perfectly obserued, then of ỹ Iewes. This I say, if the christians doe obserue the commandements of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to bee obserued. Christ hath fulfilled the lawes morall of the old testament, because that the morals & iudicials were ordained, that one person should not do iniurie to an other, & that euery man should haue paid him that is his. Now they that are in charitie, will do no iniurie to others, neither doe they take other mens goods away from them. Nay, it seeketh not her owne things. For charitie seeketh not the things that be her owne. Wherefore, much lesse by a stronger reason it ought not to seeke for other mens goods. And when as the iudicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not by the workes of the law iustifie the beleeuers in him, but by grace iustified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfill that by grace, that the law could not by iustice.

Many things obserued in the old law, which be not obserued now.

Many things vnlawfull in the old law, which be lawfull now.

How Christ did loose, and not loose the law.

Paul to the Romans declareth in a godly discourse, and to the Galathians likewise, that none shall bee iustified by the workes of the law, but by grace, in the faith of Iesu Christ. As for the morals & ceremonies of the law, as circumcision, sacrifices for offences and for sinnes, first fruits, tenths, vowes, diuers sorts of washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from vncleane meates, which are ordered for the sanctifying and clensing of the people from sinne, no nor yet the praiers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets, could clense a man from his sin. For death reigned euen from Adam to Moses, and sinne from Moses to Christ, as Paul declareth to the Romans in the fifth chapter. But Christ, willing to haue mercy, and not sacrifice, being a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, and an high priest of good things to come, did neither by the blod of goats or calues, but by his owne blod enter in once vnto the holy places, when as euerlasting redemption was found: neither did Iesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but into the verie heauen, that now he may appeare before the countenance of God for vs. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer vp himselfe oftentimes, as the high bishop entred into the holy place euery yeer with strange blod (for otherwise hee must needs haue suf-

Free iustification, by faith onely.

Grace, that is, free fauor, mercy and goodnes of God.

Rom. 5.

Hebr. 9.

Christ entred not into the temple made by man, but into the very heauē.

The sacrifice of Christ not many times offered, but once for all.

sacred oftentimes sithence the beginning of the world) but now in the latter end of the world hath he once appeared by his owne sacrifice, for the destruction of sinne. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that commeth iudgement: euen so was Christ once offered vp to consume away the sinnes of many. The second time shall he appeare without sin to the saluation of such as looke for him. For the law hauing a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance it selfe of the things, can neuer, by those sacrifices which they offer (of one selfe same sort continually yeare by yeare) make them perfect that come vnto her. Otherwise men would leaue off offering, because that those worshippers being once cleansed, should haue no more pricke of conscience for sinne afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins euery yeare. Hebr. 10. For it is impossible, that by the blood of goats and buls, sins should be taken away. Wherefore, he entring into the world, doth say; As for sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not haue, but a body hast thou framed vnto me. And sacrifices for sinne haue not pleased thee: then said I, behold I come: In the head, or principall part, of the booke it is written of me, that I should doe thy will O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations and burnt offerings, and that for sin thou wouldest not haue: neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the law: then said I, behold I come, that I may doe thy will O God: He taketh away the first, that hee may stablish that that followed. In which will, wee are sanctified and made holy by the offring vp of the body of Jesus Christ once. And verily euery priest is readie euery day ministring, and oftentimes offering the selfe same sacrifices, which neuer can take away sinnes. But this man offering one sacrifice for sins, doth for euer and euer sit at Gods right hand, looking for the rest to come till that his enemies bee placed to be his footstoole. For with one offering hath he for euer made perfect those that be sanctified. By which things it plainely appeareth, that Christ by one offering hath cleansed his from their sinnes: who could not be cleansed from the same, by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfill that which the priesthood of the law could not. Wherefore onely the morals and iudicials he fulfilled by the law of charitie, and by grace; and the ceremonials, by one offering vp of his body on the altar of the crosse. And so it is plaine, that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

All shadowes ought to cease among christians.

Wherefore sithence that the holy things of the law, were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of grace, it were meet that all those things should vtterly cease amongst christians, which should either bee against charitie or the grace of Christ. Although in the time of the law they were lawfull, and not vtterly contrarie to it, but were figures of perfections in Christs faith: yet it were meet that they should cease at the comming of the perfection which they did prefigurate: as circumcision, the eating of the paschall Lambe, and other ceremoniall points of the law. Whereupon also Paul to the Hebrues the 7. chapter saith thus: If therefore the making vp of the perfection of all was by the Leuiticall priesthood (for the people receiued the law vnder him) why was it necessarie besides, that an other priest should rise vp after the order of Melchisedech, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the priesthood is remoued, it must needs be, that the law also be remoued. For hee in whom these things are spoken, is of an other tribe, of which, none stood present at the altar: because it is manifest that our Lord had his offspring of Juda, in which tribe Moses spake nothing of the priests. And besides this, it is manifest: if according to the order of Melchisedech there doe rise vp an other priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnall commandement, but according to the power of the life ỹ cannot be loosed. For thus he beareth witnes, that thou art a priest for euer, after the order of Melchisedech: so that the commandement that went before, is disallowed for ỹ weaknes and vnprofitablenesse thereof. For the law hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth, that Christ making an end of the priesthood of Aaron, doth also make vp a full end of the law belonging to that priesthood. Whereupon I maruell that your learned men doe say, that christian folkes are bound to this small ceremony of the payment of tithes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the small ceremonies of the law.

Heb. 7. Where the priesthood is remoued, there also the law is remoued.

Bound, as a matter of religion, or as by the necessitie of Gods law and not mans: but now tithes stand by mans law, and not by the old law.

The cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth. He meaneth that necessitie of tithes, which standeth by the necessitie of the old law to cease.

If tithes be claimed by force of the old law, by the same law priests are bound to haue no temporalties.

It is plaine, that the tithes were giuen to the sonnes of Leui, for their seruing in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as the first fruits were giuen to the priests, and also part of the sacrifices, and so were the bowes of their ministerie, as it appeareth in the booke of Numbers the 22. chapter. But forasmuch as the labour of those sacrifices did cease at the comming of Christ, how should those things bee demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And seeing that the first fruits were not demanded of christians, which first fruites were then rather and sooner demanded then the tithes: why must the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore peraduenture, because that the tithes be more worth in value then be the first fruits?

Secondly, why are the lay people bound to the paiment of tithes, more then the Leuites and the priests were to the not hauing of possessions of realties and lordships amongst their brethren, seeing that the selfe same law in the selfe same place (where he saith that the tithes ought to be giuen to Leuites) saith also to the Leuites, You shall bee contented with the offering of the tithes, and haue none other thing amongst your brethren. Wherefore seeing that the priests bee bound, to the not hauing of temporall lordships, how are the lay people bound by that law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the paiment of tithes?

He proueth not contrarie, but that tithes be due by the positiue law of man: Although not by the ceremoniall law of Moses.

Thirdly, as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was giuen before the law, and was an vniuersall ceremonie, concerning the couenant betweene God and his people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was said: The soule, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from amongst his people: yet did this ceremonie vtterly cease at the comming of Christ, although that certaine of the Jewes did say in the primitiue church, that the christians must needs keepe the commandement of circumcision with the faith: whom Paul reproueth, writing thus to the Galathians the fourth chapter, where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the Galath. 4. freewoman, which doe signifie the two Testaments. But we (O brethren) are the children of the promise after Jsaac: but like as at that time he that was borne after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, euen so it is now alls. But what saith the Scripture? Throw out the bondwoman and her sonne. The sonne of the bondwoman shall not be heire with the sonne of the freewoman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sonnes of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye stedfast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath deliuered you, and be not ye holden againe vnder the yoke of slauerie. Behold, I Paul say vnto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testifie againe to euery man that circumciseth himselfe, that he is bound to keepe all the whole law. Ye are vtterly void of Christ: whosoeuer will bee iustified in the law, are fallen from grace.

Christian libertie from the bondage of the law.

In like maner we may reason, if wee be bound to tithing, we are debters, and bound to keepe all the whole law. For to say that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore wee are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same * old law, men are not bound to pay tithes, it may bee shewed by many reasons, which we needs not any more to multiplie & increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some doe say, that by the Gospell wee are bound to pay tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisies, Matth. 23. chap. Woe be to you Scribes and Pharisies, which pay your tithe of Mint, of Anise seed, and of Cummin: and leaue iudgement, mercy, and truth vndone, being the waightier things of the law; both should ye haue done these things, and also not haue left the other vndone. O yee blind guides, that straine out a gnat, and swallow vp a camell. This word soundeth not as a commandement or maner of bidding, whereby Christ did command tithes to be giuen: but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrisie of the Pharisies, who of couetousnesse did rather weigh and esteeme tithes, because of their owne singuler commoditie, rather then other great and weightie commandements of the law. And me seemeth that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisies, which do leaue off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping onely the commandement of tithing. It is manifest and plaine enough by the premisses, and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedech, of the tribe of Juda, not of the tribe of Leui: who gaue no new commandement of tithing of any thing to him and to his priests, whom hee would place after him: but when his apostles said to him: Behold, we leaue all things and haue followed thee, what then shall wee haue; hee did not answere them thus: Tithes shall bee paid you; neither did he promise them a temporall, but an euerlasting reward in heauen. For hee, both for food, and also apparell, taught his disciples not to bee carefull: Bee ye not carefull for your life, what ye shall eate, or for your body what ye shall put on: Is not the life of man more worth then the meate: and the body more worth then apparell: Behold ye the birds of heauen, which doe not sow, nor reape, neither yet lay vp in barnes, and yet your heauenly father feedeth them. And as for apparell, why should you bee carefull: Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither doe they spinne, &c. In conclusion hee saith, Be not yee carefull, saying, what shall we eate, or what shall we drinke, or wherewithall shall we bee couered: For all these things doe the Gentiles seeke after: For your father knoweth, that you haue neede of all these things. First therefore seeke ye for the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof, and all these things shall bee cast vnto you. And Paul right well remembring this doctrine, instructeth Timothie and saith thus: But we hauing 1. Tim. 6. foode, and wherewithall to be couered, let vs therewith be contented. And as the Acts of the apostles doe declare; in the first conuersion of the Jewes at Jerusalem, they had all things common, and to euery one was diuision made, as neede required. Neither did the priests make the tithes their owne proper goods. For like as it was not meet that the lay people being conuerted, should haue propriette of goods: euen so neither that priests should haue propriete of tithes. So that if

Bound in one thing, (he meaneth) bound in all: Either bound to all, or to none.

* Here he expresseth his meaning plainely.

The one is disallowed, the other is not commanded.

Priests wrest religion to their owne profit.

Tithes not expressly commanded anew by Christ in the Gospell. Matth. 6.

Tithes not required in the primitiue church.

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if the priests started backe from feruent charitie in challenging to themselues the proprietie of tithes: it is no maruell of departing backward (as doe the priests from the perfection of charitie) also of the laitie to be willing to appropriate to themselues, the nine parts remaining after tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the apostles, commanded to pay tithes: it is manifest and plaine, neither by the law of Moses, nor by Christs law, christian people are bound to pay tithes: but by the tradition of men, they are bound.

Tithes due to be paid by the positiue law of men.

By the premisses now it is plaine, that Christ did not vndo the law, but by grace did fulfill it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawfull, which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then vnlawfull, which now are lawfull enough. For nothing that is contrarie to charitie, is lawfull to a christian.

Let vs now heare what maner of commandements Christ hath giuen vs in the Gospell, without the obseruation of which commandements, charitie shall not perfectly bee kept. By which commandements, Christ did not vndoe the old law, but did fulfill it. By the obseruation also of which commandements, he teacheth vs to passe and goe beyond the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisies, who most perfectly thought themselues to keepe the law. This absolute and perfect righteousnesse, which we are bound to haue beyond the righteousnesse of the Pharisies and the Scribes, he teacheth in Matthew 5. 6. and 7. chap. Which being heard, and compared to the traditions made and commanded by the Romane prelats, it shall plainely appeare, whether they be contrarie or no. Christ therefore saith, You haue heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill. For he that killeth shall be guiltie of iudgement. But I say vnto you, that euery one that is angrie with his brother, shall be in danger of iudgement. In this he doth teach, that wee ought not to bee angrie with our brethren: not that he would vndoe this old commandement (Thou shalt not kill) but that the same should bee the more perfectly obserued. Againe hee saith; You haue heard that it was said, thou shalt loue thy friend, and hate thine enemie. But I say vnto you, Loue your enemies, doe well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your father which is in heauen: Which maketh his sunne to arise vpon the good and the euill people, and raineth vpon the iust and vniust. For if you loue them which loue you, what reward shall you haue? Doe not the Publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren onely, what great thing doe ye? Doe not the heathen thus also? Be you therfore perfect, as also your heauenly father is perfect.

The doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrarie to the traditions of the pope or not. Matth. 5.

Againe Christ saith, You haue heard that it is said; an eie for an eie, a toth for a toth. But I say vnto you, see that you resist not euill. But if any man shall strike you vpon the right cheeke, giue him the other to. And to him that will striue with thee for thy coate in iudgement, let him haue thy cloke also. And whosoeuer shall constraine thee one mile, goe with him also two other. He that asketh of thee, giue him: and he that will borrow of thee, turne not thy selfe from him.

The doctrine of Christ and of the pope compared.

By these things it may plainely appeare, how that Christ the king of peace, the Sauiour of mankind, who came to saue, and not to destroy, who gaue a law of charitie to bee obserued of his faithfull people; hath taught vs not to be angrie, not to hate our enemies, not to render euill for euill, nor to resist euill. For all these things doe foster and nourish peace and charitie, and doe proceed and come forth of charitie, and when they bee not kept, charitie is losed, and peace is broken. But the bishop of Rome approueth and alloweth warres, and slaughters of men in warre, as well against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians for temporall goods. Now, these things are quite contrarie to Christs doctrine, and to charitie, and to peace.

The glosse of Gratianus vpo the cap. Paratus 23. q. 1. dis. proued.

In the decrees 23. q. 1. cap. Paratus, it is taught, that the precepts of patience must alwaies be retained in purpose of the heart, so that patience with benenolence must bee kept in the mind secret. But apparantly and manifestly, that thing should be done, which seemeth to doe good to those, whom wee ought to wish well vnto. Wherein they giue to vnderstand, that a christian may freely defend himselfe. And for confirmation of this saying, they do say: That Christ when he was stricken on the face of the high bishops seruant, did not fulfill (if wee looke vpon the words) his owne commandement: because hee gaue not to the smiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he should not doe it, to double his iniurie. For he said, If I haue spoken euill, beare witnes of the euill; but if well, why doest thou strike mee? I doe maruell of this saying; for first if those commandements of patience must bee kept in secret in the mind: and seeing the body doth worke at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moued and ruled by the same: it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appeare also outwardly in the body.

Christ in answering to his striker, did not breake his rule of patience outwardly.

The precept of Christ to tuene the other cheek, hath a priuie comparison: as if he would say, rather be you cõtent to suffer two blowes, then to reuenge one.

This article of Brute must haue a relation euer to the doctrine of the clergie.

Secondly, I maruell that it is said, that Christ did not fulfill his owne precept of patience. For it is manifest, that albeit he teaching alwaies as a good schoolemaster, those things which were fit for the saluation of soules, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the high bishops seruant, smiting him vniustly; did neither by word forbid an other stroke to bee giuen on the other cheeke, neither did hee defend himselfe bodily from striking on the same cheeke: But speaking to him, it is likely that hee gaue him the other cheeke, hee meaneth, that he turned not the other cheeke away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom hee informeth, but layeth open before him all his face: Euen so do I beleeue that Christ did, that he might fulfill in very deed that, which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ by his word or by his deed, shew any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

Thirdly, I maruell why wise men leauing the plaine and manifest doctrine of Christ, whereby hee teacheth patience, doe seeke corners of their owne imagining, to the intent they may approue fightings and wars. Why marke they not after what maner Christ spake to Peter striking the high bishops seruant, saying: Put vp thy sword into the sheath, for euerie one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword: But in an other case wee must make resistance: which case may bee so righteous, as it is for a mans lord and master being a most righteous man, and yet suffering iniurie of mischieuous persons.

The cause heere against of Christ was priuate, and his doctrine is to be vnderstood in priuat cases. Warre in case allowed of M. Brute.

Fourthly, I maruell, seeing that we are bound of charitie and by the law of Christ to giue our liues for our brethren, how they can allow such maner of dissensions, and resisting. For when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou maiest be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charitie, into the snare of the diuell. If thou shalt keepe patience, hee shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayest bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the diuell, and call him backe againe to charitie. If thou resist, and perchance by resisting doest strike againe, his furie shall bee the more kindled, and hee being stirred vp to greater wrath, peraduenture shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thy selfe, thou art vncertaine if thou goe about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charitie, and then shalt thou goe backward from the perfection of Christs commandement: Neither doest thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moued, as that by the heate and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas if thou wouldest dispose thy selfe to patience (as Christ teacheth) thou shouldest easilie auoide all these mischieues, as well on the behalfe of thy brother, as also of thine owne part. Wherefore the obseruing of charitie, as the precept of patience, is to be obserued.

He meaneth resistance for priuate causes, or for worldly goods.

Patience commended in priuate causes among Christian brethren.

The inconuenience of priuate resistance among Christian brethren.

Fifthly, I doe maruell why that for the allowing of this corporall resistance, he doth say in the same chapter, that Paul did not fulfill the precept of the patience of Christ, when as hee being stricken in the place of iudgement by ỹ commandement of the high priest, did say, God strike thee, O thou painted wall: Doest thou sit to iudge me according to the law, and doest thou command me to be stricken against the law? It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had ouerpassed the bounds of patience, through the griefe of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of Pauls impatiencie for this cause bee iustified, and the commandement of patience taught by Christ, bee left vndone for Pauls deed, and corporall resistance bee allowed? God forbid. For both Paul and Peter might erre. But in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no errour. Wherefore we must giue more credence and beleefe to Christs sayings, then to any liuing mans doings. Wherefore, although Paul had resisted, which I doe not perceiue in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporall resistance must be approued, which is of Christ expressie forbidden. I much maruell that alwaies they seeke corners and shadowes to iustifie their deeds. Why doe they not marke what great things Paul reciteth himselfe to haue suffered for Christ? And where I pray you haue they found, that he after his conuersion, stroke any man that did hurt him? Or where doe they find that hee in expresse word doth teach such a kind of corporall resistance? But as touching patience, hee saith in plaine words to the Romans: Be not wise in your owne conceits: Render ill for ill to no bodie: prouiding good things not onely before God, but also before all men, if it be possible: Be at peace with all folkes as much as in you lieth: not reuenging your selues, my most dearely beloued, but giue you place vnto anger. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemie shall be an hungred, giue him meate; if hee bee a thirst, giue him drinke. For thus doing, thou shalt heape coales of fire vpon his head. Bee not ouercome of euill, but ouercome thou euill with good.

The fact of thee of Paul do of any other, doth not derogate to the doctrine of our Sauiour.

Paul being stricken, did not breake the rule of Christs patience, neither made any bodily resistance.

Rom. 12. Rules of Christs patience.

To the Corinthians the 5. as touching iudgement and contention, which are matters of lesse weight then are fightings, thus he writeth: Now verily there is great fault in you, that you be at law amongst your selues. Why rather take yee not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not deceit? And generally in all his epistles hee teacheth, that patience should bee kept, and not corporall resistance by fighting, because charitie is patient, it is courteous, it suffreth all things. I maruell how they iustifie and make good the warres by Christians, sauing onely the warres against the diuell and sinne. For seeing that it is plaine, that those things which were in the old Te-

1. Cor. 5.

He meaneth such warres of Christians, as the pope alloweth: rising rather of priuate reuenge of princes for worldly glory or affection, then for any publike necessitie.

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Corporal wars in the old Testament, be figures of the spirituall wars in the new Testament, against sinne, and the diuell.

stament, were figures of things to bee done in the new Testament; Therefore we must needs say, that the corporall wars being then done, were figures of the christian warres against sinne and the diuell, for the heauenly countrey, which is our inheritance. It is plaine that it was written thus of Christ: The mightie Lord, and of great power in battell, hath girded himselfe in force and manlinesse to the warre: and hee came not to send peace into the earth, but warre. In this warre ought christian people to bee souldiers, according to that manner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians the last: Put vpon you the armour of God, that you may bee able to stand against the deceits of the diuell. For wee haue not to wrastle against flesh and blood, but against princes and potestates, against the rulers of the darknesse of the world, against spirituall wickednesse in heauenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take yee the armour of God, that yee may bee able to resist in the euill day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand ye therefore girded about in truth vpon your loynes, hauing put vpon you the brest-plate of righteousnesse, and your feet shod in a readinesse to the Gospell of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fierie darts of that wicked one. And take vnto you the helmet of saluation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

Ephes. 6.

What be the warres most proper to Christians.

By these things it is plaine, what are the warres of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this Testament is of greater perfection then the former, wee must now fight more perfectly then at that time. For now spiritually, then corporally: now for an heauenly euerlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporall: now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousnes, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. He saith not, blessed are they that fight for righteousnesse. How can a man say, that they may lawfully make warre, and kill their brethren for the temporall goods, which peraduenture they vniustly occupie, or vniustly intend to occupie: For he that killeth an other to get these goods which an other body vniustly occupieth, doth loue more the very goods then his owne brother. And then hee falling from charitie, doth kill himselfe spiritually. If he goe forward without * charitie to make warre, then doth he euill, and to his owne damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor iustly in proceeding to the damnation of his owne selfe and his brother, whom, though hee see vniustly to occupie his goods, yet hee doth intend to kill. And what if such kind of warres were lawfull to the Iewes: this argueth not, that now they are lawfull to christians, because that their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, but the deeds of christians in the light of perfection. It was not said vnto them, All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword. What if Iohn the Baptist disallowed corporall fightings, and corporall warfare, at such time as the souldiers asked him saying, And what shall we do? Who saith to them, See that you strike no man, neither picke ye quarrels against any, and bee ye contented with your wages. This saying of Iohn alloweth not corporall warfare amongst christians. For Iohn was of the Priests of the old Testament, & vnder the law, neither to him it appertained to follow the law, but to warne the people to the perfect obseruation of the law: for hee being likewise demanded of the Publicans what they should do, said vnto them, Doe no other thing then is appointed vnto you. But Christ the author of the new testament and of greater perfection, then was the perfection of the old law, which gaue new things, as it plainely appeareth by the Gospell. So that christians ought to receiue information of Christ, not of Iohn. For of Iohn also doth Christ speake: Verily I say vnto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of women, a greater then Iohn Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. In which saying, Christ sheweth, that those that be least in the kingdome of heauen in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection then was Iohn, which was one of them that were the elders, and he liued also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when as certaine of Iohns disciples said vnto him: Master, hee that was beyond Iordan, to whom thou gauest witnesse, behold he baptizeth, and all people come vnto him; Iohn answered and said: A man cannot take vpon him, vnlesse it shall bee giuen him from aboue. You your selues doe beare me record, that I said I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. Hee that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegroomes friend, who standeth and heareth him, he reioyceth with great ioy to heare the voice of the bridegroome. This therefore my ioy is fulfilled: he must increase, and I must bee diminished. Hee that commeth from an high is aboue all. Hee that is of the earth is earthy, and speaketh of the earth: Hee that commeth from heauen, is aboue all folkes; that which he hath seene and heard, the same doth hee witnesse, and yet his witnessing doth no body receiue. But he that receiueth his witnessing, hath put to his Seale, that God is true. For hee whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God.

All this taketh not away the lawfulnes of warres, in case of publike necessitie, but only in priuate case for temporall goods.

* Note this word, without charitie.

Such kind of warres, that is, such kind as be for priuate reuenge of temporall goods.

How Iohn Baptist alloweth no warre.

Thy that be least in the kingdome of heauen, greater then Iohn Baptist, expounded.

By which things it plainely appeareth, that credence is to be giuen neither to Iohn, nor yet to Angell, if hee teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christs doctrine. For Christ is aboue the Angels, because that God infinitely passeth them in wisedome. Now if Moses the seruant of God, a minister of the old Testament was so much to bee beleeued, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminished, from the commandements that were giuen by him, (for so Moses had said, The thing that I command thee, that doe thou onely to the Lord, neither adde thou any thing, nor diminish;) how much more ought wee not to adde nor to take away from the commandements giuen by God himselfe, and also the sonne of God? In the primitiue church because the christians had feruent loue & charitie, they obserued these precepts as they were giuen: but their feruent charitie afterward waxing lukewarme, they inuented glosses by drawing the commandements of God backe to their owne deeds, which they purposed to iustifie and maintaine: that is to say, warres against the infidels. But that these by warres should be conuerted to the faith, is a fact faithlesse enough: because, that by violence or vnwillingly, no body can beleeue in Christ, nor bee made a christian, neither did hee come to destroy them by battell, that beleeued not in him: for he said to his disciples, You know not what spirit you are of. The sonne of man came not to destroy mens liues, but to saue them. Then to grant pardons and forgiuenes of sinnes to those that kill the infidels, is too much an infidels fact, seducing many people. For what greater seducing can there be, then to promise to a man forgiuenesse of sinnes, and afterward the ioy of heauen, for setting himselfe against Christs commandements in the killing of the infidels, that would not be conuerted to the faith: whereas Christ doth say, Not euery one that saith to me Lord, Lord, shal enter into the kingdome of heauen; but he that doth the will of my father which is in heauen, this person shall enter into the kingdome of heauen. Now the will of the father is, that wee should beleeue in his onely sonne Iesus Christ, and that we should obey him by obseruing of those things which hee himselfe hath commanded. Wherefore Christs precepts of patience must bee fulfilled. Warres, fightings, and contentions must be left, because they are contrarie to charitie.

He meaneth of those wars against infidels stirred vp and procured by the pope vpon blind superstition, to fight for the holy land, and not taken by princes in the necessary defence of themselues and of their country.

But peraduenture some man will thus reason against Christ: The saints by whom God hath wrought miracles, do allow warres against the faithfull people, as als against the infidels. And the holy kings were warriers, for whose sakes miracles also haue beene shewed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea in the very time wherein they were at warfare. Wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawfull. For otherwise, God would not haue done miracles for them.

Obiection.

To this againe I say; that we for no miracles must do contrarie to the doctrine of Christ; for in it can there be no errour: but in miracles there oftentimes chanceth errour, as it is plaine as well by the old as by the new Testament. God forbid then, that a Christian should for deceiueable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Exodus the 7. chapter it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the Egyptians, through the inchantments of Egypt, and certaine secret workings, threw their wands vpon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, euen as Aaron beforetime in the presence of Pharao threw his wand vpon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a serpent. In the third of the Kings, the 22. chap. Micheas did see the Lord sitting vpon his throne, and all the host of heauen standing about him on the right hand, and on the left. And the Lord said, who shall deceiue Achab the king of Israel, that he may goe vp and bee slaine in Ramoth Gilead? And one said this way, and an other otherwise: now, there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord and said, I will deceiue him. To whom the Lord spake: by what meanes? And he said, I will goe forth, and bee a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, thou shalt deceiue him and preuaile, goe thy waies forth, and doe euen so. Thus also is it written in Deuteronomium: If there shall arise a prophet amongst you, or one that shall say he hath seene a dreame, and shall foretell a signe and a wonder: and if that shall come to passe that he hath spoken, and hee shall say vnto thee, let vs goe and follow strange Gods (whom thou knowest not) and let vs serue them: thou shalt not hearken vnto the words of that prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it knowne whether yee loue him or no, with all your heart and with all your soule.

Answere. *Legibus agendū, non exemplis.*

True miracles here of holy men be not disproued, but speaking vniuersally, the stable doctrine and word of God, is the sure rule for men to follow.

3. Reg. 22. Achas deceiued by false prophets.

Ierem. 23. Prophets must be tried by doctrine.

In Ieremy the 23. chap. Are not my words euen like fire, saith the Lord? and like an hammer that breaketh the stone? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets which haue dreamed a lie (saith the Lord) which haue shewed those things, and haue seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when as I sent them not, neither commanded them; which haue brought no profit vnto this people (saith the Lord.) In Marke the 13. chapter, saith Christ: For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signes and wonders to deceiue if it were possible euen the very elect. Paul in his second epistle to the Corinthians the 11. chapter. Such false apostles are deceitfull workers, transforming themselues into the apostles of Christ. And no maruell: For euen Satan transformeth himselfe into an

Mark. 13. False prophets.

2. Cor. 11.

an angell of light, therefore it is no great thing, though his ministers transforme themselues, as though they were the ministers of righteousnesse, whose end shall bee according to their workes.

Apoc. 13. In the Apocalypse the 13. chapter, John saw a beast ascending vp out of the earth, and it had two hornes like a lamb, but he spake like the dragon, and hee did all that the first beast could doe before him: and he caused the earth, and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come downe from heauen on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceiued them that dwelt on the earth, by meanes of the signes which were permitted him to do in the sight of the beast.

Miracles are to be tried. By these things it is most manifest and plaine, that in miracles this manifold errour oftentimes happeneth through the working of the diuell, to deceiue the people withall. Wherefore, we ought not for the working of miracles, to depart from the commandements of God: I would to God that they which put confidence in miracles, would giue heede vnto the

Matth. 7. word of Christ, in the 7. chap. of Matth. thus speaking: Many shall say vnto mée in that day, Lord, Lord, haue we not in thy name prophecied? and in thy name cast out diuels? and in thy name done many great workes? &c. I will professe vnto them, I neuer knew you, depart from me all yée which worke iniquitie.

The seruants of Christ discerned by working not of miracles, but of vertues. By this saying it is most manifest, that the seruants of Christ are not discerned by the working of miracles, but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquity, and obaying the commandements of God. Wherefore it is wonderfull, that any in this life dare presume to preuent the day of the iudgement of God, to iudge by meanes of miracles, that some are Saints whom men ought to worship, who peraduenture God will in the last iudgement condemne, saying: depart from mée all yée which worke iniquitie. If any man could here on earth iudge sinners to be condemned, then if this iudgement were certaine, Christ should not iudge the second time, and whatsoeuer such iudges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in heauen. But if such a iudgement bée vncertaine, then it is perillous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth may in stead of saints worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the diuels, and in prayer require their aide, who euen like as the diuels their companions are more readie and more of might to euill then to good, more to hurt then to profit. I wonder they marke not what Christ said, when his kinswoman came vnto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying: Command that these my two sonnes may sit, one vpon thy right hand and the other vpon thy left hand, in thy kingdome. But Jesus answering, said: Ye know not what yée aske, can ye drinke of the cup which I shall drinke of? they said vnto him, wee can. Hée said vnto them, Of my cup indeed yée shall drinke, but to sit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to giue, but vnto whom it is prepared for, of my father, Christ, being equall vnto the father according to his Godhead, exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in goodnes and wisdome, said, to sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to giue, but vnto whom it is prepared of my father. If it were none of his to giue to sit at the right hand, or at the left, &c. how then is it in the power of any sinfull man to giue vnto any man a seate either on the right hand, or on the left in the kingdome of God? which sinfull man knoweth not whether such haue any seat prepared for them of the father in his kingdome. They much extol themselues which exercise this iudiciall power in giuing iudgement; that there are some saints, which ought to bée honoured of men, by reason of the euidencie of dreames, or of deceitfull miracles, of which men they are ignorant whether God in his iudgement will condemne them or not, together with the diuels for euer to bee tormented. Let them beware, for the vnfallible truth saith, that euery one that exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low.

This proposition of Walter Brute, concerning the war of Christians not to be lawfull, is not to be taken vniuersally, but in particular case as he meaneth, which is this: that such warres allowed of the pope, not for the necessarie defence of publike peace, libertie, and safegard of our countries, or against publike iniuries offred: but only to goe and kill the infidels, because they beleeue not hauing no other cause: those warres of the pope he liketh not.

By these things is gathered, that the wars of Christians are not lawfull, for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, by reason of the euidencie of the deceitfull miracles of those, which haue made warres amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the infidels. Because Christ could not erre in his doctrine, for as much as he was God: And forasmuch as heauen and earth shall passe away, but the words of Christ shall not passe away: Hee therefore which establisheth his lawes, allowing warres and the slaughter of men in the warre, as well of Christians, as of infidels, doth he not fulfille those things which are contrarie vnto the gospell and law of Christ? Therefore in this hée is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist: seducing the people, making men beléeue that to be lawfull and meritorious vnto them, which is expressedly prohibited by Christ.

¶ And thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and warre, wherein hee declareth Christ and the pope to bee contrarie, that is, the one to be giuen all to peace, the other all to warre, and so to proue in conclusion the pope to bee Antichrist. Where in the meane time thou must vnderstand (gentle reader) his meaning rightly: not that he so thinketh, no kind of warres among the Christians in any case to bee lawfull, for he himselfe before hath openly protested the contrary. But that his purpose is to proouue the pope in al his doings and teachings, more to be addicted to warre then to peace, yea in such cases, where is no necessitie of warre. And therein proueth hee the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercie.

Doctrine of christian mercie declared. In the which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth vs to bee mercifull, because mercie (as he saith) proceedeth from charitie, and nourisheth it. In which doctrine of mercie, he breaketh not the law of righteousnes, for hée himselfe by mercie hath clensed vs from our sinnes, from which wee could not by the righteousnesse of the law, be clensed. But whom he hath made cleane by mercie, vndoubtedly it behoueth those same to bee also mercifull. For in the fifth chapter of Matthew, hee saith: Matth. 5. Blessed are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercie. And againe in the sixth of Matthew: If yée forgiue vnto men their Matth. 6. sinnes, your father will forgiue vnto you your sinnes. And againe, in the seuenth chapter of Matthew: Judge not, and yee Matth. 7. shall not be iudged, condemne not, and ye shal not be condemned, and with what measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured vnto you againe. In the 18. chap. of Math. Peter Matth. 18. asked the Lord, saying: Lord, how often shall my brother sinne against me, and I shall forgiue him, seuen times? Jesus said vnto him: I say not vnto thee seuen times, but seuentie times seuen times. Therefore is the kingdome of heauen likened vnto a certaine King, which would take account of his seruants. And when he had begun to recken, one was brought vnto him which ought him ten thousand talents: And because he had nothing wherewithall to pay, his master commanded him to be sold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The seruant therefore fell downe, and besought him, saying, haue patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pitie on that seruant, and loosed him, and forgaue him the debt. But when that seruant was departed, he found one of his fellow seruants, which ought him an hundred pence, and hee laied hands on him, and tooke him by the throte, saying, pay me that thou owest: and his fellow fell downe, and besought him, saying; Haue patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till hee should pay the debt. And when his other fellowes saw the things that were done, they were very sorie, and came and declared vnto their master all that was done: Then his master called him, and said vnto him: O thou vngracious seruant, I forgaue thée all that debt when thou desiredst me: Oughtest thou not then also to haue such pitie on thy fellow, euen as I had pitie on thée? And his lord was wroth, and deliuered him vnto the iaylers, till hee should pay all that was due vnto him. So likewise shall my heauenly father do vnto you, except yée forgiue from your hearts each one to his brother their trespasses.

Mercie and compassion necessary to all christians. By this doctrine it is most plaine and manifest, that euery Christian ought to bee mercifull vnto his brother, how often soeuer hee offendeth against him. Because we so often as we offend, do aske mercie of God. Wherefore, forasmuch as our offence against God is farre more grieuous then any offence of our brother against vs: it is plaine, that it behooueth vs to be mercifull vnto our brethren, if we will haue mercy at Gods hand. But contrarie to this doctrine of mercie, the Romish bishop maketh and confirmeth many lawes, which punish offenders, euen vnto the death. As it is plaine by the processe of the decrees, Distin. 23. quest. 5. It is declared and determined, 23. q. 5. that to kill men ex officio, that is, hauing authority and power so to doe, is not sinne. And againe: The souldier which is obedient vnto the higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guiltie of murther. And againe, He is the minister of the Lord, which smiteth the euill in that they are euill and killeth them. And many other such like things are throughout the whole processe of that question determined: That for certaine kinds of sinnes men ought by the rigour of the law to bee punished euen vnto death. But the foundation of their saying, they take out of the old law, in which for diuers transgressions were appointed diuers punishments. It is very much wonderfull vnto me, why that wise men being the authors and makers of lawes, do alwaies for the foundation of their sayings, look vpon the shadow of the law, and not the light of the gospell of Jesus Christ, for they giue not héed vnto the figure of perfection, nor yet vnto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the third of John, God sent not his son into the world to iudge the world, but to saue the world by him? In John the 8. chap. The scribes and pharisies bring in a woman taken in adulterie, and set her in the midst, & said vnto Christ: Master, euen now this woman was taken in adulterie. But in the law, Moses hath commanded vs to stone such, what saist thou therefore? This they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Jesus stouped downe, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him: hee lift himselfe vp, and said vnto them, let him that is among you without sinne, cast the first stone at her. And againe hee stouped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldest: so Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lift vp himselfe againe, he said vnto her: where be they which accused thée, hath no man condemned thée? She said, no man Lord. And Jesus said vnto her: Neither doe I condemne

The pope contrarie to Christ in shewing mercie. 23. q. 5.

The foundation of the former said 5. quest. caul. 23. in the popes decrees, taken only out of the old Testament, and nothing out of the new.

The makers of the popes law follow not the perfect rule. Iohn 3. Iohn 8.

thée. Goe thy way and sinne now no more.

It is manifest by the scriptures, that Christ was promised he should be king of the Iewes, and vnto the kings pertained the iudgements of the law: but because he came not to iudge sinners according to the rigor of the law, but came according to grace, to saue that which was lost, in calling the sinner to repentance: it is most plaine, that in the comming of the law of grace, he would haue the iudgement of the law of righteousnesse to cease: for otherwise hée had dealt vniustly with the foresaid woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adulterie, bare witnes against her. Wherefore séeing the same king Christ was a Iudge, if it had been his will that the righteousnesse of the law should bee obserued, hée ought to haue adiudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded: which thing forasmuch as hee did not, it is most euident that the iudgements of the righteousnesse of the law are finished in the comming of the king, being king of the law of grace: euen as the sacrifices of the priesthod of Aaron, are finished in the comming of the priest, according to the order of Melchisedech, who hath offered himselfe vp for our sinnes: because, as it is before said, neither the righteousnes of the law, nor sacrifices for sinne, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it was necessary that the same, by reason of their imperfection, should cease. And séeing among all the lawes of the world, the law of Moses was most iust, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most iust iudge: and by that law alwaies loke, what manner of iniurie one had done vnto another, contrarie to the commandement of the law, the like iniurie he should receiue for his transgression, according to the vpright iudgement of the law: As death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eie for eie, tooth for tooth, and most iust punishments were ordained according to the quantitie of the sinnes. But if this law of righteousnesse be cleane taken away in the comming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of the Gentiles remaine among Christians, which was neuer so iust? Is not this true, that in them, which are conuerted vnto the faith, there is no distinction betweene the Iew and the Grecian? For both are vnder sinne, and are iustified by grace in the faith of Christ, being called vnto faith and vnto the perfection of the Gospell.

Here is meant, and to be vnderstood, not what publike magistrates may do, in cases of righteousnes, but what ecclesiasticall persons according to the office of their profession should doe, in not reuenging by death, as they doe by offices. Whether the iudiciall law of Moses, fully (now after the comming of Christ) standeth in force, or not. The law of Moses of all lawes most iust.

If therefore the Gentiles conuerted, are not bound to play the Iewes, to follow the law of the Iewes: why should the Iewes conuerted, follow the lawes of the Gentiles which are not so good? * Wherefore it is to bee wondred at, why thefues are among Christians, for theft put to death, where after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer adulterers to liue, Sodomits, and they which curse father and mother, and many other horrible sinners: And they which according to the most iust law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death: So wee neither kéepe the law of righteousnes giuen of God, nor the law of mercie taught by Christ.

* His maruell is not so much, why theeues are put to death: but why the Iudiciall law of Moses in this point is broken, and in other points is straitly kept. Marke his meaning.

Wherefore the law makers and Iudges, doe not giue héed vnto the foresaid sentence of Christ vnto the Scribes and Pharisies, who said: * He which amongst you is without sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. What is hee that dareth be so bold as to say hee is without sinne? Yea, and without a grieuous sinne, when as the transgression of the commandement of God is a grieuous sinne? And who can say that hee neuer transgressed this commandement of God, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe: Or the other commandement which is of greater force: Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. Wherefore thou what soeuer thou art that iudgest thy brother vnto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the iudgement of God, which peraduenture hast offended more grieuously then hath hee whom thou iudgest? How séest thou a mote in thy brothers eie, and séest not a beame in thine owne eie? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall bee measured to you againe? Doth not the scripture say: Vnto mee belongeth vengeance, and I will render againe, saith the Lord? How can any man say that these men can with charitie kéepe these iudgements of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God iust iudgement for his offence? Hee desireth not iudgement, but mercie. If hee desire mercie for himselfe, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loueth hee his brother as himselfe? Or how doest thou shew mercy vnto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandement of Christ) which séekest the greatest vengeance vpon him that thou canst inferre vnto him? For death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grieuous vengeance then death, can no man inferre. Wherefore, they which will kéepe charitie, ought to obserue the commandements of Christ touching mercie: and * they which liue in the law of charitie ought to leaue the law of vengeance and iudgements. Ought we to beléeue, that Christ in his comming, by grace abrogated the most iust law which he himselfe gaue vnto the children of Israel by Moses his seruant, and established the lawes of the Gentiles being not so iust to bee obserued of his faithfull? Doth not Daniel expounding the dreame of Nabuchodonozer the king concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the brest and armes of siluer, the bellie and thighes of brasse, the legges of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonozer saw that a stone was cut out of a mountaine without hands, and strake the Image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to péeces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brasse, the siluer and gold broken altogether, and became like the chaffe of the sommer flower, which is caried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them: and the stone that smote the image, became a great mountaine, & filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore 4. kingdoms vnto the foure parts of the image, namely; the kingdome of the Babylonians vnto the head of the gold; the kingdom of the Medes and Persians vnto the brest and armes of siluer; the kingdome of the Grecians vnto the belly and thighes of brasse: But the fourth kingdome, which is of the Romans, hee applieth vnto the feet and legges of iron. And Daniel addeth: In the dates of their kingdomes, shall God raise vp a kingdome which shall neuer be destroyed: And his kingdome shall not be deliuered vnto another, but it shall breake and destroy those kingdomes: and it shall stand for euer, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountaine without hands, and brake in péeces the clay and iron, brasse, siluer and gold. Séeing therefore it is certaine, that this stone signifieth Christ, whose kingdome is for euer: it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to raigne euery where, and to breake in péeces the other kingdomes of the world. Wherefore if terrestriall kings and the terrestriall kingdome of the Iewes, and their lawes and iudgements haue ceased by Christ the king, calling the Iewes vnto the perfection of his Gospell, namely, vnto Faith and Charitie: it is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles which is more imperfect and their lawes, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentilitie vnto the perfection of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. For there is no distinction betweene the Iewes and Gentiles being conuerted vnto the faith of Christ, but all of them abiding in that eternall kingdome, ought to bee vnder one law of charitie and of vertue. Therefore they ought to haue mercie, and to leaue the iudgements of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make lawes marke not the parable of Christ, saying: The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man which sowed good séed in his field: but when men were on slépe, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheate, and went his way. But when the herb was growne and brought forth fruite, then appeared the tares. And the seruants came vnto the good man of the house, and said vnto him, Lord, didst not thou sowe good séed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And hee said vnto them: The enemie hath done this. And the seruants said vnto him: Wilt thou that wee goe and gather them vp? And hée said, no, lest peraduenture gathering vp the tares ye plucke vp the wheate by the rootes: Suffer them both to grow vntill the haruest, and in the time of the haruest, I will say vnto the haruest men, gather first the tares and bind them in bundels that they may bee burnt, but gather the wheate into my barne. Christ himselfe onely expoundeth this parable in the selfesame chapter, saying: Hée which soweth the good séed is the sonne of man, but the field is the world, and the good séed, those are the children of the kingdome. But the tares are the naughtie children. And the enemie which soweth them is the diuell. And the haruest is the end of the world, and the haruest men are the Angels. Euen as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it bee in the end of the world. The sonne of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdome all offenders, and those which commit iniquitie, and shall put them into a furnace of fire, there shal be weeping and gnashing of téeth.

Sarie law done by magistrates.

The dreame of Nabuchodonozor, concerning the image expounded by Daniel.

The Iudaicall necessitie of those lawes, he meaneth to cease, notwithstanding Christian princes may borrow both out of those lawes, and out of all other, what they think good and expedient for their common weale.

By which plaine doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will haue mercie shewed vnto sinners, euen vnto the end of the world, and will haue them to remaine mingled with the good: Lest peraduenture when a man thinketh that hee doth right well, to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheate. For how great a sinner soeuer a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtaine mercy of God: Neither are we certaine of the time, wherein God will by grace iudge him whom we abhorre as a sinner. And peraduenture such a one shall more profit after his conuersion in the Church, then he who we thinke to be iust, as it came to passe in Paul. And if God iustifieth a man by grace (although at his end) why dareth thou be so bold to be his iudge, and to condemne him? Yea rather, although a man séeme to bee obstinate and hardned in his euill, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction (correct him before one alone;) if hée doe not receiue open correction being done before two or three witnesses, neither passeth vpon a manifest correction when his sinne is made knowne vnto the Church: Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea rather he saith, If hée harken not vnto the church, let him bee vnto thée as an Ethnicke and Publican. And Paul following this doctrine in the 1. Corinth. 5. chapter, saith: There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentils, that one should haue his fathers wife. And yee are puffed vp, and haue not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed, might be

His purpose is not that no euill doer should be punished in a common wealth, but his relation is to the 23. & 5. aforesaid, noting causes of religion, which the pope and his prelats are wont to punish with death, taking many times for tares, that which indeed is pure wheat.

1. Cor. 5.

* Take his meaning wisely (gentle reader:) his mind is not so, that no magistrate, being not without sin, may punish a transgressor, but he speaketh against such Churchmen, who professing the rule of mercie, shew no mercie at all, but all rigor, by their law, *ex officio*.

* He meaneth of the pope, and of the clergie.

He speaketh against the desire of reuenge: not against the execution of necel-

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be put from among you. For I verilie as absent in bodie, but present in spirit, haue alreadie determined, as though I were present: that he which hath done this thing, when yee are gathered together and my spirit, in the name of our lord Iesus Christ, that such one by the power of our lord Iesus Christ, be deliuered vnto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may bee saued in the day of the Lord Iesus. Paul teacheth not to kill this man (as some gather by this text) but to separate him from the other faithfull, & so from Christ, which is the head of the church of the faithfull, and so is hee deliuered vnto Satan, which is separated from Christ: that the flesh may be killed, that is, that that carnall concupiscence, whereby he luxuriouslie lusted after the wife of his father, may bee destroyed in him, by such a separation, that the spirit may be saued; and not that his bodie should bee killed, as some say, as it is most manifest in the selfesame chapter, where hee saith: I wrote vnto you an epistle, that yee should not keepe companie with fornicators, and I meant not of all the fornicators of this world, either of the couetous, or extortioners or idolaters, for then must yee needs haue gone out of the world. But now I haue written vnto you, that ye keepe not companie together: if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or couetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner; with him that is such, see that ye eate not.

By which it is manifest, that Paul would haue the foresaid fornicatour separated from the fellowship of the faithfull: that his carnall concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the bodie should be killed. Wherefore, they doe ill vnderstand Paul, which by this saying doe confirme the killing of men. And forsomuch as heresie is one of the most grieuous sinnes (for an heretike leadeth men in errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saued) it doth most great hurt in the church.

Hereby it appeareth, that all his relation in this matter, toucheth only the cases of heresie and opinions in religion. By this it appeareth againe, that his respect is only to the pope and his prelates of the Church, and not to ciuill magistrates.

Further as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, flee from the man that is an heretike after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subuerted and sinneth, forsomuch as hee is by his owne iudgement condemned. Behold Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithfull. But some say, that Peter in the primitiue church slew Ananias and Saphira for their sinnes, wherefore they say it is lawfull for them, to condemne wicked men to death. We will declare in shewing the whole processe how falslie they speake in alleaging of Peter, for to iustifie their errour.

In the fourth chapter of the Acts it is written, that as many as were possessors of lands or houses, they sold them and offered the prices of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the apostles: and it was diuided vnto euery one as he had need thereof. But a certaine man called Ananias with Saphira his wife sold a peece of land, and kept backe a part of the price of the field, his wife being priuie vnto it, and bringing a certaine part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the Apostles. But Peter said vnto Ananias: Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart that thou shouldest lie vnto the holy Ghost, to keepe backe a part of the price of the land? Did it not whilest it remained, remaine vnto thee: and being sold, was it not in thine owne power? why hast thou conceiued this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied vnto men, but vnto God. And when Ananias heard these words, hee fell downe and gaue vp the ghost, and great feare came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose vp and tooke him vp, and caried him out and buried him. And it came to passe about the space of three houres after, that his wife came in being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said vnto her, Tell me woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, yea for so much. But Peter said vnto her, why haue yee agreed together to tempt the spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which buried thy husband are at the doore, and shall carrie thee out. And straightway she fell downe before his feet, and gaue vp the ghost, and the young men entring in, found her dead, and they caried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great feare came on all the church, and all those which heard these things. It is maruell that any man that is wise, will say that by this processe Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act but the act of God, who made a wedding to his son, and sent his seruants to call them, that were bidden vnto the wedding, and they would not come. The king then sent forth his seruants, to the outcorners of the high waies, to gather all that they could find, both good and euill: And so they did. And the mariage was full furnished with ghests: Then came in also the king to view and see them sitting. Among whom he perceiued there one sitting hauing not a wedding garment, and saith vnto him, friend how camest thou hither? And he being dumbe had not a word to speake. Then said the king to the seruitors, take and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darkenesse, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen, &c.

The example of Peter slaying Ananias and Saphira falslie wrested of the papists.

Peter not the cause of the death of Ananias and Saphira.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charitie, without which, because Ananias entred into the mariage of Christ, he was giuen to death, that by one many might be enformed to learne and vnderstand: that they which haue faith and not charitie, although they appeare to men to haue, yet it cannot be priuie to the spirit of God, that they do faine. Such there are no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the mariage of Christ, as we see this here exemplified in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter then haue iudged Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthie of death by the rigor of the old lawe? For why? by the lawe he had not been guiltie of death, for that part, which they fraudulently and dissemblinglie did reserue to themselues. Yea, and if they had stolne as much from another man, which was greater: neither yet for his lie committed, he had not therefore by that law of iustice been found guiltie of death. Wherefore if he did not condemne him by the law of iustice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercie, which he learned of Christ. And is consequently it followeth much more apparant, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that Peter put him to death by the meere motion of his owne will, and not by the authoritie of the olde lawe, nor by the new, it were derogatorie and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the bishop of Rome which pretendeth to be successor of Peter, excuse himselfe and his priests from the iudgement of death against heretiques and other offenders, although they themselues be consenting to such iudgements done by lay men? For that which was done of Peter without offence, may reasonablie excuse him and his fellow priests from the spot of crime: Acts 5. It is manifest that there was another which did more greeuouslie offend then Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharpe words: but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he beleeued and was baptised, he ioyned himselfe with Philip: And when he sawe that the holy spirit was giuen by the Apostles (laying their hands vpon men) hee offered them money, saying: Giue vnto me this power, that vpon whomsoeuer I shall lay my hand, he shall receiue the holy Ghost. Acts 5. To whom Peter answered: Destroyed be thou and thy money together: And for that thou supposest the gift of God to bee bought with money, thou shalt haue neither part nor fellowship in this doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God; therefore repent thee of thy wickednesse, and pray vnto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiuen thee: for I perceiue thou art euen in the bitter gall of wickednesse and band of iniquitie. Behold here the grieuous offence of Simon, Peters hard and sharpe rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the iudgements of death are not grounded vpon the expresse and plaine Scriptures, but onely vnder the shadow of the old law: that they are not to be obserued of Christians because they are contrarie to charitie. Ergo, the bishop of Rome approuing such iudgements alloweth those that are contrarie to the lawe and doctrine of Christ, as before is said of warres, where he approueth and iustifieth that which is contrarie to charitie. The order of priesthod, albeit it doth iustifie the iudgements to death of the laitie, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselues forbidden to put in execution the same iudgements. The priests of the old law being vnperfect, when Iohn 8. late said vnto them concerning Christ (whom they had accused worthy death) take him vnto you, and according to your lawe iudge him, answered: that it was not lawfull for them to put to death any man.

The death of Ananias and his wife, what information it giueth to the Church.

Peter not the cause of Ananias death.

Whereby it appeareth that our priests being much more perfect, may not lawfully giue iudgement of death against any offenders: yet notwithstanding, they claime vnto them the power iudiciall vpon offenders: Because, say they, it belongeth vnto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to iudge vpon the same being knowne, and to inioyne diuers penances vnto the parties offending, according to the quantitie of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, vnto God for the offences which he neuer committed. And to confirme vnto them this iudiciall power, they alleage the scriptures in many places, wresting it to serue their purpose.

First they say that the bishop of Rome (who is the chiefe priest and iudge among them) hath full power and authoritie to remit sinnes. Whereupon they say, that hee is able fullie and wholle to absolue a man à pœna & culpa, so that if a man at the time of his death had this remission, hee should straightwaies flie vnto heauen without any paine of Purgatorie. The other Bishops (as they say) haue not so great authoritie. The priests constituted vnder euery Bishop, haue power, say they, to absolue the sinnes of them that are confessed, but not all kind of sinnes: because there are some grieuous sinnes reserued to the absolutions of the Bishops: and some againe to the absolution onely of the chiefe and high Bishop. They say also that it behoueth the offenders, for the necessitie of their soules health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifest the same with all the circumstances thereof, vnto the priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the maner of a Iudge: and afterward himbly to fulfill the

Like a pistes then.

The wedding garment what it is.

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the penance enioyned vnto him by the priest for his sinnes, except the said penance so enioyned, or any part thereof bee released by the superior power. All these things (say they) are manifestly determined, as well in the decrees, as decretals. And although these things haue not expressely their foundation in the plaine and manifest doctrine of Christ, nor any of the Apostles: yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter, haue grounded the same vpon diuers places of the Scriptures, as in the processe of Christ in the Gospell of S. Mat. the 16. chapter. Whereupon they ground the popes power iudiciall, to surmount the powers of other priests, as where Christ said vnto his disciples: whom doe men say that I am? And they answered: some say that thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremie, or one of the Prophets. To whom he said: but who say you that I am? Simon Peter making answere, said: Thou art Christ, the sonne of the liuing God. And Jesus answered and said vnto him: Blessed art thou Simon the sonne of Jonas, for flesh and bloud hath not opened this vnto thee: but my father which is in heauen. And I say vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church: and hell gates shall not preuaile against it. And I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen. And whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth, shall also be bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt lose vpon earth, shall be loosed also in heauen.

Matth. 16.

The popes vsurped power falsly founded vpon Scriptures.

Out of this text of Christ, diuers expositions haue drawne diuers errors. For when Christ said: And I say vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church: Some thereupon affirme, that Christ meant he would build his church vpon Peter by authoritie of that text, as it is written in the first part of the decrees, Dist. 19. cap. Ita dominus noster. The exposition hereof is ascribed to pope Leo: the errour whereof is manifestly knowne. For the church of Christ is not builded vpon Peter, but vpon the rocke of Peters confession, for that he said: Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God; and for that Christ said singularlie vnto Peter: I will giue vnto thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind, &c. By this saying they affirme, that Christ gaue vnto Peter specially, as chiefe of the rest of the Apostles, a larger power to bind and to lose, then he did vnto the rest of the Apostles or disciples. And because Peter answered for himselfe and all the Apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly aboue the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the Apostles had euen as himselfe, by the reuelation of the heauenly father: it appeareth that as the faith of all the Apostles was declared by the answer of one: so by this that Christ said vnto Peter, whatsoeuer thou shalt bind, &c. is giuen vnto the rest of the Apostles the same power and equalitie to bind and to lose, as vnto Peter. Which Christ declareth in the gospell of S. Matthew, the 18. chapter, in these words: Verely I say vnto you, what things soeuer you shall bind vpon earth, shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer you shal lose vpon earth, shall be also loosed in heauen. And further hee addeth: And againe, I say vnto you, That if two of you shall consent vpon earth, and request whatsoeuer it be: it shall bee granted vnto you of my father which is in heauen. For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them. And in John the twentith chapter, he saieth generally vnto them: Receiue ye my spirit. Whose sinnes yee shall remit, shall be remitted vnto them: and whose sinnes you shall retaine, shall be retained.

Dist. 9. cap. Ita Dominus noster.

The place of Christ giuing the keies to Peter, Mat. 16. aptly expounded.

Matth. 18.

John 20.

By this it appeareth, that the power to bind and to lose is not speciallie granted to Peter, as chiefe and head of the rest: and that by him the rest had their power to bind and to loose; for that the head of the body of the church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, are the good members of the bodie of Christ, receiuing power and vertue of Christ: whereby they doe confirme and glew together the other members (as well the strong and noble, as the weake and vnable) to a perfect composition and seemelinesse of the bodie of Christ: that all honour from all parts and members may bee giuen vnto Christ as head and chiefe, by whom as head, all the members are gouerned. And therefore Paul, 1. Corinthians chap. 3. When one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollo, are yee not carnall men? For what is Apollo? what is Paul? The minister of him in whom ye haue beleeued, and hee as God giueth vnto euery man. I haue planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath giuen the increase. Therfore neither he that planteth is any thing, neither hee that watereth, but God that giueth the increase. And Paul to the Gal. 2. God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great, and doe much, auailed or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the circumcisiō vnto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentils) & when they knew the grace which was giuen me, Peter, Iames and Iohn straightwaies ioyned thēselues with me and Barnabas: ỹ we among the Gentils, and they in circumcision only might be mindfull of the poore, the which to doe, I was very carefull. Hereby it appeareth, that Paul had not his authoritie of Peter to conuert the Gentils, to baptise them, and to remit their sinnes, but of him which said vnto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricke. Here is Paul of the head of the Church, and not of Peter: By which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made liuely.

Christ only the head of the Church.

1. Cor. 3.

Galath. 2.

Acts 9.

The third errour.

The third error (which the authors of the canons conceiue in the said text of Christ) which was said to Peter: Vnto thee will I giue the keies, &c. is this: They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter of the authoritie to bind and lose, was meant: that as Christ gaue vnto Peter aboue all the rest of the Apostles a speciall, and as it were an excellent power aboue all the Apostles: euen so say they, hee gaue vnto the bishops of Rome (whom they call Peters chiefe successors) the same spectall power and authoritie, exceeding the power of all other bishops of the world.

Other Apostles had like power to bind and to loose as Peter had.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appeare manifestly by the premisses to be erroneous: wherein is plainely shewed, that the other Apostles, had equall power with Peter to bind and lose. Wherefore consequently it followeth, the 2. part of the similitude, grounded vpon the same text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an errour, wherein is said, that the bishops of Rome are Peters chiefest successors. For although there be but one Catholicke Christian Church, of all the faithfull sort converted: yet the first part thereof, and first conuerted was of the Iewes, the second of the Grecks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latines. Whereof, the first part was most perfectly conuerted vnto the faith, for that they faithfully obserued the perfection of charitie, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles by the multitude of the beleeuers. They were of one heart, and one soule, neither called they any thing that they possessed their owne, but all was common amongst them.

Acts 2.

Rom. 1.

Hereupon Paul to the Romans: Salutation to euery beleeuer, first to the Iew, and to the Grecks after the Iewes. The Grecks were the second, and after the Iewes, next conuerted, and after them the Romans, taking their information of the Grecks, as appeareth by the Chronicles, although indeed some Romans were conuerted vnto the faith, by Peter and Paul. And as Christ said thrice vnto Peter, feed my sheepe, so Peter ruled these three Churches, as witnesseth the Chronicles. But first he reformed the church of the Iewes in Jerusalem and Judea, as appeareth by the testimonie of the Acts of the Apostles: For Acts 1. it is manifest how Peter standing vp amongst his brethren, spake vnto them concerning the election of an Apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, alleaging places vnto them out of the Scripture, that another should take vpon him his Apostleship. And so by lot was Matthias constituted in the 12. place of Judas, Acts 2. After that the holy Ghost was come vpon the Apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonied at the miracle. And some mocked them, saying: these men are full of new wine: But Peter stood vp and spake vnto them, saying: that it was fulfilled in them that was prophecied by Joel the Prophet, and hee preached Christ vnto the people, whom they of ignorance had put to death. To whom was a sauiour promised by the testimonie of the Prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying vnto him and the rest of the Apostles: What shall wee then doe? And Peter said vnto them, repent: and let euery one of you be baptised in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sinnes, and yee shall receiue the holy Ghost. And there were ioyned vnto them the same day about three M. soules. And Acts 3. 4. 5. it appeareth, that Peter aboue the rest did those things which belonged to the ministerie of the Apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some Chronicles say, that Peter gouerned the church of the Iewes at Jerusalem 4. yeeres, before he gouerned Antioche. And by the testimonie of Paul to the Gal. as before is said: The Gospell of the vncircumcision is committed to Paul, euen as the circumcision to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles. Whereby it appeareth that the Church of the Iewes was committed to the gouernement of Peter. And in the processe of the Acts of the Apostles, it appeareth, that Peter beleeued that the faith of Christ was not to be preached vnto those Gentiles, which alwaies liued in vncleanesse of Idolatrie. But when Peter was at Ioppe, Cornelius a Gentile sent vnto him, that hee would come and shew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before the comming of the messengers of Cornelius) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fel in a trance, and saw heauen open, and a certaine vessell descending euen as a great sheete, letten downe by foure corners from heauen to earth. In the which, were all manner of foure footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and foules of the aire. And a voice spake vnto him, saying: Arise Peter, kill and eate, and Peter said: Not so Lord, because I haue neuer eaten any common or vncleane thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision did signifie) and found the messengers of Cornelius.

Peter ruled three Churches.

Acts 3. 4. 5. Peter gouerned the Church at Jerusalem 4. yeeres before he gouerned Antioch.

Galath. 2.

As concerning the authoritie iudiciall of the clergie, many things are written thereof in the canons of decrees, greatlie to

to be marueiled at, and farre from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons say; That Christ gaue vnto the priests, power iudiciall ouer sinners that confessed their sinnes vnto them. And this they ground vpon the text of Christ: I will giue vnto thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou loosest, &c. And these keies of the kingdome of heauen, they call the knowledge to discerne, and the power to iudge, which they say onely belongeth to the priests, except in case of necessitie; then they say a lay man may absolue a man from sinne. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the sinners part: first, hearty contrition, whereby the sinners ought to bewaile their offending of God through sinnes: the second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to shew vnto the priest his sinnes, and the circumstances of them: the third is satisfaction, through penance inioined vnto him by the priest for his sinnes committed. And of his part that giueth absolution, there are two things (say they) to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discerne one sinne from another, whereby hee ought to make a difference of sinnes, and appoint a conuenient penance, according to the quantitie of the sinnes. The second is, authority to iudge, whereby he ought to inioine penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed, ought with all humilitie to submit himselfe to this authoritie, and wholly and voluntarily to doe those penances which are commanded him by the priest, except the said penance bee released by a superior power: for all priests (as they say) haue not equall authoritie to absolue sinnes. The chiefe priest, whom they call Peters successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolue. But the inferior priests haue power, some more, some lesse. The more as they are nere him in dignitie, the lesse as they are farther from the degree of his dignitie. All this is declared by processe in the decrees, but not by the expresse doctrine of Christ, or any of his Apostles. For although Christ absolued men from their sinnes, I doe not finde that hee did it after the manner of a iudge, but of a Sauiour. For Christ saith: God sent not his Sonne into the world to iudge sinners, but that the world should be saued by him: John chap. 3. Whereupon he spake vnto him whom he healed of the palsie: Behold thou art made whole, goe thy waies and sinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Christ said: Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee? who said, No man Lord. To whom then Jesus thus said: No more will I condemne thee, goe, and now sinne no more.

The keies of Christs kingdome.

Absolution.
Three things required in popish absolution:
Contrition.
Confession.
Satisfaction.

Two things required on his part that giueth popish absolution.

Decret. de Pœnitentia.

Iohn 3.

Iohn 5.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture, it appeareth he was not as a iudge at his first comming, to punish sinners according to the quantitie of their offences: but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall iudge all men according to their works, as in Matth. 25. where he saith: When the Sonne of man shall come in his maiestie, and all his Angels with him; then shall hee sit vpon the seat of his maiestie, and all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepheard separateth the sheep from the goats, &c. Neither shal he iudge alone, but his saints also with him. For he saith: You that haue followed me in this generation, when the sonne of man shal sit in the seat of his maiesty, shall sit also vpon twelue seats, and iudge the twelue tribes of Israel. If then sith Christ came not as a iudge, why doe the priests say that they supply the roome of Christ on earth, to iudge sinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not onely this, but it is more to be marueiled at, how the bishop of Rome dareth to take vpon him to be a iudge before the day of iudgement, and to preuent the time, iudging some to be saints in heauen, and to be honored of men, and some againe to be tormented in hell eternally with diuels: Would God these men would waigh the saying of S. Paul, 1. Corinth. 4. Iudge ye not before the time, vntill the comming of the Lord, who shall make light the darke and secret places, and disclose the secrets of hearts, and then euery one shall haue his praise. Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Ezekiel be spoken by him; Because thy heart is eleuate, & thou saidst vnto thy selfe I am God, I haue sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the sea; when thou art but man and not God. It is manifest, that the remission of sinnes principally belongeth to God, who through grace washeth away our sinnes. For it is said; The lambe of God taketh away the sinnes of the world. And vnto christians it belongeth as the ministers of God. For in the 20. of John Christ saith: Receiue vnto you the holy Ghost: whose sinnes you shall remit, they are remitted vnto them; and whose sinnes you shall retaine, they are retained. Seeing therefore that all christians that are baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, receiue the holy Ghost; it appeareth that they haue power giuen to them of Christ, to remit sinnes ministerially. Hath not euery christian authoritie to baptise? and in the baptisme all the sinnes of the baptised are remitted. Ergo, they that doe baptise, doe remit sinnes. And thus ministerially all such haue power to remit sinnes. Therefore, to say that one man hath more authority to remit sinnes then all other christians haue, is too much to extoll him, and to place him euen in Gods seat. I pray you how are the sinnes remitted him that is baptised of the priest (yea although he were of the pope himselfe baptised) more then if he were baptised of another christian? Surely I thinke no more. For seeing that before baptisme he remaineth a sinner, and of the kingdome of the diuell by sinne, after baptisme he entreth into the kingdome of heauen; it appeareth that he that doth baptise, openeth the gate of the kingdome of heauen to him that is baptised: the which he cannot doe, without the keies of the kingdome of heauen. Therefore euery one that doth baptise, hath the keies of the kingdome of heauen, as well the inferior priest as the pope. But these keies are not the knowledge to discerne, and power to iudge, because these doe nothing auaile in baptisme: Ergo, there are other keies of the kingdome of heauen then these. Wherefore it seemeth, that the authors of the canons erred in mistaking the keies, whereupon they ground the authority iudiciall of the clergy.

Iohn 20.

The saints shal iudge with Christ.

Matth. 25.

1. Cor. 4.

The keies of the kingdome of heauen.

The keies mistaken in the popes canons.

Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconuenience in the end. Wherefore in my iudgement it seemeth, that the keies of the kingdome of heauen are faith and hope. For by faith in Jesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sinnes, we enter the kingdome of heauen. This faith is a spirituall water, springing from Jesus Christ the fountaine of wisdome, wherein the soule of the sinner is washed from sinne. With this water were the faithfull Patriarks baptised before the law, and the faithfull people of the Hebrewes, and the faithfull christians after the law. Wherefore I greatly marueil of that saying in the Decrees, which is ascribed vnto Augustine: that little children that are not baptised, shall bee tormented with eternall fire, although they were borne of faithfull parents that wished them with all their hearts to haue been baptised: as though the sacrament of baptisme in water, were simply necessary to saluation, when nevertheless many christians are saued without this kinde of baptisme, as Martyrs. If that kind of Sacrament bee not necessarie, to one of elder yeeres, how then is it necessary to an infant borne of the faithfull? Are not all baptised with the holy Ghost and with fire? But yet not with materiall fire: no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sinnes, but onely spirituall water, that is to say, the water of faith. Are not the quicke baptised for them that are dead: as witnesseth Paul 1. Corinth. 15. If the dead arise not at all, why are the liuing then baptised for them? If the liuing be baptised for the dead, why then is not the infant saued by the baptisme of his parents; seeing the infant it selfe is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptisme? Christ saith; He that beleeueth and is baptised, shall be saued. Hee saith not, he that is not baptised: but hee that beleeueth not shall be damned. Wherefore in the 12. chap. of John, Christ saith; I am the resurrection and life; he that beleeueth in me, yea although he were dead, shall liue. The faith therefore is necessary which the infant hath in his faithfull parents, although he be not washed with corporall water. How then is the infant damned and tormented with eternall fire? Were not they that were before the comming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand yeeres, saued also by his death and passion? All that beleeued in him, were baptised in his bloud, and so were saued and redeemed from sinne and the bondage of the diuell, and made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. How then in the time of grace shall the infant be damned that is borne of faithfull parents, that doe not despise, but rather desire to haue their children baptised? I dare not consent to so hard a sentence of the decrees; but rather beleeue, that hee is saued by vertue of the passion of Christ in faith of his faithfull parents, and the hope which they haue in Christ. Which faith and hope, are the keies of the heauenly kingdome. God were not iust and mercifull, if hee would condemne a man that beleeueth not in him, except he shewed vnto him the faith which he ought to beleeue. And therefore Christ saith: If I had not come and spoken vnto them, sinne could not haue beene laid vnto their charge; but now they haue no excuse of sinne. Therefore seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest vnto the infant departing before baptisme, neither hath he denied it; how then shall he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the infant, as he speaketh vnto Angels; who then knoweth (saue God alone) whether the infant receiueth or not receiueth the faith of Christ?

Faith and hope be the keies of heauen.

Children departing before baptisme not condemned.

What is he therefore that so rashly dare take vpon him to iudge the infants begotten of faithfull parents, dying without baptisme, to be tormented with eternall fire? Now let vs consider the three things which the canons of decrees affirme to be requisite for the remission of the sinnes of those that sinne after baptisme: that is to say, contrition of heart, auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed through penance enioined by the priest for the sinnes committed. I cannot finde in any place in the Gospell, where Christ commanded that this kinde of confession should be done vnto the priest: nor I cannot finde that Christ assigned any penance vnto sinners for their sinnes, but that he willed them to sinne no more. If a sinner confesse that hee hath offended God through sinne, and sorroweth heartily for his offences, minding no more hereafter to sinne; then is he truly repentant for his sinne, and then is he conuerted vnto the Lord. If hee shall then humbly and

Auricular confession.

The ministeriall power to remit sin, belongeth as well to one priest as to another.

Iohn 11.

1. Cor. 15.

and with good hope craue mercy at God and remission of his sinnes: what is he that can let God to absolue that sinner from his sinne? And as God absolueth a sinner from his sinne, so hath Christ absolued many, although they confessed not their sinnes vnto the priests, and although they receiued not due penance for their sinnes. And if Christ could after that manner once absolue sinners; how is hee become now not able to absolue? Except some man will say that he is aboue Christ, and that his power is minished by the ordinances of his owne lawes. How were sinners absolued of God in the time of the Apostles, and alwaies heretofore, vnto the time that these Canons were made? I speake not these things as though confession to priests were wicked; but that it is not of necessitie requisite vnto saluation. I beléeue verily that the confession of sinnes vnto good priests, and likewise to other faithfull christians, is good, as witnesseth Saint James the Apostle: Confesse ye your selues one to another, and pray yee one for another, that ye may be saued: for the continuall praier of the iust auaileth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like vnto you, and he praied that it should not raine vpon the earth, and it rained not in three yéeres and six months. And againe he praied, and it rained from heauen, and the earth yéelded forth her fruit. This kind of confession is good, profitable and expedient: for if God peraduenture heareth not a mans own praier, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet neuertheless the praiers of the priests séeme too much to bee extolled in the decrées, where it treateth of penitence, and that saying is ascribed vnto pope Leo, Cap. multiplex misericordia Dei, &c. And it followeth: So is it ordained by the prouidence of Gods diuine will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the praier of the priests, &c. The praier of a good priest doth much auaile a sinner, confessing his faults vnto him. The counsell of a discréet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to giue the sinner counsell to beware hereafter to sinne, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter hee may be better preserued from sinne.

Iames 5.

De pœnit. d. ſt. 1. cap. Multiplex misericordia dei.

After this manner I esteéme confession to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confesse sinnes vnto the priest, as vnto a iudge, and to receiue of him corporall penance for a satisfaction vnto God for his sinnes committed; I sée not how this can be founded vpon the truth of the scripture: For before the comming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction vnto God for his sinnes, although he suffered neuer so much penance for his sinnes. And therefore it was néedfull that he that was without sinne, should be punished for sinnes, as witnesseth Esay, chap. 53. where he saith: He tooke our griefes vpon him, and our sorrowes he bare. And againe: He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickednesse. And againe: The Lord put vpon him our iniquitie. And againe: For the wickednes of my people haue I stricken him. If therefore Christ through his passion, hath made satisfaction for our sinnes, whereas we our selues were vnable to doe it; then through him haue we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now, that we are sufficient to make satisfaction vnto God, by any penance inioined vnto vs by mans authority, séeing that our sins are more grieuous after baptisme, then they were before the comming of Christ? Therefore, as in baptisme the paine of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins: euen so after baptisme, if we confesse that we haue offended, and be heartily sory for our sins, and mind not to sinne againe afterwards.

Esay 53.

1. Iohn 1.

Hereupon John writeth in his first epistle, chap. 1. If we say we haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs. If we confesse our sinnes, God is faithfull and iust, hee will remit them, and clense vs from all our iniquities. If we say we haue not sinned, wee make him a lier, and his word is not in vs. My welbeloued children, this I write vnto you that ye sinne not: but if any man sinne, wee haue an aduocat with the Father Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely, but for the sinnes of the whole world. Therefore we ought to confesse our selues chiefly vnto God euen from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sinnes, without whose absolution little auaileth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the canons say, that although auricular confession made vnto the priest, bee not expressly taught by Christ, yet (say they) it is taught in that saying which Christ said vnto the diseased of the leprosie, whom hee commanded: Go your waies, and shew your selues vnto the priests: because, as they say, the law of clensing leapers, which was giuen by Moyses, signified the confession of sinnes vnto the priest. And whereas Christ commanded the lepers to shew themselues vnto the priests, they say that Christ meant, that those that were vncleane with the leprie of sinne, should shew their sinnes vnto the priests by auricular confession. I maruell much at the authors of the canons; for euen from the beginning of their decrées vnto the end, they ground their sayings vpon the old law, which was the law of sinne, and death, and not (as witnesseth Paul) vpon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith: The words which I speake vnto you, are the spirit and life. They ground their sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ. For euery euill doer hateth the light, and commeth not into it, that his déeds be not reproued: but he that doth the truth, commeth into the light, that his works may be openly séene, because they are done in God: Ioh. 3.

Confession vnto God.

Auricular confession not truly grounded vpon the scripture. Luke 17.

The authors of the canon law reproued.

Iohn 3.

Now let vs passe to the words that Christ spake to the leper: Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me cleane. And Iesus stretching forth his hand, touched him, saying: I will, be thou cleane: and straightwaies hee was clensed of his leprey. And Iesus said vnto him: See thou tell no man, but goe and shew thy selfe to the priests, and offer the gift that Moyses commanded for a witnesse of these things. This Gospell witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of the lepers were clensed onely by Christ, and not by the priests; neither did Christ command the leper to shew himselfe vnto the priests, for any helpe of clensing that hee should receiue of the priests: but to fulfill the law of Moyses, in offering a sacrifice for his clensing, and for a testimonie vnto the priests, who alwaies of enuie accused Christ as a transgressor of the law. For if Christ after hee had clensed the leper, had licensed him to communicat with others that were cleane, before he had shewed himselfe clensed vnto the priests, then might the priests haue accused Christ as a transgressor of the law: because it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was clensed, should shew himselfe vnto the priests. And they had signes in the booke of the law, whereby they might iudge whether he were truly clensed or no. And if hee were clensed, then would the priests offer a gift for his clensing: and if hee were not clensed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were cleane. Séeing euery figure ought to be assimuled vnto the thing that is figured; I pray you then what agréement is there betweéne the clensing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sinnes? By that law the priest knew better whether hee were leprous then hee himselfe that had the leprey. In confession, the priest knew not the sinnes of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that law the priest did not clense the leprous. How now therefore ought the priests to clense sinners from their sinne, and that without them they cannot bee clensed? In this law the priest had certaine signes, by the which hee could certainly know whether a man were clensed from his leprey or not. In confession, the priest is not certaine of the clensing of sinnes, because he is ignorant of his contrition. Hee knoweth not also whether he will not sinne any more; without the which contrition and granting to sinne no more, God hath not absolued any sinner. And if God hath not absolued a man, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confession figured vnder that law? Doubtlesse so it séemeth to me (vnder the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath béen obstinat in his sinne, and is reconciled againe. For so it appeareth by the processe of the Gospell, that whenas the sinner doth not amend for the priuat correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publike correction of the whole church; then is he to be counted as an Ethnicke and a publican, and as a certaine leper to be auoided out of the company of all men. Which sinner notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then clensed from his obstinacie.

Luke. 5

The story of the lepers expounded, to make nothing for auricular confession.

The clensing of the leprey, and the clensing of the priest in auricular confession agree not.

But he which pretendeth himselfe to be the chiefe vicar of Christ, and the high priest, saith; that hee hath power to absolue A pœna & culpa. Which I doe not finde how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his owne authority hee inioyneth to sinners penance for their sinnes. And grant that from their sinnes hee may well absolue them; yet from the paine (which they call à pœna) he doth not simply absolue, as in his indulgences he promiseth. But if hee were in charitie, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sinne, forsomuch as that paine doth farre exceed all other paine which here wee suffer. What man is there being in charitie, but if hee see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will helpe him and deliuer him? Much more ought the pope then, to deliuer out of paines of purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poore. And if he sell to the rich his indulgences, double wise, yea triple wise he seduceth them. First, in promising them to deliuer them out of the paine from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliuer them: and so maketh them falsly to beléeue that which they ought not to beléeue. Secondly, he deceiueth them of their mony, which he taketh for his indulgences. Thirdly, hee seduceth them in this, that hee promising to deliuer them from paine, doth induce them into grieuous punishment indeed, for the heresie of simonie, which both of them doe commit, and therefore are worthy both of great paine to fall vpon them: for so we reade, that Iesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his Temple. Also Peter said vnto Simon, the first author of this heresie: Thy money, said hee, with thée bee destroied, for that thou hast thought, the gift of God to bee possessed for money. Moreouer, whereas Christ saith, Freely you haue receiued, freely giue: and whereas contrary the pope doth sell that thing, which he hath taken: what doubt is there, but that he doth grieuously deserue to be punished, both he that selleth and he that buyeth: for

The popes power in absoluing from sins, not founded in scripture.

The pope can absolue none from punishment.

The pope in his pardons deceiueth men three maner of waies.

The pope promising pardons for sins, inueigleth men to sinne in simony.

for the crime of simony which they commit. Diuers and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the scripture it may be proued, that he doth not absolue a man, contrite for his sinne, although he doe absolue him from the guilt.

Deadly sinne and debt. The pope saith, he can remit the debt to God: and yet cannot remit the debt to man.

But this marueileth me, that he in his indulgences promiseth to absolue men from all manner of deadly sinnes, and yet cannot absolue a man from debt: forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance then is the debt of our brother. Wherefore if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seeme that he is able to forgiue the debt of our brother.

The pope harder to pardon a priest leauing his mattens vnsaid, then for breaking the commandement of God.

Another thing there is that I marueil at: for that the pope sheweth himselfe more strait in absoluing a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his mattens, then for transgressing the commandement of God; considering that the transgression of the commandement of God, is much more greeuous then the breach of mans commandement.

Absolution to be sought at the hands of God only.

For these and many other errors concurring, and in this matter of the popes absolutions, blessed be God, and honour be vnto him for the remission of our sinnes. And let vs firmely beleeue and know, that he doth and will absolue vs from our sinnes, if we be sorie from the bottome of our hearts that wee haue offended him, hauing a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let vs bee bold to resort vnto good and discreet priests, who with wholsome discretion and sound counsell can instruct vs, how to auoid the corruption of sinne hereafter. And which, because they are better then wee, may pray to God for vs; whereby wee may both obtaine more soner the remission of our sinnes past, and also may learne better how to auoid the danger of sinne to come. Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford.

Ex regist. Latino Episc. Hereford.

Notes.

And thus much concerning the iudgement and doctrine of this Walter for Christian patience, charitie and mercy: which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true Christianity; so the said Walter Brute making comparison herein betweene Christ and the pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest, whereby all men may see, what contrariety there is betweene the rule of Christs teaching, and the proceedings of the Pope; betweene the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether giuen to peace: so is the other on the contrary side as much disposed to warres, murther, and bloudshed, as is easie to be seen; whoso looketh not vpon the outward shews and pretenced words of these Romish popes, but aduising & considering the inward practises and secret works of them, shall easilie espie vnder the vizour of peace, what discord and debate they worke. Who bearing outwardly the meeke hornes of the Lambe mentioned in the Apocalypse, within doe beare the bowels of a wolfe, full of cruelty, murther, and bloudshed. Which if any do thinke to be spoken of me contumeliously, would God that man could proue as well the same to be spoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I speake it sincerely, without affection of blind partialitie, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus vnder *in Dei nomine, Amen*, how vnmercifully doth the pope condemne his brother! And while he pretendeth not to be lawfull for him to kill any man, what thousands hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending *in visceribus Iesu Christi*, as though he would be a mediator to the magistrate for the party: yet indeed will he be sure to excommunicat the magistrat, if he execute not the sentence giuen. Who be true heretikes, the Lord when hee commeth shall iudge. But giue them to be heretikes, whom he condemneth for heretikes: yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing but burning, faggoting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatning, reuiling, cursing, and oppressing, and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their wars appeare, if we consider how pope Vrban 5. beside the racking and murdering of seuen or eight cardinals, set vp Henry Spencer bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French pope. Innocentius 4. was in war himselfe against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander 4. his successour, stirred vp the sonne of king Henry 3. to fight against the sonne of Frederike 2. emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moued Albertus (which stood to be emperour) to driue Philip the French king out of his realme. Gregorius 9. excited Ludouicke the French king three sundry times, to mortall warre against the earle Raimundus and citie of Tholouse, and Auinion, where Lewes the said French king died. Honorius 3. by strength of warre many waies resisted Fredericke 2. and sent out 35. gallies against the coasts of the emperors dominions. The same pope also besieged Ferraria: to passe ouer the warre at Ticinum; with many other battels and conflicts of popes against the Romans, Venetians, and diuers other nations. Innocentius 3. set vp Philip the French king to warre against king Iohn. What stirre pope Gregory the 7. otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the emperor Henricus 4. it is not vnknowne. And who is able to recite all the warres, battels, and fields fought by the stirring vp of the pope? These with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as he did, making yet thereof no vniuersall proposition: but that Christian magistrates in case of necessitie might make resistance, in defence of publike right. Now hee proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Examples, declaring what wars haue bin stirred vp by popes.

Touching the matter (saith hee) of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, diuers men haue diuers opinions, as the learned doe know. As concerning my iudgement vpon the same, I firmely beleeue whatsoeuer the Lord Iesus taught implicitely or expressly to his Disciples and faithfull people to be beleeued. For he is (as I beleeue and know) the true bread of God which descended from heauen, and giueth life to the world. Of which bread whosoeuer eateth, shall liue for euer: as it is in the sixth of John declared. Before the comming of Christ in the flesh, although men did liue in body, yet in spirit they did not liue; because all men were then vnder sinne, whose soules thereby were dead: from the which death, no man by the law, nor with the law was iustified: For by the workes of the law shal no flesh be iustified: Galat. 2. And againe in the same epistle, cap. 3. That by the law no man is iustified before God it is manifest: for the iust man shall liue by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whosoeuer hath the workes thereof, shall liue in them. And againe in the same chapter: If the law had beene giuen, which might haue iustified, then our righteousnesse had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all vnder sinne, that the promise might bee sure by the faith of Iesu Christ to all beleeuers. Moreouer, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all vnder the law, vntill the comming of that faith which was to bee reuealed. For the law was our schoolemaster in Christ Iesu, that we should bee iustified by faith. Also the said Paul, Rom. 5. saith: That the law entred in the meane time, whereby that sinne might more abound. Where then sinne hath more abounded, there hath also grace superabounded: that like as sinne hath raigned vnto death, so that grace might raigne also by righteousnesse vnto eternall life, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Whereby it is manifest, that by the faith which we haue in Christ, beleeuing him to be the true Sonne of God, which came downe from heauen to redeeme vs from sinne: we are iustified from sinne, and so doe liue by him, which is the true bread and meat of the soule. And the bread which Christ gaue, is his flesh giuen for the life of the world: John 6. For hee being God, came downe from heauen; and being truly carnall man, did suffer in the flesh for our sinnes, which in his diuinitie he could not suffer. Wherefore like as wee beleeue by our faith that hee is true God: so must wee also beleeue, that he is a true man. And then doe wee eat the bread of heauen, and the flesh of Christ. And if we beleeue that he did voluntarily shed his bloud for our redemption, then doe we drinke his bloud.

Gal. 2. Iustification by faith, and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

John 6.

True eating of Christ is true believing in him.

And thus except we eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and shall drinke his bloud, wee haue not eternall life in vs; because the flesh of Christ verily is meate, and his bloud is drinke indeed: and whosoeuer eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his bloud, abideth in Christ and Christ in him: John chap. 6. And as in this world the soules of the faithfull liue, and are refreshed spiritually with this heauenly bread, and with the flesh and bloud of Christ; so in the world to come, the same shall liue eternally in heauen, refreshed with the deitie of Iesus Christ, as touching the most principall part thereof, that is to wit, intellectum: for as much as this bread of heauen, in that it is God, hath in it selfe all delectable pleasantnesse. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same (as well exterior as interior) they are refreshed with the flesh (that is to say) with the humanitie of Iesus Christ; which is as a Queene standing on the right hand of God, decked with a golden robe of diuers colours: for this queene of heauen alone by the word of God, is exalted aboue the company of all the angels; that by her, all our corporall power intellectiue, may fully be refreshed, as is our spirituall intelligence, with the beholding of the deitie of Iesus Christ, and euen as the Angels shall wee bee fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, present in this world and in the world to come, hath Christ giuen vnto vs (for eternall blessednesse) the sacrament of his body and bloud, in the substance of bread and wine: as it appeareth in Matthew chapter 26. As the Disciples sate at supper, Iesus tooke bread and blessed it, brake it, and gaue it vnto his disciples, and said: Take, eate, this is my body. And he tooke the cup, and thanked, and gaue it them, saying: Drinke ye all of this, this is my bloud of the new Testament, which shall bee shed for many for the remission of sinnes. And Luke in his Gospell, chapter 22. of this matter thus writeth: And after hee had taken the bread, hee gaue thanks, he brake it, and gaue it vnto them, saying: This is my body which shall be giuen for you: doe you this in my remembrance. In like manner he tooke the cup after supper, saying: This is the cup of the new Testament in my bloud, which shall bee shed for you. That Christ said, this my body, in shewing to them the bread: I firmely beleeue, and know that it is true: That Christ (forasmuch as he is God) is the very truth it selfe; and by consequence, all that hee saith is true. And I beleeue that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body: for in that he is almightie, he hath done whatsoeuer pleased him. And as in Cane of Galile, he

Matth. 26.

Luke 22.

This is my body, expounded.

Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is.

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Note well gentle Reader.

he changed the water into wine, really: so that after the transubstantiation, it was wine and not water. So when he said; This is my body: if he would haue had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should haue bẽn his naturall body, and not bread as it was before; I know that it must nẽds haue bẽn so. But I finde not in the Scripture, that his will was to haue any such reall transubstantiation or mutation.

And as the Lord God omnipotent in his perfection essentiall being the Sonne of God, doth exceed the most pure creature, and yet when it pleased him, hee toke vpon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man; so that after this assumpting of our substance, he was really very God and very man: euen so, if he would when he said; This is my body: hee could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For lesse is the difference of the essence, betwẽn bread and the body of a man, then betwẽne the deitie and humanitie, because that of the bread, is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood; of the blood, naturall seed; and of naturall seed, the naturall substance of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man; this is an action supernaturall. Wherefore hee that could make one man to be very God and very man; could, if hee would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I doe not finde it expressly in the Scripture, that he would any such Identitie or coniunction to be made. And as Christ said, I am very bread; not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figuratiue speech: so if he would, it might be, that when he said, This is my body; that this should really haue bẽne the bread as it was before, and sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth vnto me, most neerly to agree to the meaning of Christ, forasmuch as he said; Doe this in remembrance of me. Then forasmuch as in the Supper it is manifest, that Christ gaue vnto his disciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouthes: in which bread, he gaue himselfe also vnto them, as one in whom they should beleeue (as to be the food of the soule) & by that faith they should beleeue him to be their Sauiour which toke his body, wherein also he would it to be manifest, that he would redeeme them from death: so was the bread eaten with the disciples mouthes, that hee being the true bread of the soule, might be in spirit receiued and eaten spiritually by their faith, which beleeued in him.

Bread by similitude.

Bread substantially, and the body sacramentally.

The bread which in the disciples mouthes was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomacke. For as Christ saith; Whatsoeuer commeth to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the priuie: Matth. chap. 15. But that true and very bread of the soule, was eaten of the spirit of the disciples, and by faith entred their mindes, and abode in their intrailes through loue. And so the bread broken, seemeth vnto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but sacramentally to bee the body of Christ, as Paul, 1. Corinth. 10. The bread which we breake, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So the bread which wee breake, is the participation of the Lords body. And it is manifest, that the heauenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subiect to such breaking. Therefore Paul calleth the materiall bread which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithfull are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not to his essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally. Euen as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratiuely the vine: so the temple of Ierusalem was really the materiall temple; and figuratiuely it was the body of Christ: because he said; Destroy you this temple, and in three daies I will repaire the same againe. And this spake he of the temple of his body: whereas others vnderstood it to bee the materiall temple, as appeared by their answere. For said they, 47. yeeres hath this temple bẽne in building, and wilt thou build it vp in three daies?

The bread which the Lord gaue entreth not into the bodies, but the body which he gaue entreth into the minds of the disciples. Paul calleth it material bread.

Note Reader.

Euen so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet figuratiuely the body of Christ. And if therefore Christ would this bread to be onely sacramentally his bodie, and would not haue the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his priests to make this sacrament as a memorial of his passion: then do the priests grieuously offend, which beseech Christ in their holy masse, that the bread which lieth vpon the altar, may be made really the body of Christ, if he would not haue the same to be but a sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceiued themselues, and also doe greatly deceiue others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is only the body of Christ sacramentally; no doubt but that the people are marueilously deceiued. For the people beleeue that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himselfe betwẽne the hands of the priests (for so is the common oth they sweare,) By him whom I saw this day betweene the priests hands. And the people beleeue that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or else when they lie vpon their death bed, and receiue with their bodily mouth the sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admit the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) is in the sacrament, indiuisibiliter, that is, not able to be diuided; and so immensurabiliter, that is, not able to be measured: Ergo, inuisibiliter, that is, not able to be seene. To beleeue therefore that he may be seene corporally in the sacrament, is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ is the soules food, and not the food of the body in this world, for that whosoeuer beleeueth, doth eat spiritually and really, at at any time when he so beleeueth: it is manifest, that they doe greatly erre which beleeue that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their teeth the sacrament of the body of Christ.

The bread thereforo changeth not to his essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally.

The vaine prayer of the priests at their masse.

The people greatly deceiued in the sacrament.

And although it should be to the great honor of priests that the bread really were changed into the body of Christ, by the vertue of the sacramentall words pronounced: yet if Christ would not haue it to be so, then they desiring to do this cõtrary to the wil of Christ, and informing the people that is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ; are in great perill, most dangerously seducing both themselues and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a little worldly and transitory honor for a short time; it is to be feared, lest perpetuall shame finally shall follow and ensue vpon the same. For Christ saith; Euery one that exalteth himselfe shall be brought low. Let them therefore take heed, lest they extolling themselues for this Sacrament, aboue the company of Angels which neuer sinned, for the error which they be in, for euermore be placed with the sinfull angels vnder the earth.

The priests seek their owne honor in their transubstantiation.

Marke here ye good priests.

Let euery man therefore thinke lowly of himselfe in what state or degree soeuer he be; neither let him presume to do that which he is not able to doe: neither desire to haue that thing done, which God would not haue done.

I greatly marueil at those which were the makers of the canons, how variably and contrary one to another they write of this sacrament of the body of Christ. In the last part of the decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but also in the processe of the matter, diuers doe diuerly write, and one cõtrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth, Prima inquit hæresis, it is thus written: You shall not eat this body which you see, nor shall drinke this bloud which they shall shed which shall crucifie me: I will commend vnto you a certaine Sacrament spiritually vnderstood that quickneth you; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the same chapter it is thus written: Till the world shall haue an end, the Lords place is in heauen: yet notwithstanding the veritie of the Lord is here abiding with vs. For the body wherewith he rose, ought to be in one place, but his verity is in euery place diffused and spread abroad. And in the chapter following, which thus beginneth; Omnia quæcunq; voluit, &c. it is written: Although the figure of the bread and wine seeme to be nothing; yet notwithstanding they must after the words of consecration be beleeued, to be none other thing then the very flesh of Christ, and his bloud. Whereupon the veritie himselfe said vnto his disciples: This is (saith he) my flesh, which is giuen for the life of the world: and to speake yet more marueilously, this is none other flesh, then that which was borne of the virgin Mary, and suffered vpon the crosse, and rose out of the sepulchre.

The makers of the canon law, contrary to themselues.

De consec. 2. cap. Prima quidem inquit.

De consec. dist. 2. cap. Omnia quæcunque vobis. Contrariety in the popes canons.

See how far this chapter differeth from the first. And in the chapter which beginneth, Ego Berengarius, &c. this is the confession which Berengarius himselfe confessed touching this Sacrament, and his confession is of the church allowed: I confesse (saith Berengarius) that the bread and wine which is laid vpon the altar after the consecration, is not only a sacrament, but also that it is the very body and bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the same not only sensually to be a sacrament, but also verily to be handled with the priests hands and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faithfull men. This confession doubtlesse is heretical: for why? if the body of Christ be in the sacrament, as of the church it is so determined; it is there then Multiplicatiue, and so indiuisibiliter, therefore not sensualiter. And if it be there indiuisibiliter, that is, in such sort as it cannot be diuided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, nor with the teeth of men chewed.

De consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

The retractation of Berengarius is heretical.

The writers of this time and age doe affirme, that if by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament be so negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast or vermin eat the same; then they say, that the sacrament returneth againe into the nature and substance of bread. Whereby they must nẽds confesse, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the priest, as first there was made by the consecration of the priest in making the sacrament. For either by the eating of the mouse, the body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which is a transubstantiation supernaturall; or else of nothing by creation is this bread produced: and therefore either of these operations is miraculous and to be marueiled at. Now considering the disagreeing opinions of the doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I beleeue with Paul, that the bread which we breake, is the participation of the body of Christ: and as Christ saith; that the bread is made the body of Christ for a memoriall and remembrance of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his body, in the same manner and sort do I beleeue it to be his body.

The sacrament left by the priests negligence to be eaten of a mouse, returneth againe from bodie to bread.

But whether we men may make the body of Christ, and minister

Whether externall signes in a priest be the signe of Antichrist, or else be grounded vpon Christ.

minister vnto the people: or whether that priests bee diuided from the lay people, for their knowledge, preeminence, and sanctitie of life, or else by externall signes onely: Also whether the signe of tonsure and other externall signes of holinesse in priests, be signes of Antichrist and his characters, or else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ: consequently it remaineth next to speake of vnto the faithfull sort (according to the processe of the holy Scripture) first of the three kinds of the priests. I remember that I haue read, the first of them to be Aaronicall, legall, and temporall: The second to bee eternall and regall according to the order of Melchisedech: The third to be christian. The first of these ceased at the comming of Christ: for that, as saint Paul to the Hebrues saith, The priesthod of Aaron was translated to the priesthod of the order of Melchisedech. The legall sort of priests of Aaron, were separate from the rest of the people, by kindred, office, and inheritance. By kindred, for that the children of Aaron onely were priests. By office, for that it onely pertained to them to offer sacrifice for the sinnes of the people, and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By inheritance, because the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongst their brethren, but those things which were offred vnto the Lord, as the first fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and vowes, except places for their mansion houses for them and theirs, as appeareth by the processe of Moses law. The priesthod of Christ did much differ from this priesthod, as Paul doth witnesse to the Hebrues, chapter, 1.8, 9.10.

Three orders or sorts of priests: 1. Aaronicall. 2. Eternall. 3. Christian.

Leuiticall priests diuided from the people by kindred, office, and inheritance.

The priesthood of Christ differeth from the Leuiticall priesthood, how and wherein. 1. In kindred.

First, in kindred, because that our Lord and Sauiour Jesus Christ, came of the stock and tribe of Juda: of which tribe none had to doe with the altar, and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the priests of Moses.

2. In oth taking.

The second, for that other were made priests without their oth taken: but hee by an oth, by him which said: The Lord swore, and it shall not repent him: Thou art a priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech.

3 In durabilitie.

Thirdly, by durabilitie, for that many of them were made priests but during the terme of their liues: but he for that hee remaineth for euer, hath an eternall priesthod. Wherefore he is able to saue vs for euer, hauing by himselfe accesse vnto God, which euer liueth to make intercession for vs.

The law made also such men priests as had infirmities; but Sermo (that is, the word, which according to the law is the eternall sonne and perfect) by an oth.

4. In matter of sacrifice.

The priesthod of Christ also did differ from the priesthod of Aaron and the law, in the matter of the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of the sacrifice, because they did vse in their sacrifices strange bodies of the matter of their sacrifices, and did shed strange blod for the expiation of sinnes: But he, offering himselfe vnto God his father for vs, shed his owne blod for the remission of our sinnes.

5. In place of sacrificing.

In the place of sacrificing, because that they did offer their sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple: but Christ suffering death without the gates of the city, offered himselfe vpon the altar of the crosse to God his father, and there shed his precious blod. In his supping chamber also hee blessed the bread and consecrated the same for his body, and the wine which was in the cup, he also consecrated for his blod; deliuering the same to his apostles to bee done, for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. Neither did Jesus enter into the sanctuarie made with mans hands, which bee examples and figures of true things; but entred into heauen it selfe, that he might appeare before the maiestie of God for vs. Neither doth he offer himselfe oftentimes, as the chiefe priest in the sacctuarie did euery yeare with strange blod (for then should he oftentimes haue suffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in the latter end of the world, to destroy sinne by his peace offering, hath he entred. And euen as it is decreed, that man once shall die and then commeth the iudgement: so Christ hath beene once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appeare without sinne to them that looke for him, to their saluation. For the law hauing a shadow of good things to come, can neuer by the image it selfe of things (which euery yeare without ceasing they offer by such sacrifices) make those perfect that come thereunto, for otherwise that offering should haue ceased: Because that such worshippers being once clensed from their sinnes, should haue no more conscience of sinne. But in these, commemoration is made euery yeare of sinne; for it is impossible that by the blod of gotes and calues, sinnes should bee purged and taken away. Therefore comming into the world hee said: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldest not haue, but a body hast thou giuen me, peace offerings for sinnes haue not pleased thee: Then said I, behold I come: In the volume of the booke it is written of mee, that I should doe thy will O God: Saying, as aboue; because thou wouldest haue no sacrifices nor burnt offerings for sinne, neither doest thou take pleasure in those things that are offered according to the law: Then said I; Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first to stablish that which followeth. In which will we are sanctified by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all. And euery priest is ready daily ministring, and oftentimes offering like sacrifices, which can neuer take away sins. But this Jesus offering one sacrifice for sinne sitteth for euermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his enemies be made his footstoole. For by his owne onely oblation, hath he consummated for euermore those that are sanctified. All these places haue I recited which Paul writeth, for the better vnderstanding and declaration of those things I meane to speake. By all which it appeareth manifestly, how the priesthod of Christ differeth from the legall priesthood of Aaron: and by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other priesthood christian, that imitateth Christ. For the properties of the priesthood of Christ, aboue recited, are found in no other priest, but in Christ alone. Of the third priesthood, that is, the christian priesthood; Christ by expresse words speaketh but little, to make any difference betweene the priests and the rest of the people, neither yet doth vse this name of Sacerdos or presbyter in the Gospell. But some he calleth disciples, some apostles, whom hee sent to baptise and to preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the salt of the earth, in which the name of wisedome is meant: and he calleth them the light of the world, by which, good liuing is signified. For hee saith, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen. And Paul speaking of the priests to Timothie, and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any diuersitie betwixt the priests and the other people, but in that he would haue them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth priesthood, is the Romane priesthood, brought in by the church of Rome: which church maketh a distinction betweene the clergie and the lay people: and after that the clergie is diuided into sundrie degrees, as appeareth in the decretals.

The priesthood of Christ differeth from all other priesthood christian.

The third priesthood. The name of Sacerdos or priest not vsed in the new Testament of Christ.

The 4. priesthood, which is the Romane priesthood.

This distinction of the clergie from the laity, with the tonsure of clerkes, began in the time of Anacletus, as it doth appeare in the chronicles. The degrees of the clergie were afterward inuented and distinted by their offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitiue church it was not so: for immediatly after the conuersion of some of them to the faith and baptisme receiued; they were priests and bishops made, as appeareth by Ananias, whom Marcus made of a taylor or shoomaker, to be a bishop. And of many other it was in like case done, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and praiers, and to blesse and sanctifie. The oblation of the priesthood, onely to priests (as they say) is congruent: whose duties are, vpon the altar to offer for the sinnes of the people the Lords body, which is consecrated of bread. Of which saying I haue great maruell, considering saint Pauls words to the Hebrues before recited. If Christ offering for our sinnes one oblation for euermore, sitteth on the right hand of God, and with that one oblation hath consummated for euermore those that are sanctified: If Christ euermore sitteth on the right hand of God, to make intercession for vs; what neede he to leaue here any sacrifice for our sinnes, of the priests to be daily offered? I doe not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of his apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sinne: but onely as a sacrament and commemoration of the sacrifice passed which Christ offered vpon the altar of the crosse for our sinnes. For it is an absurditie to say that Christ is now euery day really offered as a sacrifice vpon the altar by the priests: for then the priests should really crucifie him vpon the altar, which is a thing of no christian to be beleeued. But euen as in his supper, his body and his blod he deliuered to his disciples, in memoriall of his body that should be crucified on the morrow for our sinnes: So after his ascension, did his apostles vse the same (when they brake bread in euery house) for a Sacrament, and not for a sacrifice, of the body and blod of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this meanes were they put in remembrance of the great loue of Christ, who so entirely loued vs, that willingly he suffered the death for vs, and for the remission of our sinnes. And thus did they offer themselues to God by loue, being readie to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the sauing health of their brethren, fulfilling the new commandement of Christ, which said vnto them: A new commandement doe I giue vnto you, that you loue one another, as I haue loued you. But when loue began to wax cold, or rather to bee frosen for cold, through the anguish and anxietie of persecution for the name of Christ; then priests did vse the flesh and blod of Christ, in stead of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to giue themselues a sacrifice by death vnto God through the confession of his name, and sauing health of their brethren: some other worshipped Idols fearing death, as did also the chiefe bishop of Rome, and many other moe in diuers places of the world. And thus it came to passe, as that which was ordained and instituted for a memoriall of the one and onely sacrifice, was altered (for want of loue) into the realitie of the sacrifice it selfe.

The office of priests after the popes order.

The body of Christ not left to be a sacrifice for sin, but onely for a sacrament.

How the memoriall of the sacrament came to the reality of the sacrifice it selfe.

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequentlie vpon the same, an other briefe tractation of women and laymen, whether in defect of the other, they may exercise the

The law bringeth none to perfection.

action of praier, and administration of Sacraments belonging to priests: wherein he declareth the vse receiued in the popes church for women to baptise, which, saith he, cannot be without remission of sinnes; wherefore seeing that women haue power by the pope to remit sinne, and to baptise, why may they not as well be admitted to minister the Lords supper, in like case of necessitie? Wherin also he maketh relation of pope Ioane the 8. a woman pope, mouing certaine questions of her. All which for breuitie I pretermit, proceeding to the ministration of praier, and blessing of sanctification, appropriate to the office of priests, as followeth.

The order and office of praier. The Lords praier.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto priests seeme to be ordained (to omit here the question whether women may pray in churches, in lacke of other meet persons) it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ being desired of his disciples to teach them to pray, gaue them the common praier both to men and women, to the which praier in my estimation, no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due vnto the deitie is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoeuer is necessarie for vs, both for the time present, or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed for. He informeth vs besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close chamber, and there in secrecie he willeth vs to pray vnto his father. And saith moreouer, When ye pray, vse not much babling, or many words as doe the heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolixe praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them. By the which doctrine he calleth vs away from the errours of the heathen Gentiles: from whom proceed these superstitious maner of arts (or rather of ignorances) as Necromancie, the art of diuination, and other spices of coniuration; not vnknowne to them that bee learned: for these necromancers beleeue, one place to be of greater vertue then another, there to be heard sooner, then in another. Like as Balaam being hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying, or charming, when hee could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he remoued to another: but he in the end was deceiued of his desire. For he intending first to curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed, so y his curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort the necromancers turne their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers beleeue, that the vertue of the words of the praier, and the curiositie thereof, causeth them to bring to effect that which they seeke after; which is also another point of infidelitie, vsed much of charmers, sorcerers, inchanters, soothsayers, and such like. Out of the same art (I feare) proceedeth the practise of exorcising, whereby diuels and spirits be coniured to doe that, whereunto they are inforced by the exorcist. Also whereby other creatures likewise are exorcised or coniured, so that by the vertue of their exorcisme, they may haue their power and strength exceeding all naturall operation.

Matth. 6.

The arts of Necromancie, Soothsaying & witchcrafts, how and from whom they came.

Against exorcising of priests.

In the church of Rome, many such exorcismes and coniurations be practised, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I aske of these exorcisers, whether they beleeue the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, haue that operation and efficacie giuen them, which they pretend: If they so beleeue, euery child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy water being of them exorcised or coniured; hath no such power in it, neither can haue, which they in their exorcisme doe command. For there they enioyne and command, that wheresoeuer that water is sprinkled, all veration or infestation of the vncleane spirit should auoide, and that no pestilent spirit there should abide, &c. But most plaine it is, that no water, be it neuer so holy, can haue any such power so to doe, as it is commanded, to wit, to be an vniuersall remedy to expell all diseases.

Conjuring or hallowing in the popish church.

Holy water coniured.

Exorcista.

This I would aske of these exorcists; whether in their commanding, they doe coniure or adiure the things coniured, to be of an higher vertue and operation, then their owne nature doth giue: Or else whether they in their praiers desire of God, that he will infuse into them that vertue, which they require: If they in their commanding doe so beleeue, then do they beleeue that they haue that power in them to the which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiuing that which is commanded. And so doing, are much more deceiued, forasmuch as they see themselues, that they which are so authorised to the office of exorcising, say to the diuell being coniured; Go, and he goeth not, and to another, come, and he commeth not, and many things else they command the inferiour spirit their subiect to doe, and he doth not. So in like case, when they pray to God to make the water to be of such vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse euery vncleane spirit, and to chase away all maner of distemperature and pestilence of the aire (being an vnreasonable petition aske, and sore displeasing to God) it is to bee feared lest their benediction, their hallowing and blessing is changed into cursing, according to that saying that followeth: And now O you priests, I haue a message to say vnto you: If you will not heare and beare well away in your minds, to giue the glorie vnto my name, saith the Lord God of hosts, I will send scarsitie amongst you, and I will curse your blessings. What things and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the church, that in hallowing therof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore according to the saying of S. Iames, they aske and are not heard, because they aske not as they should, that they in their owne desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, waxe, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, belles, copes, palmes, oile, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staffe, and of many such like things: and I beleeue that a man shall find out many errours of the heathen Magicians, witches, soothsayers and charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient & old Magicians in their bookes, command those that bee coniurers, that they in any wise liue deuoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandements, and coniurations) yet the Roman coniurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy words, because they be they which worke, and not the holinesse of the coniurers. How commeth it to passe that they say, the things consecrated of a cursed and vitious Iauell, should haue so great vertue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mysticall words, as if they were pronounced of a priest neuer so holy? But I maruell that they say so, reading this saying in the Acts of the apostles: because the charmers pronouncing the name of Iesus (that is aboue all names) would haue healed those that were possessed with diuels, and said: In the name of Iesus whom Paul preacheth, goe ye out of the men. And the possessed with diuels answered, Iesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye? and they all to be beate the coniurers.

Iames 4.

Romish coniurers.

The good life of a priest, a great matter, to deale in Gods matters.

And now considering this and many such like things, I maruell wherefore the vicious priests, doe sell their praiers and blessings deerer (as also their masses and trentals of masses) then those that bee deuout lay men, and holy women: which with all their heart desire to flee from vices, and take hold of vertue. For asmuch as God in diuers places of the Scripture doth promise that hee will not heare sinners and wicked persons: Neither should hee seeme to bee iust, if he should soner heare the praiers of his enemies, then of his faithfull friend. How I pray you shall a sinnefull priest deliuer another man from sinne by his praiers, or else from the punishment of sinne, when he is not able to deliuer himselfe by his praier from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the masse of a vitious priest; that for his masse, his praier or oblation, he might deliuer any man either from sin, or from the paine due for sinne? No, but for that that Christ once offred himselfe for our sinnes, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the father, alwaies shewing vnto him what and how great things hee hath suffered for vs. And euery priest alwaies maketh mention in his masse of this oblation. Neither doe we this, that wee might bring the same oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he alwaies in his presence seeth the same: but that wee should haue in remembrance this so great loue of God, that he would giue his owne son to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purifie vs from all our sinnes. What, doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great loue is made by a priest, which more loueth sinne then God? Or how can any praier of such a priest please God, in what holy place soeuer he be, or what holy vestiments soeuer he put on, or what holy praiers soeuer he maketh? And wheras Christ and his apostles doe command the preaching of the word of God; the priests be now more bound to celebrate the masse, and more straitly bound to say the canonicall houres: whereat I cannot but greatly maruell. For why? to obey the precepts of men more then the commandements of God, is in effect to honor man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice vpon man, which is due vnto God, and this is also spirituall fornication. How therefore are priests bound at the commandement of man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandement they are not bound to leaue the celebration of the masse, or singing of Mattens? Therefore as it seemeth, priests ought not at the commandement of any man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, vnto the which they are bound both by diuine and apostolicall precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of Hierome vpon the Decretals, saying in this wise: Let none of the bishops swell with the enuie of diuellish tentation; let none be angrie, if the priest doe sometime exhort the people, if they preach in their church, &c. for to him that forbiddeth mee these things, I will say, that he is vnwilling that priests should do those things which be commanded of God. What thing is there aboue Christ? or what may be preferred before his body and his blood, &c.

Remembrance of Christs passion, needeth not to God, but to man.

Priests more bound to say Masse commanded by man, then to preaching commanded of God.

Spirituall fornication.

Hieronymus.

Whether priests may bargaine to sing for soules departed.

Doe priests therefore sin or not, which bargaine for money to pray for the soule of any dead man? It is well knowne that Iesus did whippe those that were buyers and sellers out of the temple, saying: My house shall bee called the house of praier, but you haue made the same a den of theeues: Truely hee cast not out such merchants from out of the church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Hierome vpon this text saith; Let the priest be diligent and take good heede in this church, that they turne not the house of God into a den of theeues. Hee doubtlesse is a theefe which seeketh gaine by religion, and by a shew of holinesse studieth to find occasion of merchandise. Hereupon, the holy canons do make accursed, Simoniacall heresie, and

Hieronymus.

Where was the popes holy water then in the great pestilence in the time of K. Edward 3?

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and do command that those should be depriued of the priesthood, which for the passing or marueilous spirituall grace, do seeke gaine or money. Peter the apostle said to Simon Magus, Let thy money and thou goe both to the diuell, which thinkest that the gifts of God may be bought for money. Therefore the spirituall gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Selling of praier abominable.

Verilie praier is the spirituall gift of God, as is also the preaching of the word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other sacraments. Christ sending forth his disciples to preach, said vnto them: Heale ye the licke, cast out diuels, raise the dead, freely haue ye receiued, freely giue yee againe. If the priests haue power by their praiers to deliuer soules being in purgatorie, from grieuous paines: without doubt, he hath receiued that power freely from God. How therefore can hee sell his act, vnlesse hee resist the commandements of God, of whom he hath receiued that authority? This truely cannot bee done without sin, which is against the commandement of God. How plainely spake Christ to the Pharisies and priests saying; Woe be vnto you Scribes and Pharisies hypocrites, because yee haue eaten the whole houses of such as be widowes, by making long praiers, and therfore haue you receiued greater damnation? Wherein I pray you doe our Pharisies and priests differ from them? Doe not our priests deuoure widowes houses and possessions, that by their long praiers they might deliuer the soules of their husbands from the grieuous paines of purgatorie? How many Lordships I pray you haue beene bestowed vpon the religious men and women to pray for the dead, that they by their praier might deliuer those dead men from the paine (as they said) that they suffer in purgatorie, grieuously tormented and vexed? If their praiers and speaking of holy words, shall not be able to deliuer themselues from paine, vnlesse they haue good workes; how shall other men be deliuered from paine, by their praiers, which whilest they liued here, they gaue ouer themselues to sin? Yea peraduenture those lordships or lands which they gaue vnto the priests to pray for them, they themselues haue gotten by might from other faithfull men, vniustly, and violently. And the canons doe say, that sinne is not forgiuen, till the thing taken away wrongfully, bee restored: How then shall they bee able (which doe vniustly possesse such lordships or lands) to deliuer them by their praiers from paine, which haue giuen to them these lordships or lands, seeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt sacrifices? Not euery one that saith vnto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heauen: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heauen. And againe, Not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be iustified.

Religious men and women, deuourers of widowes houses: Praying for soules in purgatorie. Euill gotten lands, as euill bestowed, for praying for soules in purgatorie.

If therefore the words of him that praieth, doe not deliuer himselfe from sinne, nor from the paine of sinne: how doe they deliuer other men from sinne or from the paine of sinne, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man then for himselfe? Therefore many are deceiued in buying or selling of praiers, as in the buying of pardons that they might bee deliuered from paine; when as commonly they pay deerer for the praiers of the proud and vitious prelats, then for the praiers of deuout women and deuout men of the lay people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparell, nor the curiousnes of his praier, but the humilitie and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Pharisie and the Publican go vp into the Temple to pray? The Publicans praier for his humilitie and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisies praier for his pride and arrogancie is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousnes of his praier doth helpe the Pharisie: Because the Publican not thinking himselfe worthie to lift vp his eyes vnto heauen, for the multitude of his sinnes, saying (O God be mercifull vnto me a sinner) is iustified by his humilitie, and his praier is heard. But the Pharisie boasting in his righteousnes is despised, because God thrusteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meeke. The rich glutton also that was clothed with purple and silke, and fared euery day daintilie, prayed vnto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in paines and torments of hell fire. But Lazarus which lay begging at his gate (being full of sores) is placed in the bosome of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciousnesse of his bankets, nor the gorgiousnesse of his estate, neither the abundance of his riches, doth helpe any thing to prefer the praiers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because that mightie men in their mightinesse shall suffer torments mightilie. How dare any man by composition demand or receiue any thing of another man for his praiers? If hee beleeue that he can by his praier deliuer his brother from grieuous paine, he is bound by charitie to releeue his brother with his praiers although hee be not hired thereunto: but and if he will not pray vnlesse he be hired, then hath he no loue at all. What therefore helpeth his praier, which abideth not in charitie? Therefore let him first take compassion of himselfe by praier, that he may come into charitie, and then he shall be the better able to helpe others. If he beleeue not, or that hee standeth in doubt to be able to deliuer his brother by his praier: wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargaine, and taketh his money, and yet knoweth not whether he shall releeue him euer whit the more or not, from his paine? I feare lest the words of the prophet are fulfilled, saying: From the least to the most all men applie themselues to couetousnesse, and from the prophet to the priest all worke deceitfully. For the poore priests excuse themselues of such bargaining and selling of their praiers, saying: The yong cocke learneth to crow of the old cocke. For, saith he, thou maist see that the pope himselfe in stalling of bishops and abbats, taketh the first fruits: In the placing or bestowing of benefices, he alwaies taketh somewhat, and specially if the benefices be great. And he selleth pardons or buls, and to speake more plaine, he taketh money for them. Bishops in giuing orders, in hallowing churches and churchyards, doe take money: In ecclesiasticall correction they take money for the mitigation of penance: In the grieuous offences of conuict persons, money is required, and caused to be payed. Abbats, monks, and other relgious men that haue possession, will receiue no man into their fraternitie, or make them partakers of their spirituall suffrages, vnlesse he bestow somewhat vpon them, or promise them somewhat. Curats and vicars hauing sufficient liuings, by the tithes of their parishioners, yet in dirges & yeers minds, in hearing confessions, in weddings and burying's, doe require and haue money. The friers also of the foure orders of beggers, which thinke themselues to bee the most perfect men of the church, do take money for their praiers, confessions, and burying's of the dead: and when they preach, they beleeue that they shall haue either money or some other thing worthie money. Wherfore then be the poore priests blamed? ought not they to bee held excused, although they take money for their praiers by composition? Truely (me thinketh) that this excuse by other mens sinnes, doth not excuse them: forasmuch, as to heape one mischiefe vpon anothers head, is no sufficient discharge: I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spirituall suffrages, would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruine of the great citie, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the prophet say: And the merchants of the earth shall weepe and mourne for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise, that is, their merchandise of gold and siluer, and of pretious stone, and of pearle, and of silke and purple? And againe he saith: And the merchants which were made rich by her, shall stand aloofe, for feare of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas, alas, that citie Babylon, that great citie, which was wont to weare purple, white silke, crimsin, gold, pearle, and pretious stone, because that in one houre all those riches are come to nought. And againe: And they cast dust vpon their heads, and cried out weeping and mourning, and saying: Alas, alas, that great and mightie citie Babylon, by whom all such as had ships vpon the sea were made rich by her rewards: Because that in one houre she is become desolate.

Selling of pardons. Selling of orders. Selling of church hallowings. Selling of discipline. Selling of fraternitie. Selling of Dirges, yeers minds, confessions, weddings, burying's. Selling of sermons, &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

Buying and selling of praiers in the popes church. Buying and selling of pardons. Person, place, apparell, curiositie or eloquence of praier not regarded of God.

This Babylon, this great citie, is the citie of Rome, as it appeareth by the processe of the apostle. Because the angell which shewed vnto saint John the destruction of the mightie harlot sitting vpon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and all they which dwell vpon the earth are made drunke with the wine of her whoredome, said vnto him: And the woman which thou sawest, is the great citie which hath dominion aboue kings, &c. And indeed in the daies of saint John, the whole world was subiect to the temporall empire of the citie of Rome, and afterwards it was subiect to the spirituall empire or dominion of the same. But touching the temporall gouernment of the citie of Rome, it is fallen alreadie: and so that the other also, for the multitude of her spirituall fornication shall fall. The emperours of this citie gaue themselues to idolatrie, and would haue that men should honour them as Gods, and put all those to death that refused such idolatrie, and by the crueltie of their torments all infidels gat the vpper hand.

The citie of Rome, Babylon. Apoc. 18.

The temporall dominion of the citie of Rome.

The spirituall dominion of the citie of Rome.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchodonosor, the empire of the Romans is likened to iron, which beateth together, and hath the maistrie of all mettals. And in the vision of Daniel, wherein he saw the foure winds of heauen to fight in the maine sea, and foure very great beasts comming out of the sea: the kingdome of the Romans is likened to the fourth terrible and marueilous beast, the which had great iron teeth; eating and destroying, and treading the rest vnder his feete: and this beast had ten hornes, and as Daniel saith, hee shall speake words against the most highest, and shall teare with his teeth the saints of the most highest: and he shall thinke, that he may be able to change times and lawes, and they shall be deliuered into his power, vntill a time, times, and a halfe time. In the Apocalyps, saint John saw a beast comming out of the sea, hauing seuen heads and ten hornes, and power was giuen to him to make moneths 42. So long time endured the empire of the Romans, that is to say, from the beginning of Julius Cesar, which was the first emperor of the Romans, vnto the end of Fridericus, which was the last emperour of the Romans. Vnder this empire Christ suffered, and other martyrs also suffered for his names sake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon (which is all one) according to the maner of speaking in the Apocalyps, as touching the temporall

The fourth beast in the prophecie of Daniel meaneth Rome.

The beast with 7. heads in the Apoc. signifieth Rome.

and corporall power of governing. And thus shall she fall also touching the spirituall power of governing, for the multitude of the iniquities and spirituall fornication and merchandise that are committed by her in the church.

The feet of the image in the dreame of Nabuchodonozor signifieth Rome.

The feet of the image which Nabuchodonozor saw, did betoken the empire of Rome, and part of them were of iron, and part of clay and earth. The part that was of iron fell, and the power thereof vanished away, because the power therof was at an end after certaine moneths. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the testimonie of the prophets: whereupon saint John in the Apocalyps: After that, he saw the part made of iron rising out of the sea, to which each people, tribe, and tongue submitted themselues. And he saw another beast comming out of the earth, which had two hornes, like to the hornes of a Lambe, and he spake like a Dragon, and he vanquished the first beast in his sight.

The beast with two hornes like the lambe, signifieth the spirituall dominion of Rome.

This beast as seemeth me, doth betoken the clay and earthen part of the feet of the image, because he came out of the earth. For that by terrene helpe he is made the high and chiefe priest of the Romans, in the church of Christ, and so from alow he ascended on high. But Christ from heauen descended, because that he which was God and author of euery creature became man: and he that was Lord of lords, was made in the shape of a seruant. And although that in the heauens the compane of angels minister vnto him, he himselfe ministred or serued in earth, that he might teach vs humilitie, by which a man ascendeth into heauen, euen as by pride a man goeth downe into the bottomlesse pit. This beast hath two hornes most like a lambe, because that he challengeth to himselfe both the priestly and kingly power, aboue all other here in earth. The lambe, that is, Christ, which is a king for euer vpon the kingly seate of Dauid, and he is a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, but his kingdome is not of this world: but the kingdome of this beast is of this world, because those that be vnder him, fight for him. And as Iesus is Christ two maner of waies, because that Christus is as much to say as Vnctus: he verily was anointed king and anointed priest: so this beast saith, that he is chiefe king and priest. Wherefore doth he call himselfe Christ: because that Christ knowing that afore, said: Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceiue many. And thus because that he is both king and priest, he challengeth to himselfe the double sword, that is, the corporall sword and the spirituall sword. The corporall sword is in his right hand, and his spirituall sword is in his right eie, by the testimonie of Zacharie. But he speaketh subtillie like a Dragon, because that by the testimony of Christ he shall deceiue many, as the Apoc. witnesseth. Hee did great wonders, that also he might make more fire to come from heauen into the earth in the sight of men, that hee might deceiue those that dwell vpon the earth, because of the wonders that are permitted him to do in the sight of the beast, and he ouercame the first beast which ascended out of the sea. For that beast challenged vnto himselfe authority of gouernment of the whole world: Hee hath put to death and tormented those that resist his commandements, & would be honoured as a God vpon the earth. The bishop of Rome saith, that the whole world ought to be in subiection vnto him; those that bee disobedient vnto his commandements, he putteth in prison, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the diuels dungeon. But hee that hath no power ouer the body, much lesse hath he power ouer the soule. And truely his excommunication, nor the excommunication of any priest vnder him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicate, so that the person of him that is excommunicate, be not first excommunicate of God through sin.

and thus it seemeth a troth vnto me, that God thus turneth their blessings into cursings, because they giue not due glorie vnto his name. So when that they vniustly excommunicate and curse, he turneth their cursings into blessings. Also the bishop of Rome doth make men to worship him as God, because that the speciall sacrifice that God doth require of vs, is to be obedient vnto him in keeping of his commandements. But now the popes commandements bee commanded to bee kept, and bee kept in very deede, but the commandements of Christ are contemned and reiected. Thus sitteth the bishop of Rome in the temple of God, shewing himselfe as God, and extolleth himselfe aboue all that which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall hee shall bee reuealed, because that euery kingdome diuided in it selfe, shall bee made desolate. Hee teaching a truth, is the head of the church, but the prophet teaching a lie, is the taile of the Dragon. Hee seducing the world, shall bee acknowledged to bee the veritie of the doctrine of Christ, but after he is knowne, hee shall be reiected and nought esteemed. Hee giueth to small and great, rich and poore, free and bond, markes in their right hands, and in their foreheads: that no man should buy or sell, but those that shall haue the markes of the name of the beast, or that looketh to haue of him some recompence, small, meane, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is 300. The pope saith, that in the administration of euery sacrament, hee doth imprint a certaine character or marke into the soule of him that receiueth. In baptisme he saith that hee doth imprint into the soule of him that is baptised, a marke that cannot be wiped out, and so likewise in other sacraments. And I know that in a sacrament are two things, that is, the sacramentall signe, and spirituall grace represented by the same signe: the sacramentall signe is giuen to man of man, but the spirituall grace is giuen of Christ.

In euery sacrament two things contained.

Wherefore, although a vitious or naughtie priest doth baptise any man, if hee that is baptised or his parents (if hee bee a child) do aske with faithfull meaning baptisme, and doe meane faithfully hereafter to obserue the words of baptisme: is as well baptised, as if he were baptised of neuer so vertuous a priest. So also the sinner which with all his heart is sorie for his sinnes, and doth aske faithfully mercie of God, is as well absolued of a vitious priest, as of a vertuous. Because the lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world, wipeth away inwardly our sinnes by his grace, because that he is the bishop and pastour of our soules. All other priests do outwardly worke absolution, which know not for a certaintie whether they haue absolued or not. So also is it in the other, because that the grace of the sacrament is giuen of God, and the sacramentall signe, of man. In giuing of orders, the chiefe bishop doth imprint the corporall markes, but of the spirituall marks, I know none: vnlesse a man will say, that by receiuing the order he hath some beleefe that he may worke some things pertaining to that order, the which before the receiuing of the order he could not. But this one thing is, that none in the church ought to sell spirituall merchandise (of which things wee haue spoken before) vnlesse he haue the marke of the beast. My counsell is, let the buyer beware of those markes: because that after the fall of Babylon, if any man hath worshipped the beast and her image, and hath receiued the marke vpon his forehead, and vpon his hand, he shall drinke of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the cup of his anger, and hee shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the lambe: and the smoake of their torments shall euermore ascend, although hee looke for a recompence, small, meane, or great, of the beast, or else the number of his name. The beast doubtlesse doth recompence his friends, with his small reward, that is, with great gifts and benefices corporall: with a meane reward, that is, with great spirituall gifts, in authoritie of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and erecting other spirituall workes: and with his greatest reward, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honored in earth, among the saints. The number of his name according to the opinion of some men, is Dux Cleri, the captaine of the clergie, because by that name he is named, and maketh his name knowne, and that name is 666.

Canons Empor.

The rewards of the beast.

The number of the name of the beast Dux cleri.

This is my opinion of the beast ascending out of the earth, and shall be vntill such time, as I shall be of the same beast better instructed. And although that this beast doth signifie the Roman bishops: yet the other cruell beast ascending out of the sea, doth signifie the Roman emperors. And although that the Dragon being a cruell beast, and the false prophet giuing the marke, must be throwne into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for euer: I would haue no man to iudge, but I leaue such things altogether to the finall iudgement of Christ to be determined. But Martine the popes confessor which maketh the chronicle of the emperours and popes, reciteth many errours of the popes, more horrible and abominable then of the emperours. For he speaketh of the idolatrous popes, hereticall, simoniacall, and popes that were murtherers, that vsed necromancie, and witchcraft, that were fornicators, and defiled with all kind of vice. But I haue partly declared how that the popes law is contrarie to Christs law, and how that hee saith, that he is the chiefe vicar of Christ in earth; and in his deeds is contrarie to Christ, and doth forsake both his doctrine and life. I cannot see who else may bee so well Antichrist, and a seducer of the people. For there is not a greater pestilence then a familiar enemie.

Martinus penitentiarius.

More wicked popes then emperors.

The bishop of Rome seeketh to be worshipped as God.

The commandements of the pope more regarded then Christs.

As concerning idols and the worshipping of them, I thinke of them as Moses, Salomon, Isayas, Jeremie, and the rest of the prophets, which all spake against the making of images, as also the worshipping of images. And faithfull Dauid full of the spirit of God, saith: Let all those be confounded that worship images, and that reioyce in idols: And againe hee saith: Let them be made like vnto them that make them, and all such as put their trust in them. Wherefore I pray God that this euill come not vpon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by Dauid the prophet. Nor will I bee by Gods grace, neither a maker, nor else a worshipper of images.

Matters of idolatrie.

Images.

Othes how far they are tolerable.

As concerning othes, I beleeue and obey the doctrine of the Almightie God, and my maister Iesus Christ, which teacheth; that christian men in affirmation of a truth, should passe the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisies of the old Testament, or else he excludeth them from the kingdome of heauen. For he saith: Vnlesse your righteousnesse exceede the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisies, yee cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. And as concerning othes hee saith: It hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thy selfe, but shalt performe vnto the Lord those things which thou knowest. But I say vnto you, thou shalt not sweare at all, neither by the heauen, nor yet by the earth, &c. But let your commu-

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communication be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoeuer shall be more then this, proceedeth of euill. Therefore, as the perfection of the ancient men of the old Testament was, not to forsweare themselues: so the perfection of christian men, is not to sweare at all, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandement must in no case be broken, although that the citie of Rome is contrarie to this doctrine of Christ, euen as in many things she is found contrarie to her selfe.

Whether temporall goods may be taken away from ecclesiasticall persons offending.

As touching the taking away of temporall goods from those that are ecclesiasticall persons offending habitualiter: by such as are temporall lords, I will not affirme any thing to be lawfull in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to charitie: And that for because it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of charitie, because peraduenture he that taketh away, is the more moued to such maner of taking away by reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he endeauoureth to take away: or else, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person, from whom hee goeth about to take away those goods, then that hee from whom those goods bee taken, should be amended. Therfore, vnlesse he that taketh away, bee only moued of charity to the taking away of such goods, I dare not affirme that such taking is lawfull. And if such taking away proceed of charitie, I dare not iudge it vnlawfull: because that the bishop of Rome, which receiued his temporall dominion of the emperor, when the emperor rebelled and was not obedient vnto him, he depriued him from his temporall iurisdictions: How much more then may temporall lords do the same, which haue bestowed vpon them many temporall dominions and lordships, only to the intent that they might the better intend to serue God and keepe his commandements: Now if they perceiue that they be against the lawes of God, and that they be ouer busilie occupied about worldly matters: I cannot see but that they may wel enough take from them those temporall goods, which to a good purpose they gaue them. But if in time to come after this, those that be temporall lords shall take from ecclesiastical persons such temporalities: let him that desireth to vnderstand this, reade the prophet Ezechiel, in the chapter of the shepheards of Israel, which fed themselues in stead of their flocke: and also let him reade the Apocalyps of the fall of Babylon. Let him also reade the popes decretals against heretickes; and in those hee shall find, that the taking away of the temporalties from the clergie, shall come to passe for the multitude of their sinnes.

Popes take from emperors their benefactors, temporall dominion, when they offend: Ergo, much more may emperors take from popes temporal dominion when they offend.

A prophecie of Walter Brute, that temporall goods shall be taken away from the clergie for the multitude of their sinnes.

Thus reuerend father haue I made mine answere to the matter whereof I am accused: beseeching you, that as I haue beene obedient to your desire, and that euen as a sonne, declaring vnto you the secrets of my heart in plaine words (although rudely): so I desire to know your opinion, and craue your fatherly benevolence, that now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning I haue promised you, if any man of what state, sect, or condition soeuer hee be, can shew me any errour in any of my writings by the authoritie of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded in the Scriptures; I will receiue his information willingly and humblie.

Walter Brute againe commanded to appeare.

After that all the foresaid things were exhibited and giuen by the foresaid Walter Brute, vnto the foresaid bishop of Hereford; he further appointed to the same Walter, the third day of the moneth of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the daies following to heare his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being Friday in the yeare of our Lord God 1393. the said Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedrall church of Hereford, at six a clocke or thereabout; hauing for his assistants in the same place, diuers prelats and abbats, and twentie bachelers of Diuinitie, therof twelue were monks, & two doctors of ỳ law. Amongst these was Nicolas Hereford accompanied with many other prelats and worshipfull men and wise graduates in sundrie faculties. Now was the foresaid Walter apposed of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. Earnest were they in picking out of those writings, his heresies, and in shewing his schismes, sundrie errours, and diuers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day and the two daies following (that is, friday, saturday and sunday) in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brute; the same Walter Brute submitted himselfe to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said Iohn Bishop, as it appeareth word for word in a scroll written in the English tongue: The tenour of which scroll, is as followeth.

Bishops and abbats, with twentie bachelers of Diuinitie, ten monks, two doctors of law sitting vpon Walter Brute. Nicolas Hereford there also present.

The writings of Walt. Brute examined.

The tenor of the submission of Walter Brute.

I Walter Brute submit my selfe principally to the Euangelie of Iesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirke, and to the generall councels of holy kirke. And to the sentence and determination of the foure Doctors of holy writ, that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Ierome, and Gregorie. And I meekely submit me to your correction, as a subiect ought to his bishop.

Which scroll, as afore is recited, in the English tongue, the foresaid Walter Brute, read with a loud and intelligible voice,

The submission of Walter Brute openly read at Hereford.

at the Croslle in the churchyard on Monday, that is to say, the firth of the said moneth of October, before the sermon made vnto the people in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and other aboue writen, as also other barons, knights and noble men, and clergie, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, the foresaid Thomas Crawlay, bacheler of Diuinitie, made the sermon vnto the people, and tooke for his theame the words of the apostle to the Romans, the eleuenth chapter, that is as followeth: Be not ouer wise in your owne conceits, but stand in feare, &c.

¶ Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute, the bishop with the Monks and Doctors aboue rehearsed, did gather and draw out certaine articles, to the number of 37. which they sent to the Universitie of Cambridge to be confuted, vnto two learned men, master Colwill, and master Newton, bachelers of Diuinitie. Which master Colwill and Newton did both labour in the matter, to the vttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said 37. articles.

Besides them also, William Woodford a frier (who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliffe) labouring in the same cause, made a solemne and a long tractation, compiling the articles of the said Brute, to the number of 29. All which treatises, as I wish to come to the readers hand, that the slenderues of them might be knowne; so it may happen peraduenture, that the same being in my hands may hereafter bee further published, with other like tractations more, as conuenient time for the profitrie thereof may hereafter better serue then now.

What after this became to this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not registred: but like it is, that hee for this time escaped. Certaine other writings I find moreouer; which albeit they beare no name of this Walter nor of any certaine author: yet because they are in the same register adioyned to the history of him, I thought therfore most fit here to be inserted. Of the which, one was a letter sent to Nicolas Hereford a little aboue specified: who being at the first a great follower of John Wickliffe, as appeareth before, pag. 403. was now in the number of them which sate vpon this Walter, as is in the columne aboue recorded. The copie of this letter, bearing no name of any speciall author, but onely as sent by a certaine Lollard (as the register doth terme him) is written in maner and forme as followeth.

Here followeth the copie of a letter sent to master *Nicolas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the* register it is said.

A letter sent to Nicol. Hereford.

FOrasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh backe, is meet for the kingdome of God, as our Sauiour Christ saith: what maruell is it, although master Nicolas Hereford, which at the first (by the visitation of the spirit of God peraduenture) put his hand, that is, gaue his diligence vnto the plough, that is, to the sowing of the word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good workes; is now so blind and vnskilfull to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is vnderstood by the kingdom of heauen? Truely it is no maruell, O thou that art master of the Nicolaitans, which like Nicolas the most false Deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theologicall veritie is shut vp as well from thee as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions, forasmuch as thou goest not in by the dore to expound the same Euangelicall veritie. Therefore when thou diddest recite this other day, first, the pharisaicall & hypocriticall woe (nothing at all to any purpose) thou shouldst haue said iustly in this sort, both of thy selfe, and other thy followers and religious Antichrists: Woe be vnto vs Scribes and Pharisies, which shut vp the kingdom of heauen, that is to say, the true knowledge of the holy Scripture, before men by our false glosses and crooked similitudes: and neither we our selues enter into the same kingdome or knowledge, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth vnto the faithfull sort, that wrongfully, falslie, and without any reuerence, ye haue expounded that text of Gregorie, 1.q.1. that is to say, *Quicunque studet, &c.* For this is the true vnderstanding of the same: Knowing first that there bee some priests after the thing, and name onely, and doth shew that this is true: that whosoeuer studieth to receiue the holy order by giuing of money; he is not a priest, *Secundum rem, & nomen.* But to say the truth, hee desireth to be called a priest, that is, to be a priest *Secundùm nomen tantùm.* And such a priest, which is a priest in name only, is no priest. No more then S. Mary painted is S. Mary: Nor a false doctor a doctor, but no doctor: And a mã painted is not a man, but no man. And thus such a priest in name only, is not a priest: Because that all faithfull men doe firmely beleeue with saint Gregory, that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a priest as he saith, 1.q.1. They that buy or sel holy orders can be no priests. Whereupon is written, *Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi:* that is, Simoniacall heresie. And it followeth, How therefore if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when that they bee not in the body of Christ, how can they either receiue or deliuer the body of Christ? He that is accursed, how can he blesse? as though

Nicolaitans.

1.q.1 ad. Quicunque studet.

he would ſay: It is vnpoſſible. As pope Vrbanus ſaith, 1.q.1. Si quia Simoniacis, &c. Where he ſaith thus: They that willingly know and ſuffer themſelues to be conſecrated, nay rather execrated, of thoſe that are infected with ſimonie: we iudge that their conſecration is altogether void. Alſo pope Leo in 2.q.1. ſaith in this wiſe: Grace, if it be not freely giuen and receiued, is not grace. Spirituall vſurers doe not receiue freely: Therefore, they receiue not the ſpirituall grace, which ſpecially worketh in the eccleſiaſticall orders. If they receiue it not, they haue it not: if they haue it not freely, they cannot giue it freely. And by this it is more cleere then the light, that they which know ſo much and receiue orders by ſpirituall vſurie of ſimonie, are neither prieſts nor deacons, neither after the maner nor character. For if ſuch character or marke were otherwiſe giuen in giuing orders, it were requiſite alwaies that there ſhould be a certaine grace imprinted in the man; but there is no ſuch grace giuen or imprinted, as afore is manifeſt. Therefore there is no character to be fained. Therefore ſuch character or marke abideth not in him, foraſmuch as he neuer had nor hath the ſame. And yet furthermore in the ſame place; What then doe the ſimoniacall prelats giue? And he maketh anſwere: Truely euen that which they haue, as the ſpirit of lying. How proue wee this? Becauſe that if it be the ſpirit of veritie, as the ſame veritie doth teſtifie from whom it commeth, it is freely receiued. And it followeth for the whole purpoſe no doubt: It is conuicted to be the ſpirit of lying, which is not freely receiued.

1.q.1. *Si quis a Simoniacis*

Ex Leone Papa. 2.q.1.

By this it appeareth manifeſtly to the faithfull ſort, that thoſe which wittingly and ſimoniacally are made prieſts, for as much as they receiue not the character of the Lord, but only the ſpirit of lying and the marke of Simon Magus, and of Iudas the traitor, that they be not prieſts neither according to the marke nor maners. Nor ſuch do no more make the ſacraments of the church, then other lay men may in the time of neceſſitie, nor yet ſo truely, during their hereticall naughtines. And yet indeed (brother mine) *vnioocè natura*, but yet *æquioocè in moribus*; I doe not write thus ſharpely vnto you, through anger, or any vnperfect hate, but through the perfect hate of your horrible hereſie, and denying the faith of Chriſt, that I may ſay with Dauid in the pſalme: *Perfecto odio oderam*: &c. And I am very ſorie for you, that you which in times paſt haue excellently well, and fruitfully preached the Goſpell in the pulpit, do now as well faile in the congruitie of the Latine tongue, as in the other ſcience naturall. For as it was heard, thrice in one lecture you ſaid *appetitis*, that is to ſay, pronouncing the middle ſyllable long, which thing not onely the maſters, but alſo the yong ſcholars vnderſtood. And many other faults there were in your Grammar, which for ſhame I dare not recite. I ſend vnto you theſe fiue concluſions.

Brother in nature: in maners no brother.

5. Concluſions ſent.

The firſt concluſion: It is an infallible veritie that the woꝛds of the foure chiefe Doctoꝛs, expounding the holy Scripture accoꝛding to the veritie which the woꝛds doe pꝛetend, are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond: He which impoꝛteth any equiuocation out of any of the Doctoꝛs expounding, foꝛ the colouring of his text, his equiuocation is alwaies to be left.

The third: No peruerſion of any repꝛobate is able to turne the congregation of the elect from the faith, becauſe all things that ſhall come to paſſe, are eternally in God deuiſed, and oꝛdained foꝛ the beſt, vnto the elect chꝛiſtians.

The fourth: Like as the myſticall body of Chꝛiſt is the congregation of all the elect: ſo Antichꝛiſt myſtically is the church of the wicked and of all the repꝛobats.

The fifth: The concluſions of Swinderby, be agreeable to the faith in euery part.

*** This letter was thus ſubſcribed:**

By the ſpirit of God, ſometime billing you.

¶ Beſides this epiſtle aboue pꝛefixed, there is alſo found annexed with the ſame, a deuice of an other certaine letter counterfeited vnder the name of Luciſer pꝛince of darkeneſſe: writing to the pope and all popiſh pꝛelats, perſecuting the true and right church (with all might and maine) to maintaine their pꝛide and domination in this earth, vnder a colourable pꝛetence and viſoꝛ of the catholike church, and ſucceſſion apoſtolicall. Which letter although it ſeemeth in ſome authoꝛs to be aſcribed to Mcham, aboue mentioned: yet becauſe I find it in the ſame regiſter of the church of Herefoꝛd conteined, and inſerted among the tractations of Walter Bꝛute, and deuiſed (as the regiſter ſaid) by the Lollards: I thought no meeter place then here to anner the ſame; the tenoꝛ whereof thus pꝛoceꝛdeth in woꝛds as follow.

The deuice or counterfeit of a certaine letter fained *vnder the name of Luciſer prince of darkneſſe, writing to the perſecuting prelats of the popiſh clergie.*

The epiſtle of Luciſer to the proud pꝛelats of the popes clergie.

I Luciſer prince of darkneſſe and profound heauineſſe, emperor of the high myſteries of the king of Acharont, captaine of the dungeon Erebus, king of hell, and controller of the infernall fire: To all our children of pride, and companions of our kingdome, and eſpecially to our princes of the church of this latter age and time (of which our aduerſarie Ieſus Chriſt, according to the prophet, ſaith: I hate the church or congregation of the wicked) ſend greeeting, and wiſh proſperitie to all that obey our commandements, as alſo to thoſe that bee obedient to the lawes of Satan alreadie enacted, and that are diligent obſeruers of our beheſts, and the precepts of our decree. Know ye that in times paſt certaine vicars or vicegerents of Chriſt, following his ſteps in miracles and vertues, liuing and continuing in a beggerlie life, conuerted (in a maner) the whole world from the yoke of our tyrannie vnto their doctrine and maner of life: to the great deriſion and contempt of our priſon houſe and kingdome, and alſo to the no little preiudice and hurt of our iuriſdiction and authoritie, nor fearing to hurt our fortified power, and to offend the maieſtie of our eſtate. For then receiued we no tribute of the world, neither did the miſerable ſort of common people, ruſh at the gates of our deepe dungeon as they were wont to doe, with continuall pealing and rapping, but then the eaſie, pleaſant and brode way, which leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noiſe of trampling trauellers, neither yet was trod with the feete of miſerable men. And when all our courts were without ſuters, Hell then began to houle. And thus continuing in great heauineſſe and anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoiled. Which thing conſidered, the impatient rage of our ſtomach could no longer ſuffer, neither the vglie rechleſſe negligence of our great captaine generall could any longer endure it. But we, ſeeking remedie for the time that ſhould come after, haue prouided vs of a verie trim ſhift: For in ſtead of theſe apoſtles and other their adherents which draw by the ſame line of theirs, as well in maners as doctrine, and are odious enemies vnto vs: We haue cauſed you to be their ſucceſſors, and put you in their place, which be prelats of the church in theſe latter times, by our great might and ſubtiltie, as Chriſt hath ſaid of you: They haue reigned, but not by me. Once we promiſed vnto him all the kingdomes of the world if he would fall downe and worſhip vs; but he would not, ſaying, My kingdome is not of this world, and went his way, when the multitude would haue made him a temporall king. But to you truly which are fallen from the ſtate of grace, and that ſerue vs in the earth, is that my promiſe fulfilled: and all terrene things by our meanes which we haue beſtowed vpon you, are vnder gouernment. For he hath ſaid of vs as ye know: The prince of this world commeth, &c. and hath made vs to reigne ouer all children of vnbeleefe. Therefore our aduerſaries before recited, did patientlie ſubmit themſelues vnto the princes of the world, and did teach that men ſhould doe ſo, ſaying: Be ye ſubiect to euerie creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be to the king as moſt chiefeſt. And againe: Obey ye them that are made rulers ouer you, &c. For ſo their maſter commanded them ſaying: The kings of the Heathen haue dominion ouer them, &c. But I thinke it long till wee haue powred our poyſon vpon the earth, and therefore fill your ſelues full. And now bee yee not vnlike thoſe fathers, but alſo contrarie vnto them in your life and conditions, and extoll your ſelues aboue all other men. Neither do ye giue to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Cæſar that which is his: but exerciſe you the power of both the ſwords, according to our decrees, making your ſelues doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrell, intangled with ſecular labours and buſines. And clime ye by little and little from the miſerable ſtate of pouertie, vnto the higheſt ſeats of all honours, and the moſt princelie places of dignitie by your deuiſed practiſes, and falſe and deceitfull wiles and ſubtiltie: that is, by hypocriſie, flatterie, lying, periurie, treaſons, deceits, ſimonie, and other greater wickednesſe then which our infernall furies may deuiſe. For after that ye haue by vs beene aduanced thither where yee would be, yet that doth not ſuffice you, but as greedie ſtaruelings more hungrie then ye were before, ye ſuppreſſe the poore, ſcratch & rake together all that comes to hand, peruerting and turning euerie thing topſie turuey: ſo ſwolne, that readie ye are to burſt for pride, liuing like Lechers in all corporall delicateneſſe, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to your ſelues names of honour in the earth, calling your ſelues lords, holie, yea and moſt holie perſons.

The difference betweene the biſhops of the primitiue church and of the latter church.

Humilitie vtilitie. Pride deſtruction.

Placing of proud prelats the cauſe of all miſchiefe.

The church neuer well gouerned ſince the diuils offers were taken of the churchmen.

Pride in prelats noted.

Popiſh prelats neither giue to God nor Cæſar that which belongeth to God and Cæſar.

The double iuriſdiction of the popes two ſwords commeth of Lucifer.

The outrages of the popes clergie deſcribed.

Dominos. Sanctos. Sanctiſſimos.

Thus, either by violence ye rauen, or elſe by ambition, ſubtillie ye pilfer away, and wrongfullie wreſt, and by falſe title poſſeſſe thoſe goods which for the ſuſtentation of the poore members of Chriſt (whom from our firſt fall we haue hated) were beſtowed and giuen, conſuming them as yee your ſelues liſt, and therewith ye cheriſh and maintaine an innumerable ſort of whores, ſtrumpets, and bauds, with whom yee ride pompouſlie like mightie princes, farre otherwiſe going, then thoſe poore beggerlie prieſts of the primitiue church. For I would yee ſhould build your ſelues rich and gorgeous palaces: ye fare like princes, eating and drinking the moſt daintieſt meates, and pleaſanteſt wines that may bee gotten; yee hoord and heape together an infinite deale of treaſure, not like to him that ſaid, Gold and ſiluer haue I none; yee ſerue and fight for vs according to your wages. O moſt acceptable ſocietie or fellowſhip, promiſed vnto vs by the Prophet, and of thoſe fathers long agoe reproued: Whileſt that Chriſt called thee the Synagogue of Satan, and likened thee to the mightie whore which committed fornication with the kings of the earth, the adulterous ſpouſe of Chriſt, & of a chaſt perſon made

The laſcinious and whoriſh life of the Romiſh clergie.

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The whorish latter church of Rome.

a strumpet. Thou hast left thy first loue and hast cleaued vnto vs, O our beloued Babylon, O our citizens, which from the transmigration of Ierusalem, come hither: wee loue you for your deserts, we reioyce ouer you, which contemne the lawes of Simon Peter, and imbrace the lawes of Simon Magus our friend, and haue them at your fingers ends, and exercise the same publikely, buying and selling spirituall things in the church of God, and against the commandement of God. Ye giue benefices and honours by petition, or else for mony, for fauour, or else for filthy seruice. And refusing to admit those that be worthy, to ecclesiasticall dignities, and preferring those that are vnworthy, you call vnto the inheritance of Gods sanctuary, baudes, liers, flatterers, your nephewes, and your own children, and to a childish boy, ye giue many prebends, the least whereof ye denie to bestow vpon a poore good man: ye esteeme the person of a man and receiue gifts, ye regard mony and haue no regard of soules. Yee haue made the house of God a denne of theeues. All abuse, all extortion, is more exercised, a hundreth fold in your iudgement seats, then with any secular tyrant. Ye make lawes and keep not the same, and ye dispence with your dispensations as it pleaseth you; you iustifie the wicked for rewards, and you take away the iust mans desert from him. And briefly ye perpetrate or commit all kind of mischiefe, euen as it is our will ye should. And ye take much paine for lucres sake in our seruice, and especially to destroy the Christian faith. For now the lay people are almost in doubt what they may beleeue, because if ye preach any thing to them at some times (although it be but seldome seene, and that negligently enough, euen as wee would haue it) yet notwithstanding they beleeue you not, because they see manifestly that ye doe cleane contrarie to that ye say. Whereupon the common people, doing as ye doe, which haue the gouernment of them, and should be an example to them of well doing: now many of them leaning to your rules, doe runne headlong into a whole sea of vices: and so continually a very great multitude flocketh at the strong and well fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtlesse, ye send vs so many day by day of euery sort and kind of people, that we should not bee able to entertaine them, but that our insatiable Chaos with her thousand rauening iawes is sufficient to deuour an infinit number of soules. And thus the soueraignitie of our empire, by you hath been reformed, and our intollerable losse restored. Wherefore, most specially wee commend you, and giue you most heartie thanks; exhorting all you, that in anie wise ye perseuere and continue, as hitherto ye haue done: neither that you slacke henceforth your enterprise. For why? by your helps we purpose to bring the whole world againe vnder our power and dominion. Ouer and besides this, we commit vnto you no smal authoritie, to supplie our places in the betraying of your brethren; and we make and ordaine you our vicars, and the ministers of antichrist our son, now hard at hand, for whom ye haue made a very trim way and passage. Furthermore, we counsell you which occupie the highest roomes of all other, that you worke subtillie, and that ye (fainedlie) procure peace between the princes of the world, and that ye cherish and procure secret causes of discord. And like as craftilie ye haue destroied & subuerted the Roman empire: so suffer ye no kingdome to be ouermuch inlarged or inriched by tranquillitie and peace; lest perhaps in so great tranquillitie (all desire of peace set aside) they dispose themselues to view and consider your most wicked works, suppressing on euerie side your estate: and from your treasures take away such substance, as we haue caused to be reserued and kept in your hands, vntill the comming of our welbeloued sonne antichrist. We would ye should doe our commendations to our entirelie beloued daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, auarice, bellicheere, and lecherie, and to all other my daughters; and especiallie to ladie Simonie, which hath made you men, and inriched you, and hath giuen you sucke with her owne breasts, and weaned you, and therefore in no wise see that you call her sinne. And be ye loftie and proud, because that the most high dignitie of your estate doth require such magnificence. And also be ye couetous, for whatsoeuer ye get and gather into your fardell, it is for Saint Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimonie and the crucifix; and therefore ye may lawfully doe it. Ye may promote your cardinals to the highest seat of dignities, without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of our aduersarie Iesus Christ, and alleaging againe, that he preferred his kinsfolks (being but of poore and base degree) vnto the Apostleship; but do not you so, but rather call, as ye do, those that liue in arrogãcie, in haughtinesse of mind, and filthy lecherie, vnto the state of wealthie riches and pride; and those rewards and promotions, which the followers of Christ forsook, do ye distribute vnto your friends. Therfore as ye shall haue better vnderstanding, prepare ye vices cloked vnder the similitude of vertues. Alleage for your selues the glosses of the holie Scripture, and wrest them, directlie to serue for your purpose. And if any man preach or teach otherwise then ye will, oppresse ye them violently with the sentence of excommunication, and by your censures heaped one vpon another, by the consent of your brethren; let him be condemned as an heretike, and let him bee kept in most strait prison, and there tormented til he die, for a terrible example to all such as cõfesse Christ. And setting all fauor apart, cast him out of your temple, lest peraduenture the ingraffed word may saue your soules, which word I abhor as I do the soules of other faithfull men. And doe your indeuor, that ye may deserue to haue the place which we haue prepared for you, vnder the most wicked foundation of our dwelling place. Fare ye well with such felicitie as we desire and intend finallie to reward and recompence you with.

Pope successor not of Simon Peter, but of Simon Magus.

Wicked and vnworthy ministers admitted in the popes church.

Vnworthy bestowing of benefices.

Extortion.

Peruerting of iustice.

Acception of person.

Bribery.

Loue of lucre.

Destruction of true faith.

The life of papists contrary to their teaching.

The pope increaseth hell.

Antichrist.

The pope a fained procurer of peace between princes.

The Roman empire craftily subuerted by the pope.

Simony the popes nurse.

Promoting of proud and rich cardinals.

Cloked hollnesse.

Wresting of Scripture.

Tyranny and cruelty by the pope.

Giuen at the center of the earth, in that our dark place, where all the rabblement of diuels were present, specially for this purpose called vnto our most dolorous Consistorie, vnder the character of our terrible seale, for the cõfirmation of the premisses.

Ex Registro Herefordensi ad verbum. *Ex Registro Hereford.*

Who was the true author of this poesie or epistle aboue written, is not euidently knowne, neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered of their part, which here be noted, may minister vnto them sufficient occasion of wholsome admonition, either to remember themselues what is amisse, or to bethinke with themselues what is to be amended. Diuers other writings of like argument both before and since, haue been deuised: as one bearing the title, Luciferi ad malos principes Ecclesiasticos; **imprinted first at Paris in Latin. And vnder the writing thereof, bearing this date:** Anno à palatij nostri fractione, consortiumq; nostrorum subtractione, 1351. **Which if ye count from the Passion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of Wickliffe 1385. which was aboue six yeres before the examination of this Walter Brute.**

Epist. Lucif. ad prælatos.

There is also another epistle of Lucifer prince of darknes, ad prælatos, **mentioned in the epistle of the schole of Prage, to the Vniuersitie of Orford, set forth by** Huldericus Huttenus, **about the yeere of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370. which seemeth to be written before this epistle.**

Vincent. spec. hist. lib. 25. c. 89.

Also Vincentius in Speculo histo. lib. 25. cap. 89. **inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiends infernall, vnto the clergy men, as in a vision represented, before 400. yeeres. In which the diuels gaue thanks to the spiritual men, for that by their silence and not preaching the gospel, they send infinit soules to hell, &c.**

Diuers other letters also of like deuice, haue been written, and also recorded in authors. Whereunto may be added, that one Iacobus Cartusiensis, **writing to the bishop of Woormace, alleageth out of the prophecie of** Hildegardis, **in these words:** Ideo & diabolus in semetipso de vobis sacerdotibus ait: Escas epulantium, conuiuia & omnes voluptates in istis inuenio; sed & oculi, & aures, & venter meus, & venæ meæ, de spumis illorum plenæ sunt, & vbera mea plena sunt diuitijs illorum, &c. i. **Therefore, saith he the diuel may say of you priests in himselfe: The meates of banquetting dishes, and feasts of all kind of pleasure, I finde in these men; yea also, mine eies, mine eares, my belly, and all my veines be full of their froathing, and my breasts be full stuffed with their riches, &c. Furthermore, saith hee, they labour euery day to rise vp higher with Lucifer, but euery day they fall with him more deeply.**

Ex prophetia Hildegardis.

Hereunto also appertaineth a story written, and commonly found in many old written bookes: In the yeere of our Lord 1228. at Paris in a synod of the clergy, there was one appointed to make a sermon. Who being much carefull in his mind, and solicitous what to say, the diuell came to him, and asking him why he was so carefull for his matter what he should preach to the clergy, say thus, quoth he: The princes of hell salute you. (O you princes of the church) and gladly giue you thanks, because through your default and negligence it commeth to passe, that all soules goe downe to hell. Adding moreouer, that hee was also enforced by the commandement of God to declare the same: yea and that a certaine token moreouer was giuen to the said clerke for a signe, whereby the synod might euidently see that hee did not lie. Ex catal. Illyr. fol. 546.

The diuell giueth thanks to clergy men.

The silence of priests for not preaching the Gospell, damneth many a soule.

The Bull of pope Boniface the ninth, *against the Lollards.*

The popes letter to the bishop of Hereford.

BOnifacius bishop, seruant of the seruants of God: To the reuerend brother Iohn bishoppe of Hereford, sendeth greeting and apostolicall benediction. Wee meane to write vnto our welbeloued sonne in Christ (Richard the renowmed king of England) in forme inclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your brotherhood, that as much as ye may, ye studie and indeuour your selfe to exhort and induce the same king, to doe those things which we haue written vnto him, as it is said before. And notwithstanding, that now manie a day you ought to haue done it of your selfe, and not to look that we should perswade you to that effect by vs written: you may proceed as well by our authoritie, as by your owne, forasmuch as it was giuen you before: that hereafter we may know effectuallie by your diligence, what zeale your deuotion beareth vnto the catholike faith, and to the conseruing of the ecclesiasticall honour, and also to the execution of your pastorall office.

Giuen at Rome at S. Peters the xv. Kalends of October, the sixth yeere of our bishoplike dignitie.

The

The tenor of the bull, to the renowmed prince, Richard by the grace of God king of England and of France: whereof mention is made aboue, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The popes wilie bull set foorth against the seruants of Christ.

TO our welbeloued sonne in Christ, Richard the noble king of England, we send greeting, &c. It greeueth vs from the bottome of our hearts, and our holy mother the church in all places through Christendome lamenteth. We vnderstand that there be certaine heresies sprung, and do without any condigne restraint range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithfull people, and doe euery day with ouermuch liberty enlarge their vndiscreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preseruation both of you and your famous kingdome, and also the sincerity of the faith, and doe with much more ardent desire couet, that the prosperous state of the same should be preserued and inlarged; the sting of greater sorrow doth so much the more penetrate and molest vs, forasmuch as we see (alas the while) in our time, and vnder the regall presidence of your most Christian gouernment, a certaine craftie, and hairebraine sect of false Christians, in the same your kingdome, to grow and increase; which call themselues, The poore men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples, and whom the common people by a more sounder name, call, Lollards, (as a man would say, withered darnell) according as their sinnes require; and perceiue that they wax strong, and as it were preuaile against the dioceſans of some places, and other gouernours as they meet together, not couragiously addressing themselues against them as they ought to doe (whereof chiefly and not vndeseruedly I giue them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption and stomacke among the vnlearned people. And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadowes or ghosts of men, do rise vp against the sound faith, and holy vniuersall church of Rome: and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternall damnation of some of them) they got sitting vpon their mothers lap the said church of Rome, do rise vp or inueigh against the determination of the holy fathers, with too much presumptuous boldnesse, to the subuersion of the whole ecclesiasticall order and estate; haue not bin afraid, nor are not yet afraid, publikely to preach very many erroneous, detestable, & hereticall articles, for that they are not put to silence, reproued, driuen out, rooted out or otherwise punished, by any that hath authority and the feare and loue of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same articles, and so being written to deliuer them to your kingly parliament, and obstinatly to affirme the same. The venemous and disdainfull recitall of which articles, vpon good aduisement at this present we passe ouer, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heale. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an euill should escape vnpunished, and that without deserued vexation, and also that it might not get more heart, and wax more stronger: We therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where such negligence and sluggishnes of our prelats being present, where this thing is) doe commit and giue in commandement to our reuerend brethren, Canturbury and Yorke, archbishops, by other our letters; that they stand vp in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious sect, and that they liuely persecute the same in forme of law: roote out and destroy those, that aduisedly and obstinatly refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling blocke, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But because the assistance, counsell, fauor, and aid of your kingly estate and highnesse are requisit to the execution of the premisses: we require, exhort, and beseech the same your princely highnesse, by the bowels of the mercy of Iesus Christ, by his holy faith, by your owne saluation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to euery man and woman, that not onely your kingly seuerity may readily shew, and cause to be shewed vnto our archbishops and their commissaries (in this behalfe requiring the foresaid due execution) conuenient aid and fauor, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted: but that also you will inioine your magistrates and Iustices of Assise, and peace, more straitly, that of their own good wils, they execute the authority committed vnto them, with all seuerity against such damned men, according as they are boũd by the office, which they are put in trust with: against those I meane, which haue determined obstinately to defile themselues in their malice and sinnes, those to expell, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keepe them, till condigne sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your kingly wisdome seeth, that such as they bee, doe not only deceiue poore simple soules (or at the least doe what they can to deceiue them) but also bring their bodies to destruction, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall vnto their temporall lords. Go to therefore my sweete sonne, and indeuour your selfe to worke so in this matter, as vndoubtedly we trust you will: that as this firebrand (burning and flaming ouer sore) beganne vnder your presidence or gouernment; so vnder your seuere iudgement and vertuous diligence, might, fauour, and aid; not one sparke remaine hidde vnder the ashes, but that it bee vtterlie extinguished, and speedily put out.

Alacke good heart, what sorrow the pope taketh.

As though no learning were but in the church of Rome.

The dragon here spouteth out his flouds of water to drowne the christians.

Behold the spirit of the popes meek holinesse.

The bowels of Iesus Christ be full of mercy: the bowels of the pope full of tyranny.

Helpe the pope at a pinch, or else he is like to take a fall.

Giuen at our palace of S. Peter at Rome, the xv. Calends of October, in the sixth yeere of our pontificality.

¶ The kings Commission.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland. To all those vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the instance of the reuerend father, William archbishop of Canturbury, Metropolitane of all England, and Legat of the apostolicall seate: We for the redresse and amendment of all those which would obstinately preach or maintaine, publikely or priuily, any conclusions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriously redounding to the subuersion of the catholike faith, or containing any heresie or errour, within the prouince or bishopricke of Canturbury; haue by our speciall letters patents, in the zeale of the faith, giuen authority and licence vnto the foresaid archbishop, and to all and singuler his suffragans, to arrest all and euery of them that will preach or maintaine any such conclusions, whersoeuer they may be found, and to commit them either to their owne prisons, or any others at their owne pleasure, and to keep them in the same, vntill they repent them of the errours and prauities of those heresies; or till that, of such manner of arrests, by vs or by our counsell it should be otherwise determined: that is to say, to euery one of them and their ministers throghout their cities & dioceſe. And now the reuerend father in God, Iohn bishop of Hereford, hath for a certaintie informed vs; that although the same bishop hath according to iustice conuinced a certaine fellow named W. Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be a chaplen, and one Stephan Bell a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretikes & excommunicat, and false informers among the common people, and hath declared the same by the definitiue sentence of the aforesaid bishop, for that they haue presumed to affirme and preach openly in diuers places within the dioceſe of Hereford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subuersion of the catholike sound faith, and tranquillity of our kingdome: The same bishop notwithstanding, neither by the ecclesiasticall censures, neither yet by the force and strength of our commission was able to reuoke the foresaid William and Stephan, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurat contumacie of them: for that they, after that they were vpon such heretical prauity conuict by the same bishop, (to the intent they might delude his iudgement and iustice) conueied themselues by and by vnto the borders of Wales, with such as were their fautors and accomplices, in keeping themselues close, vnto whom the force of our said letters doth in no wise extend. Whereupon the said bishop hath made supplication vnto vs, that we will vouchsafe to prouide a sufficient remedy in that behalfe. Wee therefore, which alwaies (by the helpe of almightie God) are defenders of the faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and peruerse enterprises by the most safe way and meanes we may, giue and commit full power and authority to the foresaid bishop & to his ministers, by the tenor of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to be arrested or taken, the foresaid William and Stephan, in any place within the citie and dioceſe of Hereford and our domininion of Wales, with all the speed that may be; and to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need be, and there to keep them safe. And afterwards, vnlesse they wil obey the commandemẽts of the church, with diligence to bring them before vs and our counsell, or els cause them to be brought: that we may determin for their further punishment, as we shall thinke it requisite and conuenient to be done by the aduice of our counsell, for the defence and preseruation of the catholike faith. And that the foresaid William and Stephan, being succored by the aid of their fautors or fauorers, should not be able to flie or escape to their accustomed starting holes; and that the sharpnes of their paines so aggrauated, may giue them sufficient cause to returne to the lap againe of their holy mother the church: we straitly charge and command all and singuler our sheriffes, bailiffes, barons, and all other our officers in the citie and dioceſe of Hereford, and in any other places being within our dominion of Wales, by the tenour of these presents: that from time to time (where they thinke it most meet) they cause it openly to bee proclaimed in our name, that none, of what state, degree, preheminence, kind, or other condition he shall be of, doe cherish openly or secretly the foresaid William and Stephan, vntill the time that they repent them of their heresies and errors, and shall be reconciled vnto the holy church of God: Neither that any person or persons, be beleeuers, fauourers, or receiuers, defenders, or in any case wittingly instructers of the said William or Stephan, or any other of the residue of the heretikes that are to be conuinced, vpon the forfeiture of all that euer they haue. And that also they giuing their attendance, bee obedient and answerable to the foresaid bishoppe and his deputies in this behalfe, for the

The hot complaining charitie of the bishop of Hereford. W. Swinderby and Stephan Bell complained of to the king.

Furiosum committas gladium.

Pseudocatholicæ fidei.

execution

execution of the premisses: and that they certifie vs and our counsell distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singuler persons, which shall fortune to be found culpable in this behalfe, vnder their seales. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the 9. day of March, in the 15. yeere of our raigne.

Farrington.

Another letter of the said king against *Walter Brute.*

Another letter of king Richard against Walter Brute.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland. To his beloued and faithfull Iohn Chaundos knight, Iohn Eynfore knight, Renold de la Bere knight, Walter Deueros knight, Thomas de la Bare knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight, and to the maior of the citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nash, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, Iohn Skydmore, Iohn Vp-Harry, Henry Motton, and to the sheriffe of Hereford, sendeth salutations.

Forasmuch as it is aduertised vs, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquitie, haue dannably holden, affirmed, and preached, certaine articles and conclusions being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture (of the which, some of them as heresies, and the rest as errors, are finally by the church condemned) and that in diuers places within the diocesse of Hereford, and parts neere adioining, both priuily, openly, and obstinatly: which thing wee perceiue not onely to redound to the subuersion (in a manner) of the catholike faith, which as well we as other catholike princes ought of duty to maintaine, but also to forewarne vs of the subuersion of our faithful Diocesans. And that the said bishop, vpon the good deliberation and aduisement of a great number of doctors in Diuinity, and other learned and skilfull men in the Scriptures, of speciall deuotion, according to his bounden duty, purposed to begin and make diuers and sundry processes by law to bee sent vnto the foresaid Walter and his accomplices, to appeare personally before him and other the doctors aforesaid, in the cathedral church of Hereford, the morrow after the translation of S. Thomas of Hereford next ensuing; and to proceed in the same place against the same Walter, in the foresaid articles and conclusions, for the amendment of his soule. Now afresh (because that the said Walter and others of their retinew, cleauing and confederating with him, might not suffer condigne paines according to their demerits) indeuor themselues to make void and frustrate the said godly purpose of the same bishop, in such correction and execution as should haue been done, and with force doe resist and let the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of vs and of our crowne, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: Do appoint you, and euery of you, immediatly as soone as this our commission shall be deliuered vnto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation in the diocesse and parts aforesaid, where ye shall thinke it most meet and conuenient: That no man be so hardy henceforth, of what state or condition so euer he shall be, within the diocesse and parts aforesaid, vpon paine of forfaiture of all that euer hee hath, to make or leuie any conuenticles, assemblies, or confederacies, by any colour: or that they presume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the same bishops and doctors aforesaid, may be by any means molested or let in the execution of such correction as is to be done, according to the canonicall sanctions; and to arrest all those which ye shall finde, or take offending in this behalfe, or that keep themselues in any such conuenticles. And that they being committed to prison, be there kept, till you shall haue other commandement from vs and our counsell for their deliuerance: and that ye distinctly and plainly certifie vs and our said counsell, of all your doing in this behalfe vnder your seales, or else the seales of some of you. And therefore we straitly charge and command you, and euery of you, that ye diligently attend vpon the premisses, and that in your deeds ye execute the same with all diligence and carefull indeuour, in the forme and manner aforesaid. And further, we giue strait charge and commandement to all and singuler sheriffes, maiors, bailiffes, constables, and other our faithfull subiects, by the tenour of these presents; that they be attending vpon you, counselling and aiding you, and euery of you, as is meet and conuenient in the doing and execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 22. day of September, in the 17. yeere of our raigne.

By the same king and counsell.

Walter Brute.

Whether the doctrine of Brute was euer against resistance, how is this like to be true?

King Richard set against the gospellers by the archbishop and the prelats.

Thus king Richard by the setting on of W. Courtney, archbishop of Canturbury and his fellowes, taking part with the pope and Romish prelats, waxed something strait & hard to the poore christians of the contrary side, of Wickliffe, as by these letters aboue prefixed may appeare. Albeit, during all the life of the said king, I finde of none expresly by name that suffered burning. Notwithstanding, some there were which by the foresaid archbishop William Courtney, and other bishops, had been condemned, and diuers also abiured, and did penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the towne of Leicester, as followeth here to be declared out of the archbishops register and records. *Ex Regist. W. Courtney, Archiep. Cant.*

At what time the said archbishop William Courtney was in his visitation at the towne of Leicester, certaine there were accused and detected to him, by the monks and other priests in the said towne. The names of which persons there detected, were, one Roger Dexter, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Magistaff, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the same towne of Leicester. These with other mo, were denounced to the archbishop for holding the opinion of the sacrament of the altar, of auricular confession, and other sacraments, contrary to that which the church of Rome doth preach and obserue. All which parties aboue named, and many other mo, whose names are not knowne, did hold these heresies and errors here vnder written, and are of the Romish church condemned. Roger Dexter, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Magistaff, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith accused.

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ with the materiall bread.
2. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, nor that no man ought to set any candles before them.
3. That no crosse ought to be worshipped.
4. The masses and mattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be said in the church.
5. Item, that no curat or priest taken in any crime, can consecrat, heare confessions, nor minister any of the sacraments of the church.
6. That the pope & all prelats of the church cannot binde any man with the sentence of excommunication, vnlesse they know him to be first excommunicated of God.
7. That no prelat of the church can grant any pardons.
8. That euery lay man may in euery place preach and teach the Gospell.
9. That it is sinne to giue any almes or charity to the friers preachers, Minorites, Augustines, or Carmelites.
10. That no oblation ought to be vsed at the funerals of the dead.
11. That it is not necessary to make confession of our sinnes to the priest.
12. That euery good man, although hee be vnlearned, is a priest.

These Articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifestly in the towne of Leicester, and other places adioining. Whereupon the said archbishop monished the said Roger, and Nicolas, with the rest, on the next day to make answere vnto him in the said monastery to the foresaid articles. But the foresaid Roger and Nicolas, with the rest, hid themselues out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbishop vpon All hallow day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high masse at the high altar in the said monastery, being attired in his pontificalibus, denounced the said parties with all their adherents, fautors, fauorers, and counsellers, excommunicat and accursed, which either held, taught, or maintained the foresaid conclusions hereticall and erroneous, and that in solemne wise, by ringing the bels, lighting the candles, and putting out the same againe, and throwing them downe to the ground, with other circumstances thereunto belonging. Vpon the morrow after (being All Soulne day) he sent for all the curats and other lay men of the towne of Leicester, to inquire more diligently of the verity of such matter as they knew, and were able to say against any persons whatsoeuer, concerning the foresaid articles, as also against the parties before named and specified vpon their othes, denouncing euery one of them seuerally by their names to be excommunicated and accursed; and caused them also in diuers parish churches in Leicester also to be excommunicat. And further the said archbishop interdicted the whole towne of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, so long as any of the foresaid excommunicat persons should remaine or be within the same, and till that all the Lollards of the towne should returne and amend from such heresies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop his hands the benefit of absolution. Roger, Nicolas, Richard, Michael, William and Roger accursed with booke, bell, and candle. The whole towne of Leicester interdicted.

At length it was declared and shewed to the said archbishop, that there was a certaine anchoresse whose name was Matilde, inclosed within the churchyard of S. Peters church of the said towne of Leicester, to be infected (as they said) with the pestiferous contagion of the foresaid heretikes & Lollards: whereupon, after that the said archbishop had examined the foresaid Matilde, touching the foresaid conclusions, heresies, and errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtilly; gaue and assigned vnto her a day peremptory, personally to appeare before him in the monastery of Saint James at Northhampton, more fully to answer to the said articles, heresies, and errors, which was the sixth day of the said month of November; commanding the abbat of the monastery of Peters aforesaid, that the doore of the recluse in which the said Matild was, should be opened, and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe custody. Matilde an anchoresse cited to appeare.

That

That done, he sent forth his mandat against the Lollards, vnder this forme:

The kings procesle sent by the bishop to arrest the 8. aforenamed.

William by the permission of God, &c. To his welbeloued sonnes, the Maior and Bailiffes of the towne of Leicester diocesse, greeting. We haue lately receiued the kings letters, graciously granted vs for the defence of the catholike faith, in these words following. Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c. We on the behalfe of our holy mother the church, by the kings authority aforesaid, doe require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent vnto vs; that they with their pernicious doctrine doe not infect the people of God, &c. Giuen vnder our seale, &c.

Margaret Caily a nun, constrained against her will to take againe her habit.

By another instrument also in the same Register, is mention made of one Margaret Caily Nun, which forsaking her order, was by the said archbishop constrained against her will, againe to enter the same, as by this instrument here vnder ensuing may appeare.

William by the grace of God, &c. To our reuerend brother in God, John, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the visitation of our diocesse of Lincolne according to our office, amongst other enormities worthy reformation, we found one sheepe out of our fold straied, and amongst the briers tangled; to wit, Margaret Caily, Nun professed, of the monastery of S. Radegond within your diocesse: who casting off the habit of her religion, was found in secular attire, many yeeres being an apostata, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her bloud should be required at our hands, wee haue caused her to be taken, and brought vnto you, being her pastor; and straitly inioyning you, by these presents doe command, that you admit the same Margaret againe into her foresaid monastery (although returned against her will) or else into some other place, where for her soules health you shall thinke most conuenient: and that from henceforth shee be safely kept, as in the strait examination of the same you will yeelde an account. Giuen vnder our seale, &c.

Matilde reuaneth.

By sundry other instruments also in the same Register recorded, I finde, that the foresaid Matilde the anchoresse, vpon the strait examination and handling of the foresaid archbishop, before whom peremptorily she was enioyned to appeare, and til that day of appearance taken out of the recluse and committed to safe custody, as you heard; retracted and recanted her foresaid articles and opinions. For the which she being enioined forty daies penance, was againe admitted into her foresaid recluse in Leicester. The bishops letter to the magistrates of the towne thus beginneth: Willielmus permissione diuina, &c. dilectis filijs, &c.

Will. Smith, Roger Derter, and Alice his wife abiure.

Also by another letter of the foresaid archbishop to the deane of the cathedrall church of our lady of Leicester being registred, I finde, that of the number of those eight persons before recited, whom the archbishop himselfe at high masse, did in his pontificalibus so solemnly curse with booke, bell, and candle: after certaine processe being sent out against them, or else in the meane time being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith, and Roger Derter. But in the meane time Alice, the wife of the said Roger Derter, taking hold of the foresaid articles with her husband also, together with the said William Smith, abiured the same. For these be the words of the instrument: Subsequenter verò, præfati Wilielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus suos respicientes, se nostro conspectui præsentarunt, &c. Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselues willingly, or else were brought against their wils (as most like it was) hard penance was enioyned them before they were absolued. These be the words of the instrument.

Sancta mater ecclesia, &c. i. Seeing our holy mother the church denieth not her lap to any penitent child returning to the vnity of her, but rather proffereth to them the same: We therefore do receiue againe the said William, Roger, and Alice to grace. And further haue caused them to abiure all and singuler the foresaid articles and opinions, before they receiued of vs the benefit of absolution, and were losed from the sentence of excommunication, wherein they were snarled, inioyning vnto them penance, according to the quantitie of the crime, in forme as followeth, that is to say: that euery one of them the sunday next after their returning to their proper goods; they the said William, Roger, and Alice, holding euery one an image of the crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands euery one of them a taper of wax, waighing halfe a pound waight, in their shirts (hauing none other apparell vpon them) doe goe before the crosse three times, during the procession of the cathedrall church of our lady of Leicester: that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession; to the honour of him that was crucified, in the memoriall of his passion, and to the honor of the virgin his mother: who also deuoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kisse the same crucifix so held in their hands. And so with the same procession, they entring again into the church, shall stand during all the time of the holy masse, before the image of the crosse with their tapers and crosses in their hands. And when the masse is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall offer to him that celebrated that day the masse. Then vpon the saturday next ensuing, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall in the full and publike market, within the towne of Leicester, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes vpon their bodies, holding the foresaid crosses in their right hands; which crosses, three times they shall (during the market) deuoutly kisse reuerently kneeling vpon their knees: that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the said William (for that he somewhat vnderstandeth the Latine tongue) shall say this Antheame with the collect, Sancta Katharina: and the foresaid Roger and Alice, being vnlearned, shall say deuoutly a Pater Noster, and an Aue Maria. And thirdly, the sunday next immediatly after the same, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their parish church of the said towne of Leicester, shall stand and doe as vpon the sunday before they stood and did in the cathedrall church of our lady aforesaid in all things. Which done, the foresaid William, Roger, and Alice, after masse, shall offer to the priest or chaplen that celebrated the same, with all humilitie and reuerence the wax tapers which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the foresaid penitents might peraduenture take some bodily hurt standing so long naked (being mindfull to moderate partly the said our rigour) we giue leaue, that after their entrance into the churches abouesaid, whilest they shall bee in hearing the foresaid masses, that they may put on necessary garments to keepe them from cold, so that their heads and feete notwithstanding be bare and vncouered. We therefore will and command you together and apart, that you denounce the said William, Roger, and Alice, to be absolued and restored againe to the vnity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to doe their penance in manner and forme aforesaid. Giuen at Dorchester the seuenteenth day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord God 1389. and the ninth yeere of our translation.

The maner of their penance inioined.

Three kisses of the crosse.

The collect of Katharin.

The Pater noster, and Aue Maria.

Cold weather graciously considered.

Unto the narration of these abouesaid, we will adioine the story of one Peter Pateshul, an Austen frier, who obtaining by the popes priuiledge (through the meanes of Walter Dis, confessor to the duke of Lancaster) liberty to change his coat and religion: and hearing the doctrine of John Wickliffe and other of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his order, in such sort as all men wondered to heare the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the eares of his order, they to the number of twelue (coming out of their house to the place where he was preaching) thought to haue withstood him perforce. Among whom, one especially for the zeale of his religion, stood vp openly in his preaching, and contraried that which he said, who then was preaching in the church of S. Christopher in London. This when the faithfull Londoners did see, taking grieue hereat, were moued with great ire against the said frier, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the church, whom they not onely had beaten and sore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to haue destroied their mansion with fire also, and so would haue done, had not one of the sheriffes of London, with two of the friers of the said house, well knowne and reported amongst the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateshul thus disturbed, as is aforesaid, was desired by the Londoners (forsomuch as he could not well preach amongst them) to put in writting that which hee had said before, and other things more that he knew by the Friers: who then at their request writting the same, accused the friers of murther, committed against diuers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparant and credible, hee declared the names of them that were murthered, with the names also of their tormentors: and named moreouer time and place, where & when they were murthered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and traitors both to the king and the realme: with many other crimes, which mine author for tediousnesse leaueth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friers, the Londoners caused the said bill to be openly set vp at S. Pauls church dore in London, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the yeere of our Lord 1387. and in the 10. yeere of king Richard the second. Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis. Cuius est exordium, Anno gratiæ millesimo, &c.

Anno 1389

Peter Pateshul against the friers.

Peter Pateshul.

The friers accused with horrible crimes.

Anno 1387

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

Few or none burned in king Richards time.

Thus it may appeare by this and other aboue recited, how the Gospel of Christ preached by John Wickliffe and others, beganne to spread and fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would haue done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop and other prelats with the king, set them so forcibly with might and maine, to gainstand the course thereof. Albeit, as is said before, I finde none which yet were put to death therefore, during the raigne of this king Richard the second. Whereby it is to bee thought of this king, that although he cannot be vtterly excused for molesting the godly & innocent preachers of that time, (as by his brieues and letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he so cruell against them, as other that came after him: and that which hee did, seemed to proceed by the inuigation

Kings many times brought in too much feare of the pope.

instigation of the pope and other bishoppes, rather then either by the consent of his parliament, or aduice of his counsell about him, or else by his owne nature. For as the decrees of the parliament in all his time, were constant in stopping out the popes prouisions, and in bridling his authority, as we shall see (Christ willing) anon: so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he following the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in feare of the bishoppe of Rome and his prelats, by whose importune letters and calling on, he was continually urged to doe contrary to that, which both right required, and will perhaps in him desired. But howsoeuer the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, vndoubted it is, that Quéene Anne his wife, most rightly deserueth singular commendation; who at the same time liuing with the king, had the gospels of Christ in English, with foure doctors vpon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and sister to Wincclaus, king of Boheme before: who was married to king Richard about the fifth (some say, the sixth) yéere of his raigne, and continued with him the space of eleuen yéeres. By the occasion whereof it may séeme not vnprobable, that the Bohemians comming in with her, or resorting into this realme after her, perused and receiued here the bookes of John Wickliffe, which afterward they conueied into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before: pag. 428.

Commendation of Queene Ann. wife to king Richard.

Anno 1394

The marriage of Queen Anne to king Richard.

The occasion how the doctrine of Wickliffe came to Bohemia.

The said vertuous Quéene Anne, after she had liued with king Richard about eleuen yéeres, in the seuenteenth yéere of his raigne, changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster. At whose funerall Thamas Arundel, then archbishop of Yorke and lord chancellor, made the sermon. In which sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded) he intreating of the commendation of her, said these words: That it was more ioy of her, then of any woman that euer he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien borne, she had in English all the foure gospels, with the doctors vpon them: affirming moreouer and testifying, that she had sent the same vnto him to examin. And he said they were good and true. And further with many words of praise, did greatly commend her, in that she being so great a lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly so vertuous bookes. And hee blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelats and other men. Insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leaue vp the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and giue him to fulfill his pastorall office, for that hee had séene and read in those bookes. And then it had béene the best sermon that euer they heard. Hæc ex libro Wigo. In the which sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered. First, the laudable vse of those old times receiued to haue the Scripture and doctours in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise & also example of this godly lady, who had these bookes not for a shew hanging at her girdle; but also séemeth by this sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted, is, what fruit the said Thomas archbishop declared also himselfe to receiue at the hearing and reading of the same bookes of hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruell enemy that might be against English bookes, and the authors thereof, as followeth after in his story to be séene.

The death of Queene Anne. *Ex fragmento libri cuiusdam Wigornensis bibliotheca. Ex accommodato D. Mat. Archb. Cant.*

Queen Anne had the foure gospels, with the doctors in English.

Thomas Arundel, archbishop breaketh his owne promise.

For shortly after the death of Quéene Anne, the same yéere (the king being then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundel archbishoppe of Yorke, and bishoppe of London, Robert Braybrooke (whether sent by the archbishop of Canturbury and the clergy, or whether going of their owne accord) crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king in all spéedy wise to returne and helpe the faith and church of Christ, against such as holding of Wickliffes teaching, went about (as they said) to subuert all their procéedings, and to destroy the canonicall sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint, the king hearing the one part speake, and not aduising the other, was in such sort incensed, that incontinent leauing all his affaires vncomplete, hee sped his returne toward England. Where he kept his Christmas at Dublin; in the which meane time, in the beginning of the next yéere following, which was anno 1395. a Parliament was called at Westminster, by the commandement of the king. In which parliament, certaine Articles or conclusions were put vp by them of the gospels side, to the number of twelue. Which conclusions moreouer were fastened vp vpon the church dore of Saint Paul in London, and also at Westminster: the copie of which conclusions, with the words and contents thereof here vnder ensue.

Thomas Arundel and the bishop of London go to Ireland to the king to complaine of the fauorers of Gods word.

Ex hist. D. Albani.

Anno 1395

Conclusions offered vp in the parliament house.

The booke of Conclusions or Reformations, exhibited to the parliament holden at London, and set vp at Pauls doore and other places, in the 18. yeere of the raigne of king Richard the 2. and in the yeere of our Lord 1395.

Conclusions exhibited in the parliament.

THe first conclusion: when as the church of England began first to dote in temporalities after her stepmother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorised by appropria-

tions: faith, hope, and charity began in diuers places to vanish and flie away from our church, forsomuch as vside with her most lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortall and deadly sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is generall, and approued by experience, custome, and maner, as ye shall after heare.

The second conclusion: that our vsuall priesthood, which tooke his originall at Rome, and fained to be a power higher then Angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained vnto his disciples. This conclusion is thus proued; forsomuch as the Romish priesthood is done with signes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither hauing any ground in Scripture, forsomuch as the bishops ordinall and the new Testament doe nothing at all agrée; neither doe we sée that the holy Ghost doth giue any good gift through any such signes or ceremonies: because that hee together with all noble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person with deadly sinne. The corolary or effect of this conclusion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery vnto wise men, to sée the bishoppes mocke and play with the holy Ghost in the gluing of their orders: because they giue crownes for their characters and markes, in stead of white hearts: and this character is the marke of antichrist, brought into the holy church to cloke and colour their idlenesse.

Papisticall priesthood.

The third conclusion: that the law of chastity enioined vnto priesthood, the which was first ordained to the preiudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the church: but we doe excuse vs by the bible, because the suspect decrée doth say, that wee should not name it. Both reason and experience proueth this conclusion. Reason thus; Forsomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the clergy, will haue either a naturall purgation, or some worse. Experience thus; forsomuch as the secret triall and proofe of such men is, that they doe delight in women. And whensoeuer thou doest proue or sée such a man, marke him well, for he is one of that number. The corolary of this conclusion is, that these priuat religions with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be disanulled as the originall of that sinne and offence. But God of his might doth of priuie sinnes send open vengeance.

The single life of priests.

He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergy.

He prophecieth against monkery.

The fourth conclusion, that most harmeth the innocent people, is this: that the fained miracle of the sacrament of bread, induceth all men, except it be a very few, vnto idolatry: forsomuch as they thinke that the body, which shall neuer be out of heauen, is by the vertue of the priests words, essentially included in the little bread, the which they do shew vnto the people. But would to God they would beléeue that which the Euangelicall doctor teacheth vs in his Trialogue, Quòd panis altaris est accidentaliter Corpus Christi. i. that the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally: forsomuch as we suppose that by that meanes, euery faithfull man and woman in the law of God, may make the sacrament of that bread, without any such miracle. The corolary of this conclusion is, that albeit the body of Christ be endowed with the eternall ioy, the seruice of Corpus Christi, made by frier Thomas, is not true, but painted full of false miracles: neither is it any maruell, forsomuch as frier Thomas at that time taking part with the pope, would haue made a miracle of a hens egge: and wee know it very well, that euery lie openly preached and taught, doth turne to the rebuke and opprobry of him, which is alwaies true without any lacke.

The fained miracle of transubstantiation.

He meaneth here Wickliffe.

The feast of Corpus Christi inuented by Thomas Aquinas.

The fifth conclusion is this: that the exorcismes and hallowings, consecrations, and blessings ouer the wine, bread, water, oile, salt, incense, the altar stone, and about the church walles, ouer the vestiment, chalice, miter, crosse, and pilgrim-staues, are the very practises of Necromancie, rather then of sacred Diuinitie. This conclusion is thus prooued; because that by such exorcismes, the creatures are honoured to be of more force and power then by their owne proper nature; for we doe not sée any alteration or change in any creature so exorcised, except it be by false faith, which is the principall point of diuellish art. The corolary of this is, that if the booke of exorcisation or coniuring of holy water which is sprinkled in the church, were altogether faithfull and true; wee thinke certainly that holy water vsed in the church, were the best medicine for all kind of sicknesse and sores; Cuius contrarium experimur. i. the contrary whereof daily experience doth teach vs.

The exorcismes and blessings of priests.

The sixth conclusion which maintaineth much pride is: that a king and bishop both in one person, a prelat and iustice in temporall causes, a curat and officer in worldly office, doth make euery kingdome out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporalty and the spiritualty, are two parts of the holy vniuersall church, and therefore hee which addicteth himselfe to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis seruire: wherefore to bee called Amphroditæ, which are men of both kindes, or Ambidextri, which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double estates. The corolary of this conclusion is, that thereupon we the procurators of God in this case, doe sue vnto the Parliament: that it may be enacted, that all such as be of the clergy (as well of the highest

The difference betweene the ecclesiasticall and politike estate.

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highest degrée as of the lowest) should be fully excused, and occupie themselues with their owne cure and charge, and not with others.

The foundation of masses for the dead.

The seuenth conclusion that we mightily affirme is, that spirituall praiers made in the church for the soules of the dead, (preferring any one by name more then another) is a false foundation of almes, whereupon all the houses of almes in England are fally founded. This conclusion is proued by two reasons. The one is, that a meritorious praier (of any force or effect) ought to be a worke proceeding from meere charitie: and perfect charitie accepteth no person, because thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Whereby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporall gift bestowed and giuen vnto priests and houses of almes, is the principall cause of any speciall praiers, the which is not farre different from simonie. The other reason is, that euery speciall praier made for men condemned to eternall punishment, is very displeasant before God. And albeit it be doubtfull, yet is it very likely vnto the faithfull Christian people, that the founders of euery such house of almes for their wicked endowing of the same, are for the most part passed by the broad way. The corolary is, that euery praier of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would haue saued, and to liue. The merchandise of speciall praiers now vsed for the dead, maketh mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests, which otherwise were strong enough to worke and to serue the whole realme: and maintaineth the same in idlenesse, to the great charge of the realme, because it was proued in a certaine booke which the king hath, that a hundred houses of almes, are sufficient for the whole realme. And thereby might peraduenture greater increase and profit come vnto the temporalty.

A hundred houses of almes sufficient for England.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

The eighth conclusion needfull to tell to the people beguiled, is, that pilgrimages, praiers, & oblations made vnto blind crosses or rodes, or to deafe images made either of wood or stone, are very neere of kin vnto idolatry, and farre different from almes. And albeit that these things which are forbidden and imagined, are the booke of error vnto the common people: notwithstanding the vsuall and common image of the Trinitie is most especially abominable. This conclusion God himselfe doth openly manifest, commanding almes to be giuen to the powre and needy man, for hee is the image of God in more perfit similitude and likenesse then any blocke or stone. For God did not say; let vs make a blocke or stone vnto our likenesse and image; but let vs make man; forsomuch as the supreme and highest honour which the clergy calleth Latria, pertaineth onely to the Godhead, and the inferior honor, which the clergy call Dulia, pertaineth vnto men and Angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corolarie is, that the seruice of the crosse celebrat twice euery yeere in our church, is full of idolatry: for if rode, tree, nailes, and speare ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped, then were Judaes lippes (if any man could get them) a maruellous godly relike. But thou pilgrime, wee pray thée tell vs when thou doest offer to the bones of the Saints and holy men which are laid vp in any place; whether doest thou releeue thereby the holy man which is already in ioy, or that almes house that is so wel endowed, where as they are canonised (the Lord knoweth how) and to speake more plaine, euery faithfull christian may well iudge and suppose, that the strokes of that same man, whom they call S. Thomas, were no cause of martyrdome, nor yet be.

The image of the Trinity an abominable thing.

A poore man the perfect image of God.

Latria, Dulia.

Judaes lips.

The death of Th. Becket of Cant. is not to be counted for martyrdome.

The ninth conclusion that keepeth the people low, is, that auricular confession which is said to be so necessary for saluation, and the fained power of absolution; exalteth and setteth vp the pride of priests, and giueth them opportunity of other secret talks, which wee will not at this time talke of, forsomuch as both lords and ladies doe witnesse, that for feare of their confessors, they dare not speake the truth: and in time of confession, is good opportunity ministred of wooing, or to play the baudes, or to make other secret conuentions to deadly sinne. They affirme and say, that they are commissaries sent of God to iudge and discerne of all manner of sinne, to pardon and clense whatsoeuer please them. They say also, that they haue the keies of heauen and hell, and that they can excommunicat, curse and blesse, binde and loose at their owne will and pleasure: insomuch, that for a small reward, or for twelue pence, they will sell the blessing of heauen by charter and clause of warrantise, sealed by their common seale. This conclusion is so common in vse, that it needeth not any probation. The corolary hereof is, that the pope of Rome, which fained himselfe to be the profound treasurer of the whole church, hauing that same worthy iewell which is the treasure of the passion of Christ in his owne keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the Saints in heauen, whereby he giueth fained indulgences and pardons, à pœna & culpa: hee is a treasurer almost banished out of charity, whereby he may deliuer all captiues being in purgatory at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here euery faithfull Christian may easily perceiue that there is much falshood hid in our Church.

Auricular confession. Confession the minister of lust.

The impudent boldnesse of priests.

The pope treasurer of the church, in stead of treasure laieth vp coales.

The tenth, that manslaughter (either by war or by any pretensed law of iustice for any temporall cause, or spirituall reuelation) is expresly contrary vnto the new Testament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is euidently proued by the examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who chiefly teacheth euery man to loue his enemies, and haue compassion vpon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reason is this, that for the most part whenas men do fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken: and whosoeuer dieth without charity, goeth the right way to hell. And beside that, wee doe well vnderstand and know, that none of the clergy, neither by any other lawfull reason, can deliuer any from the punishment of death for one deadly sinne, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the new Testament, forbiddeth all manner of murther. For in the Gospell it is spoken vnto our forefathers, Thou shalt not kill. The corolary is; It is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences and pardons, à pœna & culpa, vnto such as doe helpe their armies to kill and murther the christian people in forren countries for temporall gaine, as we doe see certaine souldiers which doe run amongst the heathen people to get themselues fame and renowne, by the murther and slaughter of men. Much more do they deserue euill thanks at the hands of the king of peace, forsomuch as by humility and peace, our faith is multiplied and increased: for murtherers and manquellers, Christ doth hate and menaceth: Yee that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword.

How wrels lawfull, ath proofe by experience.

The eleuenth conclusion is, which is shame to tell: that the vow of chastity made in our church by women which are fraile and vnperfit in nature, is the cause of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident vnto the nature of man. For albeit the murther of their children borne before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foule sinnes: yet they accompanying amongst themselues, or with vnreasonable beasts, or with any creature not hauing life, doe passe to such an vnseemlinesse, that they are punished by infernall torments. The corolary is, that widowes and such as take the mantell and the ring delitiously fed, we would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from priuat offence of sinne.

Nuns and widowes which vow single life.

The twelfth, that the multitude of arts not necessary (vsed in this our church) causeth much sin and offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious apparell: experience and reason partly doth shew the same, forsomuch as nature with a few arts, is sufficient for mans vse and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our ambassage, which Christ hath commanded vs to prosecute at this time, most fit and conuenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched; yet notwithstanding they are more at large declared in another booke with many other more in our owne proper tongue, which we would should be common to all christian people. Wherefore, we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodnesse sake, that hee will wholly reforme our church (now altogether out of frame) vnto the perfection of her first beginning and originall. Ex Archiuis Regijs.

The verses following were annexed vnto the conclusions.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:
Surgunt ingrati Gierzitæ Simone nati,
Nomine prælati hoc defensare parati.
Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque præestis,
Qualiter his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis?

The which verses are thus Englished:

The English nation doth lament of Sodomites, their sin,
Which Paul doth plainly signifie by Idols to begin.
But Gierstites full ingrate, from sinfull Simon sprong,
This to defend (thogh Priests in name) make bulwarks great and strong.
Ye princes therefore which to rule the people God hath placed,
With iustice sword, why see ye not this euill great defaced?

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dubline into England, toward the latter end of the parliament. Who at his return, called certain of his nobles vnto him, Richard Sturie, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Lattmer, John Mountacute, &c. whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that hee heard them to bee fauourers of that side; charging them straitly, neuer to hold, maintaine, nor fauor any more those opinions and conclusions. And namely of Richard Stury, he took an oth, that he should neuer from that day, fauor or defend any such opinions: which oth being taken, the king then answered: And I sweare (saith he) againe to thée, that if thou doest euer breake thine oth, thou shalt die for it a shamefull death, &c. Ex Chron. D. Albani.

R. Stury, Lewes Clifford, T. Lattimer, John Mountacute, good fauorers.

All this while W. Courtney archbishop of Canturbury was yet aliue, who was a great stirrer in these matters. But ye

Pope Urbane the ninth dead. Anno 1389 Pope Boniface the ninth.

yet pope Urbane the great master of the Catholike sect was dead and buried six yeere before. After whom succeeded in the schismaticall see of Rome pope Boniface the ninth; who nothing inferiour to his predecessour in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence vnattempted to set forward that which Urbane had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters forth of the light of the Gospell: and had written sundrie times to king Richard, as well for the repealing of the acts of parliament against his prouisions, Quare impedit, and præmunire facies: as also that he should assist the prelats of England in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such, whom he falsly suggested to be Lollards and traytours to the church, to the king, and the realme, &c. Thus the courteous pope, whom he could not reach with his sword, at least with cruell slander of his malitious tongue, would worke his poison against them; which letter he wrote to the king in the yeere of our Lord 1396. which was the yeere before the death of William Courtney archbishop of Canturburie. After whom succeeded in that see Thomas Arundell, brother to the earle of Arundell, being first bishop of Elie, afterward archbishop of Yorke, and lord Chancellour of England, and at last made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeere of our Lord 1397. The next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1398. and the ninth yeere of the pope, I find in certaine records of the bishop of Duresme, a certaine letter of king Richard the second, written to the said pope Boniface, which because I iudged not vnworthie to be seene, I thought heere to annex the same, proceeding in forme as followeth.

The letters of pope Boniface the ninth to king Richard. Anno 1396 The death of M. Courtney archbishop of Canturburie. Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturbury. Anno 1398

To the most holy father in Christ and lord, lord Boniface the ninth, by the grace of God high pope of the most holy Romish and vniuersall church, his humble and deuout *sonne Richard by the grace of God king of England, and France, lord of Ireland, greeting, and desiring to helpe the miseries of the afflicted church, and kissing of that his blessed feet.*

A letter of king Richard the second to pope Boniface the ninth.

WHo will giue my head water, and mine eyes streaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which haue chanced to her by her owne children in the distresse of this present schisme and diuision. For the sheep haue forgotten the proper voice of their shepheards, and hirelings haue thrust in themselues to feed the Lords flock, who are clothed with the apparell of the true shepheard, challenging the name of honor and dignitie, resembling so the true shepheard, that the poore sheepe can scarce know whom they ought to follow, or what pastour as a stranger they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid, lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that citie being full of riches, become solitarie and desolate, and the land or people which was wont to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sate as a Queen, and am not a widow, lest it be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched, that she shal not be able to discerne his face, & so wrapped in mazes, that she shal not know where to turne her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shal with weeping speake that saying of the spouse: I sought him whom my soule loueth, I sought him and found him not: For now wee are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, behold heere is Christ, or there, we may not beleeue him so saying: and so many shepheards haue destroyed the Lords vineyard, and made his amiable portion a waste wildernesse.

This multitude of shepheards is become very burdenous to the Lords flocke. For when two striue to be chiefe, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and in so doing they giue occasion to all the faithfull of Christ, of a schisme and diuision of the church. And although both parties go about to subdue vnto their power the whole church militant, yet contrarie to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a diuision in the bodie of the church: Like as when the diuision of the quicke innocent bodie was asked, when the two harlots did striue afore Salomon: like as the ten tribes of Israel followed Ieroboam the intruder, and were withdrawne from the kingdome for Salomons sinne: euen so of old time the desire of ruling hath drawne the great power of the world from the vnitie of the church. Let your selues remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish church in the time of the faction of the primarch of Constantinople, and how Mahomet with his fellowes by occasion of the supremacie in Ecclesiasticall dignitie, deceiued a great part of christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ. And now in these daies, whereas the same supremacie hath withdrawne it selfe from the obedience of it, in so much that now in verie few realmes the candle that burnes afore the Lord remaineth, and that for Dauids sake his seruant: And although now remaine few countries professing the obedience of Christs true vicar, yet peraduenture if euery man were left to his owne libertie, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignitie, or that is worse, would vtterly refuse it by such doubtfull euidence alleaged on both sides: and this is the subtill craft of the crooked Serpent, that is to say, vnder the pretence of vnitie, to procure schismes, as the spider of a whole-

Desire to rule in the church.

Greece renounced the Romish church.

some flower gathers poyson, and Iudas learned of peace to make warre. Wherefore, it is liuely beleeued of wise men, that except this pestilent schisme be withstood by and by, the keyes of the church will be despised, and they shall bind the consciences but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault, or to reforme things contrarie to Gods law, so by this meanes at length temporall lords will take away the liberties of the church, and peraduenture the Romanes will come and take away their place, people and lands: they will spoile their possessions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reuiled and despised, because the obedience of the people and deuotions towards them will almost be taken away, when the greater part of the church left to their owne libertie, shall waxe prouder then they bee wont, leauing a wicked example to them that doe see it. For when they see the prelats studie more for couetousnesse then they were wont, to purse vp money, to oppresse the subiects in their punishings to seeke for gaine, to confound lawes, to stirre vp strife, to suppresse truth, to vexe poore subiects with wrong corrections, in meate and drinke intemperate, in feastings past shame: what maruell is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of Gods law? but all these things doe follow if the church should be left long in this doubtfulnesse of a schisme, and then should that old saying be verified; in those daies there was no king in Israel, but euery one did that that seemed right and straight to himselfe. Micheas did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountaines as they had been sheepe without a shepheard: for when the shepheard is smitten, the sheepe of the flocke shall be scattered, the great stroke of the shepheard is the minishing of his iurisdiction, by which the subiects are drawne from his obedience. When Iason had the office of the highest priest, hee changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customes of the heathen, the priests leauing the seruice of the holy altar, and applying themselues to wrastling and other exercises of the Grecians, and despised those things that belonged to the priests, did labour with all their might to learne such things of the Grecians, and by that meanes the place, people, and holy oynting of priests, which in times past were had in great reuerence of kings, were trodden vnder foot of all men, and robbed by the kings power, and was prophaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore, let the highest vicar of Christ looke vnto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authoritie aboue others. If you marke well most holy father, you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coueting the seat of honor: he taught them not to play the lords ouer the people, but the more grace they were preuented with, to be so much more humble then other, and more lowly to serue their brethren. To him that asked his coate, to giue the cloake: to him that smote him on the one cheeke, to turne the other to him. For the sheepe that are giuen to his keeping, he must forsake all earthly things, and to shead his owne blood, yea and if need required, to die. These things, I say, be those that adorne the highest Bishop if they be in him, not purple, not his white horse, nor his imperiall crowne, because he among all men is most bound to all the sheepe of Christ. For the feare of God therefore, and for the loue of the flocke which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer vs no longer to wauer betwixt two: although not for your owne cause, to whom peraduenture the fulnesse of your owne power is knowne: yet in pitying our weaknesse, if thou be he, tell vs openly, and shew thy selfe to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to vs a bloodie bishop, lest by your occasion mans blood be shead, lest hell swallow such a number of soules, and lest the name of Christ be euill spoken of by infidels, through such a worthie personage. But peraduenture yee will say, for our righteousnesse it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other mens disputation. If this bald answere should be admitted, the schisme should continue still, seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other: and where the world is as it were equally diuided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to giue place to the other without much bloudshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection was well enough knowne to himselfe and his disciples, yet he asked of his Father to be made knowne to the world. Hee made also the Gospell to be written, and the doctrine of the Apostles, and sent his Apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be knowne to all men. The foresaid reason is the subtiltie of Mahomet, the which knowing himselfe guiltie of his sect, vtterly forbad disputations. If ye haue so full trust of your righteousnesse; put it to the examinations of worthie persons in a generall councell, to the which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or els commit it vnto able persons, and giue them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the least by forsaking the office on both parties, leaue the church of God free, speedilie to prouide for a new shepheard.

The king seemeth heere to prophesie.

Bishops taught by Christ not to play the lords.

The right ornament of a true bishop.

A bald answere.

We find, kings haue forsaken their temporall kingdomes, vpon only respect of deuotion, and haue taken the apparell of monkes profession. Therefore let Christs Vicar (being a professour of most high holinesse) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honor, to the offence of all people, and the preiudice and

Publike respect to be preferred before priuate.

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hurt of the Romish church, and the deuotion of it, and cutting away kingdomes from it. But if you say, it is not requisit that the cause of Gods church should bee called in controuersie, and therefore we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gain-sayeth it. To the which we answere, if it be the cause of God and the church, let the generall councel iudge of it: but if it be a personal cause (as almost all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather chuse a temporall death, thē to suffer such a wauering, I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endlesse destruction of soules, to the offence of the whole world, and to an euerlasting shame of the apostolicall dignity. Did not Clement named (or that I may more truly speake) ordained of S. Peter to the apostolike dignitie and to be bishop, resigne his right, that his deed might be taken of his successours for an example? Also pope Siricius gaue ouer his popedome to bee a comfort of the 11000. Virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if need require) giue ouer your popedome, that you might gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, euen to bloodshed: so is it sometimes necessarie for a man to winke at his owne cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that meanes better to procure peace. Should not he be thoght a diuell, and Christs enemie of all men, that would agree to an election made of him for the apostolical dignitie and popedome, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, diuision of the church, the offence and losse of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be knowne to all the world by Gods reuelation, to come to passe by such receiuing of the popedome and apostolicall dignitie: then by the like reason, why shall he not bee iudged of all men an apostata, and forsaker of his faith, which chuseth dignitie, or rather worldly honor, then the vnitie of the church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God which are scattered abroad: but such an enemie of God and the church wisheth his subiects bodilie to die in battell, and the more part of the world to perish in soule, rather then forsaking to be pope, to liue in a lower state, although it were honorable. If the feare of God, the desire of the heauenly kingdome, and the earnest loue of the vnitie of the church do moue your heart, shew in deed that your workes may beare record to the truth.

Answere to a popish obiection.

Hard counsell for the pope.

Vnitie of the church to be preferred before worldly dignitie.

Clement and Siricius most holy popes, not only are not reproued, but rather are reuerenced of all men, because they gaue ouer their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the church of holy men shew forth their praise. Likewise, your name should liue for euer and euer, if yee would do the like for a necessarie cause, that is to say, for the vnitie of Gods church. Giue no heed to the vnmeasurable cryings of them that say, that the right chusing of popes is lost, except ye defend your parts manfully: but be afraid, lest such stirrers vp of mischiefe looke for their owne commoditie or honor, that is to say, that vnder your wing they might bee promoted to riches and honor. After this sort Achitophel was ioyned with Absolon in persecuting his owne father, and false vsurping of his kingdome.

The pope will not lose his dignitie, for any publike tranquillitie.

Wicked flatterers about the pope.

Furthermore, there should be no ieopardie to that election, because both parties sticke stiflie to the old fashion of election, and either of them couet the preeminēce of the Romish church, counselling all christians to obey them. And although through their giuing ouer, the fashion of chusing the pope should bee changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather then to suffer anie longer this diuision in Gods church. For that fashion in chusing is not so necessarily required to the state of a pope, but the successour of the apostle as necessarie cause required, might come in at the doore by another fashion of chusing, and that canonicall enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the fathers: for Peter the apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by false vsurping of power, as wee suppose. And it was thought, that that fashiō of appointing popes, was lawful vnto the time of pope Hilarie: Which decreed that no pope should appoint his successour.

Better that the order of the popes election should cease, then the church should suffer any diuision.

Bishops of Rome appointed their successors to the time of pope Hilarie.

Afterward, the election of the pope went by the clergie and people of Rome, and the emperours counsell agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the blessed Gregorie. But Martinus pope with the consent of the holy Synode, granted Charles the power to chuse the pope. But of late Nicolas the second was the first whom Martine makes mention of in his counsels, to be chosen by the cardinals. But all the bishops of Lumbardie (for the most part) withstood this election, and chose Cadulus to be pope, saying, that the pope ought not to be chosen, but of the precinct of Italie. Wherefore, we thiuke it not a safe way so earnestly to sticke to the traditions of men, in the fashion of chusing the pope, and so oft to change, lest we be thought to breake Gods traditions concerning the vnitie of the church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordaine a new fashion of his election, and meeter for him as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the same election might bee kept safe, if Gods honor were looked for afore your owne, and the peace of the church were vprightly sought: for such a dishonoring should bee most honor vnto you, and that giuing place should be the getting of a greater dignitie, and the willing deposing of your honor, should obtaine you the entrie of euerlasting honor, and should procure the loue of the whole world toward you, and you should deserue to be exalted continually, as Dauid was in humbling himselfe. O how monstrous a sight and how foule a monster is a mans bodie disfigured with two heads? So if it were possible, the spouse of Christ should be made so monstrous, if she were ruled with two such heads: but that is not possible, shee is euer altogether faire, in whom no spot is found; therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and thruster in of his second head: We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickednes in Gods house, that wee should suffer Gods cote that wants a seame, by any meanes to be torne by the hands of two, that violently draw it in sunder. For if these two should bee suffred to raigne together, they would so betwixt them teare in pieces that little coate of the Lord, that scarse one piece would hang to another. They passe the wickednes of the souldiers that crucified Christ: for they willing to haue the coat remaine whole, said: Let vs not cut it, but let vs cast lots for it, whose it shall be. But these two popes suffring their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in deeds) they pronounce this sentēce: It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be diuided, for they chose rather, as it appeareth, to be Lords (though it be but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the vnitie of the church) then in leauing that lording, to seek for the peace of the church. We doe not affirme this, but we shew almost the whole iudgemēt of the world of thē, being moued so to think by likely conlectures. We looked for amendment of this intollerable confusion, by the space that these two inuenters of this mischiefe liued. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble: for neither in their liues nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two waies, left to their successors matters of contention continuall. But now for the space of seuen yeeres of their successors, that which we desired and looked for afore (that is, they should beare good grapes, and they bring forth wilde grapes) in this matter we fall into a deepe despaire. But in as much that we heare the comfort of the Lord, which promised that miserablie he would destroy those wicked men, and let his vineyard to other husband-men which will bring him fruit at their times appointed, hee hath promised faithfully that he will helpe his spouse in her need to the end of the world: and we leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope, contrarie to hope beleeuing, by Gods grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this miserie, when a conuenient time shall serue, as much as our kingly power is able, although our witte doth not perceiue how these things afore rehearsed may be amended: yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of Gods promise, will do our endeuour: like as Abraham beleeued, his son being slaine by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should encrease to the number of the stars, according to Gods promise. Now therefore the time drawes neere to make an end of this schisme, left a third election of a schismaticke against the apostles successor make a custome of the doing, and so the pope of Auinion shal be double Romish pope, and he shall say with his partakers, as the Patriarch of Constantinople said vnto Christs vicar when he forsooke him: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with vs. And is much to be feared of all christen men: For that Pharisie begins now to be called the pope of Auinion among the people. But peraduenture it would be thought of some men, that it belōgeth not to secular princes to bridle outrages of the pope. To whom we answere, that naturally the members put themselues in ieopardie for to saue the head, and the parts labour to saue the whole. Christ so decked his spouse, that her sides should cleaue together, and should vphold themselues, by course of time and occasion of things, they should correct one another and cleaue together tunablie. Did not Moses put downe Aaron, because he was vnfaithfull? Salomon put downe Abiathar, who came by lineall descent from Anatoth, and remoued his priesthood frō his kindred to the stock of Eliazar in the person of Sadocke which had his beginning frō Elie the priest? 3. Reg. 2. Otho emperour, deposed pope Iohn the 12. because he was lecherous. Henrie the emperour put downe Gratianus, because he vsed Simonie in buying and selling spirituall liuings. And Otho deposed pope Bennet the first, because he thrust in himselfe. Therfore by like reason, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the church: if the quality of his fault require it, or the necessitie of the church by this compel to helpe the church oppressed by tyrannie? In old time schismes which rose about making the pope, were determined by the power of secular princes, as the schisme betwixt Symmachus & Laurēce was ended in a councell before Theodoricus king of Italy. Henrie the emperour when two did striue to be pope, he deposed them both, and receiued the third being chosen at Rome to be pope, that is to say, Clement the second, which crowned him with the imperiall crowne. And the Romanes promised him that from thenceforth they would promote none to bee pope without his consent. Alexander also ouercame foure popes schismatickes, all which Fredericke the emperour corrected.

Christs seamlesse coat broken.

The popes compared to the souldiers that crucified Christ.

A godly purpose if it had been put in execution.

Secular princes are to bridle the outrages of the pope.

Popes put downe by princes.

Thus looke on the register of popes and their deeds, and ye shall find that schismes most commonly haue been decided by the powers of secular princes, the schismatickes cast out, and sometimes new popes made, & sometime the old ones cast out of

Election of the pope not as was before.

Good counsell lost.

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Lawfull that princes should withstand the tyrannie of the pope.

of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities againe. If it were not lawfull for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope lawfully made, and afterward becomming a tyrant: in such a case he might oppresse ouermuch the Church, he might change christendome into heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vaine, or else truely God should not haue prouided for his spouse in earth by all meanes as much as is possible by seruice of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsell you with such a louing affection as becomes children, that ye consider in your heart well, lest in working by this meanes ye prepare a way to antichrist, through your desire to beare rule, and so by this means as we feare the one of these two shall chance: either ye shall cause all the princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to haue the state of the Apostolicall dignitie; or, that is worse, the whole world despising the ruling of one shepheard, shall leaue the Romish church desolate. But God keepe this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the Church of God: for then that departing away which the Apostle prophecied, should come afore the comming of antichrist were at hand: which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receiue antichrist with honour. Consider therefore the state of your most excellent holinesse, how ye receiued the power from God to the building of the Church, and not to the destruction, that Christ hath giuen you wine and oyle to heale the wounded, and hath appointed you his vicar in these things as pertaine to gentlenesse, and hath giuen vs these things which serue to rigour. For we beare not the sword without a cause to the punishment of euill doers, the which power ordained of God we haue receiued, our selues being witnesse: beseeching you to receiue our counsell effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweete with salt: lest the axe swimme on the water and the wood sinke, and lest the fruitfull Oliue degender into a wilde Oliue, and the leprosie of Naaman that Noble man, cleaue continually to the house of Giezy, and lest the pope and the Pharisies crucifie Christ againe. Christ the spouse of the Church, which was wont to bring the chiefe bishop into the holiest place, encrease your holines, or rather restore it being lost. Written, &c. *Ex Fragmento libri cuiusdam Dunelm.*

The king reweth here to prophecie of the desolation of the Roman pope.

The pope and Pharisies, new crucifiers of Christ.

¶ This epistle of king Richard the 2. written to pope Boniface the 9. in the time of the schisme, about the yeere as appeareth 1397. as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsell to be followed, so how little he wrought with the pope, the sequell afterward declared. For the schisme notwithstanding continued long after, in which neither of the popes would giue ouer their holde, or yeeld any thing to good counsell giuen them, for any respect of publike wealth. Such a stroke beareth ambition in this apostolicall see, which we are wont so greatly to magnifie. But of this enough, which I leaue and referre to the consideration of the Lord, seeing men will not looke vpon it.

Drawing now toward the latter end of king Richards raigne, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of king Edward the third, so here also we shew forth a summarie recapitulation of such parliamentall notes and proceedings, as then were practised by publike parliament in this kings time, against the iurisdiction of the bishop of Rome: to the intent, that such (if any such be) that thinke, or haue thought the receiuing of the popes double authoritie to be such an ancient thing within this realme, may diminish their opinion, as euidentlie may appeare by diuers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and inuesting of bishops by the king. As where king Oswin commanded Cedde to bee ordained archbishop of Yorke. Also where king Egfride caused Cuthbert to be brought to king Canute, and at his commandement was instituted bishop of the same see. Ex lib. Malmesb. de gestis pontif. Anglorum. And likewise Matth. Parisiensis testifieth, that king Henrie the third gaue the archbishoprick of Canturburie, to Radulphus then bishop of London, and inuested him with staffe and ring. And the same king gaue the bishoprick of Winchester to William Gifford: and moreouer, following the steps both of his father and brother before him, endued him with the possessions pertaining to the said bishoprick (the contrarie statute of pope Urbane, forbidding that clerks should receiue any Ecclesiasticall dignitie at the hand of princes, or of any lay person, to the contrarie notwithstanding, &c.) Innumerable examples of like sort are to be seene in ancient histories of this our realme. As also out of the parliament rolles in the time of king Edward the third, hath sufficiently been touched a little before. Whereunto also may be added the notes of such parliaments as haue been holden in the raigne of this present king Richard the second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

The popes vsurped iurisdiction neuer receiued in England, before a late yeares.

Ex lib. Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pontif. Anglorum.

Ex Mat. Paris. lib. de vita Hen.

¶ Notes of certaine Parliaments holden in the raigne of King Richard the second, making against the Pope.

Ex Archiuis parlamentariis. An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. nu. 66.

IN the first yeere of king Richard the second, in the parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, that the popes collector bee willed no longer to gather the first fruits of benefices within this realme, being a verie noueltie, and that no person doe any longer pay them.

Item, that no man do procure any benefice by prouision from Rome, on paine to be out of the kings protection. Tit. 67.

Item, that no Englishman doe take to farme of any Alien, any ecclesiasticall benefice or prebend, on the like paine. In which bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had fiue thousand pounds yeerely of such liuings in England. Tit. 68.

Item, that remedie might be had against the popes reseruations to dignities electiue, the same being done against the treatie of the pope, taken with king Edward 3. Tit. 77.

In the second yeere of the said king Richard the second, it was by petition requested, that some order might bee taken touching Aliens, hauing the greatest part of the Church dignities in their hands. Whereunto the king answered, that by aduice of the lords, he would prouide therefore. *Ex Anno 2.* Tit. 70.

Item, it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals and other rebels to pope Urbane that now is, shall be seased into the kings hands. Tit. 71.

An Act that pope Urbane was true and lawfull pope, and that the liuings of all Cardinals and other rebels to the said pope, should bee seased into the kings hands, and the king bee answered of the profits thereof: And that whosoeuer within this Realme, shall procure or obtaine any prouision or other instrument from any other pope then the same Urbane, shall be out of the kings protection. Tit. 78.

Moreouer, in the third yeere of king Richard the second, the prelats and clergie made their protestation in this Parliament, expressely against a certaine new grant, to wit, their extortions: That the same neuer should passe with their assent and good will, to the blemishing of the liberties of the Church, if by that word extortion, they meant any thing largelie to proceed against Ordinaries and others of the Church. But if they meant none otherwise to passe hereafter therein, then before that time had been done, then would they consent. Whereunto it was replied for the king, that neither for the same their said protestation, or other words in that behalfe, the king would stay to grant to his Iustices in that case, and all other cases, as was vsed to bee done in times past, and was bound to doe by vertue of his oth done at his coronation. *Ex 3. Anno Reg. Rich. 2.*

Here note well a strange proceeding.

But marke the strange euent.

Furthermore, in the fourth yeere of the said king Richard the second, it was requested, that prouision might be had against the popes collectors, for leuying of the first fruits of ecclesiasticall dignities within the realme. Tit. 44.

Item, that all priors Aliens might bee remooued out of their houses, and licensed to depart, and neuer to reuert. And that English men may be placed in their liuings, answering the king as they did. Tit. 46.

And in the 9. yeere of the foresaid king touching matter of the Staple: the speaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought best the same were planted within the realme, considering that Calis, Bruges, and other townes beyond the seas, grew very rich thereby, and good townes here very much decayed, and so much for the common profit. Touching the king, hee affirmed that the subsidie and custome of wooll yeelded more to the king when the staple was kept in England by one thousand markes yeerely, then it did now being holden beyond the seas. *Ex 9. Anno eiusdem Regis.* Tit. 4.

Item: that inquisition and redresse might bee had against such religious persons, as vnder the licence to purchase 10. li. yeerely, doe purchase 80. li. or 100. li. Tit. 36.

Item, that all clerks aduanced to any ecclesiasticall dignitie or liuing by the king, will grant to the king the first fruits of their liuings, none otherwise then they would haue done to the pope, being aduanced by him. Tit. 44.

In the 11. yeere of king Richard the second, it was put vp by the petitions of the commons, that such impositions as are gathered by the popes bulles of Volumus and imponimus of the translations of B.B. and such like, might bee imployed on the kings warres against the schismatickes of Scotland. And that such as bring into the Realme the like bulles and nouelties, may be reputed for traitors. Tit. 26.

In the 13. yeere of his raigne, followed another Parliament, in which, although the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, for them and the whole clergie of their prouinces, made their solemne protestations in open Parliament, that they in no wise meant or would assent to any statute or law made in restraint of the popes authoritie, but vtterly withstood the same, willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the said protestation of theirs at that time tooke no great effect. *An. 13. Regis Rich. 2.* Tit. 24.

Item, in the same Parliament was put vp by publike petition, that the popes collector should bee commanded to auoid the Realme within 40. daies, or else to be taken as the kings enemie, and that euery such collector from henceforth, may be an Englishman, and sworne to execute the statutes made in this Parliament. Tit. 34.

Moreouer, in the said Parliament, the yeere aboue said of the king, the 26. of Januarie, M. John Mandour Clerke was charged openly in the Parliament, that he should not passe, ne send ouer to Rome, ne attempt or do any thing there touching

the Archdeaconrie of Durham in preiudice of the King, or of his lawes, or of the party presented thereto by the King, on perill that might ensue.

Exan. 14. Regis Richard. secundi, tit. 6.

The next yeere following, which was the 14. of this Kings raigne, it was enacted first touching the staplers, that after the feast of the Epiphany next ensuing, that the staple should be remoued from Calice into England, in such places as are contained in the statute made in 27. Edw. 3. the which statute should be fully executed: and further, that euery Alien that bringeth merchandise into the Realme, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away commodities of the Realme, to halfe the value of his said merchandise.

Tit. 24. Against vsury.

Item, in the same Parliament petition was made, that against the horrible vice of vsurie, then termed chifts, practised as well by the clergie as laitie, the order made by John Notte, late Maior of London, might be executed throughout the Realme.

Ex tit. 29.

Moreouer, in the 15 yeere of the raigne of the foresaid King it was accorded, for that Sir William Brian Knight had purchased from Rome a Bull directed from the Archbishops of Canturbury and Yorke, to excommunicate such as had broken vp his house, and had taken away diuers letters, priuilegies, and charters: the same Bull being read in the Parliament house, was adiudged preiudiciall to the Kings crowne, and in derogation of the lawes, for the which he was by the King and assent of the lords committed to the Tower, there to remaine at the Kings will and pleasure.

Vide articulum. Tit. 29.

In the said Parliament also, William Archbishop of Canturbury maketh his protestation in the open Parliament, saying, that the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or to entermeddle, for, or touching any presentment to any ecclesiasticall dignity recorded in any the Kings courts. He further protested, that the Pope ought to make no translation to any Bishopricke within the Realme against the Kings will: for that the same was to the destruction of the Realme and crowne of England, which hath alway beene so free, as the same hath had none earthly souereigne, but onely subiect to God in all things touching regalities, and to none other. The which protestation he prayed might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Rich. 2. Titul. 33.

In the 17. yeere of the raigne of the King aforesaid, it was desired that remedie might be had against such religious persons as caused their villaines or vnderlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the lands came to those religious mens hands by collusion.

43.

Item, that sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may dwell on the same, so as their flocke for want thereof doe not perish.

45.

Item, that remedy might be had against the Abbats of Colchester and Abington, who in the townes of Colchester and Colnham claime to haue sanctuarie.

Ex an. 20. Reg. Rich. 2. Tit. 22.

To come to the Parliament holden in the 20. yeere of this Kings raigne: we find moreouer in the said rolles, how that the Archbishops of Canturbury and Yorke, for themselues and the clergy of their prouinces, declared to the King in open Parliament, that forasmuch as they were sworne to the Pope and see of Rome, if any thing were in the Parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same; the which their protestation they require to be enrolled.

Here the Archbishop of Canturburie goeth contrary to himselfe.

Titul. 32.

Upon the petition of the begging Friers there at large it was enacted, that none of that order should passe ouer the seas, without licence of his Souereigne, nor that he should take vpon him any order of D. of Diuinitie, vnlesse he were first apposed in his Chapter prouinciall, on paine to be put out of the Kings protection.

Tit. 36.

Item, that the Kings officers for making arrests or attachments in Churchyards, are therefore excommunicated; whereof remedy was required.

Ex 21. an. Reg. Rich. 2. titul. 15.

In the yeere of the same Kings raigne 21. the Parliament being holden at Westminster, we find how the commons in full Parliament, accused Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Canturbury, for that he as Chancellor procured, and as chiefe doer executed the same commission, made traiterously in the tenth yeere of the King. And also that he the said Archbishop procured the Duke of Gloucester and the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, to encroch to themselues royall power, and to iudge to death Simon de Burley, and sir John Berners without the Kings assent. Whereon, the Commons required that the same Archbishop might rest vnder safe keeping: whereunto, for that the same impeachments touched so great a person, they would be aduised.

Ex tit. 16.

Item, the 25. day of September, the Commons prayed the king to giue iudgement against the said Archbishop, according to his deserts. The king answered, that priuately the said Archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistooke himselfe in the said Commission, and therefore submitted himselfe to the kings mercy: Wherefore the king, lords, and sir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergie, adiudged the fact of the said Archbishop to be treason, and himselfe a traitour, and therefore it was ordered, that the said Archbishop should be banished, his temporalties seased, his lands and goods forfeited, as well in vse as in possession.

Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Canturbury proued a traytour by Parliament.

Ex tit. 17.

The King further prescribed, that the said Archbishop should take his passing on Friday within fiue weekes of Michaelmas, at Douer, towards the parts of France.

Thus hauing hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as haue hapned in the raigne of this king, necessarie for the Church to know, by course of storie: we come now to the 22. yeere of king Richards raigne, which is the yeere of our Lord, 1399. In the which yeere hapned the strange and also lamentable deposing of this king Richard the second aforesaid, from his kingly scepter. Strange, for that the like example hath not often beene seene in seates roiall. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grieuous to any good mans heart, to see him either so to deserue, if he were iustly deposed: or if he were vniustly deprined, to see the kingly title there not able to hold his right, where by force, it is compelled to giue place to might.

Anno 1399. The deposing of king Richard the second. The story strange and lamentable.

As concerning the order and processe of whole deposing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the kings records, in the Chronicle of S. Albans, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof: What were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath beene touched. In whom, as some good vertues may be noted, so also some vices may seeme to be mixed withall. But especially this, that he starting out of the steps of his progenitors, ceased to take part with them, which tooke part with the Gospell. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind whéele of fortune, but by the secret hand of him, which directeth all estates: that as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the Gospell of God, so the Lord beganne to forsake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to faile, there can lacke no causes to be charged withall, whom God once giueth ouer to mans punishment. So that to me, considering the whole life and trade of this Prince, among all other causes alledged in stories against him: none seemeth so much to be waighed of vs, or more hurtfull to him, then this forsaking of the Lord and his word. Although to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withall, many and sundry defects in that King may appeare in stories to the number of 33. Articles alledged or forced rather against him.

Vices and vertues mixt in king Richard.

What it is to forsake the maintenance of the Gospell.

Articles 33. laid against king Richard.

In which, as I cannot denie, but that he was worthy of much blame, so to be displaced therefore from his regall seat, and rightfull state of the crowne, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare, or so materiall in a Prince, which either could or else would haue serued: had not he giuen ouer before to serue the Lord and his word, chusing rather to serue the humour of the pope and bloudy prelates, then to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of his word. And then, as I said, how can enimies lacke where God standeth not to friend? or what cause can be so little which is not able inough to cast downe, where the Lords arme is shortned to sustaine? Wherefore, it is a point of principall wisedome in a Prince, not to forget, that as he standeth alwaies in nede of God his helping hand, so alwaies he haue the discipline and feare of him before his eies, according to the counsell of the godly king Dauid, Psalme 2.

Gods speciall fauour necessary for princes. Psal. 2.

And thus much touching the time and race of this King Richard, with the tragicall storie of his deposing. The order and maner whereof purposely I pretermit, onely contented briefely to lay together a few speciall things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient in a briefe summe, both to satisfie the Reader inquisitiue of such stories, and also to forewarne other Princes to beware the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this Prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the fauouring and aduancing of certaine persons about him, and ruled all by their counsell, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the Realme: The names of whom were Robert Vere Earle of Orford, whom the king had made Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill Archbishop of Yorke, Michael Delapole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe Iustice, Nicolas Brembre, with other.

The King led with leaud counsell.

These men, being hated and disdained of diuers of the nobles, and of the commons, the king also by fauouring them, was lesse fauoured himselfe. In so much, that the Duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstocke the Kings Vncle, with the Earle of Warwicke, and Earle of Darby, stood vp in armes against those counsellers and abusers (as they named them) of the king. In so much that the king for feare was constrained against his minde to remoue out of his court, Alexander Neuill Archbishop of Yorke, John Fourde Bishop of Duresme, Frier Thomas Rushoke Bishop of Chichester the kings confessor, with the lord Haringworth, lord Burnell, and Bemond, lord Vere, and diuers other.

The Nobles vp in armes against certaine of the kings Counsellers.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the same yeere following, Robert Trisilian the Iustice was hanged & drawne. Also Nicolas Brembre knight, James Salisburie also, and James Barnese both knights, John Beuchamp the Kings Steward, and John Blake Esquire in like maner. All these by the counsell of the lords being cast in the Parliament against the kings minde, did suffer, which was in the 11. of his raigne.

raigne, he being yet vnder gouernours: but consequently after the same, the king claiming his owne libertie, being come to the age of 20. began to take more vpon him. And this was one thing that stirred vp the kings stomacke against the Nobles. Ex Chron. Alban.

Ex Chron. D. Alban.

The second preparatiue to the kings deposing.

2. Another thing that stirred him vp as much against the Londoners was this, for that he would haue borrowed of them a thousand pound, and they denied him, to their double and triple disaduantage, as after ensued vpon it. Ibidem. Another occasion besides this, betweene the king and the Londoners hapned thus, by reason of one of the bishops of Salisburies seruants, named Roman, and a bakers man: who then carying a basket of horsebread in Fleetstreet, the foresaid Roman tooke a horseloafe out of the basket. The baker asking why he did so, the bishops lustie yeoman turned backe againe and brake his head: whereupon the neighbors came out, and would haue arrested this Roman, but he escaped away vnto the bishops house. Then the Constable would haue had him out, but the bishops men shut fast the gates, that they should not approch. Thus, much people gathered together, threatning to burst open the gates and fire the house, vnlesse they had the foresaid partie to them brought out. Whereby much adoe there was, till at length the Maior and Sheriffes came and quieted the rage of the commons, and sent euery man home to his house, charging them to keepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done, but if the bishop for his part had been quiet, and had not stirred the coles of debate, which were well slaked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomacke of the bishop not yet digested (although his man had done the wrong) hauing no great cause so to do, whose name was John Waltam, being then Treasurer of England, went to Thomas Arundel, archbishop the same time of Yorke, and Lord Chancellor of England, to complaine of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather reuealed by the way a priuie mysterie, which although it be not in this storie touched of the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously known to be fauourers of Wickliffes side, as partly before this is to be seene, and in the storie of S. Albones more plainely doth appeare: Where the author of the said history writing vpon the 15. yeere of king Richards raigne, reporteth in these words of the Londoners, that they were Male creduli in deum & traditiones auitas, Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractores, decimarum detentores, & communis vulgi depauperatores, &c. that is, not right beleeuers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, fosteiners of the Lollards, deprauers of religious men, withholders of tithes, and impouerishers of the common people, &c.

John Waltam bishop of Salisburie maketh debate.

Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke.

Londoners fauourers of Wickliffes doctrine.

Ex histor. D. Albani, cuius sic habet initium, An. gratia, &c.

Thus the Londoners being noted and suspected of the bishops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the said bishops, which were the more ready to finde and take all occasions to worke against them, as by their doing herein may well appeare. For the bishop of Salisburie, and Archbishop of Yorke, hauing no greater matter against them, then was declared: with a grieuous complaint went to the king, complaining of the Maior and Sheriffes of London. What trespasse the Maior and Sheriffes had done, as ye haue heard before, so may you iudge. Now what followed after let vs heare. The king incensed not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceiued ex-ssones against the Maior and Sheriffes, and against the whole Citie of London, a great stomacke: In so much that the Maior and both the Sheriffes were sent for, and remoued from their office. Sir Edward Darlington then was made warden and gouernor of the citie, who also for his gentlenesse shewed to the citizens, was also deposed, and another named sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that rome. Moreouer, so much grew the kings displeasure against the citie, that he also remoued from London the courts, and termes to be kept at Yorke, that is to say, the Chancerie, the Eschequer, the kings Bench, the Hampet, and the common Pleas: where the same continued from Midsummer till Christmas, to the great decay of the citie of London: which was an. 1393.

Londoners complained of to the king, by the bishops.

Beasi pacifici.

The court remooned from London to Yorke.

3. Another great cause which purchased the king much euill will amongst his subiects, was the secret murthering of his owne vncle named Thomas Woodstocke, duke of Glocester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said duke, with the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwicke, and the earle of Darby, with other were vp in armor against certaine wicked counsellors about the king. Whereupon, the king watching afterward his time, came into Chelmesford, and so to the place neere by, where the duke lay: where with his own hands he arrested the said duke his vncle, and sent him downe by water immediatlie to Calice, and there through the kings commandement, by secret meanes was put to death, being strangled vnder a featherbed, the earle marshal being then the keeper of Calis, whereby great indignation rose in many mens hearts against the king.

The tyrannous preparatiue to the kings deposing.

The king arresting his owne Uncle, caused him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the same duke of Glocester also about the same time, was arrested and imprisoned the earle of Warwicke, and the earle of Arundell, who being condemned by Parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the king: an. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blanke chartes sent ouer all the land by the king; and how the king was said to let out his realme to farme: Ouer and beside all these aboue premised, fell another matter, which was the principall occasion of this mischiefe: The banishment I meane of Henrie earle of Darby, and made duke of Herford a little before, being sonne of John of Gaunt the duke of Lancaster (who died shortlie after the banishment of his sonne, and lieth buried in the Church of S. Paul in London) and the duke of Northfolke: who was before earle of Nottingham, and after by this king, made duke of Northfolke the yeere before. At which time the king made fiue dukes, a marques, and foure earles, to wit, duke of Herford, which was before earle of Darby: duke of Awmerle, which was before earle of Rutland: duke of Southrey, who was before earle of Kent: duke of Exeter, which was before earle of Huntington; and this duke of Northfolke, being before earle of Nottingham, as is afore-saide, &c. The occasion of banishing these foresaid dukes, was this:

Earle of Nottingham made duke of Northfolke.

About this present time, the duke of Herford did appeach the duke of Northfolke vpon certaine words to bee spoken against the king: whereupon, casting their gloues one against the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrell, a day being for the same appointed at Couentrie. But the king tooke vp the matter in his owne hands, banishing the duke of Northfolke for euer, which after died at Uenice; and the other duke, which was the duke of Herford, for 10. yeeres. Beside these, also was exiled into France, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturbury, by Act of Parliament, in the same yeere, for points of treason, as ye haue heard before expressed, pag. 472. col. 1. All which turned to the great inconuenience of this king, as in the euent following may appeare.

The duke of Northfolk, and duke of Herford banished.

Thomas Arundell banished as a traytor, by Parliament.

These causes and preparatiues thus premised, it followed the yeere after, which was an. 1399. and last yeere of this king, that the king vpon certaine affaires to be done, tooke his voiage into Ireland. In which meane time, Henry of Bollingbroke, earle of Darby, and duke of Herford, and with him the foresaid archbishop Thomas Arundell, (which before were both exiled) returning out of France to Calice, came into England, challenging the dukedome of Lancaster, after the death of his father. With them also came the sonne and heire of the earle of Arundell, being yet but young. These together setting out of Calice, arriued at Rauenspur in the North. At the knowledge whereof, much people gathered vnto them.

{Anno 1399}

In this meane time, as the duke was houering on the sea to enter the land, lord Edmund duke of Yorke the kings Uncle, to whom the king committed the custodie of this realme (hauing intelligence thereof) called to him the bishop of Chichester, named Edmund Stafford, Chancellor of the realme, and William Scrope, earle of Wiltshire lord Treasurer, also John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Greene, and John Rushell, with diuers other, consulting with them what was best in that case to be done. Who then gaue their aduice (whether wilfull, or vnskilfull, it is not knowne, but very vnfruitfull) that hee should leaue London, and goe to Saint Albons, there to wait for more strength, able to encounter with the duke. But as the people out of diuers quarters resorted thither, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the harme and preiudice of the duke of Lancaster, who, they said, was vniustly expulsed. The rest then of the counsell, John Bushey, William Bagot, Henrie Greene, William Scroupe Treasurer, hearing and vnderstanding how the commons were minded to ioyne with the duke of Herford, left the duke of Yorke, and the Lord Chancellor, and fled to the castell of Bristow. Where is to be vnderstood, that these foure were they, to whom the common fame ranne that the king had let out his realme to farme: and were so hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more then for the king, this commotion was among the people.

What euill companie doth about a king.

As this broile was in England, the noise thereof sounding to the kings eares, being then in Ireland, for haste speede of returning into England, left in Ireland both his busines, and most of his ordinance also behind him. And so passing the seas, landed at Milford hauen, not daring, as it seemed, to come to London.

King Richard returneth from Ireland, to Milford hauen.

On the contrarie side, vnto Henrie duke of Herford, being landed, as is said, in the North, came the earle of Northumberland, lord Henry Percie, and Henry his sonne the earle of Westmerland, lord Radulph Neuill, and other lords moe to a great number, so that the multitude rose to 60000. able souldiers. Who first making toward the Castle of Bristow, tooke the foresaid Bushey, Greene, Scroupe, and Bagot: of whom, three incontinent were beheaded, Bagot escaped away, and fled away to Ireland.

The king in this meane while, lying about Wales, destitute and desolate without comfort or counsell; who neither durst come to London, neither would any man come to him: and perceiuing moreouer, the commons that were vp in such a great power against him, would rather die, then giue ouer that they had begun, for feare of themselues: seeing therefore no other remedy, called to him lord T. Percy earle of Worcester,

King Richard forsaken of his subiects.

What it is for a prince to be beloued of his subiects.

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and steward of his houshold, willing him with other of his familie, to prouide for themselues in time. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commanding euery man to shift for himselfe. Although Fabian and some other say, that he did this of his owne accord, contrarie to his allegeance. The king compalled on euery side with miseries, shifted from place to place, the duke still following him, till at length being at the castle of Conewey, the king desired to talke with Thomas Arundell archbishop, and the earle of Northumberland: to whom he declared, that he would resigne vp his crowne, in condition that an honorable liuing might be for him prouided, and life promised to eight persons, such as he would name. Which being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the castle of Flint, where (after talke had with the duke of Lancaster) he was brought the same night by the duke and his armie to Chester, and from thence was conueyed secretly into the tower, there to be kept till the nert parliament. By the way as he came neere to London, diuers euill disposed men of the citie being warned thereof, gathered themselues, thinking to haue slaine him, for the great cruelties he had vsed before toward the citie; but by the policies of the Maior and rulers of the citie, the madnesse of the people was staied. Not long after followed the duke, and also began the parliament. In which parliament, the earle of Northumberland, with many other earles and lords were sent to the king in the tower, to take of him a full resignation according to his former promise, and so they did. This done, diuers accusations and articles were laid and engrolled against the said king, to the number of thirtie three, some say thirtie eight, which for the matter not greatly materiall in them contained, I ouerpasse. And the nert peare after was had to Pomfret castle, and there famished to death.

King Richard agreed to resigne his crowne.

The king committed to the tower.

¶ King Henrie the fourth.

AND thus king Richard by common assent being deposed from his rightful crowne, the duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundell the archbishop, to the seate royall: who there standing vp, and crossing himselfe on the forehead and the brest, spake in words as followeth.

The words of Henrie duke, claiming the crowne.

¶ In the name of God, Amen. I Henrie of Lancaster, claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third. And through the right that God of his grace hath sent to me with the help of my kin, and of my friends to recouer the same, which was in point to be vndone for default of good gouernance, and due iustice, &c.

King Henrie the fourth inthroned and crowned.

{Anno 1400}

¶ After which words, the Archbishop asking the assent of the people, being ioyfull of their new king, toke the duke by the hand, and placed him in the kingly throne, which was an. 1399. and shortly after by the foresaid archbishop he was crowned also for king of England: Ex Chron. De Alban.

The next yeare after, followed a parliament holden at Westminster: in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithfull priest, inflamed with zeale of true religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realme. But the matter being smelt before by the bishops, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the conuocation; where the said William Sautre being brought before the Bishops and Notaries thereunto appointed, the conuocation was deferred to the Saturday nert ensuing.

William Sautres martyr.

William Sautre brought before the bishops in the conuocation.

When Saturday was come, that is to say, the twelfth day of Februarie, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence of his councel prouincial, being assembled in the said Chapter house, against one sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplaine, personally then and there appearing by the commandement of the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie, obiected; that the said Sir William before the bishop of Norwich, had once renounced and abiured diuers and sundrie conclusions hereticall and erroneous; and that after such abiuration made, he publikely and priuily held, taught and preached the same conclusions, or else such like, disagreeing to the Catholike faith, and to the great perill and pernicious example of others. And after this, he caused such like conclusions holden and preached, as is said, by the said Sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read vnto the said archbishop, by maister Rober Hall, chancellor vnto the said bishop, in a certaine scrole written, in tenor of words as followeth.

Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre, parish Priest of the church Saint Scithe the Virgine in London, publikelie and priuilie doth hold these conclusions vnder written.

The articles of William Sautre.

¶ In primis, he saith, that he will not worship the crosse on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered vpon the crosse.

2 Item, that he would soner worship a temporall king, then the foresaid wodden crosse.

3 Item, that he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, then the very crosse of Christ, on which he hung, if it were before him.

4. Item, that he would rather worship a man truely contrite, then the crosse of Christ.

5. Item, that he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, then an angell of God.

6. Item, that if any man would visite the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on Pilgrimage to the Tombe of Saint Thomas, or else any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporall benefit: he is not bound to keepe his vow, but that he may distribute the expences of his vow vpon the almes of the poore.

7. Item, that euery Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the canonicall houres.

8. Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall words of the bodie of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

To which conclusions or articles being thus read, the Archbishop of Canturburie required the same Sir william to answere. And then the said William asked a copie of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answere vnto the same. Whereupon the said Archbishop commanded a copie of such articles or conclusions to be deliuered, then and there vnto the said Sir William, assigning the Thursday then nert ensuing to him to deliberate and make answere in. When Thursday the said day of appearance was come, Walter Nicolas Richton, auditor of the causes and businesse belonging to the said Archbishop (then being in the Parliament house at Westminster otherwise let) continued the said conuocation with all matters rising, depending and appertinent thereunto, by commandement of the said bishop, vntill the nert morrow at eight of the clocke. When the morrow came, being Friday, the foresaid sir William Sautre, in the chapter house before the said bishop and his councell prouinciall then and there assembled, making his personall appearance, exhibited a certaine scrole, containing the answeres vnto certaine articles or conclusions giuen vnto him, as is aforesaid, by the said bishop: and said, that vnto the foresaid archbishop he deliuered the same as his answere in that behalfe, vnder the tenor of such words as follow.

The answere of William Sautre giuen vp in writing.

I William Sautre priest vnworthie, say and answere, that I will not, nor intend not to worship the crosse whereon Christ was crucified, but onely Christ that suffered vpon the crosse: so vnderstanding me, that I will not worship the materiall crosse, for the grosse corporall matter: yet notwithstanding I will worship the same as a signe, token, and memoriall of the passion of Christ, *Adoratione vicaria*. And that I will rather worship a temporall king, then the foresaid wodden crosse, as the materiall substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodies of Saints, then the very crosse of Christ whereon he hung: with this addition, that if the very same crosse were afore me, as touching the materiall substance. And also, that I will rather worship a man truely confessed and penitent, then the crosse on which Christ hung, as touching the materiall substance.

The crosse materially not to be worshipped.

And, that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truely confessed and contrite, then an angell of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanitie of Christ, and so is not a blessed angell. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

A man predestinate rather to be worshipped, then an Angell: that is to say, neither can be worshipped without idolatrie.

Also, that if any man hath made a vow to visit the shrines of the Apostles Peter and Paul, or to goe on pilgrimage vnto S. Thomas tombe, or any whither else to obtaine any temporall benefit or commoditie; he is not bound simplie to keepe his vow, vpon the necessitie of saluation: but that he may giue the expences of his vow in almes amongst the poore, by the prudent counsell of his superiour, as I suppose.

And also I say, that euery Deacon and Priest is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the canonicall houres, according to the primitiue order of the church.

Holy bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

Also, touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the altar; I say, that after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words of the body of Christ, there ceaseth not to be very bread simplie, but remaineth bread, holy, true, & the bread of life: and I beleeue the said sacrament to be the very bodie of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words.

When all these answeres were throughlie by Maister Robert Hall, directlie and publikelie there read, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie inquired of the said sir William, whether he had abiured the foresaid heresies and errors obiected against him, as before is said, before the bishop of Norwich, or not; or else had reuoked and renounced the said or such like conclusions or articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed, that he had not. And then consequentlie (all other articles, conclusions and answeres aboue written, immediatlie omitted) the said archbishop examined the same sir William Sautre, especiallie vpon the sacrament of the altar.

First, whether in the sacrament of the altar after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words, remaineth very materiall bread or not. Vnto which interrogation, the same sir William somewhat waueringly said, and answered, that he knew not

not that. Notwithſtanding he ſaid, that there was very bread, becaule it was the bread of life which came downe from Heauen.

After that the ſaid archbiſhop demanded of him, whether in the Sacrament after the ſacramentall words, rightlie pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not? And to this queſtion the foreſaid William anſwered in like manner as before, ſaying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

After that, the foreſaid archbiſhop aſked him, whether the ſame materiall bread before conſecration, by the ſacramentall words of the prieſt rightly pronounced, bee tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread, into the very bodie of Chriſt, or not? Wherunto ſir William ſaid, that he knew not what that matter meant.

The connocation continued. W. Sautre againe examined.

And then the ſaid archbiſhop aſſigned vnto the ſaid ſir William, time to deliberate, and more fullie to make his anſwere till the nert day: and continued this connocation then and there till the morrow. Which morrow, to wit, the 19. day of Februarie being come, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie, in the ſaid chapter houſe of ſaint Paul in London, before his councell prouinciall, then and there aſſembled, ſpeciallie aſked and examined the ſame ſir William Sautre there perſonallie preſent, vpon the Sacrament of the altar, as before. And the ſame ſir William againe in like manner as before, anſwered.

After this, amongſt other things the ſaid biſhop demanded of the ſame William, if the ſame materiall bread being vpon the altar after the ſacramentall words being of the prieſt rightlie pronounced, is tranſubſtantiated into the verie bodie of Chriſt, or not? And the ſaid ſir William ſaid hee vnderſtood not what he meant.

Then the ſaid archbiſhop demanded, whether that materiall bread being round and white, prepared and diſpoſed for the Sacrament of the bodie of Chriſt vpon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requiſit thereunto, by the vertue of the ſacramentall words being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very bodie of Chriſt, and ceaſeth any more to be materiall and very bread, or not? Then the ſaid ſir William deridingly anſwering, ſaid hee could not tell.

Then conſequently the ſaid archbiſhop demanded, whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirmeth: that in the Sacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, being rightly pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread which before in nature was bread, ceaſeth any more to be bread. To this interrogation, the ſaid ſir William ſaid: that hee would ſtand to the determination of the church, where ſuch determination was not contrarie to the will of God.

Determination of the church ſo to be followed as it is ioyned to the will of God.

This done; he demanded of him againe, what his iudgement was concerning the Sacrament of the altar: Who ſaid and affirmed, that after the words of conſecration by the prieſt duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the ſame bread which was before the words ſpoken. And this examination about the Sacrament, laſted from eight of the clocke of the ſame day, vntill eleuen of the clocke, or thereabouts: inſomuch, that during all this time, the foreſaid William would no otherwiſe anſwere: neither yet touching the ſame Sacrament, receiue catholike information, according to the inſtitution of the popes church and his chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Canturburie, by the counſell and aſſent of his whole couent then and there preſent, did promulgate and giue ſentence by the mouth of Robert Hall, againſt the ſame ſir William Sautre (being perſonallie preſent, and refuſing to reuoke his hereſies, that is to ſay his true doctrine, but conſtantly defending the ſame) vnder the tenour of words as followeth.

The ſentence againſt W. Sautre.

IN the name of God, Amen. Wee Thomas by the grace of God archbiſhop of Canturburie, primat of England and Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall, by the authoritie of God almightie and bleſſed ſaint Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our owne authoritie ſitting for tribunall or chiefe Iudge, hauing God alone before our eies; by the counſell and conſent of the whole Clergie our fellow brethren, and ſuffraganes aſſiſtants vnto vs in this preſent councell prouinciall, by this our ſentence definitiue, do pronounce, decree and declare by theſe preſents, thee William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chawtrey, pariſh prieſt pretenſed, perſonallie appearing before vs, in & vpon the crime of hereſie iudiciallie and lawfullie conuict as an heretike, and as an heretike to be puniſhed.

Which ſentence definitiue being thus read; the foreſaid archbiſhop of Cant. continued in the ſame prouinciall councell till Wedneſday nert, and immediatly enſuing, to wit, the 24. day of the ſame moneth of Februarie: which being erpired, the biſhop of Norwich, according to the commandement of the ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie, preſented vnto the foreſaid William Sautre by a certaine friend of his, being preſent at the ſame councell, a certaine proceſſe incloſed and ſealed with his ſeale, giuing the names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeales: The tenour whereof followeth in this wiſe.

Memorandum, that vpon the laſt day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord, 1399. in the 7. indiction, and 10. yere of the papacie of pope Boniface the 2. in a certaine chamber within the manor houſe of the ſaid biſhop of Norwich, at South Helingham (where the regiſter of the ſaid biſhop is kept) before the houre of 9. in a certaine chapell within the ſaid manour ſituate, and the firſt day of May, then nert and immediatlie enſuing, in the foreſaid chamber, ſir William Chawtris, pariſh prieſt of the church of S. Margaret in the towne of Linne, appeared before the biſhop of Norwich, in the preſence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, frier Walter Diſſe, and John Kikinghall profeſſors in diuinitie, William Carlton, doctor of both lawes, and William Friſeby, with Hugh Bridham, publike Notaries: and there publikely affirmed and held, the concluſions, as before is ſpecified.

A certaine proceſſe againſt W. Sautre preſented by the biſhop of Norwich.

All and ſinguler the premiſes the foreſaid William affirmed vpon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19. day of May in the yere, indiction, and papacie aforeſaid, in the chapell within the manour houſe of the ſaid Henrie biſhop of Norwich, ſituate at South Helingham; the foreſaid ſir William, reuoked and renounced all and ſinguler the foreſaid his concluſions: abiuring and correcting all ſuch hereſies and errours, taking his oth vpon a booke before the foreſaid Henrie the biſhop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would neuer preach, affirme, nor hold, priuily nor apertly, the foreſaid concluſions: And that he would pronounce according to the appointment of the ſaid biſhop, the foreſaid concluſions to bee erroneous and hereſies, in the pariſh churches of Linne, and Tilney, and in other places at the aſſignement of the ſaid biſhop: and farther ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinance of the ſaid biſhop, touching the premiſes, in the preſence of the diſcreet and worſhipfull men afore recited with diuers other moe.

As concerning the firſt concluſion, that hee ſaid hee would not worſhip the croſſe, &c. hee confeſſed himſelfe to haue erred, and that the article was erroneous and ſubmitted himſelfe. And as touching the ſecond article, that hee ſaid he would rather worſhip a king, &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to haue erred, and the article to be erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelfe, and ſo forth of all the reſt.

Then nert after this, vpon the 25. day of May in the yere of our Lord aforeſaid, in the Churchyard of the chapell of ſaint James within the towne of Linne; the foreſaid William, in preſence of the foreſaid biſhop and clergie, and the people of the ſaid towne of Linne ſtanding round about; publickly declared in the Engliſh tongue, the foreſaid concluſions to bee erroneous and hereſies, as was contained in a certaine ſcrole. And after this, the 26. day of May in the yeere aboue ſaid, in the church of the hoſpitall of S. Johns in the towne of Linne; the ſaid ſir William, before the ſaid biſhop ſitting as iudge, ſware and toke his oth vpon the holy Euangeliſts, that hee would neuer after that time preach openly and publikely the foreſaid concluſions, nor would heare the confeſſions of any of the ſubiects of his dioces of Norwich, without the ſpeciall licence of the ſaid biſhop, &c. In the preſence of frier John Smermen, M. John Kikinghale, doctor of diuinitie, W. Carlton doctor of both lawes, and Thomas Bolton officer of the liberty of Linne aforeſaid, with diuers others.

The tenour of the ſcrole and recantation.

IN primis, touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſaid, that I would adore rather a temporall prince, and the liuelie bodies of the ſaints, then the woodden croſſe, whereupon the Lord did hang, I doe reuoke and recant the ſame as being therein deceiued. 1 2

To this I ſay, that the article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; the which I renounce and alke forgiuenelle thereof; and ſay, that it is a precious relique, and that I ſhall hold it while I liue, and that I ſweare here. 3

I know well that I erred wrongfullie, by falſe information: for I wot well, that a deacon or a prieſt is more bound to ſay his Mattins and houres, then to preach; for thereto hee is bounden by right: wherefore I ſubmit me, &c. 4

Touching that article, I know right well that I erred by falſe information. Wherefore I aſke forgiuenelle. 5

As concerning vowes, I ſay, that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it: for a man is holden to hold his vow, &c. 6

To the 7. article I ſay, that I did it by authoritie of prieſthood, wherethrough I knowledge well that I haue gilt and treſpaſſed: wherefore I ſubmit me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, ſwearing that I ſhall neuer hold it more. 7

The 8. I ſay, that I held it by falſe and wrong information. But now I know well that it is hereſie, and that bread anon as the word of the ſacrament is ſaid, is no longer bread materiall, but that it is turned into very Chriſts bodie; and that I ſweare here. 8

I ſay, that this is falſe and erroneous, &c. 9

I ſay as I ſaid, &c. 10

This being done, the 22. of Februarie aforeſaid in the yere of our Lord. 1400. in the chapter houſe of Saint Paul in London aforeſaid; the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canturbury, in

Procesle against William Sawtre.

in the conuocation of his prelats and clergie and such like men there being present, caused the fore recited procesle of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publikely to sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris. And afterward, he asked the said sir William, whether hee plainely vnderstood and knew such procesle and the contents within the same; and hee said, yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could say or obiect any thing against the procesle; and hee said, no. And after that incontinent, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie demanded and obiected against the said sir William, as diuers others more did: That after hee had before the bishop of Norwich reuoked and abiured iudicially diuers errors and heresies, that among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed: That in the same Sacrament of the altar after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained materiall bread: which heresie amongst others as errours also he abiured before the foresaid bishop of Norwich. Hereunto the foresaid William answered smiling or in mocking wise, saying, and denying that he knew of the premisses. Notwithstanding he publikely affirmed, that he held and taught the foresaid things after the date of the said procesle made by the said bishop of Norwich, and that in the same councell also he held the same. Then finallie, it was demanded of the said sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresie, and further to proceed vnto his degradation, according to the canonicall sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he alleage any cause to the contrarie.

Ex Regist. Cantuar.

Whereupon the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury by the counsell and consent of the whole councell, and especially by the counsell and assent of the reuerend fathers and bishops, as also priors, deanes, archdeacons, and other worshipfull doctours and clerks then and there present in the councell; fullie determined to proceed to the degradation, and actuall deposing of the said William Sautre, as refallen into heresie, and as incorrigible, according to the sentence definitiue put in writting, the tenour whereof is in words as followeth.

Sentence of relapse.

In the name of God Amen: Wee Thomas by the grace of God archbishop of Canturbury, Legate of the see Apostolical, and Metropolitane of all England: doe finde and declare, that thou William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris priest, by vs with the counsell and assent of all and singuler our fellow brethren and whole clergie, by this our sentence definitiue declared in writing, hast been for heresie conuict and condemned, and art (being againe fallen into heresie) to be deposed and degraded, by these presents.

And from that day being Wednesday, there was in the said councell prouinciall nothing further prosecuted, but was continued with all dependents, till the Friday next insuing. Which Friday approching, master Nicolas Rilhton, by the commandement of the said archbishop of Canturburie, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house; continued this councell and conuocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions, growing and annexed thereunto, to the next day, to wit, Saturday next and immediatly after ensuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26. of the said moneth of February, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie sate in the bishops seate of the foresaid church of S. Paul in London, and solemnely apparelled in his pontifical attire, sitting with him as his assistants, these reuerend fathers and bishops, of Londō, Lincolne, Hereford, Exeter, Meneuensis & Roffensis Episcopi, aboue mentioned; commanded and caused the said sir Wil. Sautry apparelled in priestly vestiments, to bee brought and appeare before him. That done, he declared & expounded in English to al the clergy and people therein a great multitude assembled: that all procesle was finished and ended against the said sir Wil. Sautry. Which thing finished, before the pronouncing of the said sentence of the Relapse against the said sir William, as is premised, hee often then and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said William in that behalfe, nothing abashed; hee proceeded to his degradation and actuall deposition in forme as followeth.

Sentence of degradation.

IN nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti: Wee Thomas by Gods permission archbishop of Canturbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the apostolike sée; doe denounce thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris, chaplaine fained, in the habite and apparell of a priest, as an heretike, and once refallen into heresie by this our sentence definitiue, by counsell, assent and authoritie, to be condemned: and by conclusion of al our fellow brethren, fellow bishops, prelats, councell prouinciall, and of the whole clergie; doe degrade and depriue thee of thy priestly order. And in signe of degradation and actuall deposition from thy priestly dignitie, for thine incorrigibilitie and want of amendment; wee take from thee the patent and chalice; and doe depriue thee of all power and authoritie of celebrating the masse: and also we pull from thy backe the casule, and take from thée the vestiment, and depriue thée of all manner of priestly honor.

The patent and chalice taken from him.

Also, we Thomas the aforesaid archbishop by authoritie, counsell and assent, which vpon the foresaid William we haue, being deacon pretensed, in the habit and apparell of a deacon; hauing the new Testament in thy hands, being an heretike, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid; doe degrade and put thée from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, wee take from thee the booke of the new Testament, and the stole, and doe depriue thée of all authoritie in reading of the Gospell, and of all and all manner of dignitie of a deacon.

The booke of the new Testament taken from him.

Item, we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsell, and assent, which ouer thée the foresaid William wee haue, being a subdeacon pretensed; in the habite and vestiment of a subdeacon, an hereticke, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid; doe degrade and put thée from the order of a subdeacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from thée the albe and maniple, and do depriue thée of all, and all manner of subdiaconicall dignity.

The albe taken from him.

Also, we Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by counsell, assent and authoritie which we haue ouer thée the foresaid William, an Acolyte pretensed, wearing the habite of an Acolyte, and hereticke, twice fallen, by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned; doe degrade and put from thée all order of an Acolyte. And in signe and token of this thy degradation, and actuall deposition, we take from thée the candlesticke and taper, and also Vrceolum, and doe depriue thée of all, and all manner dignitie of an Acolyte.

The candlesticke and taper taken from him.

Also we Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsell and authoritie, which vpon thee the foresaid William we haue, an Exorcist pretensed, in the habite of an Exorcist or holy water clerke, being an hereticke, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned; wee doe degrade and depose thee from the order of an Exorcist. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from thée the book of coniurations, and doe depriue thee of all and singuler dignitie of an Exorcist.

The holy water booke coniures from him.

Also, we Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsell, and authoritie, as is abouesaid, doe degrade and depose thée the foresaid William, reader pretensed, clothed in the habite of a reader, an hereticke, twice fallen, and by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned; from the order of a reader. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, wee take from thée the booke of the diuine lections (that is, the booke of the Church legend) and doe depriue thee of all and singuler manner of dignitie of such a reader.

He meaneth the legend booke, as saith the Register.

Item, we Thomas, archbishop of Canturburie aforesaid, by authoritie, counsell, and assent, the which we haue, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thée the foresaid William Sawtre, sexton pretensed, in the habite of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being an hereticke, twice fallen, by our sentence definitiue condemned, as aforesaid; from the order of a sexton. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thée the keies of the Church dooze, and thy surplice, and doe depriue thée of all and singuler manner of commodities of a dooze keeper.

The surplice taken from him.

The church dooze keies taken from him.

And also, by the authoritie of omnipotent God the father, the sonne and holy Gost, and by our authoritie, counsell, and assent of our whose councell prouinciall aboue written, we doe degrade thée, and depose thée, being here personallie present before vs, from orders, benefices, priuiledges and habite in the church; and for thy pertinacie in corrigible wee doe degrade thée, before the secular court of the high constable and marshall of England, being personallie present; and do depose thée from all and singuler clerkly honours and dignities whatsoeuer, by these writings. Also in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we haue caused thy crowne and ecclesiasticall tonsure in our presence to bee raced away, and vtterlie to bee abolished, like vnto the forme of a secular lay man: and heere doe put vpon the head of thée the foresaid William, the cap of a lay secular person: beséeching the court aforesaid, that they will receiue fauourably the said William vnto them thus recommitted.

Priuiledge of the clergie taken from him.

The priests cap taken from his head, maketh vp all in all.

Thus William Sawtre the seruant of Christ, being vtterlie thrust out of the popes kingdome, and metamorphosed from a clerke to a secular lay man, was committed (as yee haue heard) vnto the secular power. Which so done, the bishops yet not herewith contented, cease not to call vpon the king, to cause him to bee brought forth to spéedie execution. Whereupon the king, readie inough and too much to gratifie the clergie, and to retaine their fauours, directeth out a terrible decrée against the said William Sawtre, and sent it to the maior and sheriffes of London to be put in execution; the tenour whereof here vnder ensueth.

The decree of the king against William *Sawtre*.

The cruell decree of the king against Sawtre.

THe decrée of our Soueraigne Lord the king and his counsel in the parliament, against a certain new sprung vp hereticke. To the maior and sheriffes of London, &c. Whereas the reuerend father Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, primat of all England, and Legate of the apostolicke see, by the assent, consent, and counsell of other bishops, and his brethren Suffraganes, and also of all the whole clergie within his prouince or dioces, gathered together in his prouincial councel, the due order of the law being obserued in al points in this behalfes hath

had pronounced and declared by his definitiue sentence, William Sautre sometime chaplaine, to bee fallen againe into his most damnable heresie, the which beforetime the said William had abiured, therupon to be a most manifest hereticke, and therfore hath decreed, that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogatiue and priuiledge of the clergie, decreeing to leaue him vnto the secular power: and hath really so left him, according to the lawes and canonicall sanctions set forth in this behalfe, and also that our holy mother the Church hath no further to do in the premisses. We therfore being zealous in religion, and reuerent louers of the catholick faith, willing and minding to maintaine and defend the holy Church, and the lawes and liberties of the same, to rote all such errors and heresies out of our kingdome of England, and with condigne punishment to correct and punish all heretikes or such as be conuict: prouided allwaies, that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonicall institutions in this behalfe accustomed, that such hereticks conuict and condemned in forme aforesaid, ought to bee burned with fire: We command you as straitly as we may, or can firmely enioyning you, that you doe cause the said William being in your custodie, in some publick or open place within the liberties of your citie aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published vnto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other christians. Faile not in the execution hereof, vpon the perill that will fall thereupon: Teste rege, apud Westmonast. 26. Februar. an. regni sui.

Preposterous zeale without knowledge.

The burning of William Sautre.

Admonition to princes.

Thus it may appeare how kings and princes haue been blinded and abused by the false prelats of the church, in so much, that they haue been their slaues and butchers, to slay Christs poore innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for princes, not to haue knowledge and vnderstanding themselues, but to be led by other mens eies, and speciallie trusting to such guides, who through hypocrisie, both deceiue them, and through crueltie deuoure the people.

King Henrie, the first of English kings that tormented the christians with fire.

As king Henrie the fourth, who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the vnmercifull burning of Christs saints, for standing against the pope: so was this William Sautre the true and faithfull martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliffes time, which I find to be burned in the raigne of the foresaid king, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1400.

After the martyrdome of this godly man, the rest of the same companie began to keepe themselues more closely, for feare of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the popes prelacy. Such was the raigne of this prince, that to the godly hee was euer terrible, in his actions immeasurable, to few men heartily beloued, but princes neuer lacke flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his raigne very quiet, but full of trouble, of bloud and miserie. Such was their desire of king Richard againe in the raigne of this king, that many yeeres after, he was rumored to be aliue (of them which desired belike that to bee true which they knew to be false) for the which, diuers were executed. For the space of fiue or seuen yeeres together, almost no yeere passed without some conspiracie against the king. Long it were here to recite the bloud of all such Nobles and other, which was spilt in the raigne of

Much murder and beheading in king Henries time the 4.

this king, as the earle of Kent, earle of Salisbury, earle of Huntington, named John Holland, &c. as writeth the storie of S. Albans. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of foure earles, of Surrey, of Excester, of Salisbury, and lord Spencer earle of Glocester. Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.

It is to be doubted.

Ex calendario Bruti.

And the next yeere following, Sir John Clarendon knight, with two of his seruants, the prior of Laund, with eight friers, were hanged and quartered. And after these, Henrie Percie the younger, the earle of Worcester, named Thomas Percie his vncle, lord of Kinderton, and Lord Richard de Vernoua. The earle of Northumberland scarce escaped with his pardon, an. 1403. In the which yeere, the prison in Cornehill called the tunne, was turned into the conduit, there now standing.

Anno 1403

To let passe other moe hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt knight, and Benet Kely knight, and Thomas Winterfell esquire: Also the same yeere was taken and executed, sir Bernard Brokes knight, sir John Shilley knight, sir John Mandelin, and William Frierbie. After all these, lord Henry earle of Northumberland, and lord Bardolfe, conspiring the kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the 8. yeere of this king Henrie.

This ciuill rebellion of so many nobles, and other against the king, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this king Henrie. Among whom I cannot pretermit here also the archbishop of Yorke named Richard Scrope, who with the lord Mowbrey, Marshall of England gathered a great companie in the North countrie, against the foresaid king, to whom also was adioyned the helpe of lord Bardolfe, & Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. Ex Chron. D. Albani. And to stirre vp the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certaine articles against the said king, to the number of 10. and fastned them vpon the doores of churches and monasteries, to be read of all men in English. Which articles, if any be disposed to vnderstand, for so much as the same also containe a great part of the doings betweene king Henrie and king Richard aforesaid, I thought for the better opening of the matter here vnder to insert the same, in such forme as I found them in the storie of Scala mundi expressed.

Archbishop of Yorke, and lord Mowbray against king Henry 4.

Lord Bardolfe, Henry Percie, earle of Northumberland against the king.

Ex histor. Scalæ Mundi.

Articles set vpon Church doores against king Henry 4.

Articles set vp on Church doores against *king Henry the fourth.*

Anno 1401

IN the name of God, Amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, iudge of the quicke and dead, &c. We A.B.C.D. &c. not long sithence became bound by oth vpon the sacred Euangelicall booke, vnto our Soueraigne lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelats, potentates and nobilitie of the realme: that we so long as we liued, should beare true allegeance and fidelitie toward him and his heires succeeding him in the kingdome by iust title, right and line, according to the statutes and custome of this Realme of England: By vertue whereof, we are bound to foresee that no vices or hainous offences arising in ỹ common weale, do take effect or wished end. but that wee ought to giue our selues and our goods to withstand the same, without feare of the sword or death whatsoeuer, vpon paine of periurie, which paine is euerlasting damnation. Wherefore we seeing and perceiuing diuers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceasing to bee committed, by the children of the diuell and Satans souldiers against the supremacie of the Church of Rome, the libertie of the church of England, and the lawes of the realme, against the person of king Richard and his heires, against the prelats, noble men, religion and communaltie, and finally against the whole weale publike of the realme of England, to the great offence of the maiestie of almighty God and to the prouocation of his iust wrath and vengeance towards the realme and people of the same: And fearing also the destruction both of the church of Rome and England, and the ruine of our countrie to be at hand, hauing before our eies the iustice and the kingdome of God, calling allwaies on the name of Jesus, hauing an assured confidence in his clemencie, mercie and power: Haue here taken vnto vs certaine articles subscribed in forme following, to be proponed, tried and heard before the iust iudge Jesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honour, the deliuerie of the church, the clergie and communalty, and to the vtilitie and profit of the weale publicke. But if (which God forbid) by force, feare or violence of wicked persons we shall be cast in prison, or by violent death preuented, so as in this world we shall not be able to proue the said articles as we would wish, then do we appeale to the high celestiall Judge, that he may iudge and discerne the same, in the day of his supreme iudgement.

A bill of articles set vp against king Henry 4.

1. First, we depose, say, except, and entend to proue against the Lord Henry Darby, sonne of the lord John of Gaunt late duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England (himselfe pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto) and against his adherents, fautours, and complices: that euer they haue been, are and will be, traitors, inuaders, and destroyers of Gods church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our Soueraigne lord Richard late

late king of England, his heires, his kingdome, and common wealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appeare.

2. Secondarily wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henrie, for that he had conceiued, deuised, and conspired certaine hainous crimes and traiterous offences against his said Soueraigne lord Richard his state and dignitie, as manifestlie did appeare in the contention betweene the said lord Henrie, and the lord Thomas duke of Northfolke begun at Couentrie, but not finished throughlie. Afterwards hee was sent into exile, by sentence of the said king Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord Iohn, duke of Lancaster, by the voice of diuers of the lords temporall, and nobilitie of the realme, and also by his owne consent: there to remaine for a certaine time appointed vnto him by the said Lords, and withall he was bound by oth not to returne into England before hee had obtained fauour and grace of the king. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that countrie appertaining to the crowne of England, but as then rebelling against the same: the said lord Henry in the meane time contrarie to his oth and fidelitie, and long before the time limited vnto him was expired: with all his fautours and inuaders, secretly entred into the Realme, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his comming into the realme in the absence of the king, was for none other cause, but that he might in humble sort with the loue and fauour of the king, and all the Lords spirituall and temporall, haue and enioy his lawfull inheritance descending vnto him of right after the death of his father: which thing as it pleased all men, so cried they: Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord. But how this blessing afterward turned into cursing, shall appeare in that which followeth: and also ye shall vnderstand his horrible and wicked conspiracie against his Soueraigne Lord king Richard, and diuers other Lords as well spirituall as temporall; besides that his manifest periurie shall well bee knowne, and that he remaineth not only forsworne and periured, but also excommunicate, for that hee conspired against his Soueraigne lord our king. Wherefore we pronounce him by these presents, as well periured as excommunicate.

King Henrie periured.

3. Thirdly, we depose, &c. against the lord Henrie, that hee the said lord Henrie, immediatlie after his entrie into England, by craftie and subtile policie, caused to bee proclaimed openly throughout the Realme, that no tenths of the Clergie, fiftenes of the people, sealing vp of cloth, diminution of woll, impost of wine, nor other extortions or exactions whatsoeuer, should hereafter be required or exacted: hoping by this meanes to purchase vnto him the voice and fauour of the prelates spirituall, the Lords temporall, the Merchants, and comminaltie of the whole Realme. After this, hee toke by force the kings castles and fortresses, spoiled and deuoured his goods whersoeuer he found it, crying hauocke, hauocke. The kings maiesties subiects as well spirituall as temporall he spoiled and robbed, some he toke captiue and imprisoned them, and some he slew and put to miserable death, whereof many were bishops, prelates, priests and religious men. Whereby it is manifest, that the said lord Henrie is not onely periured, in promising and swearing that there should bee hereafter no more exactions, paiments, or extortions within the Realme, but also excommunicate for the violence and iniurie done to prelats and priests. Wherfore by these presents we pronounce him, as afore, as well periured as excommunicate.

King Henrie charged with vntruth.

4. Fourthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that he hearing of the kings returne from Ireland into Wales, rose vp against his Soueraigne Lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint in Wales, where he toke the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captiue as a traitor vnto Leicester: from whence hee toke his iourney towards London, misusing the king by the way both he and his, with many iniuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffes. And in the end committed him to the tower of London, and held a parliament, the king being absent and in prison; wherein for feare of death, hee compelled the king to yeeld and resigne vnto him all his right and title of the kingdome and crowne of England. After which resignation being made; the said Lord Henrie standing vp in the Parliament house, stoutly and proudlie before them all, said and affirmed: that the kingdome of England and crowne of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertaine vnto him at that present, as of very right, and to none other: for that the said king Richard by his owne deed, was depriued for euer, of all the right, title and interest that euer he had, hath, or may haue in ỹ same. And thus at length by right and wrong, hee exalted himselfe vnto the throne of the kingdome: since which time, our common weale neuer flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath bin void of vertue, for that the spiritualtie was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practises haue not beene maintained, charitie is waxed cold, and couetousnesse and miserie hath taken place, and finallie mercie is taken away and vengeance supplieth the roome. Whereby it doth appeare (as before is said) that the said Lord Henrie is not onely periured and false by vsurping the kingdome and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, vniust imprisoning, and depriuing his Soueraigne Lord the king of his roiall crowne and dignitie. Wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said lord Henrie to be excommunicate.

King Henrie charged with murdering of his prince.

5. Fifthly, wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henrie, that he the same lord Henry, with the rest of his fauourers and complices, heaping mischiefe vpon mischiefe, haue committed and brought to passe a most wicked and mischieuous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open iniury against all humane nature, yet not content with this; they brought him to Pomfret castle, and there imprisoned him, where xv. daies and nights they vered him with continuall hunger, thirst, and cold, and finallie bereft him of life, with such a kind of death as neuer before that time was known in Englād, but by Gods prouidence it is come to light. Who euer heard of such a deede, or who euer saw the like of him? Wherefore O England arise, stand vp, auenge the cause, the death and iniurie of thy king and prince: which if thou doe not, take this for certaintie, that the righteous God will destroy thee by strange inuasions and forraine power, and auenge himselfe on thee for this so horrible an act. Whereby doth appeare, not only his periury, but also his excommunication most execrable: so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henrie not onely periured, but also excommunicate.

K. Henrie charged with the orders of the Church.

6. Sixtly, wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henrie, that after hee had attained to the crowne and scepter of the kingdome, he caused forthwith to bee apprehended diuers lords spirituall, Bishops, Abbats, Priors and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular iudges to be examined: not sparing the bishops, whose bodies were annointed with sacred oile, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithstanding the priuiledge of the Church, and holy orders, which hee ought to haue reuerenced and worshipped if he had been a true and lawfull king: for the first and chiefest oth in the coronation of a lawfull king is, to defend and keepe inuiolate the liberties and rights of the church, and not to deliuer any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresie onely, and that after his degradation according to the order of the Church. Contrarie vnto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this article as afore in the rest, that he is both periured and excommunicate.

King Henry charged with tyrannie.

7. Seuenthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that not onely he caused to be put to death the lords spirituall and other religious men, but also diuers of the lords temporall and nobilitie of the Realme, and chiefly those that studied for the preseruation of the common weale, not ceasing as yet, to continue his mischieuous enterprise, if by Gods prouidence it bee not preuented, and that with speed: Amongst all other of the nobilitie, these first hee put to death: the earle of Salisburie, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Glocester, the lord Roger Clarendon the kings brother, with diuers other knights and esquiers: and afterwards, the Lord Thomas Percie earle of Worcester, and the lord Henrie Percie sonne and heire to the earle of Northumberland; the which lord Henrie hee not onely slew, but to the vttermost of his power againe and againe he caused him to be slaine. For after that he was once put to death, and deliuered to the lord of Furnisuale to be buried (who committed his bodie to holy sepulture, with as much honour as might bee, commending his soule to almightie God, with the suffrages of the blessed masse and other prayers) the said lord Henrie most like a cruell beast still thirsting his blood, caused his bodie to be exhumate and brought forth againe, and to be reposed betweene two millstones in the towne of Shrowsburie, there to be kept with armed men: And afterwards to bee beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried vnto diuers cities of the kingdome. Wherefore for so detestable a fact neuer heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

The king charged with euill gouernment.

8. Eightlily, wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crowne, he willingly ratified, allowed, and approued a most wicked statute set forth and renued in the parliament holden at Winchester. The which statute is directly against the Church of Rome, the power, and principalitie thereof giuen by our lord Jesus Christ and vnto blessed S. Peter and his successors bishops of Rome: vnto whom belongeth by full authoritie the free disposing of all spirituall promotions as well superiour as inferiour: which wicked statute, is the cause of many mischiefes, vid. of simony, periurie, adulterie, incest, misorder, and disobedience, for that many bishops, abbats, priors and prelates (wee will not say by vertue, but rather by errour of this statute) haue bestowed the benefices vacant vpon young men, rude and vnworthie persons, which haue compacted with them for the same, so that scarce no one prelate is found that hath not couenanted with the partie promoted for the halfe yearelie, or at the least, the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this meanes the said statute is the destruction of the right of S. Peter, the Church of Rome and England, the clergie and Vniuersities, ths

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the maintenance of wars, and the whole common wealth, &c.
9. Ninthly, we say and depose, &c. against the said Lord Henry, that after he had tyrannouslie taken vpon him the gouernment of the Realme: England neuer flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continuall exactions of monie and oppressions, yearely of the clergie and comminaltie: neither is it knowne how this mony so extorted is bestowed, when as neither his souldiers, nor his Gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderful toile and labor, neither yet the poore countrie people are satisfied for the victuall taken of them: And neuertheless, the miserable clergie, and more miserable comminaltie, are forced still to pay, by menaces and sharpe threatnings. Notwithstanding he sware when hee first vsurped the crowne, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergie nor laitie. Wherefore, as afore, wee pronounce him periured, &c.
10. In the tenth and last article, wee depose, say, and openlie protest by these presents, for our selues, and all our assistants in the cause of the Church of Rome and England, and in the cause of king Richard his heires, the clergie, and comminaltie of the whole Realme: that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word nor deed to offend any state, either of the prelates spirituall, Lords temporall, nor commons of the realme: but rather foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this realme to approch, wee haue here brought before you certaine articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered of the whole assemblie, as well of the lords spirituall as temporall, and the faithfull commons of England: beseeching you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ the righteous iudge, and for the merits of our blessed Ladie the mother of God, and of S. George our defender, vnder whose displayed banner we wish to liue and die, and vnder paine of damnation, that yee will be fauourable to vs, and to our causes which are three in number. Whereof the first is, that we exalt vnto the kingdome the true and lawfull heire, and him to crowne in kingly throne with the diademe of England. And secondlie, that we reuoke the Welchmen, the Irishmen, and all other our enemies vnto perpetuall peace and amity. Thirdly and finally, that we deliuer and make free our native countrie from all exactions, extortions, and vniust paiments: Beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sinnes, and life euerlasting to all that assist vs to their power in this godly and meritorious worke: and vnto all those that are against vs, we threaten the curse of almightie God by the authoritie committed vnto vs by Christ and his holy Church, and by these presents wee pronounce them excommunicate.

King Henry charged with oppression and periurie.

Three causes declared.

These articles being seene and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earle of Westmerland being then not farre off, with John the kings sonne (hearing of this) mustred his souldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the archbishop: but seeing his part too weake to encounter with him, vseth practise of policie, where strength would not serue. And first comming to him vnder colour of friendship dissembled, laboureth to seeke out the causes of that great stir. To whom the archbishop againe answering, no hurt to bee entended thereby, but profit rather to the king and common wealth, and maintenance of publike peace: but forsomuch as he stood in great feare, and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to doe. And withall shewed vnto him the contents of the articles aforesaid, which when the earle had read, setting a faire face vpon it, seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the bishop: promising moreouer, that he would helpe also forward in that quarrell, to the vttermost of his power. And required vpon the same, a day to be set, when they with equall number of men, might meete together, in some place appointed to haue further talke of the matter. The archbishop easily perswaded, was content, although much against the counsell of the earle Marshall, and came. Where the articles being openlie published and read, the earle of Westmerland with his companie, pretended well to like vpon the same, and to ioyne their assents together. Which done, he erhorted the archbishop, that forsomuch as his garrison had been now long in armour, and from home, he would therefore discharge the needlesse multitude of his souldiers, and dismisse them home to their worke and businesse, and they would together drinke and ioyne hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they shaking hands together, the archbishop sendeth away his souldiers in peace, not knowing himselfe to bee circumuented, before he was immediatelie arrested by the hands of the aforesaid earle of Westmerland, and shortly after the king comming with his power to Yorke, was there beheaded the Munday in Whitson weeke, and with him also lord Thomas Moubray Marshall, with diuers other moreouer of the citie of Yorke, which had taken their partes. After whose slaughter, the king proceedeth farther to persecute the earle of Northumberland, and lord Thomas Bardolph: Who then did flie to Barwicke. From thence remoued to Wales. At length within two yeares after, fighting against the kings part, were slaine in the field, an. 1408. In the which yeere, diuers other also in the North parts, for fauouring the

Earle of Westmerland against the archbishop.

Falsehood in fellowship.

The archbishop of Yorke craftily circumuented.

The archbishop of Yorke, Lord Thomas Moubray, with many Yorkshire men executed.

The earle of Northumberland, lord Thomas Bardolfe slaine.

Anno 1408

foresaid lords, were likewise condemned by the king and put to death. Among whom, the abbat of Hales, for the like treason was hanged.

Abbat of Hales hanged.

The king after the shedding of so much bloud, seeing himselfe so hardly beloued of his subiects, thought to keepe in yet with the clergie, and with the bishop of Rome, seeking alwaies his chiefest stay at their hands. And therefore was compelled in all things, to serue their humour, as did appeare as well in condemning William Sawtre before, as also in other, which consequently we haue now to intreat of. In the number of whom commeth now by the course of time to write of one John Badby a Taylor and a lay man, who by the crueltie of Thomas Arundell Archbishop, and other Prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this kings raigne, an. 1409. according as by their own registers appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be seene.

Anno 1409

John Badby Artificer.

John Badby martyr. Ex Regist. Tho. Arundel.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1409. on Sunday being the first day of March, in the afternoone: The examination following of one John Badby Taylor, being a lay man, was made in a certaine house or hall within the precinct of the preaching friers in London, in an vtter cloister: vpon the crime of heresie and other articles, repugnant to the determination of the erroneous Church of Rome, before Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie and other his assistants, as the archbishop of Yorke, of London, of Winchester, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Salisburie, of Bath, of Bangor, Et Meneuensis Episcopi, and also Edmond duke of Yorke, Thomas Belwford, the Chancellour of England, lord de Ros, the clerke of the roles, and a great number of other lords, both spirituall and temporall, being then at the selfe same time present: master Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the foresaid master Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

The articles read.

In the name of God, Amen: Be it manifest to all men by this present publike instrument, that in the yeere after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of England, otherwise in the yeere 1409. in the second indiction, in the third yeere of the popedome of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, lord Gregorie xi. by the diuine permission pope, the second day of Januarie, in the chapell Caruariæ of Saint Thomas martyr, nigh vnto the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, being situate in the said dioces, in the presence of me the publike notarie, and of the witnesses vnderwritten: the foresaid John Badby a lay man, of the said dioces of Worcester, appearing personally, before the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said Chapell for chiefe iudge, was detected of and vpon the crime of heresie, being heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foresaid John Badby. That is, that the sacrament of the bodie of Christ, consecrated by the priest vpon the altar, is not the true bodie of Christ, by the vertue of the words of the Sacrament. But that after the sacramentall words spoken by the priest to make the bodie of Christ: the materiall bread doth remaine vpon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very bodie of Christ after the Sacramentall words spoken of the priest. Which John Badby, being examined, and diligently demanded by the foresaid reuerend father concerning the premisses, in the end did answere: that it was impossible that any priest should make the bodie of Christ, and that he beleeued firmely that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressely that hee would neuer while hee liued, beleeue, that any priest could make the bodie of Christ sacramentally, vnlesse that first hee saw manifestlie the like bodie of Christ to bee handled in the hands of the priest vpon the altar, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he said that John Rakier of Bristol had so much power and authoritie to make the like bodie of Christ, as any priest had. Moreouer he said, that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples; hee had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples: and he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words teaching and fortifying the heresie in the same place, both grieuous, and also out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, sounding against the Catholike faith.

The sacrament of Christs body.

Upon which occasion, the same reuerend father admonished and requested the said John Badby oftentimes, and verie instantly to charitie: forsomuch as he would willingly that hee should haue forsaken such heresie and opinion, holden, taught and maintained by him, in such sort against the Sacrament, to renounce, and vtterlie abiure them, and to beleeue other things which the holy mother the Church doth beleeue. And he informed the said John on that behalfe both gentlie, and also laudably. Yet the said John Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reuerend father: said and answered expressly, that he would neuer beleeue otherwise then before he had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon, the foresaid reuerend father bishop of

Worcester

I cannot blame ye that ye are so angry, for it was not for your profit.

Worcester, seeing, vnderstanding, and perceiuing the foresaid John Badby to maintaine and fortifie the said heresie, being stubborne, and proceeding in the same stubbornesse: pronounced the said John to be before this time conuicted of such an heresie, and that he hath bin, and is an heretick, and in the end declared it in these words.

The sentence of the bishop of Worcester against John Badby.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas bishop of Worcester, doe accuse thee Iohn Badby, being a lay man of our dioces, of and vpon the crime of heresie before vs, sitting for chiefe iudge, being oftentimes confessed and conuicted of and vpon that, that thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirme, & defend, that the sacrament of the bodie of Christ, consecrated vpon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ: But after the sacramentall words to make the body of Christ by vertue of the said sacramentall words pronounced, to haue bin in the crime of heresie: and we doe pronounce thee, both to haue been, and to be an heretike, and doe declare it finally by these writings.

These things were done accordingly as is aboue written and are recited in the yeere, indiction, popedome, moneth, day and place aforesaid, being present the same time, John Malme prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, John Dudle monke, and Haule the supprior of the said Church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fetenham of the order of the preaching Friers, William Pomfret of the order of the Minorites, being professors and maisters in diuinitie, William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew being publike Notaries, and William Beuchampe and Thomas Gerbris being knights, Richard Wish of Tredington, Thomas Wilbe of Hembury, John Weston of Pewley, being parsons of Churches, and Thomas Baleinges, the maister of Saint Wolston in Worcester, and also Henrie Haggely, John Penerell, Thomas Trogmorton and William Wallebone esquires of the dioces of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipfull and honest men being witnesses and called specially to the things aforesaid.

A rabble of monkes and friers about the condemnation of John Badby.

Quare fremuerunt gentes? Psalm.2.

Scribes with Pharisies.

And I John Chew Clerke, of the dioces of Bathe and Welles, and by the authoritie apostolicall, publique Notarie of the said bishop: haue in testimonie of the premisses, put my hand and seale to the examination, interrogation, monition, and answere of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacie: and also to the procedings of all and singuler other doings as is aforesaid, which against him before the said bishop were handled and done, in the yeere, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid, which with the forenamed witnesses was personally present: and the same euen as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) caused them to bee written and published, and into this publike forme haue compiled the same. I the foresaid Notarie am also priuie, vnto the words and examinations interlined betweene seuen or eight lines of the beginning of this instrument, which lines I also the foresaid notarie doe approue and make good.

The answere of John Badby to the articles.

And I Walter London Clerke, of the dioces of Worcester, and by the authoritie apostolicall, publik Notarie: to all and singuler the foresaid things as afore by the foresaid Notarie is recited, and in the yeere, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid were handled and done, being with other the fore recited witnesses personally present: and to all and euery of the same (as I saw and heard them to bee done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required:) In testimonie of the premisses, haue signed and subscribed according to the accustomed manner. Hæc ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles, in the foresaid instrument contained, were by the archbishop of Canturbury publikely and vulgarly read and approoued: he publikely confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the archbishop to conuince the constant purpose of the said John Badby, commanded the same articles againe to bee read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the soner to the religion that he was of. And furthermore, the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same John, that he would (if hee would liue according to the doctrine of Christ) gage his soule for him at the iudgement day. And after that againe he caused those articles in the said instrument expressed, to be read by the foresaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himselfe expounded the same in English as before: wherunto John Badby answered. As touching the first article concerning the body of Christ, he expresly said, that after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth materiall bread, and the same bread which was before: notwithstanding (said he) it is a signe or sacrament of the liuing God.

The substance of bread not changed in the Sacrament.

Also, when the second article was expounded vnto him, that it is impossible for any priest, &c. To this article hee answered and said, that it could not sinke into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, vnlesse hee should denie the incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined of the third article concerning Jacke Raker, he said: that if Jacke Raker were a man of good liuing, and did loue and feare God, that hee hath as much power to do, as hath the priest: and said further, that he hath heard it spoken of some doctors of diuinitie, that if he should receiue any such consecrated bread, he were worthie to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he said that he would beleeue the omnipotent God in trinity: and said moreouer, that if euery host being consecrated at the altar were the Lords body, that then there be 20000. gods in England. But he beleeued (he said) in one God omnipotent, which thing the foresaid archb. of Cant. denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded; That Christ sitting with his Disciples at supper, &c. To this he answered and said, that he would greatly maruel that if any man had a loafe of bread, and should breake the same and giue to euery man a mouthfull, that the same loafe should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and that all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue: the foresaid archb. demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions & such like conclusions or not, and adhere for to the doctrine of Christ and Catholike faith: Hee answered, that according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answere vnto. Then the archbi. oftentimes required the said John in the bowels of Jesu Christ that hee would forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleaue to the christian faith: which thing to doe in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expresly denied and refused.

The constancy of John Badby before the archbishop.

After all this, when the foresaid archbishop of Cant. and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby (vntill the Wednesday next) might be committed: it was concluded, that he should be put in a certaine chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friers preachers, and so he was: and then the archbishop of Canturburie said, that he himselfe would keepe the key thereof, in the meane time. And when the foresaid Wednesday was expired, being the 15. day of March, and that the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury, with his fellow brethren and suffragans were assembled in the Church of Saint Paul in London: the archbishop of Canturbury taking the Episcopall seate, called vnto him the archbishop of Yorke, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, and the noble prince Edmund the duke of Yorke, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas Beaufort knight, Lord Chancellour of England, and the lord Beamond with other noble men as well spirituall as temporall, that stode and sate by, whom to name it would be long: Before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer vnto the Articles premised in the foresaid instrument. Who when hee came personally before them, the articles were read by the officiall of the court of Canturburie, and by the archbishop (in the vulgar tongue) expounded, publikely and expresly: and the same articles, as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilest he liued, hee would neuer retract the same. And furthermore, he said specially to be noted, that the lord duke of Yorke personallie there present, as is aforesaid, and euery man else for the time being; is of more estimation and reputation, then the Sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due forme consecrated. And whilest they were thus in his examination, the archb. considering and waighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing moreouer his countenance stout and heart confirmed, so that he began to perswade other as it appeared in the same: these things considered, the archprelate when hee saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, neither by exhortations, reasons, nor arguments, to bring the said John Badby from his constant truth to his Catholike faith (executing and doing the office of his great master) proceeded to confirme and ratifie the former sentence giuen before by the bishop of Worcester against the said John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and publike heretick. And thus shifting their hands of him, they deliuered him to the secular power: and desired the said temporall lords, then and there present very instantlie, that they would not put the same John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliuer him to bee punished or put to death, in the presence of all the lords aboue recited.

Astiterunt reges terræ et principes conuenerunt in vnum aduersus, &c. Psalm.2.

Note here ministring wolues in sheepes clothing.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoone: on the afternoone, the kings writ was not farre behind. By the force whereof, John Badby still persseuering in his constancie vnto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an emptie barrell, was bound with iron chaines fastened to a stake, hauing drie wood put about him.

The bishops make sure worke. The archbishop both Judge and Jailor.

And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tunne (for as yet Perillus Bull was not in vre among the bishops) it happened that the prince the kings eldest sonne, was there present. Who shewing some part of the good Samaritane, began to endeuour and assay how to saue the life of him, whom the hypocriticall Leuits and Pharisies sought to put to death. Hee admonished and counselled him, that hauing respect vnto himselfe, he should speedily withdraw himselfe out of these dangerous Labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatnings, the which might haue daunted any mans stomacke.

The prince laboureth to turne Badby.

also

Also Courtney at that time Chancellor of Oxford, preached vnto him, and enformed him of the faith of holy Church.

The sacrament solemnely brought to Smithfield at the burning of Badby.

In this meane season, the Prior of S. Bartlemewes in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the Sacrament of Gods body, with twelue torches borne before, and so shewed the Sacrament to the poore man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he beleeued in it, hee answered: that hee knew well it was hallowed bread, and not Gods bodie. And then was the tunne put ouer him, and fire put vnto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, mercy (calling belike vpon the Lord) and so the Prince immediately commanded to take away the tunne, and quench the fire. The Prince, his commandement being done, asked him if hee would forsake heresie to take him to the faith of holy Church: which thing if hee would doe, he should haue goods enough, promising also vnto him a yeerely stipend out of the kings treasury, so much as should suffice his contentation.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the Princes faire words, as also contemning all mens deuices: refused the offer of worldly promises, no doubt, but being more hehemently inflamed with the spirit of God then with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued vnmoueable in his former minde, the prince commanded him straight to bee put againe into the pipe or tunne, and that hee should not afterward looke for any grace or fauour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, euen so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but as a valiant champion of Christ, hee perseuered inuincible to the end. Not without a great and most cruell battaile, but with much more greater triumph of victorie: the spirit of Christ hauing alwaies the vpper hand in his members, maugre the furie, rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifestation of which torment, we haue here set forth the picture of his burning, in such manner as it was done.

John Badby constant to the end.

¶ The description of the horrible burning of Iohn Badby, and how he was vsed at his death.

All the power of man set against the Gospell.

This godly martyr Iohn Badby hauing thus consummate his testimony and martyrdome in fire, the persecuting bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselues as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharpe enough against the poore innocent flocke of Christ: to make all things sure and substantiall on their side, in such sort, as this doctrine of the Gospell now springing, should be suppressed for euer: laid their conspiring heads together; and hauing now a king for their owne purpose, ready to serue their turne in all points (during the time of the same parliament aboue recited yet continuing) the foresaid bishops and clergy of the realme, exhibited a bill vnto the kings maiesty: subtilly declaring what quietnesse hath been maintained within this realme by his most noble progenitors, who alwaies defended the ancient rites and customes of the church, & enriched the same with large gifts, to ỹ honor of God and the realme: and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietnesse was now risen by diuers (as they termed them) wicked and peruerse men, teaching and preaching openly and priuily, a certaine new, wicked, and hereticall kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholike faith and determination of holy church. Whereupon the king alwaies oppressed with blinde ignorance, by the craftie meanes and subtill pretences of the clergie, granted in the said parliament (by consent of the nobilitie assembled) a statute to be obserued called Ex officio, as followeth.

The Gospell of Christ counted as wicked and hereticall.

The Statute Ex officio.

The cruell statute, *ex officio.*

That is to say, that no man within this realme, or other the kings maiesties dominions, presume to take vpō him to preach priuily or apertly, without speciall licence first obtained of the ordinary of the same place (curats in their owne parish churches, and persons heretofore priuiledged, and others admitted by the canon law, only excepted.) Nor that any hereafter doe preach, maintaine, teach, informe openly or in secret, or make or write any booke contrary to the catholike faith, and determination of the holy church. Nor that any hereafter, make any conuenticles or assemblies, or keepe and exercise any manner of schooles touching this sect, wicked doctrine and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall by any meanes, fauor any such preacher, any such maker of vnlawfull assemblies, or any such booke maker or writer, and finally any such teacher, informer, or stirrer vp of the people. And that all and singuler persons hauing any the said bookes, writings, or schedules containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall within forty daies after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliuer, or cause to be deliuered, all and singuler the said bookes and writings, vnto the Ordinarie of the same place. And if it shall happen any person or persons, of what kinde, state, or condition soeuer he or they be, to doe or attempt any maner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or not to deliuer the same bookes in forme aforesaid: That then the Ordinary of the same place in his own dioceſſe by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained vnder safe custody, the said person or persons in this case defamed and euidently suspected, or any of them, vntill he or they so offending haue by order of law purged him or themselues as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalfe: or vntill he or they haue denied and recanted (according to the lawes ecclesiasticall) the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, and hereticall and erroneous opinions. And that the said Ordinarie by himselfe or his Commissaries proceed openly, and iudicially to all the effect of law against the said persons so arrested and remaining vnder safe custodie, and that hee end and determine the matter within three monethes after the said arrest, (all delayes and excuses set apart) according to the order and custome of the Canon law. And if any person, in any cause aboue mentioned, shall be lawfully conuicted before the Ordinarie of the

A bloodie law of king Henrie the fourth.

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dioces or his commissaries: that then the said Ordinarie, may lawfully cause the said person so conuicted (according to the manner and qualitie of his fact) to be laid in any of his owne prisons, and there to be kept so long as to his discretion shall be thought expedient.

And further, the said Ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the Canon law, the partie offending ought to be deliuered to the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid vnto the kings maiestie, as he shall thinke competent for the manner and qualitie of his offence. And the said diocesan shal be bound to giue notice of the said fine, into the kings maiesties Exchequer, by his letters patent vnder his seale: to the intent that the said fine may be leuied to the kings maiesties vse of the goods of the person so conuict.

And further, if any person within this realme and other the kings maiesties dominion, shall be conuicted before the Ordinarie of the place, or his Commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schooles, and hereticall and erroneous informations or any of them: and will refuse to abiure and recant the said wiked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schooles and informations: or if after his abiuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his Commissaries (for so by the Canon law he ought to be left to the secular power, vpon credit giuen to the Ordinarie or his Commissaries) that then the sheriffe of the same countie, the maior, sheriffes, or sheriffe, or the maior or bayliffes of the same citie, village, or borough of the same countie, and neerest inhabiting to the said Ordinary or his said Cõmissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required to confer with the said Ordinarie or his Commissaries in giuing sentence against the said persons offending or any of them. And after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take vnto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people: to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror vnto others, that the like wicked doctrines and hereticall opinions, or the authors and fauourers therof be no more maintained within this realme and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of christian religion, and decrees of holy church. In which all and singuler the premisses, concerning the statute aforesaid: let the sheriffes, maiors, and bayliffes of the said counties, cities, villages and boroughes, be attendant, aiding, and fauouring the said Ordinaries and their Commissaries.

A bloodie statute.

By this bloodie statute so seuerely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here hast thou (gentle Reader) a little to stay with thy selfe: and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath been set and bent euer from the beginning, by all might, counsell, and waies possible, to striue against the waies of God, and to ouerthrow that which he will haue set vp. And although the world may see by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vaine to striue against him: yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignitie) that it will not cease still to be like it selfe.

The law of Maximinus and the statute *Ex officio* compared.

The like law and statute in the time of Diocletian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, pag. 70. and for ỹ more strength were written also in tables of brasse, to the intent that the name of Christ should vtterly be extincted for euer. And yet the name of Christ remaineth, where that brasen law remained not three yéeres. The which law written then in brasse, although it differ in manner and forme from this our statute Ex officio, yet to the same end and crueltie, to spill the blod of Saints, there is no difference betweene the one and the other. Neither is there any diuersitie touching ỹ first originall doer and worker of them both. For the same Satan, which then wrought his vttermost against Christ, before he was bound vp: the same also now after his losing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then with outward violence as an open enemie, he did what he could: Now by a more couert way, vnder the title of the church he impugneth the church of Christ, vsing a more subtill way to deceiue, vnder gay pretensed titles: but no lesse pernicious in the end, whereto he shooteth, as well appeareth by this bloodie statute Ex officio, the sequell whereof cost afterward many a christian mans life. As in processe of storie remaineth more hereafter (Christ willing) to be declared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurreth also another constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell. So that no industrie nor policie of man here did lacke to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops parts, who left no meanes vnattempted, how to subuert the right waies of the Lord.

First, in most diligent and exquisit execution of the kings statute set forth: the execution whereof they did so exactly applie, that maruell it is to consider, all other lawes of kings (commonly,) (be they neuer so good) to be so coldly kept, and this only among all the rest so neerely followed. But herein is to be seene the diligence of the Romish prelats, which neuer let any thing to fall, that maketh for the dignitie of their estate.

Secondly, beside their vigilant care, in seeing the kings statute to be executed: No lesse industrious also were they in adding thereunto mo constitutions of their owne, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbishops hereafter, and by pope Martine, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundell the archbishop.

But before we enter to the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the clergie men, here commeth in more to be said and noted touching the foresaid statute Ex officio, to proue the same not only to be cruell and impious, but also to be of it selfe of no force and validitie for the burning of anie person for cause of religion: for the dispatch of which statute we haue sufficient authoritie remaining as yet in the parliament rolles to be seene in her Maiesties court of records: which here were to be debated at large, but that vpon speciall occasion we haue deferred the ample discourse thereof to the cruell persecution of the lord Cobham hereafter ensuing, as may appeare in the defence of the lord Cobham against Nicolas Harpesfield vnder the title and name of Alanus Copus. And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let vs now retorne to Thomas Arundell, and his bloodie constitutions aboue mentioned. The stile and tenour whereof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appeare to all men, I thought here vnder to adioyne, in words as followeth.

The constitution of Thomas Arundell against the followers of Gods truth.

A cruell constitution by the archbishop against the Gospellers, with thirteene articles.

Thomas by the permission of God, archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legat of the see apostolike: To all and singuler our reuerend brethren fellow bishops, and our suffragans: And to Abbats, priors, deanes of cathedrall churches, archdeacons, prouosts and canons: also to all parsons, vicars, chaplaines, and clerkes in parish churches, and to all lay men, whom and whersoeuer, dwelling within our prouince of Canturburie, greeting; and grace to stand firmely in the doctrine of the holy mother church. It is a manifest and plaine case, that he doth wrong and iniurie to the most reuerend councell, who so reuolteth from the things, being in the said councell once discussed and decided. And whosoeuer dare presume to dispute of the supreme or principal iudgement here in earth, in so doing incurreth the paine of sacriledge, according to the authoritie of ciuill wisedome and manifest tradition of humane law. Much more then they who trusting to their owne wits, are so bold to violate and with contrarie doctrine to resist, and in word and déed to contemne the precepts of lawes and canons, rightly made and proceeding from the keybearer and porter of eternall life and death: bearing the rome and person, not of pure man, but of true God here in earth: which also haue béen obserued hitherto, of the holy fathers our predecessors, vnto the glorious effusion of their blod, and voluntarie sprinkling out of their braines: are worthie of greater punishment, deseruing quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the bodie of the church militant. For such ought to consider, what is in the old Testament written: Moses and Aaron among his priests, that is, were chiefe heads amongst them. And in the new Testament among the apostles there was a certaine difference: And though they were all apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he should beare preeminence aboue the other apostles: And also the apostles themselues would the same, that he should be the chiefetain ouer all the rest. And being called Cephas, that is, head, should be as a prince ouer the apostles. Unto whom it was said: Thou being once conuerted, confirme thy brethren: as though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to erre and stray out of the way of faith, of iust liuing, or right conuersation; do thou confirme and reduce him in the right way againe. Which thing no doubt the Lord would neuer haue said vnto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient vnto him. And yet all this notwithstanding, we know and daily proue, that we are sorie to speake, how the old Sophister, the enemie of mankind, (foreséeing and fearing left the sound doctrine of the Church determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers; should withstand his malices, if it might kéepe the people of God in vnitie of faith vnder one head of the Church) doth therefore indeuour by all meanes possible, to extirpe the said doctrine, fayning vices to be vertues. And so vnder false pretences of veritie dissimuled, soweth discord in catholike people, to the intent that some going one way, some another; he in the meane time may gather to himselfe a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the vniuersall mother holy church. In the which Satan transforming himselfe into an Angell of light, bearing a lying and deceitfull ballance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousnesse, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refusing the traditions of the same determined and appointed by holy fathers: perswading men (by fained forgeries) the same to be naught, and so inducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more godnesse, as he by his lying perswasions pretendeth, although he in verie truth

Blasphemy, not of pure man, but of true God. He meaneth here of Thomas Becket his predecessor, who had his braines beat out in the time of king Henrie the second.

Scripture clerkly applied. This geare hangeth together like Germans lips.

Marke this you Grammarians.

Marke wel the popes diuinitie.

An argument for set that true doctrine consisteth in making one head of the church.

How aptly he painteth the proceedings of his owne popish church.

truth neither willeth nor mindeth any godnesse, but rather that he may sow schismes, whereby diuers opinions and contrary to themselues being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, & also the reuerend holy mysteries through the same contention of words may be prophaned with Paganes, Iewes, and other infidels, and wicked miscreants. Apoc.6. And so that figure in the Apoc.6. is well verified, speaking of him that sate on the blacke horse, bearing a paire of ballance in his hand, by the which heretickes are vnderstood. Who at the first appearance like to weights or ballance, make as though they would set forth right and iust things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the blacke horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. The figure of the blacke horse in the Apoc. worthily expounded. For they vnder a diuers shew and colour of a iust ballance, with the taile of a blacke horse sprinkling abroad heresies and errours, doe strike. And being poisoned themselues, vnder colour of good, raise vp infinite slanders, and by certaine persons fit to doe mischiefe, doe publish abroad as it were the sugred talk of honie mixt with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing through their sleight and subtilties, that error should be taken for veritie, wickednesse for holinesse, and for the true will of Christ: Yea and moreouer the foresaid persons thus picked out, doe preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seede, before the seede discreetly be separate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons, prouided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, doe preferre sacrifice Diabolicall (so to terme it) before obedience be giuen to the holy church militant.

Behold the true image of Wolues vnder sheepes clothing. We therefore considering & waighing, that error which is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed, and that hee openeth his bosome too wide, which resisteth not the viper thinking there to thrust out her venome: And willing moreouer to shake off the dust from our feete, and to see to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one vniforme holy doctrine may be sowen and planted in the church of God, (namely in this our prouince of Canturburie) so much as in vs doth lie, to the increase of faith & seruice of God, first rooting out the euill weeds and offendicles which by the meanes of peruerse preaching, mad doctrine, haue sprung vp hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow: purposing by some conuenient way with all diligence possible to withstand them in time, and to prouide for the perill of soules, which we see to rise vnder pretence of the premisses: also to remoue all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped, by the aduice and assent of all our Suffraganes and other Prelates, being present in this our conuocation of the clergy, as also of the procuratours of them that be absent: and at the instant petition of the procurators of the whole clergie within this our prouince of Canturburie, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto punishment and penalties condigne as be here vnder written, we will and command, ordaine and decree:

The first constitution. That no maner of person secular or regular, being authorised to preach by the lawes now prescribed, or licensed by speciall priuiledge: shall take vpon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any meanes preach vnto the clergie or laitie, either within the Church or without, in English, except he first present himselfe, and be examined of the Ordinaris of the place, where hee preacheth: And so being found a fit person, as well in maners as knowledge, hee shall be sent by the said Ordinarie, to some one church or more as shall be thought expedient by the said Ordinary, according to the qualitie of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he giue faithfull signification in due forme of his sending and authority, that is: That he that is authorised, doe come in forme appointed him in that behalfe: & those that affirme they come by speciall priuiledge, doe shew their priuiledge vnto the Parson or Vicar of the place where they preach. And those that pretend themselues to be sent by the Ordinarie of the place, shall likewise shew the Ordinaries letters made vnto him for that purpose, vnder his great seale. Let vs alwaies vnderstand, the Curat (hauing the perpetuitie) to be sent of right vnto the people of his owne cure. But if any person aforesaid, shall be bidden by the Ordinarie of the place, or any other Superiour to preach, by reason of his errours and heresies which before peraduenture he hath preached and taught: that then and from thencefoorth, be abstaine from preaching within our prouince, vntill hee haue purged himselfe, and be lawfully admitted againe to preach by the iust arbitrement of him that suspended and forbad him. And shall alwaies after that, carie with him to all places whereseuer he shall preach, the letters testimoniall of him that restored him.

No priests to preach, but by limitation of the prelates.

Moreouer, the Parish Priests or Vicars temporall, not hauing perpetuities, nor being sent in forme aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they haue charge, onely those things which are expressly contained in the prouinciall constitution set forth by John our predecessor of good memorie, to helpe the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth, Ignorantia Sacerdotum. Which booke of constitutions, wee would should be had in euery parish Church in our prouince of Canturbury, within three moneths next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselues yeerely, and at the times appointed. And lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtfull of some, by reason of paiment of money, or some other difficultie: we therefore will and ordaine, that the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the Ordinarie, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertaine. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded vpon the old law, after the publication of the same hee shall incurre the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto: whose absolution wee specially reserue by tenour of these presents, to vs and our successors. But if any such Preacher despising this wholsome statute, & not waighing the sentence of greater excommunication, doe the second time take vpon him to preach; saying and alleaging, and stoutly affirming that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid, cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same: That then, the Superiours of the place, doe worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the Communion of all faithfull Christians.

And that the said person hereupon lawfully conuicted (except he recant and abiure after the maner of the church) be pronounced an heretick by the Ordinarie of the place. And that from thencefoorth hee be reputed and taken for an heretick and schismatick, and that he incurre (ipso facto) the penalties of heresie and schisme, expressed in the law: And chiefly that his goods be adiudged confiscate by the law, and apprehended and kept by them, to whom it shall appertaine. And that his fautours, receiuers, and defenders being conuicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not ofr within one moneth, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiours. Constit. 2.

Furthermore, no clergy man, or parochians of any parish or place within our prouince of Cant. shall admit any man to preach within their churches, churchyards or other places whatsoeuer, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authority, priuiledge, or sending thither, according to the order aforesaid: Otherwise the church, churchyard, or what place soeuer, in which it was so preached, shall ipso facto, receiue the ecclesiasticall interdict, and so shall remaine interdicted, vntill they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, haue reformed themselues, and obtained the place so interdicted, to be released in due forme of law, either from the Ordinarie of the place, or else his Superiour.

Constit. 3. Moreouer, like as a good housholder casteth wheat into the ground (well ordered for that purpose) thereby to get the more increase: euen so we will and command, that the preacher of Gods word, comming in forme aforesaid, preaching either vnto the clergy or laitie, according to his matter proponed; shall be of good behauiour, sowing such seed as shall be conuenient for his auditorie. And chiefly preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices commonly vsed amongst them, and to the laitie he shall declare the vices commonly vsed among them, and not otherwise: But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the Ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

what tyrannie is this to binde the preachers mouth what to say?

Constit. 4. Item, for as much as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole: we doe decree and ordaine, that no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoeuer, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimonie, confession of sinnes, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the faith, then that already is discussed by the holy mother Church, nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the Church: nor shall to his knowledge priuily or apertly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same, nor shall teach, preach, or obserue any sect, or kind of heresie whatsoeuer, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presents, shall incurre the sentence of excommunication ipso facto: From the which (except in point of death) he shall not be absolued, vntill hee hath reformed himselfe by abiuration of his heresie, at the discretion of the Ordinary, in whose territorie hee so offended, and hath receiued wholesome penitence for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully conuicted, hee shall be pronounced an heretick, and his goods confiscate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertaine. The penance before mentioned, shall be after this maner: If any man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions prouinciall, doe openly or priuily teach or preach any kind of heresie or sect, hee shall in the parish Church of the same place, where he so preached, vpon one Sunday, or other solemne day, or more, at the discretion of the Ordinarie, and as his offence is more or lesse, expressely reuoke that hee so preached, taught or affirmed, euen at the time of the solemnity of the masse, when the people are most assembled, and there shall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined by the Church: and further shall be punished after the qualitie of his offence, as shall be thought expedient to the discretion of the Ordinarie.

A barre for the preachers.

A iolly meane to bring the world into such darkenesse.

Constit. 5.

A caueat for schoolemasters.

Item, forasmuch as a new vessell being long vsed, sauoreth after the head, we decrée and ordaine, that no schoolemasters and teachers whatsoeuer, that instruct children in grammar, or others whomsoeuer, in primitiue sciences, shall in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning the catholicke faith, the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Nor shall suffer their scholars to expound the holy Scriptures, (except the text as hath bèen vsed of ancient time) nor shall permit them to dispute openly or priuily concerning the catholicke faith, or sacraments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grieuously punished by the Ordinaris of the place, as a fauourer of errors and schismes.

Constit. 6.

Bookes of Iohn Wickliffe forbidden.

Item, for that a new way doth more frequently leade astray, then an old way: we will and command that no booke or treatise made by Iohn Wickliffe, or other whomsoeuer, about that time or sithence, or hereafter to be made: be from hencefoorth read in schooles, halles, hospitalles, or other places whatsoeuer, within our Prouince of Canturburie, aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the Vniuersitie of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the least by twelue persons, whom the said vniuersities or one of them shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our predecessors: and the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expressedlie approued and allowed by vs or our successors, and in the name and authoritie of the Vniuersitie, to be deliuered vnto the Stationers to be copied out, and the same to bee sold at a reasonable price, the originall thereof alwaies after, to remaine in some chest of the Vniuersitie. But if any man shall reade any such kinde of booke in schooles or otherwise, as aforesaid; he shall be punished as a sower of schisme, and a fauourer of heresie, as the qualitie of the fault shall require.

Constit. 7.

He confesseth that Saint Hierome erred in his translation. And yet the said Archbishop commendeth Queene Anne, for hauing the Scripture in English.

Item, it is a dangerous thing (as witnesseth blessed Saint Hierome) to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of one tongue into another: for in the translation the same sense is not alwaies easily kept, as the same Saint Hierome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred. We therefore decrée and ordaine, that no man hereafter by his owne authoritie, translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of a booke, libell or treatise; and that no man read any such booke, libell or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of Iohn Wickliffe, or sithence, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, priuily, or apertly, vpon paine of greater excommunication, vntill the said translation be allowed by the Ordinarie of the place, or (if the case so require) by the Councell prouinciall. He that shall doe contrarie to this, shall likewise be punished as a fauourer of error and heresie.

Constit. 8.

Termes and propositions in disputing to be obserued.

Item, for that almighty God cannot be expressed with any Philosophicall termes, or otherwise inuented of man: And Saint Augustine saith, that he hath oftentimes reuoked such conclusions as haue bèen most true, because they haue bèen offensiue to the eares of the religious: We doe ordaine and specially forbid, that no manner of person, of what state, degrée, condition so euer he be, doe alleage or propone any conclusions or propositions in the catholicke faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except necessary doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schooles or otherwise) although they defend the same with neuer so curious termes and words. For as saith blessed S. Hugh of the Sacraments, that which oftentimes is well spoken, is not well vnderstood. If any man therefore after the publication of these presents, shall be conuict wittingly to haue proponed such conclusions or propositions, except (being monished) he reforme himselfe in one moneth by vertue of this present constitution: he shall incurre the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto, and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, vntill he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one Church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the Ordinarie.

Constit. 9.

Authoritie of the Popes decretall not to be doubted vnder paine of heresie.

Adoration of the crosse.

* With all abomination.

Item no manner of person shall presume to dispute vpon the articles determined by the Church, as is contained in the decrées, decretals, our constitutions prouinciall, or in the generall Councels. But onely to seeke out the true meaning thereof, and that expressely, whether it be openly or in secret: nor none shall call in doubt the authoritie of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authoritie of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: And chiefely concerning the adoration of the holy crosse, the worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to certaine places, or to the reliques of saints, or against the othes, in cases accustomed to be giuen in both common places, that is to say, spirituall and temporall: But of all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the crosse and image of the Crucifixe, and other images of saints in the honor of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knées, offering of frankencense, killings, oblations, lighting of candels and pilgrimages, * and with all other kinde of ceremonies and manners that haue bèen vsed in the time of our predecessors: And that giuing of othes in cases expressed in the law, and vsed of all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done vpon the booke of the gospell of Christ. Contrarie vnto this whosoeuer doth preach, teach, or obstinatlie affirme (except he recant in manner and forme aforesaid) shall forthwith incurre the penaltie of heresie, and shall be pronounced an hereticke, in all effect of law.

Constit. 10.

No priest to celebrate without their letters of orders.

Item, we doe decrée and ordaine, that no chaplaine be admitted to celebrate in any dioces within our prouince of Canturbury, where he was not borne, or not receiued orders: except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatorie from his Ordinarie, and also from other Bishops in whose dioces of a long time he hath bèen conuersant, whereby his conuersation and manners may appeare: so that it may be knowne, whether he hath bèen defamed with any new opinions touching the catholicke faith, or whether he be free from the same: or otherwise, as well he that celebrateth as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharpely punished at the discretion of the Ordinarie.

Constit. 11.

Oxford famous for sincere religion.

Finally, because those things which newly and vnaccustomablie creepeth vp, standeth in néed of new and spèdie helpe: and where more danger is, there ought to bee more warie circumspection and stronger resistance, and not without good cause: the lesse noble ought discréetlie to bee cut away that the more noble may the more perfectly bee nourished. Considering therefore, and in lamentable wise shewing vnto you, how the ancient Vniuersitie of Oxford, which as a fruitfull vine was wont to extend forth her fruitfull branches to the honor of God, the great perfection, and defence of the church: now partly being become wilde, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being vndiscréetly eaten of ancient fathers that thought themselues skilfull in the law of God, hath set on edge the téeth of their children: and our prouince is infected with diuers and vnfruitfull doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproch and offence of the said Vniuersitie being knowne in forraine countries: and to the great irksomnesse of the students there, and to the great dammage and losse of the Church of England, which in times past by her vertue as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now like to runne in ruine not to be recouered. At the supplication therefore of the whole clergie of our prouince of Canturburie: and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and Suffraganes, and other the prelates in this conuocation assembled, and the Procters of them that are absent: lest the riuer being clensed, the fountaine should remaine corrupt, and so the water comming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to prouide for the honor and vtilitie of our holy mother the Church and the Vniuersitie aforesaid: We doe ordaine and decrée, that euery Warden, Prouost, or Master of euery Colledge, or Principall of euery Hall within the Vniuersitie aforesaid shall once euery moneth at the least, diligently inquire in the said Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whether any scholler or inhabitant in such Colledge, or Hall, &c. haue holden, alleaged, or defended, or by any meanes proponed, any conclusion, proposition or opinion concerning the catholicke faith, or sounding contrarie to good manners, or contrarie to the determination of the Church, otherwise then appertaineth to necessarie doctrine. And if he shall finde any suspected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office admonish him to desist. And if after such monition giuen, the said partie offend againe in the same or such like, hée shall incurre ipso facto (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of greater excommunication. And neuertheless, if it be a scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoeuer he shall afterward doe in the said Vniuersitie, shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a master, or bacheler, he shall forthwith bée suspended from euery scholars act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said Colledge or Hall, whereof he is, ipso facto: and by the Warden, Prouost, Master, Principall, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a Catholicke, by lawfull meanes forthwith placed in his place. And if the said Wardens, Prouosts, or Masters of Colledges or Principalles of Halles, shall bée negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed by the space of ten daies, from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents: that then they shall incurre the sentence of greater excommunication: and neuertheless shall be depriued ipso facto, of all the right which they pretend to haue in the Colledges, Halles, &c. and the said Colledges and Halles, &c. to be effectually vacant: And after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertaine, new Wardens, Prouosts, Masters, or Principalles, shall bée placed in their places as hath bèen accustomed in Colledges and Halles, being vacant in the said Vniuersitie. But if the Wardens themselues, Prouosts, Masters or Principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or bée fauourers and defenders of such as doe therein offend: and doe not cease, being thereof warned by vs, or by our authoritie, or by the Ordinarie of the place: that then by law they bée depriued, aswell of all such priuiledge scholasticall within the Vniuersitie aforesaid, as also of their right and authoritie in such Colledge, hall,

Inquisition to bee made through Colledges and Halles of Oxford.

I would the like were vsed now for the banishing of papistrie.

hall, &c. Besides other penalties afore mentioned, and that they incurre the said sentence of greater excommunication.

But if any man in any case of this present constitution or any other above expressed, doe rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our statutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expressely there limited) yet shall he be made altogether vnable and vnworthy by the space of three yeres after, without hope of pardon to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our prouince of Canturburie: and neuertheless according to all his demerits and the qualitie of his excesse, at the discretion of his superiour, he shall be lawfully punished. Constit. 12.

And further, that the maner of proceeding herein be not thought vncertaine: considering with our selues, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of heresie and offending the Prince, as is auouched in diuers lawes: yet the fault is much vnlike, and to offend the diuine maiestie, requireth greater punishment, then to offend the princes Maiestie. And where it is sufficient, (for feare of danger that might ensue by delaies) to conuince by iudgement the offender of the Princes Maiesties proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proofe by witnesses, and sentence definitiue to be: Wee doe ordaine, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premisses, and for the better reformation of the Church diuided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly knowen, or vehemently suspected in any of the cases aforesaid, or in any article of the catholicke faith sounding contrary to good maners, by the authority of the Ordinary of the place or other superiour, be cited personally to appeare, either by letters, publicke messenger being sworne: or by edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish Church, if he hath any certaine dwelling house. Otherwise, in the cathedrall Church of the place where he was borne, and in the parish Church of the same place where he so preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being giuen, that the citation was formally executed against the party cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly without sound or shew of iudgement, and without admitting proofe by witnesses and other canonicall probations. And also after lawfull information had, the said Ordinarie (all delaies set apart) shall signifie, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the qualitie of his offence, and in forme aforesaid: and further, shall doe according to iustice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding. Constit. 13. Easier to offend against the princes law then against the bishops.

Giuen at Oxford.

Who would haue thought by these lawes and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly prouided, so diligently executed; but that the name and memorie of this persecuted sort, should vtterly haue beene rooted vp, and neuer could haue stood? And yet such be the workes of the Lord, passing all mens admiration, all this notwithstanding so far was it off, that the number and courage of these good men was banquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in Registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and the catholicke fathers did so greatly detest for heretickes, were in diuers countries of this Realme dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Northfolke, in Herefordshire, in Shrewesburie, in Calice, and diuers other quarters mo, with whom the archbishop of Canturbury Thomas Arundell, the same time had much ado, as by his own registers doth appeare. Albeit some there were, that did shrinke, many did reuolt and renounce, for danger of the law. Among whom was John Purney, which recanted at Pauls crosse, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be said in the yeere 1421. Also John Edward Priest of the dioces of Lincolne, who reuoked in the greene yard at Norwich, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Millieof London, also John Becket, who recanted at London. Item, John Seynons of Lincolneshire, who was caused to reuoke at Canturburie. The articles of whom which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abiure, most specially were these as follow. John Purney. John Edward. John Becket. John Seynons abiured.

Their Articles.

First, that the office of the holy crosse (ordained by the whole Church) celebrated, doth containe idolatrie. The articles.

Item, they said and affirmed, that all they which doe reuerence and worship the signe of the crosse, doe commit idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, they said and affirmed, that the true flesh and bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

Item, they said and affirmed, the sacrament of the altar to be sacramentall bread, not hauing life, but only instituted for a memoriall of Christs passion.

Item, they said and affirmed, that the body of Christ which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the bodie of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

Item, they said and affirmed that the decree of the prelats and clergy in the prouince of Canturburie, in their last conuocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last Parliament against him that was burnt lately in the citie of London: was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, when the substance of materiall bread is euen as before in the sacrament of the altar it was, no change being made in the nature of bread.

Item, that any lay man may preach the Gospell in euery place, and may teach it by his owne authority, without the licence of his Ordinary. Their article commonly was thus, that who so taketh vpon him the office of a Priest though he haue no cure of soules, nor licence of his Ordinarie, is bound to preach the gospell.

Item, that it is sinne, to giue any thing to the preaching Friers, to the Minorites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, that the confession of sinnes to the priest, is vnnecessarie.

Item, that euery good man (though he be vnlearned) is a priest.

Item, that the infant (though hee die vnbaptised) shall be saued.

Item, that neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any Ordinarie can compell any man to sweare by any creature of God, or by the bible booke.

Item, that as well the bishop, the simple man, the priest, and lay man, be of like authoritie (as long as they liue well.)

Item, that no man is bound to giue bodily reuerence to any prelate.

William Thorpe.

THus much briefely being signified by the way, touching these which haue beene forced in time of this king, to open aburation. Next commeth to our hands the worthy history of maister William Thorpe, a warrior valiant, vnder the triumphant banner of Christ, with the processe of his examinations, before the foresaid Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his owne pen, at the request of his friends, as by his owne words in the proces hereof may appeare. In whose examination (which seemeth first to beginne, anno 1407.) thou shalt haue good reader, both to learne and to maruell. To learne, in that thou shalt heare truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the aduersary dissolued. To maruell, for that thou shalt behold heere in this man, the maruellous force and strength of the Lords might, spirit and grace, working and fighting in his souldiers, and also speaking in their mouthes, according to the word of his promise, Luke xxi. To the text of the story we haue neither added nor diminished: but as we haue receiued it, copied out, and corrected by maister William Tindall (who had his owne handwriting) so wee haue heere sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wished it in his owne naturall speech, wherein it was first written. Notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple heerein, this I thought before to premonise and testifie to the reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet aliue which haue seene the selfe same copie in his owne old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech, and of the time: The name of whom, as for record of the same to auouch, is M. Whithead; who as he hath seene the true ancient copie in the hands of George Constantine, so hath hee giuen credible relation of the same, both to the printer, and to me. Furthermore, the said maister Tindall (albeit hee did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our maner) yet not fully in all words: but that something doth remaine, sauouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were why this good man and seruant of Christ, M. Thorp did write it, and pen it out himselfe, it is sufficiently declared in his own preface, set before his booke, which heere is prefixed in maner as followeth. The examination of the constant seruant of God, William Thorpe. This history first set forth and corrected by M. Will. Tindall.

The preface of William Thorpe.

THe Lord God that knoweth all things, woteth well that I am right sorrowful for to write to make knowen this sentence beneath written: whereby of mine euen christian set in high state and dignity, so great blindnesse and malice may be knowen: that they which doe presume of themselues to destroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, neither dread to offend God nor lust to please him as their workes doe shew. For certes the bidding of God and his law, which in the praising of his most holy name hee commandeth to be knowen and kept of all men and women, yong and old, after the cunning and power that hee hath giuen to them: the prelates of this land and their ministers, with the couent of priests chiefely consenting to them, enforce them most busily to withstand and destroy the holy ordinance of God. And therethrough God is greatly wroth and moued to take hard vengeance, not only vpon them that doe the euill, but also on them that consent to these Antichrists limmes: which knowe or might knowe, their malice and falshood, and dresse them not to withstand their malice and their great pride. Nevertheless, foure things moueth me to write this sentence beneath. The preface. Gods lawes must be knowen and followed. Foure causes of setting forth his examination.

The first thing that moueth me heereto is this, that where as it was knowen to certaine friends, that I came from the prison of Shrewesburie, and as it befell indeede that I should to the prison of Canturb. then diuers friends in diuers places, spake to me full heartily and full tenderly: and commanded me

then, if it so were that I should be examined before the Archbishop of Canturburie, that if I might in any wise, I should write mine apposing, and mine answering. And I promised to my speciall friends, that if I might I would gladly doe their bidding as I might.

The 2. cause. The second thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this: diuers friends which haue heard that I haue been examined before the Archbishop haue come to me in prison, and counsailed me busily, and coueted greatly that I should doe the same thing. And other brethren haue sent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I should write out and make knowne, both mine apposing and mine answering, for the profit that (as they say) vpon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I should be busie in all my wits, to goe as neere the sentence and the words as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: Vpauenture this writing may come another time, before the Archbishop and his counsaile. And of this counselling I was right glad: for in my conscience I was moued to doe this thing, and to aske hitherto the speciall helpe of God. And so then I considering the great desire of diuers friends of sundrie places, according all in one: I occupied all my minde and my wits so busilie, that through Gods grace I perceiued by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profite might come therethrough. For southfastnesse and trueth hath these conditions: where euer it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof commeth a sweet sauour. And the more violently the enemies dresse themselues to oppresse and to withstand the trueth, the greater and the sweeter smell commeth thereof. And therefore, this heauenly smell of Gods word, will not as a smoke passe away with the winde: but it will descend and rest in some cleane soule, that thirsteth thereafter. And thus some deale by this writing may be perceiued through Gods grace, how that the enemies of the trueth (standing boldly in their malice) inforce them to withstand the freedome of Christs Gospell, for which freedome Christ became man and shed his heart blood. And therefore it is great pitie and sorrow, that many men and women doe their owne weyward will, nor bidde them not to know nor to doe the pleasant will of God.

Truth leaueth alwaies a sweet smell behinde it.

Godly counsell giuen, if it may be followed.

The men and women that heare the trueth and southfastnesse, and heare or knowe of this (perceiuing what is now in the Church) ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, and to set lesser price by themselues, that they without tarrying, forsake wilfullie and bodily all the wretchednesse of this life, since they know not how soone, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them and assay their patience. For no doubt, who that euer will liue pitiously, that is, charitably in Christ Iesu, shall suffer now here in this life persecution, in one wise or another. That is, if we shall be saued, it behoueth vs to imagine full busilie, the vilitie and foulenesse of sinne, and how the Lord God is displeased therefore: and so of this vilitie, of hideousnesse of sinne, it behoueth vs to busie vs in all our wits, for to abhorre and hold in our minde a great shame of sinne euer, and so then we owe to sorrow heartily therefore, and euer fleeing all occasion thereof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penance, continuing therein, for to obtaine of the Lord forgiuenesse of our foredone sinnes, and grace to abstaine vs hereafter from sinne. And but if we inforce vs to doe this wilfullie, and in conuenient time, the Lord (if he will not vtterly destroy and cast vs away) will in diuers manners moue tyrants against vs: for to constraine vs violently to doe penance, which we would not doe wilfully. And trust that this doing is a speciall grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt, who euer will not apply himselfe (as is said before) to punish himselfe wilfully, neither will suffer patiently, meekely, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howsoeuer that he will punish him: their wayward willes and their impatiencie, are vnto them earnest of euerlasting damnation. But because there are but few in number that doe able them thus faithfully to grace, for to liue here so simplie and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging: herefore the louers of this world hate and pursue them that they know patient, meeke, chaste, and wilfullie poore, hating and fleeing all worldly vanities and fleshly lusts. For surely, their vertuous conditions are euen contrary to the manners of this world.

Persecution followeth the true church.

The cause why persecution is suffered to come.

The 3. cause. The third thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this, I thought I shall busie me in my selfe to doe faithfullie, that all men and women (occupying all their businesse in knowing and in keeping of Gods commandements) able them so to grace, that they might vnderstand truely the trueth, and haue and vse vertue and prudence, and so deserue to be lightened from aboue with heauenly wisedome: so that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleasant sacrifices vnto the Lord God: and not onely for helpe of their owne soules, but also for edification of holy Church. For I doubt not, but all they that will applie them to haue this forsaid businesse shall profite full meikill both to friends and foes. For some enemies of the trueth, through the grace of God, shall through charitable folkes be made astonied in their conscience, and peraduenture conuerted from vices to vertues: and also, they that labour to know and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God, and to suffer patiently all aduersities, shall hereby comfort many friends.

Edification of other, necessary to be considered.

The 4. cause. And the fourth thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this: I know by my suddaine and vnwarned apposing and answering, that all they that will of good heart without fayning, able themselues wilfully and gladly after their cunning and their power, to follow Christ patiently, trauelling busily, priuily and apertly in worke and in word, to withdraw whomsoeuer that they may from vices, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comforting them and furthering them that stand in grace: so that therewith they be not borne vp in vaine glorie, through presumption of their wisedome, nor inflamed with any worldly prosperitie, but euer meeke and patient: purposing to continue stedfastly in the will of God, suffering wilfully and gladly without any grutthing whatsoeuer rod the Lord will chastise them with: that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such men and women in all their tribulations, and at euery point of temptation that any enemie purposed for to doe against them. To such faithfull louers specially, and patient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth by his wisedome from aboue, them which the aduersaries of the truth, may not know nor vnderstand. But through their olde and new vnthankefull sinnes, those tyrants and enemies of southfastnesse, shall be so blinded and obstinate in euill, that they shall weene themselues to doe pleasant sacrifices vnto the Lord God in their malitious and wrongfull pursuing and destroying of innocent mens and womens bodies: which men and women, for their vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the truth, and their patient, wilfull and glad suffering of persecution for righteousnesse, deserue thorow the grace of God, to be heires of the endlesse blisse of heauen. And for the feruent desire and great loue that these men haue, as to stand in southfastnesse and witnes of it: though they be suddainely and vnwarnedly brought forth to be opposed of their aduersaries: the holy Ghost yet that moueth and ruleth them through his charitie, will in that houre of their answering speake in them and shew his wisedome, that all their enemies shall not againsay, nor againstand, lawfully.

The assistance of God neuer faileth them that are persecuted.

And therefore, all they that are stedfast in the faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his commandements and for their patient suffering of whatsoeuer aduersitie that commeth to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand continually in perfect charitie: For those men and women, dred not so the aduersities of this life, that they will feare (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of Gods word, when, where, and to whom they thinke their knowledging may profit. Yea and though therefore persecution come to them in one wise or another, certes they patiently take it, knowing their conuersation to be in heauen. It is an high reward and a speciall grace of God, for to haue and inioy the euerlasting inheritance of heauen, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the terme of this life. For loe, this heauenly heritage and endlesse reward, is the Lord God himselfe, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God himselfe, whereas he said to Abraham, I am thy méed: And as the Lord said, he was and is the méed of Abraham: so he is of all other his saints. This most blessed and best méed, he grant to vs all for his holy name, that made vs of naught, and sent his only most deare worthy sonne, our Lord Iesu Christ for to redéeme vs with his most precious heart blood. Amen.

The examination of William Thorpe, penned with his owne hand.

Examination of William Thorpe before Thomas Arundell archbishop.

KNowne be it to all men, that reade or heare this writing, that on the sunday next after the feast of S. Peter, that we call Lammasse, in the yéere of our Lord 1407. I William Thorpe being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canturburie, and Chancellor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that hée sawe me, hée went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to goe forth from him some, so that no man was left then in that closet but the Archbishop himselfe and a physitian that was called Malueren, parson of S. Dunstanes in London, and other two persons vnknowne to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me. William, I know well that thou hast this twentie winters and more, trauelled about busilie in the North country and in other diuers countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, hauing great businesse if thou might with thine vntrue teaching and shrewde will, for to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thée from thine euill purpose, and let thée to enuenime the shéepe of my prouince. Neuertheless S. Paul saith: If it may be, as much as in vs is, we ought to haue peace with all men. Therefore William, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feining, kneele downe and lay thy hand vpon a booke and kisse it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thée, that thou wilt submit thée to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfill it duely by all

Louering prelates, cannot abide trauelling preachers.

The grace of God and of my lord of Cant. be two things.

Done ordinace, and why not Gods ordinance, if it please your grace?

al thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gratious vnto thee. Then said I to the archbishop: Sir, since yee deem me an heretike, and out of beleeue, will yee giue me here audience to tell my beleeue? And he said: yea, tell on. And I said: I beleeue that there is not but one God almightie, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three persons, that is; the father, the sonne, and the holyghast holy ghost. And I beleeue, that all these three persons are euen in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnesse. For what soeuer that the father doth, or can or will, that thing also the sonne doth and can and will: and in all their power cunning and will, the holy Ghost is equall to the father, and to the sonne.

Ouer this I beleeue, that through counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most conuenient time before ordained for the saluation of mankind, the second person of this Trinitie was ordained to take the forme of man, that is, the kind of man. And I beleeue, that this second person our Lord Jesu Christ, was conceiued through the holy Ghost, in the wombe of the most blessed virgin Marie, without mans seed. And I beleeue that after nine moneths Christ was borne of this most blessed virgine, without any paine or breaking of the cloister of her wombe, and without filth of her virginitie.

And I beleeue, that Christ our Sauiour was circumcised in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angell, before that hee was conceiued in the wombe of Marie his mother.

And I beleeue that Christ, as he was about xxx. yeere old, was baptised in the floud of Jordane of John Baptist: and in the likenesse of a Doue the holy Ghost descended there vpon him, and a voice was heard from heauen, saying: Thou art my welbeloued sonne, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleeue, that Christ was mooued then by the holy Ghost, for to go into the desert, and there he fasted 40. daies and 40. nights without bodily meat and drinke. And I beleeue that by and by after his fasting, when the manhood of Christ hungred, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttonie, in vainegloze, and in couetise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying, Jesu began to preach, and to say vnto the people: Do ye penance, for the realme of heauen is now at hand.

I beleeue that Christ in all his time here liued most holilie, and taught the will of his father most truely: and I beleeue that he suffered therefore most wrongfully, greatest reproofes and despisings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporall life, I beleeue, that in the day next before that hee would suffer passion in the morne: in forme of bread and of wine, hee ordained the Sacrament of his flesh and his bloud, that is, his owne precious bodie, and gaue it to his Apostles for to eate: commanding them, and by them all their after commers, that they should doe it in this forme that hee shewed to them, vse themselues, and teach and common forth to other men and women this most worshipfull and holiest Sacrament, in mindfulnesse of his holiest liuing, and of his most true preaching, and of his wilfull and patient suffering of the most painfull passion.

That is, vnder the creatures of bread and wine.

And I beleeue that this Christ our Sauiour, after that hee had ordained this most worthie Sacrament of his owne precious bodie: hee went forth wilfullie against his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently vpon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a theefe, and to scorne him and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their spittings. Ouer this, I beleeue, that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies, for to dying out with sharpe scourges the bloud that was betweene his skinne and his flesh: yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruell Jewes to crowne him with most sharpe thornes, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jewes to draw him out vpon the crosse, and for to nalle him thereupon hand and foot. And so through his pitifull nailing, Christ shed out wilfullie for mans life, the bloud that was in his vaines. And then Christ gaue wilfully his spirit into the hands or power of his father, and so, as he would, and when hee would, Christ died wilfullie for mans sake vpon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painefully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the world: there was left bloud and water in his heart, as before ordained, that hee would shed out this bloud and this water for mans saluation. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to make a blind knight to thrust him into the heart with a speare, and this the blotid and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for mans loue: and after this, I beleeue that Christ was taken down from the crosse and buried. And I beleeue that on the third day by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose againe from death to life. And the fortie day thereafter, I beleeue that Christ ascended vp into heauen, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the father almightie. And the fiftie day after this vpgoing, he sent to his Apostles the holy Ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleeue that Christ shall come and iudge all mankind, some to euerlasting peace, and some to euerlasting paines.

And as I beleeue in the father, and in the son, that they are one God almightie, so I beleeue in the holy Ghost that hee is also with them the same God almightie.

What is the holy Church.

And I beleeue an holy Church, that is, all they that haue been, and that now are, and alwaies to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endeuoure them to know and to keepe the commandements of God, dreading ouer all thing to offend God, and louing and seeking most to please him: and I beleeue, that all they that haue had, and yet haue, and al they that yet shall haue the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the beleefe of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercifull doings, continuing to their end in perfect charitie, wilfully, patientlie and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly and his Apostles, all these haue their names written in the booke of life.

The true notes of the true Church.

Therefore I beleeue, that the gathering together of this people, liuing now here in this life, is the holy Church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperitie of the world, and their fleshly lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and euery part thereof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loueth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing will: meekly, gladly, and wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit my selfe vnto this holy Church of Christ, to bee euer burome and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of euery member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the helpe of God. Therefore I knowledge now and euermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and gouernance of them, whom after my knowledge, I may perceiue by the hauing and vsing of the beforesaid vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Wherefore these articles of beleefe and all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandement of God any man ought to beleeue) I beleeue verilie in my soule, as a vnfull deadly wretch of my cunning and power, ought to beleeue: praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to increase my beleefe, and to helpe my vnbeleefe.

What heresie in this beleefe, I pray you my Lord?

And for because to the praising of Gods name, I desire aboue all things to bee a faithfull member of holy church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, coueting that all men and women that now be absent knew the same: that is, what thing soeuer before this time I haue said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say, at any time hereafter. I beleeue, that all the old law and new law giuen and ordeined by counsell of the 3. persons of the Trinitie, were giuen and written to the saluation of mankind. And I beleeue, that these lawes are sufficient for mans saluation. And I beleeue euery article of these lawes, to the intent, that these articles ordained and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinitie are to be beleeued.

The old Testament and new.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and wilfullie, I submit me with all mine heart: that whosoeuer can or will by authoritie of Gods law, or by open reason, tell me that I haue erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any article of beleefe (from which inconuenience God keep me for his goodnesse) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxum and obedient vnto those lawes of God, and to euery article of them. For by authoritie specially of these lawes, I will through the grace of God, bee vnited charitable vnto these lawes. Yea sir, and ouer this, I beleeue and admit all the sentences, authorities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors, according vnto holy scripture, and declaring it truely.

Doctors so to be followed, as they followed the word.

I submit me willfullie and meekely to bee euer obedient after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in work and in word to God and to his law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie or state, through the helpe of God. But sir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding, I shall lay my hand vpon the booke, to what entent: to sweare thereby? And the archbishop said to me, yea, wherefore else? And I said to him: Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing coupled together of diuers creatures, and to sweare by any creature both Gods law and mans law is against it.

To sweare by a booke, whether it be lawfull.

But sir, this thing I say here to you before these your clerks, with my foresaid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to sweare or to obey in any wise after Gods law, and saints, and true doctors, according with Gods law: I will through Gods grace bee euer readie thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you sir for the charitie of God, that yee will before that I sweare (as I haue here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I shall submit me: and shew me wherefore that yee will correct mee, and what is the ordinance that yee will thus oblige me to fulfill?

How, where and when to sweare.

And the archbishop said vnto me: I will shortly that now thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake al the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold, and is slandered with: so that after this time, neither priuilie nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to thee here. For thou shalt fauour no man nor woman, young nor old, that holdeth any these foresaid opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalt forbeare thee to withstand all such

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such disroublers of holy Church in euery dioceſſe, that thou commeſt in: and them that will not leaue their falſe and damnable opinions, thou ſhalt put them vp, publiſhing them and their names, and make them knowne to the biſhop of the dioces that they are in, or to the biſhops miniſters. And ouer this I will that thou preach no more vnto the time that I know by god witneſſe and true, that thy conuerſation be ſuch, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truely in one, contrarying all the leaud learning that thou haſt taught here before.

And I hearing theſe words, thought in my heart, that this was an vnlefull aſking: and deemed my ſelfe curſed of God, if I conſented hereto, and I thought how Sulan ſaid: anguiſh is to mee on euery ſide. And in that I ſtood ſtill and ſpake not, the archbiſhop ſaid to mee: anſwere one wiſe or other: and I ſaid, Sir, if I conſented to you thus as yee haue here before rehearſed to mee, I ſhould become an appealer, or euery biſhops eſpie, ſomoner of all England. For and I ſhould thus put vp, and publiſh the names of men and women, I ſhould herein deceiue full many perſons: Yea ſir, as it is likely by the dome of my conſcience, I ſhould herein bee cauſe of the death both of men and women, yea both bodilie and ghoſtly. For many men and women that ſtand now in the way of ſaluation: if I ſhould for the learning and reading of their beleeue, publiſh them therefore vp to the biſhops or to their vnpiteous miniſters, I know ſome deale by experience that they ſhould bee ſo diſtroubled and diſeaſed with perſecution or otherwiſe, that many of them (I thinke) would rather chuſe to forſake the way of truth then to be trauelled, ſcorned, ſlandered, or puniſhed, as biſhops and their miniſters now vſe for to conſtraine men and women to conſent to them.

Behold the popiſh proceedings whereto they tend.

No marueil why: for Chriſt and antichriſt how can they agree?

But I find in no place in holy Scripture, that this office that yee would now inſeaffe me with, accordeth to any prieſt of Chriſts ſect, nor to any other Chriſtian man: and therfore ſo doe this, were to me a full notous bond to be bounden with and ouer grieuous charge. For I ſuppoſe, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea ſir, might iuſtly to my confuſion ſay to me, that I were a trayter to God and to them: ſince (as I thinke in mine heart) many men and women truſt ſo mikle in this caſe, that I would not for ſauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus ſhould doe, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) ſay that I had falſly and cowardly forſaken the truth, and ſlandered ſhamefullie the word of God. For if I conſented to you to doe heere, after your will, for boncheſe or miſchiefe that may befall vnto me in this life, I deme in my conſcience, that I were worthie herefore to bee curſed of God and alſo of all his Saints: fro which inconuenience, keep me and all chriſtian people, almightie God now and euer for his holy name. And then the archbiſhop ſaid vnto mee: Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of Pharao, and the diuell hath ouercomen thee, and peruerted thee, and hee hath ſo blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou haſt no grace to know the truth, nor the meaſure of mercie that I haue profered to thee. Therfore, as I perceiue now by thy foolish anſwere, thou haſt no will to leaue thine old errors.

It is pretie when Pharao iudgeth Moſes hard hearted. Where learned you my lord to call your brother Racha?

But I ſay to thee leaud loſell, other quicklie conſent thou to mine ordinance and ſubmit thee to ſtand to my decrees: or by Saint Thomas thou ſhalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow into Smithfield. And at this ſaying, I ſtood ſtill and ſpake not, but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercie bring me to ſuch an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this manaſing of the archbiſhop. And I conſidered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet ſorowfull for that hee had made William Sautre wrongfully to bee burnt: and as I conſidered, that the archbiſhop thirſted yet after more ſhedding out of innocent bloud. And faſt therefore I was moued in all my wits, for to hold the archbiſhop neither for prelate nor for prieſt of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the archbiſhop, me thought I ſhould not haue any dread of him. But I was right heaute and ſorowfull, for that there was no audience of ſecular men by: but in my heart I prayed the Lord God, for to comfort me and ſtrength me againſt them that there were againſt the ſothfaſtneſſe. And I purpoſed to ſpeake no more to the archbiſhop and his clerks then me néed behoued: and all thus I praide God for his goodneſſe to giue mee then and alway grace to ſpeake, with a méeke and an eaſie ſpirit: and whatſoeuer thing that I ſhould ſpeake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures or open reaſon. And for that I ſtood thus ſtill and nothing ſpake, one of the archbiſhops clerkes ſaid vnto me; What thing muſeſt thou? Do thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

He meaneth Gods martyr Wil. Sautrey.

And yet I ſtood ſtill and anſwered him not: and then ſome after, the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I haue ſaid to thee? And I ſaid then to him: Sir, my father and my mother, on whoſe ſoules God haue mercie (if it bee his will) ſpent mikle monie in diuers places about my learning, for the intent to haue made mee a prieſt to God. But when I came to yéeres of diſcretion, I had no will to be prieſt, and therefore my friends were right heaule to mee, and then mee thought their grudging againſt

The order and manner of his bringing vp.

me was ſo painefull to mee, that I purpoſed therefore to haue left their companie. And when they perceiued this in me, they ſpake ſometime full faire and pleaſant words to mee: But for that they might not make me to conſent of good heart to bee a prieſt, they ſpake to me full oftentimes very grieuous words, and manaſed mee in diuers manners, ſhewing to mee full heaute chéere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in grieuous, they were long time (as me thought) full buſie about me, or I conſented to them to be a prieſt.

But at the laſt, when in this matter they would no longer ſuffer mine excuſations, but either I ſhould conſent to them, or I ſhould euer beare their indignation, yea, their curſe (as they ſaid:) then I ſeeing this, prayed them that they would giue me licence for to goe to them that were named wiſe prieſts, and of vertuous conuerſation to haue their counſell, and to know of them the office and the charge of prieſthood. And hereto, my father and my mother conſented full gladly, and gaue me their bleſſing and good leaue to goe, and alſo money to ſpend in this iourney. And ſo that I went to thoſe prieſts whom I heard to be of beſt name, and of moſt holy liuing, and beſt learned, and moſt wiſe of heauenly wiſedome: and ſo I communed with them vnto the time, that I perceiued by their vertuous & continuall occupations, that their honeſt and charitable works paſſed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore ſir, by the example of the doctrine of them: and ſpeciallie for the godly and innocent workes which I perceiued then of them, and in them: after my cunning and power, I haue exerciſed me then and in this time, to know perfectlie Gods law, hauing a will and deſire to liue thereafter, which willeth that all men and women ſhould exerciſe themſelues faithfully thereabout. If then ſir, either for pleaſure of them that are neither ſo wiſe, nor of ſo vertuous conuerſation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as theſe men were of whom I tooke my counſell and information, I ſhould now forſake thus ſuddenlie and ſhortlie, and vnwarned, all the learning that I haue exerciſed my ſelfe in theſe thirtie Winters and more, my conſcience ſhould euer be herewith out of meaſure vnquieted: and as ſir I know wel, that many men and women ſhould be therthrough greatly troubled and ſlandered. And as I ſaid ſir, to you before for mine vntruth and falſe cowardneſſe, many a one ſhould bee put into full great repreefe; yea ſir, I dread that many one (as they might then iuſtly) would curſe me full bitterlie: and ſir I feare not, but the curſe of God, which I ſhould deſerue herein, would bring me to a full euill end, if I continued thus. And if through remorſe of conſcience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to conſtraine mee now to forſake: yea ſir, all the biſhops of this land, with full many other prieſts, would defame me, and purſue me as a relapſe: and they that now haue (though I be vnworthy) ſome cõfidence in me, hereafter would neuer truſt to me, though I could teach and liue neuer ſo vertuouſlie, more then I can or may. For if after your counſell I left vtterly all my learning, I ſhould hereby firſt wound and defile mine owne ſoule, and alſo I ſhould herethrough, giue occaſion to many men and women of full ſore hurting: yea ſir as it is likely to mee, if I conſented to your will, I ſhould herein by mine euill example in it, as farre as in mee were, ſlea many ſoules ghoſtly, that I ſhould neuer deſerue for to haue grace of God, to the edifying of his Church, neither of my ſelfe, nor of none other mans life, and vndone both before God and man.

But ſir, by example chiefly of ſome, whoſe names I will not now rehearſe, of H. of I.P. and B. and alſo by the preſent doing of Philip Rampington, that now is become B. of Lincolne: I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace ſhall be learned) to hate and to flée all ſuch ſlander that theſe foreſaid men chiefly haue defiled, principallie themſelues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenomed al the church of God, for the ſlanderous reuoking at the croſſe of Pauls, of H.P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampington purſueth Chriſts people. And the faining that theſe men diſſemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching and communing within the bonds & termes (which without blame may bee ſpoken and ſhewed out to the moſt worldly liuers) will not bee vnpuniſhed of God. For to the point of truth that theſe men ſhewed out ſometime, they will not now ſtretch forth their liues. But by example, each one of them as their words and their works ſhew, buſie them through their faining, for to ſlander, and to purſue Chriſt in his members, rather then they will be purſued.

Philip Repington made biſhop, and a perſecutor.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Theſe men the which thou ſpeakeſt of now, were fooles and herettkes, when they were counted wiſe men of thée and other ſuch loſels. But now they are wiſe men, though thou and ſuch other deeme them vnwiſe. Neuertheles I will neuer none that right ſaid, that any while were enuenomed with your contagiouſneſſe, that is, contaminated and ſpotted doctrine.

Happy be they that continue to the end.

And I ſaid to the archbiſhop: Sir, I thinke well that theſe men and ſuch other are now wiſe as to this world: But as their words ſounded ſometime, and their works ſhewed out-

outwardly, it was like to moue mee that they had earnest of the wisedome of God, and that they should haue deserued mikle grace of God, to haue saued their owne soules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilfull pouertie, and in other simple vertuous liuing: and speciallie if they had with these forsaid vertues continued in their busie fruitfull sowing of Gods word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits, full busily to know the pleasant wil of God, trauelling al their members ful busilie for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and saluation of Christian people. But woe worth false couetise, and euill counsell and tyrannie, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an euill end.

Woe worth false couetise.

Then the archbishop said vnto mee: Thou, and such other Lolels of thy sect, would haue your beards full nere for to haue a benefice. For by Jesu, I know none more couetous shrewes then ye are, when that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I gaue to John Purue a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his couetoulnes for tithes and other mildoings, then I did of all men that were aduanced within my diocesse.

It is pitie these prelats cannot sweare. Couetoulnesse ioyned with polyphnes.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, Purue is neither with you now for the benefice that you gaue him, nor he holdeth faithfully with the learning that hee taught and writ before time: and thus hee sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his followes, may sore dread, that if they turne not hastily to the way that they haue forsaken, peraduenture they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said: Though Purue bee now a false harlot, I quit mee now to him: But come hee more for such cause before me (or we part) I shall know with whom hee holdeth. But I say to thee: which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

A worthie commendation of master Iohn Wickliffe.

And I said: Sir, master John Wickliffe was holden of full many men, the greatest clerke that they knew then liuing, and therewith hee was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his liuing: and therefore, great men commuued oft with him, and they loued so his learning, that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselues thereafter. Therefore sir, this forsaid learning of M. John Wickliffe, is yet holden of full many men and women, the most agreeable learning vnto the liuing and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the church of Christ hath been and yet should bee ruled and gouerned. Therefore, so many men and women couet this learning, and purpole, through Gods grace, to conforme their liuing like to this learning of Wickliffe. M. John Ashton taught and writ accordingly, and full busily, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he vsed it himselfe right perfectly vnto his liues end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester. Nicolas Herford, Daute Gotraie of Pakring, monke of Ipland, and a master of Diuinitie, and John Purnay, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busilie this forsaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willinglie to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specialliè, and of these men I take the learning that I haue taught: and purpose to liue thereafter (if God will) to my liues end. For though some of those men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therfore with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to vse the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moses chaire, and specially while that they sat on the chaire of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I wil not do with Gods helpe. For they faine, and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainely and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men haue been blamed for their slanderous doing: they grant not that they haue taught amisse or erred before time, but that they were constrained by paine to leaue to tell out the soth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, then to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for sothfastnesse that Christ shed out his heart bloud for.

M. John Ashton, Phil. Rampington, Nic Herford, Daute Gotray, Jon Purnay.

The testimonie for Wickliffe, but of the mouth of his owne aduersarie.

And the archbishop said: That learning that thou callest truth and sothfastnesse, is open slander to holy Church, as it is proued of holy Church. For albeit, that Wickliffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liuer: yet his doctrine is not approued of holy Church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well worthie are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first Canon, and after abbat of Leicester, which is now bishop of Lincolne: I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he fasted the euen. For neither hee holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that hee taught, when hee was a Canon of Leicester. For no bishop of this land pursueth now more sharpely them that hold thy way, then he doth.

Many such bigils haue our popish kalenders. Repington became a persecuter, after he was made bishop.

And I said: Sir, full many men and women wondereth vpon him, and speaketh him mikle shame, and holdeth him for a curled enemie of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me: Wherfore tarriest thou me thus here with such fables, wilt thou shortly (as I haue said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that yee haue aboue rehearsed to me.

And thus as if hee had been wroth, hee said to one of his clerks: Fetch hither quickly, the certification that came to me from Shrewesburie vnder the bailiffes seale, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this lolell hath ventinously sowne there.

Then hastilie the clerke tooke out and laid forth on a cupboord, diuers roles and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerke deliuered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishop read this roll containing this sentence.

The Sacrament after consecration materiall bread. Articles obiected against William Thorpe.

The third Sunday after Easter, the yeere of our Lord 1407. William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewelburie, and through leaue granted vnto him to preach: hee said openly in S. Chads church in his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was materiall bread. And that images, should in no wise be worshipped. And that men should not goe on pilgrimages. And that prielts haue no title to tithes. And that it is not lawfull for to sweare in any wise.

And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it vp againe, and said to me. Is this wholsome learning to be among the people?

Hollsome enough for mans soule, though not for your kitchin.

And I said to him: Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalfe, and right sorowfull for them that haue certified you these things thus vntruely: for I preached neuer, nor taught thus priuily nor apertly.

O Shrewelbury, thou hast a cause to repent thee, in that thou wouldst not receiue the truth when it was offered thee.

And the archbishop said to me, I will giue credence to these worshipfull men which haue written to me, and witnessed vnder their seales there among them. Though now thou denielt this, weenest thou that I will giue credence to thee? Thou Lolell, hast troubled the worshipfull communaltie of Shrewelburie, so that the bailiffes and comminaltie of that towne haue written to me, praying me that am archbishop of Canturbury primat and chancellor of England, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthie) to suffer open iouresse for thine heresies, that thou may haue thy iouresse openly there among them: So that all they whom thou and such other lolels haue there peruerted, may through feare of thy deed be reconciled againe to the vnitie of holie Church. And also they that stand in true faith of holy church, may through thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, he said; By my thrift this heartie prayer, and feruent request shall be thought on.

The Romish Church must be stablished, by persecuting of true preachers.

But certainlie, nother the prayer of the men of Shrewelburie, nor the manasing of the archbishop made mee any thing afraid. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly reioyced, and yet doth. I thanke God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke shall come to all the church of God here thorow, by the speciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting stedfastlie in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the sothfastnesse, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power: I said to the archbishop, Sir, If the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to proue by likelie euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the faith of holy church in Shrewelbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words sound, and their works shew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faithfullie God) their will, their desire, their loue and their busines are most set to dread to offend God, and to loue for to please him in true and faithfull keeping of his commandements. And again, they that are said to be in the faith of holy church in Shrewelburie and in other places, by open euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule words and workes: neither know nor haue will to know, nor to occupie their wits truelie and effectuoullie in the right faith of holie church. Wherefore all these, nor none that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the faith of holy church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women that are now called faithfull and holden iust, nother know, nor will exercise themselfe to know (of faithfulnesse) one commandement of God.

A sure trust in Gods truth, confoundeth the malice of tyrants.

If the touchstone might try his truth should be knowne. The description of the right Christians in Shrewelbury. The Catholikes of Shrewelbury. Shrewelbury, except thou turne from thy wicked waies, thou canst not receiue the truth.

And thus full many men and women now, and speciallie men that are named to bee principall lims of holie church, stir God to great wrath, and deserue his curse for that they call or hold them iust men, which are ful vniust, as their vitious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous shamefull works shew openly and witnesse. And therefore such vitious men and vniust in their owne confusion, call them vniust men and women, which after their power and cunning busie themselues to liue iustly after the commandement of God. And where sir ye say, that I haue disturbled the communaltie of Shrewelburie, and many other men and women with my teaching: If it thus bee, it is not to bee wondred of wise men, sines

Jerusalem troubled by the preaching of Christ.

since all the communaltie of the Citie of Jerusalem was disstroubled of Christs owne person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that euer was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moued against Christ, and so full filled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose vp and cast Christ out of their citie, and led him vp to the top of a mountaine for to cast him downe there headlong: also accordingly hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that he shall put dissension betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Who sir is he, that shall preach the truth of Gods word to the vnfaithfull people, and shall let the sothfastnesse of the Gospell, and the prophecie of God almightie to be fulfilled?

And the archbishop said to me: It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that yée doe right wel for to preach and teach as yée doe, without authoritie of any bishop. For you presume, that the lord hath chosen you only for to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

The word of God ought truly to be preached.

And I said: Sir by authoritie of Gods law, and also of saints and doctors I am learned to déeme, that it is euery priests office and dutie for to preach busily, frely and truely the word of God. For no doubt euery priest should purpose first in his soule, and couet to take the order of priesthood chiefly for to make knowne to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approuing his words euer to be true by his vertuous workes: and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelats of holy Church, should chiefly take and vse their prelacie, and for the same cause bishops should giue to priests their orders. For bishops should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good wil and full purpose, and were wel disposed, and well learned to preach. Wherfore sir, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy liuing, and also by the witnessing of his holie Apostles and Prophets, wee are bound vnder full great paine, to exercise vs after our cunning and power (as euery Priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfill duly the office of priesthood. We presume not here of our selues for to be estéemed (neither in our owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull disciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But sir, as I said to you before, wee deeme this by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chiefe dutie of euery priest, to busie him faithfullie to make the law of God knowne to his people, and so to commune the commandement of God charitablie, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that euer we may, is our very dutie: and for the wil and businesse that wee owe of due debt to doe iustlie our office through the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastlie in his mercie: wee desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ, and we pray this gratious Lord for his holie name, that he make vs able to please him with deuout prayers, and charitable priestly workes, that we may obtaine of him to follow him thankefully.

If this lesson had been well followed, the world had not been brought to such darkenes by blind and dumb priests.

An effectuous prayer, God grant in all ministers.

And the archbishop said to me: Leaud lozel, whereto makest thou such vaine reasons to me? Asketh not Saint Paul, how should priests preach, except they be sent? But I sent thée neuer to preach. For thy venomous doctrin is so known through out England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their letters. Why then leaud idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licenced of thy soueraigne to preach? Saith not Saint Paul, that subiects ought to obey their Soueraignes, and not onely good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vitious?

Why he preached without the bishops licence.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence or other bishops, which, yée say, wee should haue to witnesse that we were able to bee sent for to preach: wée know well that neither you sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to vs any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige vs to you, and to other bishops by vnlefull othes, for to passe not the bounds and termes which ye sir, or other bishops, will limit to vs. And since in this matter your termes bee some too large, and some too strait: wee dare not oblige vs thus to be bounden to you for to kéepe the termes, which you will limit to vs, as you doe to friers and such other preachers: and therefore, though we haue not your letter sir, nor letters of any other bishops written with inke vpon parchment: wee dare not therefore leaue the office of preaching (to which preaching, all priests after their cunning and power are bound, by diuers testimonies of Gods law, and great doctors) without any mention making of bishops letters. For as mikle as wee haue taken vpon vs the office of priesthood (though we are vnworthie thereto) we came and purpose to fulfill it with the help of God, by authoritie of his owne law, and by witnesse of great doctors and saints, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God. For that hee commandeth vs to doe the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we by example of his holy liuing and teaching, specially occupie vs faithfullie to doe our office iustlie: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or vnfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnes-bearers: for the truth where it is sowne, may not be vnwitnessed. For all that are conuerted and saued by learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witnesse-bearers; that the truth and sothfastnes which they heard and did after, is cause of their saluation. And again, all vnfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not doe thereafter: also all they that might haue heard the truth, and would not heare it, because that they would not doe thereafter: all these shall beare witnes against themselues, and the truth which they would not heare, or else heard it, and despised to doe thereafter, through their vnfaithfulnesse, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of diuers Saints and Doctors, and of all the people good and euill, sufficeth to all true preachers: we think that we do not the office of priesthood, if that we leaue our preaching, because that wee haue not, or may not haue duly bishops letters, to witnesse that wee are sent of them to preach. This sentence approueth Saint Paul, where he speaketh of himself and of faithfull Apostles and disciples, saying thus: We néed no letters of commendations as some preachers doe, which preach for couetousnesse of temporall goods, and for mens praysing. And where ye say sir, that Paul biddeth subiects obey their soueraignes, that is soth, and may not be denied. But there is two manner of soueraigns, vertuous soueraignes and vitious tyrants. Therefore, to these last soueraignes, neither men nor women that be subiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous soueraigns and charitable, subiects owe to obey wilfully and gladlie, in hearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull workes.

Two manner of soueraignes.

He meaneth prelates that be vnvertuous.

This sentence Paul approueth, where hee saith to subiects: Be yée mindfull of your soueraignes, that speake to you the word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whose conuersation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul saith after, these soueraignes, to whom subiects owe to obey in following of their maners; worke busilie in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselues, and after in all their subiects, and how they may best plant in them vertues. Also these soueraignes make deuout and feruent prayers, for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subiects may ouer all thing dread to offend him, and to loue for to please him. Also these soueraignes to whom Paul biddeth vs obey, as it is said before, liue so vertuoulie, that all they that will liue well, may take of them good example, to know and to kéepe the commandements of God. But in this foresaid wise, subiects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vitious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings, and their works are so vitious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be masterfull and cruell in boasting and menacing, in oppressions & diuers punishings; Saint Peter biddeth the seruants of such tyrants, to obey mékely such tyrants, suffering patiently their malitious cruelnesse. But Peter counselleth not any seruant or subiect, to obey to any lord or prince, or soueraigne in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

Two maner of obeying: 1. In following their doings and examples. 2. In suffering their wrongs.

Wicked rulers are not to be followed in euill.

And the archbishop said vnto me: If a soueraigne bid his subiect doe that thing that is vitious, this soueraigne herein is to blame: but the subiect for his obedience, deserueth méed of God. For obedience pleaseth more to God, then any sacrifice.

Well reasoned my lord and like a clerke.

And I said, Samuel the Prophet said to Saul the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandement, then with any sacrifice of beasts. But Dauid saith, and S. Paul, and S. Gregorie accordinglie together, that not only they that doe euill, are worthie of death and damnation: but also they that consent to euill doers. And sir, the law of holy church teacheth in the decrées, that no seruant to his lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his abbat, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawfull.

Obedience not to be giuen, but in things lefull and lawfull.

And the archbishop said to mee: All these alleagings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousnesse. For hereby thou inforcest thee to prowue, that thou and such other are so iust, that ye ought not to obey to prelates. And thus against the learning of Saint Paul that teacheth you not to preach, but if yée were sent; of your owne authoritie, ye will goe forth and preach, and doe what yée list.

All is presumption that standeth against your masterfull ambition.

And I said: Sir, presenteth not euery priest the office of the Apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the archbi. said, yea. And I said; Sir, as the 1. chapter of Matth, and the last chapter of Marke witnesseth; Christ sent his Apostles for to preach. And the 1. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seuentie disciples for to preach, in euery place that Christ was to come to: and S. Gregorie in the common law saith, that euery man that goeth to priesthood, taketh vpon him the office of preaching: For as hee saith, that priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses vpon Ezechiel, witnesse: that the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saued by other speciall grace of God, then by the priests preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are manslayers. For as farre as in them is, such priests as preach not busilie and truely, slay all the people ghostly: in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is, the life and substance of mens soules. And S. Isidore said, Priests shall bee damned, for wickednesse of the people.

Priests in that they take priesthood, they are sent to preach. Matth. 10. Mark. vlt. Luk. 10.

The office of priesthood, is the office of preaching.

Priests that preach not, be slayers of the people. Isidorus.

if

Doctrine of faith. Discipline of workes.

if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the worke or businesse of priests, standeth in preaching and teaching, that they edifie all men, as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of workes, that is vertuous teaching. And as the Gospel witnesseth: Christ said in his teaching; I am borne and comen into this world, to beare witnesse to the truth, and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.

Priests not only sent to preach, but commanded to preach. Gregorius. Lincolniensis. Whatsoeuer a man doth, leauing that vndone which hee is chiefly bound to doe, is sin.

Then sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is, his voice, priests are commanded to preach: whatsoeuer priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to doe thus, and ableth not himselfe after his cunning and power to doe his office by the example of Christ and of his Apostles; whatsoeuer other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, Saint Gregorie saith, that thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to doe, whatsoeuer other thing that a man doth, it is vnthankfull to the holy Ghost, and therefore saith Lincolne: The priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seene to haue none other default, he is Antichrist and Sathanas, a night theef, and a day theefe, a sleyer of soules, and an angell of light turned into darknesse. Wherefore sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deeme my selfe damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply mee not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those priests, which of good purpose and will, enforce them not busily to doe thus, and also all them that haue purpose or will to let any priest of this businesse.

Yet this bishop plucketh him not by the beard, nor burneth not off his hand, as Boner did.

And the archbishop said to those threeclerks that stood before him: Loe sirs, this is the maner and businesse of this lesell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy scripture and doctors, to maintaine their sect and lore against the ordinance of holy Church. And therefore Lolell, it is thou that coueteth to haue againe the Psalter that I made to bee taken from thee at Canturbury, to record sharpe verses against vs. But thou shalt neuer haue that Psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully, to be gouerned by holy Church.

Holy church.

And I said: sir, all my will and power is, and euer shall be (I truste to God) to be gouerned by holy Church.

And the archb. asked me, what was holy Church?

And I said: sir, I told you before, what was holy Church. But since ye aske me this demand: I call Christ and his saints holy Church.

And the archbishop said vnto me: I wot well that Christ and his Saints are holy Church in heauen, but what is holy church in earth?

2. Parts of the Church.

And I said: Sir, though holy church be euery one in charitie, yet it hath two parts. The first and principall part, hath ouercomen perfectly all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth ioyfully in heauen with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against temptations of the fiend: forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts, which onely are the pilgrims of Christ, wanding toward heauen by stedfast faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For these heauenly pilgrimes, may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any doctors discording from holy Scripture, nor by the floods of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of manassing of any creature: For they are all fast grounded vpon the sure stone Christ, hearing his word and loving it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wits to doe thereafter.

And the archbishop said to his clerks: See yee not how his heart is indurate, and how he is trauelled with the diuell occupying him thus busily to alleage such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies? Certaine, thus he would occupie vs here all day, if we would suffer him.

Well helpt forward M. clerk.

One of the clerks answered: Sir, hee said right now, that this certification that came to you from Shrewesbury, is vntruly forged against him. Therefore sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall heare of his owne mouth his answers, and witnes them.

And the archbishop tooke the certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he said to me.

The foresaid articles rehearsed against Thorp.

Loe here it is certified against thee by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewesburie, that thou preachedst there openly in S. Chads Church: that the sacrament of the altar was materiall bread after the consecration; what saist thou? Was this truly preached?

The vertue of the Sacrament standeth in the beleefe, more then in the outward signe.

And I said: Sir, I tell you truely that I touched nothing there of the sacrament of the altar, but in this wise, as I will with Gods grace tell you here. As I stood there in the pulpit, busying me to teach the commandement of God; there knilled a sacring bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastily, and with noise ran fro towards me. And I seeing this, said to them thus: Good men yee were better to stand here still and to heare Gods word. For certes the vertue and the meede of the most holy sacrament of the altar standeth mikle more in the beleefe thereof that yee ought to haue in your soule, then it doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore, yee were better to stand still quietly to heare Gods word, because that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true beleefe. And otherwise sir, I am certaine I spake not there of the worthy sacrament of the altar.

And the archbishop said to me: I beleeue thee not whatsoeuer thou saist, since so worshipfull men haue witnessed thus against thee. But since thou denyest that thou saidest thus there, what saist thou now? Resteth there after the consecration in the host, materiall bread or no?

Materiall bread.

And I said: Sir, I know in no place in holy scripture where this terme materiall bread is written: and therefore sir, when I speake of this matter, I vse not to speake of materiall bread.

Then the archbishop said to me: How teachest thou men to beleeue in this sacrament?

And I said: Sir, as I beleeue my self, so I teach other men.

He said: Tell out plainely thy beleefe thereof.

And I said with my protestation: Sir, I beleeue that the night before that Christ Jesu would suffer (willfully) passion for mankind on the morne after: hee tooke bread in his holy and most worshipfull hands, lifting vp his eies, and gitting thanks to God his father, blessed this bread and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying to them: Take and eate of this all you, this is my bodie. And that this is and ought to bee all mens beleefe, Matthew, Marke, Luke and Paul witnesseth. Other beleefe sir I haue none, nor will haue, nor teach: for I beleeue, that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this beleefe with Gods grace I purpose to liue and die, knowledging as I beleeue and teach other men to beleeue, that the worshipfull sacrament of the altar, is the sacrament of Christs flesh and his bloud, in forme of bread and wine.

And the archbishop said to mee: It is sooth that this sacrament is very Christs bodie in forme of bread. But thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

And I said: Neither I, nor any other of the sect that yee damne, teach any otherwise then I haue told you, nor beleeue otherwise to my knowing. Neuertheless sir, I aske of you for charitie, that ye will tell me here plainely, how yee shall vnderstand the text of Saint Paul, where he saith thus: This thing feele you in your selfe that is in Christ Jesu, while he was in the forme of God. Sir, calleth not Paul here the forme of God, the substance or kind of God? Also sir, saith not the Church in the houres of the most blessed virgine accordinglie hereto, where it is written thus? Thou author of health remember, that sometime thou tokest of the vndefiled virgin, the forme of our bodie. Tell me for charitie therefore, whether the forme of our bodie, be called here the kind of our bodie or no?

The papists haue none other defence for them but only the Church.

And the archbishop said to me: Wouldest thou make mee to declare this text after thy purpose, since the Church now hath determined; that there abideth no substance of bread after the consecration, in the sacrament of the altar? Beleeuest thou not this ordinance of the Church?

Query ordinance of church men bindeth not our faith.

And I said: Sir, whatsoeuer prelates haue ordained in the Church, our beleefe standeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinance of men vnder beleefe, should bee put into beleefe.

And the archbishop said to me: If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to know that thou art out of beleefe: If in this matter and other, thou beleeuest not as the holy Church beleeueth. What say doctors treating of this sacrament?

The greatest doctors of the church be Apostles. S. Paul calleth it bread. The canon of the masse calleth it bread. S. Austen calleth it bread.

And I said: Sir, Saint Paul that was a great doctor of holie Church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right beleefe of this most holy sacrament, calleth it bread that we breake. And also in the canon of the masse after the consecration, this most worthy Sacrament is called holie bread. And euery priest in this land, after that he hath received this sacrament, saith in this wise: That thing that wee haue taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and cleane mind. That is as I vnderstand, wee pray God that we may receiue through very beleefe, this holy sacrament worthily. And sir, Saint Augustine saith: That thing that is seene, is bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of, is very Christs bodie. And also, Fulgence an ententife doctor saith: As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is, very man, and not very God: or to say that Christ was very God, and not very man: so is it (this doctor saith) an errour to say, that the sacrament of the altar is but a substance: and also sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the mid masse on Christmasse day, it is written thus: Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod diuinum est; which sentence sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, quatuor temporum Septembris: I pray you sir declare here openly in English.

The secret of the masse on Christmas day, nameth it a terrene substance.

And the archbishop said to me, I perceiue well enough where about thou art, and how the diuell blindeth thee, that thou may not vnderstand the ordinance of holy Church, nor consent thereto. But I command thee now, answere me shortlie: Beleeuest thou that after the consecration of this foresaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread, or not?

My lord can resolue a pace, he can declare but a little. Choke him vp my lord.

And I said; Sir, as I vnderstand, it is all one to grant or beleeue, that there dwelleth substance of bread, & to grant and to beleeue, that this holie worthie sacrament of Christs owne

body

To grant the reall being of the body without bread, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the subiect.

bodie is accident without subiect. But sir, for as mikle as your asking palleth my vnderstanding, I dare neither denie it nor grant it, for it is schole matter, about which I busied mee neuer for to know: and therefore I commit this terme accidens sine subiecto, to those clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with pro & contra, till that they wot not where they are, and vnderstand not themselues. But the shame that these proud Sophisters haue to yéld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles, and to be concluded shamefully before God.

Against proud Sophisters. *Templum domini*, *Templum domini*.

And the archbishop said to me: I purpose not to oblige thée to the subtle arguments of clerks, since thou art vnable thereto: but I purpose to make thée obey to the determination of holy Church.

The Church stood sound till the fiend broke loose.

And I said: sir, by open euidence and great witnesse, a M. yéere after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I haue here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy Church as sufficient to the saluation of all them that would beléeue it faithfully, and worke thereafter charitablie. But sir, the determination of this matter which was brought in since the fiend was loosed by frier Thomas againe, specially calling the most worshipfull Sacrament of Christs owne bodie an accident without subiect: which terme since I know not that Gods law approueth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but vtterlie I denie to make this friers sentence, or any such other, my beléefe; doe with me God what thou wilt.

Transubstantiation brought in by frier Thomas Aquin.

It is happie he did not flie in his face as Bonner did.

And the archbishop said to me: Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise or that I leaue thée. But what saiest thou to this second point that is recorded against thée by worthie men of Shrewesburie, saying, that thou preachedst there, that Images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

The second point touching images. Those charged with an vntruth.

And I said: Sir, I preached neuer thus, nor through Gods grace I will not at any time consent to think nor to say thus, neither priuilie nor apertly. For loe, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that the things which hee made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipfull in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praisable and worshipfull, and specially man that was made after the image and likenesse of God, is full worshipfull in his kind, yea, this holy image that is man, God worshippeth. And herefore euery man should worship other, in kind, and also for heauenly vertues that men vse charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, siluer, or any other matter that images are made of: all these creatures are worshipfull in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the caruing, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit ỳ this doing be accept of mã of highest state and dignitie, and ordained of them to bee a calender to leaud men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull and diuers workings: yet this imagerie ought not to be worshipped in forme, nor in the likenesse of mans craft. Neuertheless, that euery matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to the end that God made and ordained it to serue man.

Wan a worshipfull image of God.

Though man accept the painting or caruing of images, yet is it not the right way to learne to know God.

Then the archbishop said to me, I grant well that no body ought to doe worship to any such images for themselues. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgine Marie Christs mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthly kings and lords which vse to send their letters ensealed with their armes, or with their priuie signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receiue their lords letters, in which they see and know the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords they doe off their caps to these letters. Why not then, since in images made with mans hand, wee may read and know many diuers things of God, and of his Saints, shall we not worship their images?

The image of the Trinitie.

A similitude of the kings seale or letters to proue the worship of images.

No similitude to be made between earthly things and spirituall, namely, when Gods word doth expresse to the contrary.

And I said, within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worldly vsages of temporall lawes that yée speake now of, may be done in case without sinne. But this is no similitude to worship images, made by mans hand, since that Moses, Dauid, Salomon, Baruch and other saints in the bible forbid so plainely the worshipping of such images.

So you say my lord, but God saith contrarie in his commandements.

Then the archbishop said to mee: Leaud losell, in the old law before that Christ tooke mankind, was no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie, neither shewed to man, nor knowne of man: But now since Christ became man, it is lefull to haue images to shew his manhood, yea, though many men which are right great clerks and other also, held it an error to paint the Trinitie: I say it is wel done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great moouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie and other images of saints, carued, cast and painted. For beyond the sea, are the best painters that euer I saw. And sirs I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: When that an image maker shall carue, cast in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a priest, and shriue him as cleane, as if he should then die: and take penance,

Painters deuotion and the popes diuinitie doe well agree.

Preparation of the painters to make a faire and a deuout image.

and make some certaine vow of fasting or of praying or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest speciallie to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a faire and a deuout image.

And I said: Sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters vnderstood truly the text of Moses, of Dauid, of the wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors: these painters should be moued to shriue them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking vpon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinfull and vaine craft of painting, caruing, or casting they had vsed: promising God faithfully, neuer to doe so after: knowledging openly before all men their reprooueable learning. And also sir, these priests that shriue (as you doe say) painters, and enioyne them to doe penance, and pray for their spéed, promising to them helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their sinfull crafts: sinne herein more grieuously, then the painters. For these priests doe comfort and giue them counsell to doe that thing, which of great paine, yea vnder the paine of Gods curse, they should vtterly forbid them. For certes sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holy liuing and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets, were made knowne to the people by holy liuing and true, and busie teaching of priests: these things (sir) were sufficient bookes and kalenders to know God by, and his saints, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, the vitious liuing of priests and their couetousnesse, are chiefe cause of this error, and all other vitiousnesse that raigneth among the people.

The true bookes and kalenders to know God.

Then the archbishop said vnto me, I hold thee a vitious priest and accurst, and all them that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy Church, and all images that moue men to deuotion, thou and such other goe about to destroy. Losell, were it a faire thing to come into the Church and sée therein none image?

A better sight my lord then to see blind stocks there to be worshipped.

And I said: sir, they that come to the church for to pray deuoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits bee the more feruent, that all their outward wits bee close from all outward séeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and haue beléeued faithfully in him: it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to doe thereafter) for to beléeue in God, though they neuer sée images made with mans hand after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other Saint.

The right seruice of a Christian.

And the archb. said to mee, with a feruent spirit: I say to thée losell, that it is right well done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie: Yea, what saist thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

My lord, your yea, will not answer Gods nay.

And I said: Sir, yee said right now that in the old law or Christ tooke mankind, no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie was shewed to men: therefore sir, yée said it was not then lefull to haue images, but now ye say, since Christ is becomen man, it is lefull to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie, and also of other saints. But sir, this thing would I learne of you: since the father of heauen, yea and euery person of the Trinitie was without beginning God almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors: Why was it not then as lefull and necessarie as now to haue made an image of the father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confessors, to haue bin kalenders to aduise men and moue them to deuotion, as ye say that images now doe?

Note this ye worshippers and maintainers of Images.

The synagogue of antichrist wil haue authoritie.

And the archbishop said: The synagogue of the Iewes had not authoritie to approoue those things as the Church of Christ hath now.

And I said: Sir, saint Gregorie was a great man in the new law, and of great dignitie, and as the common law witnesseth, he commended greatly a bishop, in that he forbad vtterly the images made with mans hand should bee worshipped.

And the archbishop said: Vngracious losell, thou sauourest no more truth then an hound. Since at the rood at the Northdoore at London, at our ladie at Walsingham, and many other diuers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done: should not the images of such holy saints and places, at the reuerence of God and our ladie and other saints be more worshipped then other places and images, where no miracles are done?

Great miracles done by images, but my lord doth not tell by whose power.

And I said: Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagerie, that any images should herefore bee worshipped; wherefore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, because that any images made with mans hand should be worshipped. And herefore sir, as I preached openly at Shrewesburie and other places, I say now here before you: That no bodie should trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no bodie should bow to them nor séeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor encense them. For loe the most worthie of such images, the brasen Serpent (by Moises made, at Gods bidding) the good king Ezechias destroyed worthily and thankfully, and all because it was encensed. Therfore sir, if men take good heed

Miracles importing worship to be done to Images may well be suspected not to come of God.

A Christian man ought not to bow, seek, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer, nor kisse an image.

to

to the writting and to the learning of S. Augustine, of S. Gregorie, and of saint John Chrysostome, and of other saints and Doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles, that shall bee done now in the last end of the world: It is to dread, that for the vnfaithfulnes of men and women, the feend hath great power for to worke many of the miracles that now are done in such places. For both men and women delight now more to heare and know miracles, then they doe to know Gods word, or to heare it effectuously. Wherefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus do; Christ saith: the generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Neuertheless as diuers saints say, now when the faith of God is published in Christendome, the word of God sufficeth to mans saluation, without such miracles: and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithfull men and women, without any such images. But good sir, since the father of heauen, that is God in his godhead, is the most vnknowne thing that may bee, and the most wonderfull spirit, hauing in it no shape nor likenesse, and members of any deadly creature: in what likenesse or what image may God the father be shewed or painted?

For the vnfaithfulnes of men, the diuell may worke miracles.

The word of God sufficeth vs to saluation, without miracles.

That which is of nature vnknowne, cannot be resembled by any visible creature knowne.

And the archbishop said: as holy church hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted and shewed; it sufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church; thou fauourest not the ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leaue we this matter.

Holy church of your owne building.

The 3. article.

Pilgrimage.

AND then he said to me: What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsburie, that pilgrimage is not lefull: and ouer this thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canturburie, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to Walsingam, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste.

And I said: Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I said neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God; and therefore sir, howsoeuer mine enemies haue certified you of me, I told at Shrewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

Two maner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop said to me: whom callest thou true pilgrimes?

The true pilgrimage is to trauell in heauenly things.

And I said: sir, with my protestation I call them true pilgrimes trauelling toward the blisse of heauen, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfully for to occupie all their wits bodily and ghostly, to know truely, and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seuen deadly sins, and euery branch of them: Ruling them vertuously (as it is said before) with all their wits, doing discreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the works of mercy, bodily and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the holy Ghost, disposing them to receiue them in their soules, and to hold therin, the right blessings of Christ: busying them to know and to keepe the seuen principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine here through grace, for to vse thankfully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then they shall be moued with the good spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they erre in any article of beleefe, hauing continually (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse, to dread and to flie the offence of God, and to loue ouer all, and to seeke euer to doe his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, what soeuer good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke: Euery such thought, word, & worke is a step numbred of God, toward him into heauen. These foresaid pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsoke wilfully the prosperitie of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the feend, how they restrained their fleshlie lusts, how discreete they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their aduersities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, mouing them to hate all sinne, and to flie them, and to shame euer greatly therof, and to loue all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ and his followers by example of him, suffered scornes and slanders, and how patiently they abode and tooke the wrongfull manacing of tyrants: How homely they were and seruiceable to poore men to releeue and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning, and how deuout they were in prayers, how feruent they were in heauenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings, and how stable they were to let and destroy all vices, and how laborious and ioyfull they were, to sow and to plant vertues: These heauenly conditions and such other, haue pilgrimes, or endeuor them for to haue: whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

Euery good worke, is a good step to heauen.

The maner and examples of saints.

And againe, I said, as their workes shew, the most part of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, haue not these foresaid conditions, nor loueth to busie them faithfullie for to haue. For as I well know, since I haue full oft assaid, examine whosoeuer will ye. of these pilgrimes, and hee shall no find three men or women, that know surely a commandement of God, nor can say their Pater noster, and Aue Maria, nor their Creed readilie in any maner of language. And as I haue learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause, why that many men and women goe hither and thither now on pilgrimage: it is more for the health of their bodies, then of their soules: more for to haue riches and prosperitie of this world, then for to bee enriched with vertues in their soules: more to haue here worldly and fleshly friendship, then for to haue friendship of God, and of his saints in heauen, for whatsoeuer thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint cannot bee had, without keeping of Gods commandements. Further with my protestation, I say now as I said in Shrewsburie, though they that haue fleshly wils, trauell farre their bodies and spend mikle money, to seeke and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this saint or of that: such pilgrimage going is neither praiseable nor thankfull to God nor to any saint of God, since in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor conforme them to liue vertuously by example of Christ and of his saints. Therfore sir, I haue preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life time to do with Gods helpe, saying that such fond people wast blamefully Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods vpon vitious hostelars which are oft vncleane women of their bodies: and at the least, those goods with the which they should doe workes of mercie after Gods bidding, to poore needie men and women.

Pilgrimage displeasant to God.

Goods euill destowed in pilgrimage.

These poore mens goods and their liuelode, these runners about, offer to rich priests which haue mikle more liuelode then they neede. And thus those goods they waste wilfully, and spend them vniustly against Gods bidding vpon strangers, with which they should helpe and releue, after Gods will their poore needie neighbours at home: yea and ouer this follie, oftentimes diuers men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage; borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and sometime they steale mens goods hereto, and they pay them neuer againe. Also sir, I know well that when diuers men and women will goe thus after their owne wils, and finding out one pilgrimage; they will ordaine with them before, to haue with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrimes, will haue with them bagpipes: so that etherie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the iangling of their Canturburie bels, and with the barking out of dogs after them, that they make more noise, then if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, taletellers, and liars.

The inconuenience that commeth by pilgrimage.

And the archbishop said to me: Leud losell, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great trauell of pilgrims, therfore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims haue with them both singers and also pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefote, striketh his toe vpon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed: it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosome a bagpipe, for to driue away with such mirth, the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace, the trauell and wearinesse of pilgrimes, is lightly and merely borne out.

Well spoken my lord for Lincolneshire bagpipes. And why then blamed Boner Philpot for singing in the stockes?

And I said: sir, S. Paul teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the archbishop said, what iangles thou against mens deuotion? What soeuer thou or such other say, I say that the pilgrimage that now is vsed, is to them that doe it, a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee vnable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the deuotion of the people: since by authoritie of holy Scripture, men may lefully haue and vse such solace as thou reprouest. For Dauid in his last psalme, teacheth men to haue diuers instruments of musicke for to praise therewith God.

A new found way to grace of the bishops making.

And I said: sir, by the sentence of diuers Doctors expounding the psalmes of Dauid, that musicke and minstrelsie that Dauid and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now nother to be taken nor vsed by the letter, but these instruments with their musicke ought to bee interpreted ghostly: For all those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name. For saint Paul saith all such things befell to them in figure. Therfore sir, I vnderstand, that the letter of this psalme of Dauid and of such other psalmes and sentences doth slay them that take them now litterally: This sentence as I vnderstand sir, Christ approueth himselfe, putting out the minstrels, or that he would quicken the dead damsell.

Instruments and musicke of the old testament, how they are to be applied and vsed in the new testament.

And the archbishop said to me: Leud losel, is it not lefull to vs to haue Organs in the church for to worship therewithall God? And I said, yea sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the peoples vnderstanding were mikle more pleasant to God.

Organs in the church.

A fit comparison my lord, for like ponstick.

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And the archbishop said, that Organs and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpened more mens wits then should any sermon.

But I said: sir, lustie men and worldly louers, delight and couet and trauell to haue all their wits quickned and sharpened with diuers sensible solace: But all the faithfull louers and followers of Christ, haue all their delight to heare Gods word, and to vnderstand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to loue to please him in all things quickneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people; and able them so to grace, that they ioy greatly to withdraw their eares and all their wits and members, from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For saint Hierome (as I thinke) saith: No body may ioy with this world and reigne with Christ.

The saying of Ieroime.

And the archbishop (as if he had beene displeased with mine answere) said to his clerks: What gesse ye that this idiot will speake there, where he hath no dred: since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt bee ordained for. And then he spake to me all angerly.

You sweare my fo[r].

The fourth article concerning priests tithes.

WHat saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests haue no title to tithes?

And I said: sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more then a moneth after that I was arested: there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes. And I said to him: Sir, in this towne are many clerks and priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars: Therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me: Sir, our prelats say, that we also are obliged to pay our tithes of all things that renue to vs: and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly fro them of their tithes. And I said (sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you: that I wonder that any priest dare say, men to bee accursed, without the ground of Gods word. And the man said: Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authoritie of Gods law. And I said: Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore sir, I pray you that yee will aske the most cunning clerke of this towne, that yee may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not goe from mee to aske this question, of an other body: But required mee there, as I would answere before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approued of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of saint Peter, teaching priests speciallie to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts: being euermore readie (as far as in them is) to answere through faith and hope to them that aske of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to vse with a meeke spirit and with dread of the Lord. Therefore sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the old law, which ended not fully, till the time that Christ rose vp againe from death to life, God commanded tithes to be giuen to the Leuites, for the great busines and dailie trauell that pertained to their office. But priests, because their trauell was mikle more easie and light, then was the office of the Leuits: God ordained the priests should take for their liuelode to doe their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were giuen to the Leuites. But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles toke tithes of the people nor commanded the people to pay tithes, neither to priests nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, workes of mercie, to pore needie men (of surplus, that is, superfluous of their temporall goods) which they had, more then them needed reasonablie to their necessarie liuelode. And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ liued and his apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the word of God to the people, that they might not trauell otherwise for to get their liuelode. But after Christs ascension, and when the apostles had receiued the holy Ghost, they trauelled with their hands, for to get their liuelode, when that they might thus doe for busie preaching. Therfore by example of himselfe, S. paul teacheth al the priests of Christ for to trauell with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus doe. And thus, all these priests whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the apostles time, and after their decease; will doe to the worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ 211. yeare, one pope Gregorie the tenth ordained new tithes first to bee giuen to priests now in the new law. But saint Paul in his time, whose trace or example all Priests of God enforce them to follow, seeing the couetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroy the foule sinne through the grace of God and true vertuous liuing and example of himselfe: wrought and taught all priests for to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladlie in high pouertie; Therefore Paul saith thus: The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospell, shall liue of the Gospell. But we (saith Paul) that couet and busie vs to be faithfull followers of Christ, vse not this power. For lo (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full pore and needie, preaching among the people: he was not chargeous vnto them, but with his hands he trauelled not onely to get his owne liuing, but also the liuing of other pore and needie creatures. And since the people was neuer so couetous, nor so auarous (I gesse) as they are now; it were good counsell that all priests toke good heed to this heauenlie learning of Paul, following him here in willfull pouertie, nothing charging the people for their bodilie liuelode. But because that many priests do contrarie to Paul in this foresaid doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had giuen them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people: Accept yee none other Priests then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certaine, in what soeuer dignitie or order that any priest is in, if hee conforme him not to follow Christ and his apostles in willfull pouertie, and in other heauenly vertues, and specially in true preaching of Gods word: though such a one be named a priest, yet he is no more but a priest in name, for the worke of a verie priest, in such a one wanteth. This sentence approueth Augustine, Gregorie, Chrysostome, and Lincolne plainely.

Paul would not be chargeous.

If priests were couetous then, what be they now?

This rule, with the rule of begging frers, cannot stand together.

And the archbishop said to me: Thinkest thou this wholesome learning for to sow openly, or yet priuilie among the people? Certaine, this doctrine contrarieth plainely the ordinance of holie fathers, which haue ordained, granted, and licenced priests to be in diuers degrées, and to liue by tithes and offrings of the people, and by other duties.

Wholesome enough my lord if your tast were good to sauor it.

But it contrarieth not the ordinance neither of God nor of his word.

And I said: sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and liued vertuouslie, and taught busilie and truelie the word of God, by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now challenge and take: the people would giue them freely sufficient liuelode.

If priests would not slacke in their dutie, they should not lacke in hauing sufficient.

And a clerke said to me: How wilt thou make this good, that the people will giue freelie to priests their liuelode; since that now by the law euerie priest can scarcelie constraine the people to giue them their liuelode?

Fallax argumentum secundum causam vt causam.

And I said: sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to giue priests the liuelode that they aske: Mekil people know now, how that priests should liue, and how that they liue contrarie to Christ & to his apostles. And therfore the people is full heauie to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to parsons and and to other vicars and priests, which should be faithfull dispensators of the parishes goods: taking to themselues no more, but a scarce liuing of tithes, nor of offrings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoeuer priests take of the people (be it tithe or offring, or any other dutie or seruice) the priests ought not to haue therof no more, but a bare liuing; and to depart the residue to the pore men and women specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall liuing. But the most deale of priests now wasteth their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their owne will after the world, in their vaine lusts: So that in few places pore men haue duely (as they should haue) their owne sustenance, nother of tithes nor of offrings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in diuers maners aboue that they neede for needefull sustenance of meate and clothing: But the pore needie people are forsaken & left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests tok nothing of the parishioners to help the people with.

The cruell dome[s] of the priests, is the cause why the people be so slacke in their tithes.

Priests being content with sufficiencie, and a bare liuing, ought to part the residue to the poore.

Priests did so then, but our priests do not so now.

And thus sir, into ouer great charges of the parishioners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also sir, the parishioners that pay their temporall goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them iustly, are partners of euerie sinne of those priests: because that they sustaine those priests follie in their sin, with their temporall goods. If these things bee well considered: what wonder is it then sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

Whether tithes are to be paid to priests doing not their duty.

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou that shouldest bee iudged and ruled by holy church, presumptuouslie thou deemest holie church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be payed to priests. It shall be long or thou thriue Losell, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speake this (Losel) among the people? Are not tithes giuen to priests for to liue by?

Ghostly mother & nay anythostly stepdame, to all Gods children.

And I said: sir, saint Paul saith, that tithes were giuen in the old law to Leuites and to priests, that came of the linage of Leui. But our priests he saith, came not of the linage of Leuy, but of the linage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promised to be giuen. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Leuy to the generation of Juda: it is necessarie that changing also bee made of the law. So that priests liue now without tithes and other dutie that they claime, following Christ and his apostles in willful pouerty, as they haue giuen them example. For since Christ liued (all the time of his preaching) by pure almes of the people: and by example of him, his apostles liued in the same wise, or else by the trauel of their hands, as it is said aboue: euerie priest, whose priesthood Christ approueth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be aboue his master, but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as his master, simple, and pure, meeke and patient: and by example specially

By the law none could challenge tithes, but onely the seede of Leuy. Our priests be not of the seede of Leuy: Ergo by the law our priests cannot challenge tithes.

As the priesthood is changed, so is the law changed.

A paradox without Gods word.

Tithes by whom and when they were first commanded in the new law.

A difference to be put betwixt the old law and the new.

Priests had the x. part of the tithes giuen to the Leuites.

Christ commandeth almes, not tithes, except tithes be almes.

Paul hauing power to take, yet vsed it not.

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specially of his master Christ, euery priest should rule him in al his liuing; & so after his cunning and power, a priest should busie him to enforme and to rule, whomsoeuer he might charitablie.

Wesse but curse not, saith saint Paul.

And the archbishop said to me with a great spirit, Gods curse haue thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldest hereby, make the old law more free & perfect then the new law. For thou saiest that it is lefull to Leuites and to priests to take tithes in the old law, and so to enioy their priuiledges: but to vs priests in the new law, thou saist it is not lawfull to take tithes: and thus thou giuest to Leuites of the old law, more freedome then to priests of the new law.

He goeth neere you my lord, when he toucheth your tithes.

And I said: sir, I marueil that yee vnderstand this plaine text of Paul thus. We wot well, that the Leuites and priests in the old law that toke tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his apostles that toke no tithes. And sir, there is a Doctor (I thinke that it is saint Hierome) that saith thus: The priests that challenge now in the new law, tithes; say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans loue. Wherefore this Doctor saith this sentence: Since tithes were the hires and wages limited to Leuites and to priests of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and fleing of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the host of Israel, and other diuers obseruances that pertained to their office: those priests that will challenge or take tithes, denie that Christ is come in the flesh, and doe the priests office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted: for else (as this Doctor saith) priests take now tithes wrongfully.

The difference of the freedoms betweene the old and new lawes.

For what cause tithes were giuen in the old law.

And the archbishop said to his clerkes: Heard you euer Losel speake thus? Certaine this is the learning of them all, that wheresoeuer they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy church.

If you take away tithes you bridge the church.

And I said: sir, why call yee the taking of tithes, and of such other duties that priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedome of holy church: since neither Christ nor his apostles, challenged nor toke such duties? Herefore these takings of priests now are not called iustly the freedome of holy church, but all such giuing and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous couetousnesse of men of the holy church.

And the archbishop said to me: Why Losell, wilt not thou and other that are confederat with thee, seeke out of holy Scripture and of the sense of Doctors, all sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squires, and against other secular men, as thou doest against priests?

Choose, preach against whom thou wilt, so that touch not this scab.

And I said: sir, whatsoeuer men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching specially, or in our commoning, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges: But sir, since Chrysostome saith, that priests are the stomacke of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in commoning, to be most busie about this priesthood: Since by the vitiousnesse of priests both lords and commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the couetousnesse of priests and pride, and the boast that they haue and make of their dignitie and power; destroyeth not onely the vertues of priesthood in priests themselues, but also ouer this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both vpon the lords, and vpon the commons, which suffer these priests charitablie.

The vitiousnes and pride of priests infecteth all the world.

A spitefull mockenelle that is in scarlet gownes.

And the archbishop said to me: Thou iudgest euery priest proud that will not goe arraied as thou doest: by God I deeme him to be more meeke that goeth euery day in a scarlet gowne, then thou in thy thred-bare blew gowne. Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

The signes and markes of proud priests.

And I said: sir, a proud priest may be knowne, when he denieth to follow Christ and his apostles, in willful pouertie and other vertues: and coueteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, manassing, or with flattering, or with simonie any worldly goods: And most, if a priest busie him not chiefly in himselfe, and after in all other men and women after his cunning & power to withstand sin.

Paul saieth God shal iudge all fornicators. what say you my lord?

And the archb. said to me: Though thou knewest a priest to haue all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest lowely lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly: wouldest thou therfore demme this priest damnable? I say to thee that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

Priests ought to be examples of good liuing.

And I said: sir, I will not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may bee done, so that the sinner leaueth his sinne. But by authoritie of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin: and most specially, a priest that should be example to all other for to hate and flie sinne. And in how short time that euer ye say that such a sinner may be repented: he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be iudged verily repentant, without open euidence of great shame and heartie sorie for sinne. For whosoeuer (and specially a priest) that vseth pride, enuie, couetousnesse, lecherie, simonie, or any other vices; sheweth not as open euidence of repentance as hee hath giuen euill example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sinne as long as he may: it is likely that sinne leaueth him, and he not sinne. And as I vnderstand, such a one sinneth vnto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as saint John saith.

Clerkly spoken and like a paralite.

And a clerke said then to the archbishop: sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is: and the more ye busie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind that he shameth not onely to be himselfe a foule nesk, but without shame he busieth him to make his nesk fouler.

Forget nothing I pray you my lord.

And then the archbishop said to his clerke: Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

And so then he said to me: Loe it is here certified against thee that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case.

Not lawful to sweare by any creature. When ought not to sweare; when without an oth he may excuse himself that is compelled to sweare.

And I said: sir, I preached neuer so openly, nor I haue taught in this wise in any place. But sir, as I preached in Shrewsburie, with my protestation I say to you now here: that by the authoritie of the Gospel of saint James, and by witnes of diuers saints and doctors: I haue preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. And ouer this sir, I haue also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities: that no body should sweare in any case, if that without oth in any wise hee that is charged to sweare might excuse him to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that haue power to compel him to sweare, then he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only, that is, sothfastnesse, for to witnesse to sothfastnes.

Well said sir John of you, your holy mother stroke your head.

And then a clerke asked me if it were not lefull to a subiect at the bidding of his prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy Gospell booke, and kisse it, saying; So helpe me God and this holy dome: for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

And I said to them: sirs, ye speake here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commanded his subiect to doe an vnlawfull thing: should he obey thereto?

These prelats would bee thought to be good, be they neuer so bad.

And the archbishop said to me: A subiect ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him doe an vnlawfull thing. For a subiect ought to thinke that his prelate will bid him doe nothing but that hee will answere for before God, that it is lefull: And then, though the bidding of the prelate be vnlafull, the subiect hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and iudgeth, that whatsoeuer thing his prelate biddeth him doe, that it is lefull to him for to do it.

And I said: sir I truste not thereto. But to our purpose: Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentlemans house, and there were then two clerkes there, a master of diuinitie, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in diuinitie. And among other things, these men spake of others, and the man of law said: at the bidding of his soueraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, hee would lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare his charge: and if his charge to his vnderstanding were vnlefull hee would hastily withdraw his hand vpon the booke, taking there onely God to witnesse, that hee would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the master of diuinitie said then to him thus: Certaine, hee that layeth his hand vpon a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded; is obliged thereby by booke oth, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this forme to doe this thing or that) will say and witnesse, that hee that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne vpon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus doe, and also all those that heare hereof, in the same wise will say and witnesse, that this man hath sworne vpon a booke. Wherefore, the master of diuinitie said, it was not lefull neither to giue nor to take any such charge vpon a booke: for euery booke is nothing else, but diuers creatures, of which it is made of. Therefore to sweare vpon a booke, is to sweare by creatures, and this swearing is euer vnlefull. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainely, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to sweare vpon, charging clerkes that in no wise they constraine any body to sweare, whether they thinke a man to sweare true or false.

A communication betwixt a lawyer and a diuine.

To sweare by a booke is to sweare by creatures. Chrysostome blameth booke oth.

And the archbishop and his clerkes scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the archbishop manassed mee with great punishment and sharpe, except I left this opinion of swearing.

Here now saieth ed Boner, to scratch him by the face.

And I said: sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Sauiour, and of saint James, and of Chrysostome, and of other diuers saints and doctors.

Then the archbishop bad a clerke reade this homilie of Chrysostome: which homilie, this clerke held in his hand written in a roll: which roll the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canturburie. And so then this clerke read this roll, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, that it is sin to sweare well.

Either Maluren, or else sir Brian Blowcole.

And then a clerke (Maluren, as I gesse) said to the archbishop: sir, I pray you wete of him, how he vnderstandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to sweare well.

And so the archbishop asked mee, how I vnderstood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somewhat afraid to answere hereto:

Christ promiseth and giueth truely and verrance.

For I had busied me to studie about the sense thereof, but lifting vp my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as I thought how Christ said to his apostles: When for my name ye shall be brought before iudges, I shall giue into your mouth, wisedome that your aduersaries shall not againstsay. And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said: sir, I know well that many men and women, haue now swearing so in custome, that they know not, nor will not know, that they do euill to sweare as they doe: But they thinke and say, that they doe well for to sweare as they do, though they know well that they swear vntruely. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) voide blame or temporall harme, which they should haue if they sweare not thus. And sir, many men and women maintaine strongly that they sweare well, when that thing is soth that they sweare for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to sweare by creatures, when they may not (as they say) otherwise be beleeued. And also, full many men and women now say, that it is well done to sweare by God, and by our Ladie, and by other saints, for to haue them in minde. But since al these sayings are but excusations, and sinne: me thinketh sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleaged well against all such swearers: witnessing that all these sinne grieuously, though they thinke themselues for to sweare in this foresaid wise, well: For it is euill done, and great sin for to sweare truth, when in any maner a man may excuse himselfe without oth.

The place of Chrysostome expounded, how it is sinne to sweare well. What it is to sweare well.

And the archbishop said, that Chrysostome might bee thus vnderstood.

And then a clerke said to me: wilt thou tarrie my lord no lenger, but submit thee here meekely to the ordinance of holy church, and lay thy hand vpon a booke, touching the holy Gospel of God, promising not onely with thy mouth, but also with thine heart to stand to my lords ordinance?

Pope holy church.

And I said: sir, haue I not told you here, how that I heard a master of Diuinitie say: that in such case it is all one to touch a booke, and to sweare by a booke?

To touch a booke is to sweare by a booke.

And the archbishop said: There is no master of Diuinity in England so great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him as I shall doe thee, except thou sweare as I shall charge thee.

It is happie that he called not for a cattle, and made a Sceuola of him as Boner did of Tomkins.

And I said: sir, is not Chrysostome an ententife Doctor?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said: if Chrysostome proueth him worthie great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to sweare vpon: it must needs follow, that hee is more to blame that sweateth on that booke.

And the archbishop said: if Chrysostome meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him.

It is happie that Chrysostome was not here, or else he would haue had him by the backe.

And then said a clerke to me: Is not the word of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

But that word cannot be touched. Thorp refuseth not to sweare.

And I said, yea.

Then he said to me, why wilt thou not sweare then by the Gospell of God, that is, Gods word, since it is al one to sweare by the word of God and by God himselfe?

And I said: sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleeued, but by swearing: I perceiue (as Austine saith) that it is not spedefull that ye that should be my brethren should not beleeue me; therefore I am readie by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to sweare.

Then the clerke said to mee: Lay then thine hand vpon the booke, touching the holie Gospell of God and take thy charge.

And I said: sir, I vnderstand that the holy Gospell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the clerke said I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerke, whether it were more to reade the Gospell then to touch the Gospell.

And he said, it was more to reade the Gospell.

Whether the booke be the Gospell. Hierome saith the Gospell is not the Gospell for reading, but for beleeuing. The Gospell is not the leaues of the booke but the roote of reason. Saint Paul.

Then I said: sir, by authoritie of saint Hierome, the Gospell is not the Gospel for reading of the letter, but for the beleefe that men haue in the word of God. That it is the Gospell that we beleeue, and not the letter that we reade: for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Gospell, but the sentence that is verily beleeued in mans heart, is the Gospell. For so Hierome saith: The Gospell, that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaues of the booke, but it is in the roote of reason. Neither the Gospell (he saith) is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the Gospell is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approueth S. Paul, saying thus; The kingdome of God is not in word, but in vertue. And Dauid saith: The voice of the Lord, that is, his word, is in vertue. And after Dauid saith: Through the word of God the heauens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I pray you sir, vnderstand yee well how Dauid saith; then in the spirit of the mouth of the Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

Dauid.

This clerke was well seene in the Masse booke.

And the clerke said to me: Thou wouldest make vs too fond with thee. Say we not that the Gospell is written in the Masse booke?

And I said: sir, though men vse to say thus, yet it is an vnperfect speech. For the principall part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For loe, mans soule that may not now bee seene here nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root therof that may not be seene, for doe away the roote, and the tree is destroyed. And sir, as ye said to mee right now, God and his word are of one authoritie: And sir, saint Hierome witnesseth, that Christ (very God and very man) is hid in the letter of the law: thus also sir, the Gospell is hid in the letter. For sir, as it is full likely many diuers men and women here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his godhead: right thus sir, many men now touch and see, and write, and reade the Scriptures of Gods law, which neither see, touch, nor reade effectually the Gospell. For as the godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is knowne by the vertue of beleefe, so is the Gospell, that is Christs word.

The Gospell is not the letter but hid in the letter.

And a clerke said to me: These be full miskie matters and vnlauore that thou shewest here to vs.

Miskie matters for your blind eyes.

And I said: sir, if ye that are masters, know not plainely this sentence, ye may sore dread that the kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priests and from the elders of the Iewes.

And then a clerke (as I gesse, Malucren) said to me: Thou knowest not thine equiuocations: for the kingdome of heauen hath diuers vnderstandings. What callest thou the kingdome of heauen in this sentence, that thou shewest here?

And I said: sir, by good reason and sentence of Doctors the realm of heauen is called here, ỹ vnderstanding of Gods word.

The kingdome of God taken for the vnderstanding of Gods word.

And a clerk said to me: From whom thinkest thou that this vnderstanding is taken away?

And I said: sir, (by authoritie of Christ himselfe) the effectuall vnderstanding of Christs word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered men, and presume to vnderstand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire mastership and high state and dignitie: but they will not conforme them to the liuing & teaching of Christ & of his apostles.

This sait was somewhat too sharpe for their rotten sleeues abide.

Then the archbishop said: Well, well, thou wilt iudge thy soueraignes. By God, the king doth not his dutie, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

And then another clerke said to me: Why (on friday that last was) counselledst thou a man of my lords that hee should not shriue him to no man but onely to God?

Helpe downe with him sir Iohn.

And with this asking I was abashed: And then by and by I knew that I was subtillie betraied of a man that came to me in prison on the friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certaine, by his words I thought, that this man came then to me of full feruent and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgiue him if it be his will. And withall my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this clerke: Sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hither: and all the words as neare as I can repeate them, which that I spake to him, on friday in the prison, I will rehearse now here before you al, and before him.

Note here the crattie practise of this holy church.

And (as I gesse) the archb. said then to me: They that are now here, suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?

And I said: sir, that man came and asked me in diuers things, and after his asking, I answered him (as I vnderstood) that good was: And as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorie of his liuing in court, and right heauie for his owne vicious liuing, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and specially of priests euill liuing: and therefore he said to mee with a sorowfull heart (as I gessed) that hee purposed fully within short time for to leaue the court, and to busy him to know Gods law, and to conforme all his life thereafter. And when hee had said to me these words and moe other which I would rehearse and he were present, he prayed me to heare his confession. And I said to him: sir, wherefore come ye to me, to bee confessed of me? ye wote well that the archbishop putteth and holdeth mee here, as one vnworthy either to giue or to take any Sacrament of holy church.

A false brother. Auricular confession.

And he said to me: Brother I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfully vered, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly. And I said to him: Certaine I wote well that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this household would be full euill apaid both with you and me, if they wist that ye were confessed of me. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them: And as me thought, hee spake these words and many other, of so good will and of so high desire, for to haue knowne and done the pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you now here: sir, I counsell you, for to absent you from al euil companie, & to draw you to them that loue and busie them to know and to keepe the precepts of God: And then the good spirit of God will moue you for to occupie busily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethinke you, shaming greatly of them and sorrowing heartily for them: Yea sir, the holy Ghost wil then put in your heart a good wil and a feruent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate euer & to flie, (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then, wisedome shall come to you from aboue, lightening (with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly desire) all your wits, enforming you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord knowe

A crafftie traine of a popish dissembler.

knowledging to him onely all your vicious liuing, praying to him euer deuoutly of charitable counsell and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if yee continue thus, busying you faithfully to know and to keepe his biddings, that he will (for he onely may) forgiue you all your sins. And this man said to me: Though God forgiue men their sinnes, yet it behoueth men to be assoiled of priests, and to doe the penance that they enioyne them.

God onely forgiueth sinne, man only can counsell to leaue sin.

And I said to him: sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgiue men their sinnes. Wherefore since it pertaineth onely to God to forgiue sinne: it sufficeth in this case, to counsell men and women for to leaue their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And againeward, priests ought to tell sharpely to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sinne, but continue in diuers sinnes while that they may sinne, all such deserue paine without any end. And therefore, priests should euer busie them to liue well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truely the word of God, shewing to all folke in open preaching and in priuie counselling, that the Lord God onely forgiueth sinne. And therfore, those priests that take vpon them to assoile men of their sinnes, blaspheme God: since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes. For no doubt a thousand yeare after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuily nor apertly, that they behoued needs to come to be assoiled of them, as priests now doe. But by authoritie of Christs word, priests bound indurate customable sinners to euerlasting paines, which in no time of their liuing would busie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to flie all occasion of sin, dreading euer all things to offend God, and louing for to please him continually: to these men and women priests shewed how the Lord assoiled them of all their sinnes; and thus Christ promised to confirme in heauen, all the binding and loosing that priests by authority of his word, bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here vpon earth, that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, that he might well in conscience consent to this sentence. But hee said: Is it not needefull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to goe shrieue them to priests? And I said, If a man feele himselfe so distroubled with any sinne, that he cannot by his owne wit auoide this sin without counsell of them that are herein wiser then he; in such a case, the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good priest faile, as they do now commonly, in such a case, saint Augustine saith, that a man may lawfully commune and take counsell of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is ouerladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their owne sinnes into their mind, busying them night and day for to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And sir, full accordinglie to this sentence vpon Midlent Sunday (two yeare as I gesse now agone) I heard a monke of Feuersam, that men called Worden, preach at Canturburie at the crosse within Christ church abbey, saying thus of confession: That as through the suggestion of the feend without counsell of any other body, of themselues many men and women, can imagine and find meanes and waies enough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherie, and other diuers vices: in contrariwise this monke said, Since the Lord God is more readie to forgiue sinne then the feend is or may be of power, to moue any body to sinne: then whosoeuer will shame and sorrow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other body then of God and of himselfe (through the grace of God) all such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and so to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I said sir to this man of yours, and the selfe words as neere as I can gesse.

Christ and confession to priests.

Worden monk of Feuersam preaching of confession.

Hearty repentance to God needeth no confession to a priest.

And the archbishop said: Holy Church approueth not this learning.

No nor nothing else that is good.

And I said, sir, holy church of which Christ is head in heauen and in earth, must needs approue this sentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and keepe the commandements of God, and to hate and to flie continually all occasion of sinne, and to loue and to seeke vertues busilie, and to beléeue in God stablie, and to trust in his mercie stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity and continue therin perseuerantly. And more ỳ Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, since Jesu Christ died vpon the crosse, wilfully to make men free; men of the church are too bold and too busie, to make men thrall, binding them vnder the paine of endles curse (as they say) to doe many obseruances and ordinances, which neither the liuing nor teaching of Christ nor of his apostles approueth.

Christ giueth freedome, the pope giueth thraldome.

And a clerke said then to me: Thou shewest plainely here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that trauell to sow the popple among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe away cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gratious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke said to me: How wast thou so bold at Pauls Crosse in London, to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine heade, and to reproue in his sermon the worthie clerke Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mightest: yea, and the same day at after noone, thou meeting the worthie Doctor in Watlingstreet, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said: sir, I thinke certainely that there was no man nor woman that hated verily sinne, and loued vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerke at Orford, and also Alkertons sermon) but they said or might iustly say, that Alkerton reproued that clerke vntruly, and slandered him wrongfully and vncharitablie. For no doubt: if the liuing and teaching of Christ chiefly and of his apostles bee true, no body that loueth God and his law, will blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there: since by authority of Gods word, & by approued Saints and Doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approued all things cleerely that he preached there.

And a clerke of the archbishops said to me: his sermon was false, and that hee sheweth openly, since hee dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said: sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand stedfastly thereby, or else he slandereth foully himselfe, and also many other that haue great trust that hee will stand by the truth of the Gospell. For I wote well, this sermon is written both in Latine and English, and many men haue it and they set great price thereby. And sir: If yee were present with the archbishop at Lambeth when this clerke appeared and was at his answer before the archbishop, ye wote well that this clerke denied not there his sermon, but two daies hee maintained it before the archbishop and his clerks.

And then the archbishop or one of his clerks said (I wote not which of them) that harlot shall bee met with, for that sermon. For no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, prailseth any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said: Your cursed sect is busie, and it loueth right greatly to contrary and to destroy the priuiledge and freedome of holy church.

The true freedome of holy church not destroyed but increased by true preachers.

And I said: sir, I know no men that trauell so busilie as this sect doth (which you reproue) to make rest and peace in holy church. For pride, couetousnesse, and simonie, which distrouble most holy church; this sect hateth and fleeth, and trauelleth busilie to moue all other men in like mauer, vnto meekenesse and wilfull pouertie, and charitie, and free ministring of the Sacraments: this sect loueth and vseth, and is full busie to moue all other folks thus to doe. For these vertues, owe all members of holy church, to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop: sir, it is farre daies, and ye haue farre to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for he will none make: but the more sir, that ye busie you for to draw him toward you, the more contumare he is made and the further fro you.

A good secular man may be counseller, where a priest faileth, by S. Augustine.

And then Malueren said to me: William, kneele downe, and pray my lord of grace, and leaue all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy church.

Take my lords blessing and stand vp.

And I said: sir, I haue prayed the archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the loue of Christ, that hee will leaue his indignation that he hath against me: and that he will suffer me after my cunning and power, for to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to doe it. For I couet nought else but to serue my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and haue taken me to.

And the archbishop said to me: If of good heart thou wilt submit thee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsell, obeying meekely and wilfully to my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarrie thou me no longer, grant to doe this that I haue said to thee now here shortly, or deny it vtterly.

My lord hath hast, for being benighted.

And I said to the archbishop: sir, owe wee to beleeue that Jesu Christ was and is, very God and very man?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said: sir, owe we to beleeue that all Christs liuing and his teaching is true in euery point?

And he said, yea.

And I said: sir, owe we to beléeue that the liuing of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ, and all the prophets, are true which are written in the Bible, for the health and saluation of good people?

And he said, yea.

And I said: sir, owe all christian men and women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing, to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and liuing of his apostles and of prophets, in things that are pleasant to God, and edification of his church?

And he said, yea.

And I said: sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed vnto; except this doctrine, these biddings or this counsell, may be granted and affirmed by Christs liuing and his teaching specially, or by the liuing and teaching of his apostles and prophets?

And why compell you this man to the contrarie?

And the archbishop said to me: Other doctrine ought not to bee accepted, nor wee owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counsell, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counsell,

according with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.

Thorpe consent to submit himselfe to the ordinance of councels.

And I said: sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the priuie suggestions, and the apert temptations of the fiend: and also waies and healefull remedies, to slay pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the branches of them, and soueraigne meanes to purchase grace for to withstand and ouercome all the fleshly lusts and mouings.

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said: sir, whatsoeuer thing ye or any other body bid or counsell me to doe, accordingly to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely with all my heart obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me: Submit thee then now here meekely and wilfully, to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said: sir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearsed, I will now be readie to obey full gladly to Christ the head of the holy church, and to the learning and biddings and counsels of euery pleasing member of him.

If Boner had beene here, he would not haue stricken the cupbord.

Then the archbishop striking with his hand fiercely vpon a cupbord, spake to me with a great spirit saying: By Jesu, but if thou leaue not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance (or that I goe out of this place) I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the prison of Lanterne: aduise thee now what thou wilt doe. And then as if he had beene angred, hee went fro the cupbord where hee stood, to a windowe.

The multitude is not to be followed in euill.

And then Malueren and an other clerke came neerer mee, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly: and an other while they manassed mee, and counselled full busilie to submit me, or else they said I should not escape punishing ouer measure: for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, thou maiest eschew all these mischieses, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthie prelate, that hath cure of thy soule. And for the pitie of Christ (said they) bethinke thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincolne, Yerford, and Purney were, and yet are, and also B. that is a well vnderstanding man. Which also haue forsaken and reuoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou and such other hold. Therefore, since each of them is mikle wiser then thou art, we counsell thee for the best: that by the example of these foure clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

See what man is, God giuing him vp to himselfe.

And one of the bishops clerks said then there, that he heard Nicol. Yerford say: that since he forsooke and reuoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delight to hold against them, then euer hee had to hold with them, while he held with them.

As cleane from christ as from sinne.

And therfore Malueren said to me: I vnderstand and thou wilt take thee to a priest, and shriue thee cleane, forsake all such opinions, and take thee penance of my lord here, for the holding and teaching of them: within short time, thou shalt bee greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerks, that thus busilie counselled mee to fellow these foresaid men: Sirs, if these men of whom ye counsell me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of couetousnesse and of fleshly lust, and had taken vpon them simple liuing, and wilfull pouertie: they had herein giuen good example to me and to many other, to haue followed them. But now, since all these foure men, haue slanderously and shamefully done the contrarie, consenting to receiue and to haue and to hold temporall benefices, liuing now more worldly, and more fleshly then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world: I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing.

Other mens examples are so to be followed, as they be the followers of Christ.

For I purpose with the helpe of God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my foule cursed liuing) to hate and to flee priuily and apertly, to follow these men, teaching and counselling whomsoeuer that I may, for to flee and to eschew the way that they haue chosen to goe in, which will leade them to the worst end, (if in conuenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and reuoking openly the slander that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Christs church. For certaine, so open blasphemy and slander as they haue spoken and done, in their reuoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not nor may not priuily be amended, duly. Therefore sirs, I pray you that you busie not for to moue me to follow these men, in reuoking and forsaking the truth, and soothfastnes as they haue done, and yet do: wherein by open euidence they stirre God to great wroth, and not onely against themselues, but also against all them that fauor them, or consent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they haue obliged them by oth for to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly couetousnesse, and the lustie liuing and the sliding from the truth of these runagates; shall be to me and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to stand more stiffie by the truth of Christ.

Promotions commonly and great liuings, choke truth.

For certaine, right many men and women do marke and abhor the soulenesse and cowardnesse of these foresaid vntrue men, how they are ouercome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawne from the truth of Gods word, forsaking vtterly to suffer therefore bodily persecution. For by this vnfaithfull doing and apostasie of them (specially that are great lettered men) and haue knowledged openly the truth: and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrants, haue taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that couet to follow Christ in the way of righteousnes, many men and women therefore are now moued. But many moe through the grace of God, shall be moued herby for to learne the truth of God, to doe thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Men following the waies of Balaam.

Then the archbishop said to his clerks: Busie you no longer about him, for he and other such as he is, are confedered together that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelats of holy church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not sweare to me. And loselL, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to lose this yong man, but blessed bee God, thou shalt not haue thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to bee buxum and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily for the venemous teaching which thou had shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.

Thorpes fellow refuseth to sweare to the prelats.

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sorie. For long time thou hast busied thee to peruert whomsoeuer thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthie of, as thou hast giuen euill counsels. And therefore by Jesu, thou shalt goe thither, where Nicol. Herford and Thomas Purney were harbored. And I vndertake, or this day wip.daies, thou shalt be right glad for to do what thing that euer I bid thee to do. And loselL, I shall alsay, if I can make thee there as sorrowfull (as it was told mee) thou wast glad of my last going out of England. By S Thomas, I shall turne thy ioy into sorrow.

Vide supra, pag. 472.

And I said: sir, there can no body proue lawfully that I ioyed euer, of the maner of your going out of this land.

Arundell the Archb. going out of England.

But sir, to say the sooth, I was ioyfull when ye were gone: for the bishop of London in whose prison yee left me, found in mee no cause for to hold mee longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he deliuered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

The gentlenes of the bishop of London to Thorpe.

Then the archbishop said to me: Wherfore that I yede out of England, is vnknowne to thee: But bee this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me againe, and brought me into this land, for to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: as by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leaue a slip of you in this land.

So promised Winchester in queene Maries time, but that passed his power to performe.

And I said to the archbishop: sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany: When the word, that is, the prophecie of a prophet is knowne or fulfilled: then it shall bee knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.

A notable answer of Thorpe to the bishop, promising to destroy all the Gospellers. Such pearles would better beseeme my L. your golden hoores.

And the archbishop (as if he had not beene pleased with my saying) turned him awayward hither and thither, and said: By God, I shall set vpon thy shinnes a paire of pearles, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

These and many moe wondrous and contuicious words, were spoken to mee, manassing mee and all other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed vnto the vttermost.

At illi clamabant dicentes, tolle tolle, crucifige eum. Luke 23.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerke, and rowned with him: and that clerke went forth, and sone he brought in the Constable of Saltwood castle, and the archbishop rowned a good while with him: and then the constable went forth, and then came in diuers seculars, and they scorned mee on euery side, and manassed me greatly. And some counselled the archbishop to burne me by and by, and some other counselled him to drowne me in the sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a clerke standing beside me, there kneeled downe to the archbishop, praying him that hee would deliuer me to him for to say Mattens with him: and hee would vndertake, that within three daies I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archb. said, that he would ordaine for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the Constable and spake priuilie to the archbishop: and the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, wee were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop: a clerke bad me kneele downe and aske grace, and submit me lowly, and I I should find it for the best.

Obedience to God and to his law would not serue.

And I said then to the archbishop: Sir, as I haue said to you diuers times to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to bee ordained euer after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to euerie member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceiue that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, specially of Gods law.

And the archbishop said: I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.

And

And then I was rebuked, scorned, and manassed on euery side: and yet after this, diuers persons cried vpon me to kneele downe and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them manasse, curse, and scorne me: but I said nothing.

In patience and silence possesse your soules.

Then a while after, the archbishop said to me: Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy Church?

And I said: Sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I haue shewed you before.

And then the archbishop bad the Constable to haue me forth thence in haste.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vnhonest prison, where I came neuer before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had spatred fast the prison doore after them; by and by after, I therein by my selfe, busied me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodnesse. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then deliuered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies: but much more I reioiced in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, among the manassing of mine aduersaries, that without heauinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree laid vpon another tree, ouerthwart or crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks alwaies contrary to me, and I to them.

Thorp cast into prison.

Thorp comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the bishop.

Now good God for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make vs one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy word, that is true perfit charity) and else not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing reade or heare, pray heartily to the Lord God, that hee for his great goodnesse that cannot bee with tongue expressed, grant to vs, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfit charitie. Amen.

Besides this examination here aboue described, came an other treatise also to our hands of the same William Thorpe, vnder the name and title of his testament: which rather by the matter and handling thereof, might seeme to be counted a complaint of vicious priests: which treatise or testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

MAtthew an Apostle of Christ, and his Gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy Gospell, the most holy liuing and the most wholsome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that heare his words and keep them, to a wise man that buildeth his house vpon a stone, that is, a stable and a sure ground. This house is mans soule, in whom Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, stablished faithfully in his liuing and in his true teaching, adorned or made faire with diuers vertues, which Christ vsed and taught without any medling of any error, as are chiefly the conditions of charitie.

Christ dwelleth in a faithfull soule.

This foresaid stone is Christ, vpon which euery faithfull soule must be builded, since vpon none other ground, then vpon Christs liuing and his teaching, no body may make any building or housing, wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth Saint Paul to the Corinthians, shewing to them that no body may set any other ground then is set, that is, Christs liuing and teaching. And because that all men and women should giue all their businesse here in this life, to build them vertuously vpon this sure foundation; Saint Paul knowledging the feruent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesie, wrote to them comfortably, saying: Now ye are not strangers, guests, nor yet comelings, but ye are the citizens and of the household of God, builded aboue vpon the foundement of the Apostles and Prophets. In which foundement, euerie building that is builded or made through the grace of God, it increaseth or groweth into an holy temple: that is, euery bodie that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and liuing of Christ, is there-through made the holy temple of God.

Christ is the stone whereon we must build.

How we are made the temple of God.

This is the stable ground and stedfast stone Christ, which is the sure corner stone, fast ioyning and holding mightily together two walles. For through Christ Iesu, meane or middle person of the Trinitie, the Father of heauen is pitious or mercifully ioyned and made one together to mankind. And through dread to offend God, and feruent loue to please him, men bee vnseparably made one to God, and defended surely vnder his protection. Also, this foresaid stone Christ, was figured by the square stones of which the temple of God was made. For as a square stone, wheresoeuer it is cast or laid, it abideth and lieth stably; so Christ, and euery faithfull member of his church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true faith, and in all other heauenly vertues in all aduersities that they suffer in this valley of teares.

Marke what we haue by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

For loe, when these foresaid square stones were hewen and wrought for to be laid in the walles or pillers of Gods temple, no noise or stroke of the workman was heard. Certaine, this silence in working of this stone, figureth Christ chiefly and his faithfull members, which by example of him haue been, and yet are, and euer to the worlds end shall be so meeke and patient in euery aduersity, that no sound, nor yet any grudging shall any time be perceiued in them.

Neuertheless, this chiefe and most worshipfull corner stone, which only is the ground of all vertues, proud beggers reproued: but this despight & reproofe Christ suffered most meekly in his own person, for to giue example of all meeknes and patience to all his faithfull followers. Certaine, this world is now so full of proud beggers, which are named priests: but the very office of working of priesthood which Christ approueth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of priests that now raigne in this world.

Christ is an example of all perfect meekues.

For from the highest priest to the lowest, all (as who say) study, that is, they imagine and trauell busily, how they may please this world and their flesh. This sentence and many such other dependeth vpon them, if it be well considered, either God the Father of heauen hath deceiued all mankind by the liuing specially and teaching of Iesu Christ, and by the liuing and teaching of his Apostles and prophets: or else all the popes that haue been since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the colledge of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, monks, canons, and friers, with all the contagious flocke of the comminalty of priesthood, which haue (all my life time, and mikle lenger) reigned and yet raigne, and increase damnably from sinne into sin, haue been, and yet bee proud obstinate heretikes, couetous simoners, and defouled adulterers in the ministring of the sacraments, and specially in the ministring of the sacrament of the altar. For as their works sheweth, whereto Christ biddeth vs take heed; the highest priests and prelats of this priesthood, challenge and occupy vnlefull temporall lordships. And for temporall fauor and meed, they sell and giue benefices to vnworthy and vnable persons; yea, these simoners sell sinne, suffering men and women in euery degree and estate, to lie & continue from yeare to yeare, in diuers vices slanderously. And thus by euill example of high priests in the church, lower priests vnder them are not onely suffered, but they are maintained to sell full deare (to the people for temporall meed) all the sacraments.

Priests seek the pleasure of this world.

Great odds betwixt the life of the popis, and Christ and his Apostles.

When priests forget Gods truth, ye see whither they run headlong. The great infect the small.

And thus all this foresaid priesthood is blowne so high, and borne vp in pride and vaine glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly couetousnesse, that they disdaine to follow Christ in very meeknesse and wilfull pouerty, liuing holily, and preaching Gods word truly, freely, and continually, taking their liuelihood at the free will of the people of their pure almes, where and when they suffice not for their true and busie preaching to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence grounded on Christs owne liuing and teaching of his Apostles, these foresaid worldly and fleshly priests will not consent effectually. But as their works, and also their words shew, boldly and vnshamefastly these forenamed priests and prelats, couet and inforce them mightily and busily, that all holy Scripture were expounded and drawne accordingly to their manners, and to their vngrounded vsages and findings. For they will not (since they hold it but folly and madnesse) conforme their manners to the pure and simple liuing of Christ and his Apostles, nor they will not follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the emperors and kings, and all other lords and ladies, and all the common people in euery degree and state, which haue before time knowne, or might haue knowne, and also all they that now yet know, or might know this foresaid witnesse of priesthood, and would not, nor yet will inforce them after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably, the foresaid enemies and traitors of Christ, and of his church: All these striue with antichrist against Iesu, and they shall heare the indignation of God almighty without end, if in conuenient time they amend them not, and repent them verily, doing therefore due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For through presumptuousnesse and negligence of priests and prelats (not of the church of Christ, but occupying their prelacie vnduly in the church) and also flattering and false couetousnesse of other diuers named priests: Lousengers and lounderers, are wrongfully made and named Heremites, and haue leaue to defraud poore and needy creatures of their liuelode, and to liue by their false winning and begging, in sloth and in other diuers vices. And also of these prelats, these coker noses, are suffered to liue in pride and hypocrisie, and to defoule themselues both bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsell of these foresaid prelats and other priests, are made both vaine brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and enuie, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissention, and they multiply and sustaine it vncharitably: for in lusty eating and drinking vnmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselues. Also this vaine confederacy of brotherhoods, is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

Fleshly priests cannot away with those things.

They hunt after this with tooth and naile.

An exhortation to all degrees, to see priesthood amended.

Prelats and priests negligent in their duties.

And in all these vngrounded and vnlefull doings, priests are partners, and great medlers and counsellers: and ouer this viciousnesse, heremites and pardoners, ankerers, and strange beggers, are licensed and admitted of prelats and priests, for

to

to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true beliefe; and so to increase diuers vices in themselues, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them.

And thus, the viciousnesse of these foresaid named priests and prelats, hath been long time, and yet is, and shall be cause of wars both within the realme and without. And in the same wise these vnable priests haue been, and yet are, and shall bee chiefe cause of pestilence of men, and murren of beasts, and of barrennesse of the earth, and of all other mischiefes, to the time that lords and commons able them through grace, for to know and to keep the commandements of God, inforcing them then faithfully and charitably by one assent, for to redresse and make one this foresaid priesthood, to the wilfull, poore, meeke, and innocent liuing and teaching, specially of Christ and his Apostles.

Therefore all they that know, or might know the viciousnesse that raigneth now cursedly in these priests, and in their learning, if they suffice not to vnderstand this contagious viciousnesse: let them pray to the Lord heartily for the health of his church, abstaining them prudently from these indurat enemies of Christ and of his people, and from all their sacraments, since to them, all that know them, or may know them, they are but fleshly deeds and false: as S. Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees, and in the first cause, *Ca. Si quis inquit*. For as this Saint and great Doctor witnesseth there, that not onely vicious priests, but also all they that fauour them, or consent to them in their viciousnesse, shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duly, as all they perished that consented to Dathan and Abiron. For nothing were more confusion to these foresaid vicious priests, then to eschew them prudently in all their vnlawfull sacraments, while they continue in their sinfull liuing slanderously, as they haue long time done, and yet doe. And no body need to be afraid (though death did follow by one wise or other) for to die out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of these foresaid Christs enemies, since Christ will not faile for to minister himselfe all lesull and healefull Sacraments, and necessary at all time (and specially at the end) to al them that are in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charitie.

Cypr. 1. q. 1. cap. Si quis inquis.

But yet some mad fooles say (for to eschew slander) they will be shriuen once in the yeere, and communed of their proper priests, though they know them defouled with slanderous vices. No doubt, but all they that thus doe or consent priuily or apertly to such doing, are culpable of great sinne: Since Saint Paul witnesseth, that not only they that doe euill, are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to euill doers. Also (as their slanderous works witnesse) these aforesaid vicious priests, despise and cast from them heauenly cunning, that is giuen of the holy Ghost. Wherefore the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they vse nor doe any priesthood to him.

No doubt then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take or consent that any other body should take any sacrament of any such named priest, sinneth openly and damnably against all the Trinitie, and are vnable to any sacrament of health.

And that this foresaid sentence is altogether true, into remission of all my sinfull liuing, trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God, I offer to him my soule.

And to proue also the foresaid sentence true, with the help of God, I purpose fully for to suffer meekly and gladly my most wretched body to be tormented, where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporall paine and death he will, to the praising of his name, and to the edification of his church.

And I that am a most vnworthy and wretched caitiffe, shal now through the speciall grace of God, make to him pleasant sacrifice with my most sinfull and vnworthy body. Beseeching heartily all folke that reade or heare this end of my purposed testament, that through the grace of God, they dispose verily and vertuously all their wits, and able in like manner all their members for to vnderstand truly, and to keepe faithfully, charitably, and continually all the commandements of God, and so then to pray deuoutly to all the blessed Trinity, that I may haue grace with wisdome and prudence from aboue, to end my life here in this foresaid truth, and for this cause, in true faith and stedfast hope, and perfect charitie. Amen.

The end of M. Thorpe vncertaine.

What was the end of this good man and blessed seruant of God William Thorp, I finde as yet in no story specified. By all coniectures it is to be thought, that the archbishop Thomas Arundel, being so hard an aduersary against those men, would not let him goe. Much lesse it is to be supposed, that he would euer retract his sentence and opinion, which hee so valiantly maintained before the bishop; neither doth it seeme that he had any such recanting spirit. Againe, neither is it found that he was burned. Wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that hee being committed to some strait prison (according as the archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as Thorp confesseth himselfe) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there hee died by sicknesse.

The like end also I finde to happen to John Aylton, another good follower of Wickliffe, who for the same doctrine of the sacrament was condemned by the bishops, and because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetuall prison, wherein the good man continued till his death: An. 1382.

Iohn Purucy.

John Purucy.

FVrthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe, mention was made (as ye heard) of John Purucy, of whom also something we touched before: promising of the said John Purucy, more particularly to intreat in order and processe of time. Of this Purucy, Tho. Walden writeth thus in his second tome: John Purucy, saith he, was the library of Lollards, and gloser vpon Wickliffe. He said, that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation. And in his third tome hee saith: This John Purucy, with Herford a doctor of Diuinity, were greeuously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at the length recanted at Pauls crosse at London (Thomas Arundel being then archbishop of Canturbury.) Afterward againe, he was imprisoned vnder Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canturbury, in the yeere of our Lord 1421. Thus much writeth Walden. The workes of this man which hee wrote, were gathered by Richard Lauinghame his aduersarie, which I thinke worthy to be remembred. First, as touching the sacrament of the last supper, the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of orders, the power of the keies, the preaching of the Gospel, of marriages, of vowes, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergy, of the lawes and decrees of the church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergie: of all these generally, he left diuers monuments granely and eracly written, part whereof, here in the end of his story we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latine into English.

John Purucy imprisoned after his recantation.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at Pauls crosse, were these hereafter following:

Articles of John Purucy recanted.

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there is not, neither can be any accident without the subiect: but there verily remaineth the same substance and the verie visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the verie same wine the which before the consecration were set vpon the altar to bee consecrat of the priest: likewise as when a Pagan or Infidell is baptised, he is spiritually conuerted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was in his proper nature and substance.

2. Auricular confession or priuat penance, is a certaine whispering, destroying the liberty of the Gospel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to entangle the consciences of men in sinne, and to draw their soules into hell.

He speaketh of priests here, and not of publike ministers appointed in the church.

3. Euery lay man being holy, and predestinate vnto euerlasting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true priest before God.

4. That diuers prelats and other of the clergy doe liue wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his Apostles. Therefore they which so liue, haue not the keies neither of the kingdome of heauen, neither yet of hell: neither ought any christian to esteeme his censure any more then as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope should peraduenture interdict the realme, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit vs, forsomuch as thereby we should be dismissed from the obseruation of his lawes, and from saying of seruice, according to the custome of the church.

Vowes.

5. If any man doe make an oth or vow, to keepe perpetuall chastitie, or doe any thing else whereunto God hath not appointed him, giuing him grace to performe his purpose: the same vow or oth is vnreasonable and vndiscreet, neither can any prelat compell him to keepe the same, except he will doe contrary vnto Gods ordinance. But he ought to commit him vnto the gouernance of the holy Ghost and of his owne conscience: forsomuch as euery man which will not fulfill his vow or oth, cannot doe it for that cause.

The charge of priests.

6. Whosoeuer taketh vpō him the office of priesthood, although he haue not the charge of soules committed vnto him, according to the custome of the church: not onely they may, but ought to preach the gospel freely vnto the people; otherwise he is a theefe, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.

Against transubstantiation.

7. That Innocentius the third pope, and six hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelats, with all the rest of the clergie, which together with the same pope agreed and determined: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the conuersion of the bread and wine into the body and bloud of Christ, that the accidents of the said bread and wine doe remaine there, without any proper subiect of the same: the which also ordained, that all christians ought to confesse their sinnes once a yeere vnto a proper priest, and to receiue the reuerent sacrament at Easter, and made certaine other lawes at the same time: All they, saith he, in so doing were fooles and blockheads, heretikes, blasphemers, and seducers of christian people. Wherefore we ought not to beleeue their determinations, or of their successors, neither ought we to obey their lawes or ordinances, except they bee plainly grounded vpon the holy Scripture, or vpon some reason which cannot be impugned.

Other

Other Articles drawne out of Purveyes bookes more at large by Ri. Lavingham.

Articles out of Purveyes bookes, collected by R. Lavingham.

AS touching the sacrament of thankſ-giuing, he saith: That that chapter of repentance and remission: Omnis vtriusque sexus: wherein it is ordained that euery faithfull man ought once euery yeere at the least, that is to say, at Easter, to receiue the sacrament of the Eucharist; is a beastly thing, hereticall and blasphemous.

Item, that Innocentius the third pope, was the head of antichrist, who after the letting lose of Satan, inuented a new article of our faith, and a certaine fained verity touching the sacrament of the altar: That is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else an heape of accidences without a substance. But Christ and his Apostles doe teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the maner that he spake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would haue the people to vnderstand as they ought with reason, that it is very and substantiall bread, and no false nor fained bread.

The sacrament of the popish altar.

Pope Innocentius head of antichrist.

And although Innocentius that antichrist doth alledge, that in the councell at Lions, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelats, which were in one opinion of this determination: All those notwithstanding he calleth fooles, according to that saying of Eccles. 1. Of fooles there are an infinit number. And so in like maner he calleth them false Christs, and false Prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in the 24. of Matthew: Many false Christs and false Prophets shall arise and deceiue many. And therefore euery christian man ought to beleeue firmely, that the sacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor fained bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding it is the very body of Christ in that sort hee spake and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ concerning his humanitie, was both visible and passible, and by his Diuinitie was inuisible and impassible: so likewise, this sacrament in that it is very bread, may be seene with the corporall eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that sacrament be seene with the corporall eye, although it be the body of Christ in that manner hee spake it: for that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in heauen. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also Innocentius the third, with a great multitude of his secular clerkes, made a certaine new determination, that the sacrament of the altar is an accidence without a substance, whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his Apostles taught this faith (but openly and manifestly to the contrary) neither yet the holy doctors for the space of a thousand yeeres and more, taught this faith openly.

The sacrament in substance bread, in signification the body of Christ.

Transubstantiation not openly taught 1000. yeeres after Christ.

Therefore, when antichrist or any of his shauelings doth aske of thee that art a simple christian, whether that this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not: affirme thou it manifestly so to bee. And if hee aske of thee whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread else: say thou, that it is such bread as Christ vnderstood and meant by his proper word: and such bread as the holy Ghost meant in Saint Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; and wade thou no further herein. If hee aske thee how this bread is the body of Christ: say thou, as Christ vnderstood the same to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no vntruth; say thou also, as the holy doctors doe say, that the terrestriall matter or substance, may bee conuerted into Christ, as the Pagan or infidell may bee baptised: and hereby spiritually to bee conuerted and to be a member of Christ, and so after a certaine manner to become Christ, and yet the same man to remaine still in his proper nature. For so doth Saint Augustine grant, that a sinner forsaking his sinne, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be conuerted into God, and to bee after a manner God: as both Dauid and Saint John doe testifie, and yet to be the same person in substance and nature, and in soule and vertue to be altered and changed. But yet, men of more knowledge and reason, may more plainly conuince the falsity of antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keepe the manifest and apparant words of the holie Scripture, and the plaine sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly to commit that vnto the spirit of God, which passeth their vnderstanding: then may they safely offer themselues to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ.

The sacrament both bread, and the body in diuers respects.

Auricular confession and penance.

As touching the sacrament of penance; that chapter Omnis vtriusque sexus, by which a certaine new found auricular confession was ordained is full of hypocrisie, heresie, couetousnesse, pride, and blasphemy, he saith, and reproueth the same chapter verbatim, and that by the sentences of the same processe. Also that the penance and paines limitted by the canons, be vnreasonable and vniust, for the austerity and rigorousnesse which they containe, more then are tared by Gods law. He also doth exemplifie, of the solemne and publike denial of penitents to be receiued into orders, according to the decree of the generall councell, Distinctione 50. cap. Expœnitentibus. Also of the seuen-fold penitence of a priest committing fornication, according to the chapter, Presbyter Distinct. 82. And farther sheweth another example of the penitence of priests, according to that chapter, Qui presbyterum &c. Whereas the Decretall of the generall councell saith, that such a one ought to remaine continuing his life in the warres, and not to marry.

And how Innocentius the third, brought in a new found confession, whereby the priests doe oppresse the simple lay men. And that many other things they doe, compelling them to confesse themselues to blinde and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else then pride and couetousnesse, hauing such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also, that the Decretall of Innocentius the third, touching the foresaid auricular or vocall confession, was brought in and inuented, to intricate and intangle mens consciences with sinne, and to draw them downe to hell. And furthermore, that such manner of confession destroieth the Euangelicall liberty, and doth let men to inquire after, and to retaine the wise counsell and doctrine of such as be good priests, which know faithfully how to obserue his precepts and commandements, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to heauen. For which abuse, al christian men, and specially all Englishmen, ought to exclaime against such wicked lawes.

The order of priesthood.

As touching the sacrament of order, hee saith: That all good christians are predestinate and bee ordained of God, and made true priests to offer Christ in themselues, and to Christ themselues: as also to teach and preach the Gospell to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of liuing. But the worldly shauelings doe more magnifie the naked and bare signes of priesthood (inuented by sinfull men) then the true and perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true and liuely faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needfull to haue such shauelings, God knoweth how, and can make when it pleaseth him, priests (without mans working and sinfull signes: that is to say, without either sacraments or characters) to bee knowne and discerned of the people, by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For so made hee the first made priests and elders before the law of Moyses: and so made he Moyses a priest before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operation at all: and euen so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his priests. But such as be true christians, receiue none such as priests, but vnlesse they follow Christ and his Apostles; neither doe they beleeue that they make the sacrament of the altar (which they affirme to bee Gods body) when it pleaseth them, lest happily God bee not with them, forasmuch as that they doe this thing for couetousnesse sake, or else to brag of their owne power. And therefore such as be simple men, will worship that sacrament in this doubtfulnesse, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and to haue their deuotion to the body of Christ in heauen. Also, that such as bee elders, if they be Gods priests, be bishoppes, prelats, and curats of their christian brethren, whom they may leade to heauen by the example of their holy conuersation, and by preaching of the Gospell, although they make no sacrifice to that antichrist of Rome for their confirmation: neither bee they dedicated to the world by secular diuine things, and by consuming the liuings of the poore, as be those secular bishops, prelats, and curats. Also, that although there were no pope, according as the custome of the church is, yet Christ which is the head of his church, doth ordaine such a pope as pleaseth him: and that is, whosoeuer is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true priest, although hee be vnknowne to the world: and although there were no such proud bishoppe aboue all the rest, as the church doth vse; yet all the priests might well gouerne the church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the bishoppes, &c. And admit that no such priests were according to the accustomed vse now of receiuing of order and tonsure, by such a mitred bishop and his tonsure: yet Christ knoweth both how to make and chuse such as shall well please him, both in conuersation of life, and sincere preaching of the Gospell, in ministring to his people all necessary sacraments. And euery holy man which is a minister of Christ, although hee be not shauen, is a true priest ordained of God, although no mitred bishop euer lay his character vpon him. So that the pope and prelats doe make more estimation of their characters (as tonsures and crownes by them inuented) then of the true and perfect priesthood ordained of God: whereas all those that are predestinate, are true priests made of him.

He meaneth of priuat preaching to their neighbours. True ministers may be made without shauing.

Priests here haue a priuat, not a publike vnderstanding.

What if there were no pope knowne vnto the church could stand.

Tonsure maketh not a priest.

As touching the authority of the keies and censures, no christian man ought to esteeme Satan (whom men call the pope) and his vniust censures, more then the hissing of a serpent, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of couetous priests; which indulgences doe draw away the hope which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinfull men, and doe rob the poore of such almes as is giuen to them. Such priests be manifest betrayers

The popes censures like the blast of Lucifer.

betrayers of Christ and of the whole church, and by Satans owne stewards to beguile christen soules by their hypocrisie and fained pardons. Also, forasmuch as those prelats and clergy men liue so execrable a life, contrary to the Gospell of Christ, and examples of his Apostles, and teach not truly the gospel, but only lies & the traditios of sinful wicked men: it appeareth most manifestly, that they haue not the keies of the kingdome of heauen, but rather the keies of hell. And they may be right well assured, that God neuer gaue vnto them authority to make and establish so many ceremonies and traditions, which be contrarie to the libertie of the Gospel, and are blocks in christen mens waies, that they can neither know nor obserue the same his Gospell, in liberty of consticence, and so attaine a ready way to heauen.

Popish priests haue not the keies of heauen, but rather of hell.

Also, that all manner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter Religiosi, touching the priuiledges in the Clementines, may lawfully minister all sacraments to them that are worthy the same: forasmuch as the same is a worke of charity, which only the will and ordinance of the pope in his fautors in this case is to hinder and let. Item, if the pope shall interdict this our realme; that cannot hurt vs, but much profit vs, because that thereby hee should separate vs from all his wicked lawes, and from the charges of sustaining of so many thousand shauelings, which with small deuotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new found song, secundum vsum Sarum. So that not whatsoeuer the pope in his generall councell bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heauen, either for that hee bindeth vnreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himselfe, or else for that hee hath forsaken the iudgement of God.

The popes curse hurteth not, but profiteth.

As touching the preaching of the Gospell: Whosoeuer receiueth or taketh vpon him the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and discharged not the same by the example of his good conuersation and faithfull preaching of the Gospell, is a theefe, excommunicat of God, and of holy church. And further, if the curats preach not the word of God, they shall be damned; and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resigne their benefices. So that those prelats which preach not the Gospell of Christ (although they could excuse themselues from the doing of any other euill) are dead in themselues, are antichrists, and Satans, transfigured into Angels of light, night theeues, manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Christ his people.

Gossipre not sufficient cause to restraine matrimony.

Concerning the sacrament of Matrimony: Notwithstanding any spirituall kinred or gossipre, a man and woman may lawfully matry together by the law of God, without any dispensation papisticall. And in the same place hee saith; that if our realme doe admit one not borne in matrimony or illegitimate to the imperiall crowne, so that he doth well discharge the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by consequence doth reiect another king or heire of the kingdome, being borne in matrimony and legitimate: So, for such spirituall kinred there ought no diuorce to be made. Also notwithstanding the Cap. Si inter desponsalibus: If any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tence, by an oth taken, and afterwards shall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the present tence; that then the second contract standeth. Also, if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tence, vpon his oth taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another not altering the words, and hath carnall copulation vpon the same, the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also, if a man before witnesse, assure himselfe to a woman by a contract made in the present tence, and hath children by the same woman, and afterward the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the present tence, before witnesse; although the first witnesses be dead, or else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the Iudge to proue the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the pope (allowing the second contract) doth compell them to liue in adulterie against the commandement of God. Also, hee condemneth the Decretall of the restitution of things stollen, Cap. Literas tuas: which willeth, that a man and woman hauing carnall copulation in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and hath no witnesse hereof: if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remaine with him, and to yeeld her debt. Also, in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly hauing no witnesse, and with the other openly hauing witnesse, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiencie of the law, and to suffer men to bee ruled by their owne consciences, then by the censures to compell them to commit and liue in adultery.

The first marriage lawfully before witnesse made, standeth.

Keeping and making vowes.

As touching the keeping and making of vowes: That vow or oth is beastly, and is without all discretion made, which to performe and keepe, a man hath no power but by grace giuen him of God: because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to perseuere in the state of chastitie and perpetuall virginity; and such a one cannot keepe his vow, although hee make the same. Also, that euery one making a vow of continencie or chastitie, when making the same, hee shall not be accepted of God, doth verie vndiscreetly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself without the gift of God to fulfill his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, cap. 8. No man hath the gift of continencie, vnlesse that God giue it vnto him. For otherwise, if God helpe not such a one to performe the vow or oth which he hath made and taken, no prelat can compell him, vnlesse he do contrary to Gods ordinance; but he ought to commit himselfe to the gouernment of Gods holy spirit, and his owne consticence.

Possessions of the church.

For the possessions of the church: In another treatise it is declared, how the king, the lords and commons may without any charge at all, keep fifteen garrisons, and finde 15000. souldiers (hauing sufficient lands and reuenewes to liue vpon) out of the temporalties gotten into the hands of the clergy and fained religious men, which neuer do that, which pertaineth to the office of curats to doe, nor yet to secular lords. And moreouer, the king may haue euery yeere 20000. pound to come freely into his coffers, and aboue. Also may finde or sustaine fifteen colledges more, and 15000. priests and clerks, with sufficient liuing, and an hundred hospitals for the sick, and euery house to haue one hundred marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foresaid temporalties, without any charge to the realme: whereunto the king, the lords, and the commons are to be inuited. For otherwise, there seemeth to hang ouer our heads a great and maruellous alteration of this realme, vnlesse the same be put in execution. Also, if the secular priests and fained religious, which bee Simoniacks and heretikes, which faine themselues to say masse, and yet say none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpose they bring and alledge, 1.q. 3. Audiuimus, & cap. Pudenda, & cap. Schisma; by which chap. such priests and religious doe not make the sacrament of the altar; that then all christians, especially all the founders of such abbies, and indowers of bishoprickes, priories, and chanteries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominions, which are the maintenance of all their sinnes. And also, that christian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy, such secular dominion as nourisheth and nourisheth them in heresies, and ought to reduce them vnto the simple and poore life of Christ Iesus and his Apostles.

1.q.3.14.q.1. Cap. Pudenda.

Welly cherre of ill disposed prelats, and of monasteries, not to be nourished with temporalties and appropriations.

And further, that all christian princes (if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalties from that shauen generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in likewise, the fat tithes from churches appropriat to rich monks and other religious fained by manifest lying, and other vnlawfull meanes, likewise ought to debarre their gold to the proud priest of Rome, which doth poison all Christendome with simony and heresie. Further, that it is a great abomination that bishoppes, monks, and other prelats, be so great lords in this world, whereas Christ with his Apostles and Disciples, neuer tooke vpon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate vnto them churches, as these men doe, but led a poore life, and gaue a good testimony of their priesthood. And therefore, all christians ought to the vttermost of their power and strength to sweare that they will reduce such shauelings, to the humilitie and pouerty of Christ and his Apostles: and whosoeuer thus doth not, consenteth to their heresie. Also, that these two chapters of the immunitie of churches, are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap. Aduersus. Because they doe decree, that temporall lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any ecclesiasticall persons.

Correction of the clergy.

Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God and by reason, the king and all other christians may take reuenge of Italy, and of all the false priests and clerks within the same, and to reduce them vnto the humble ordinance of Iesus Christ. Also, that the law of Siluester the pope, which is declared in 2.q.5. cap. Præsul, and cap. Nullam, is contrary to the law of Christ and either testament. And that proud and ambitious Siluester by his law, so defended two cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Christ, that by no means they might be conuinced, although they were both vicious and euil. And although Christ sustained and suffered the iudgement of vniust temporall Iudges; our mitred prelats in these dates, so magnifie themselues beyond Christ and his Apostles, that they refuse and will none of such iudgements. Also, that those Decretals of accusations, cap. Quando & Qualiter: which doe prohibit that any clerks should be brought before a secular Iudge to receiue iudgement, doe containe both heresie, blasphemie, and error, and bringeth great gaine and commodity to antichrists coffers.

2.q.5. Præsul. Ibid. Nullam.

Punishing of adultery belongeth to secular magistrates rather then to prelats.

Furthermore, that all christian kings and lords, ought to exclaime against the pope and those that bee his fautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his Gospell, kings and other ministers of Gods iustice. Also, that bishops and their fauorers, that say it appertaineth not to kings and secular lords (but vnto them and their Officials) to punish adultery and fornication, doe fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresie against the Scripture. Also, that it appertaineth to the king,

to haue the order both of prieſts and biſhops, as theſe kings, Salomon and Joſaphat had.

Furthermore, that chapter Nullus iudicium de foro competenti, by the which ſecular iudges, are forbidden without the biſhops commandement, to condemne any clerke to death, is manifeſtly againſt the holy Scripture, declaring that kings haue power ouer clerks and prieſts, to punith them for their deſerued crimes. Alſo, that the decree of Boniface de pœnis in 6. cap. fœlicis, made againſt the proſecutors, ſtrikers, and impriſoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reaſon. Alſo, that by the law of God and reaſon, a ſecular lord may lawfully take a cardinall, and put him in priſon for committing the crime of open ſimony, adultery, and manifeſt blaſpheme. Alſo that the chapter Si Papa diſt. 40. which ſaith, that the pope ought to be iudged of none, vnleſſe he be deuius à fide, is contrary to the Goſpell, which ſaith; If thy brother ſinne againſt thee, correct him. Alſo, whereas S. Gregory and S. Auguſtine called themſelues the ſeruants of Gods ſeruants, this proud biſhop of Rome, which will not be iudged by his ſubiects (which be in very deed his lords, if they be iuſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods law, and all humility, and doth extoll himſelfe aboue God and his Apoſtles. Alſo, that chriſtian kings ought not onely to iudge this proud biſhop of Rome, but alſo to depoſe him by the example that Ceſtrenſis, lib. 6. cap. 8. declareth of Otho the emperor, which depoſed John the twelfth, and did inſtitute Leo in his place. And further, hee maketh an exhortation to the princes to iudge the church of Rome, which hee calleth the great and curſed ſtrumpet, of whom S. John writeth in the Apocalyps, chap. 17.

Good kings ought to depoſe wicked popes.

Laſtly, touching the laws and determinations of the church; chriſtians haue reaſonable excuſes and cauſes to repell the ſtatutes of the pope and of his ſhauelings, which be not expreſſly grounded on the holy Scriptures, or elſe vpon reaſon inuitable. Alſo he ſaith, that that law which is ſet forth of conſecration diſtinctione 2. cap. Seculares, & cap. Omnis homo, & cap. Et ſi non frequentius, & cap. In cœna domini: That ſuch ſecular men as do not receiue the ſacrament of the altar at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſontide, are not to be counted amongſt the number of chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as chriſtians: whereby it followeth, that all clerks and lay men that obſerue not the ſame, it ſeemeth they goe ſtraight to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtome and vſe in receiuing is contrary to the ſame: then may we bleſſe ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to the pope and his law: for otherwiſe we ſhould ſee to hel without any ſtay or let. Whereby we may conclude, that all chriſtians ought well to practiſe this ſchole of diſobedience againſt the pope and all his lawes (not founded vpon the holy Scripture) which doe let men to climbe to heauen by the keeping of charity, and the libertie of the Goſpell. Alſo, that chriſtian men haue great cauſe to refuſe the lawes & ſtatutes of theſe worldly clerks, which the people call the papall lawes and biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the couetouſnes and voluptuouſnes of them; without the which, the church and congregation of God might ſafely run towards heauen by the ſweet yoke of the Lord, as it did 1000. yeeres before the ſaid lawes were preſcribed and ſent to the Vniuerſities, and withdrew men from ſtudying of the holy Scripture, for the deſire of benefices and worldly goods. Alſo, that ſimple men doe reuerently receiue the ſentences of the doctors and other lawes, ſo far forth as they be expreſſly grounded vpon the holy Scripture or good reaſon. Alſo, that whereas the popes lawes, and lawes of his miniſters and clerks, be both contrary to themſelues, and haue not their foundation neither vpon the Scripture, nor yet vpon reaſon, ſimple men ought to bid them farewell. Alſo, that when all the Apoſtles faith failed them in the time of the Lords paſſion, faith then reſted in the bleſſed virgin: much more might that proud prieſt of Rome with all his rabble, eaſily erre in the faith; and yet is the chriſtian faith preſerued whole and ſafe, in the faithfull members of Chriſt which are his true church: but the pope and all his rabblement cannot proue that they be any part of his church. Alſo, that the pope with all his fautors, may as well be deceiued by a lying ſpirit, as was Achab and all his prophets: and that one true prophet, as was Micheas, may haue the verity ſhewed vnto him contra concilium. Alſo, that all good chriſtians ought to caſt from them the popes lawes, ſaying: Let vs breake their bands in ſunder, and let vs caſt from our neckes thoſe heauy yokes of theirs. Alſo, that where theſe prelats doe burne one good booke, for one error perhaps contained in the ſame, they ought to burne all the bookes of the canon law, for the manifold hereſies contained in them.

De conſecratione, id eſt 2. cap. Seculares.

The popes lawes contrary to themſelues.

The pope and his cardinals no part of the true church.

The canon law full of hereſie.

¶ And thus much out of a certaine old written book in parchment, borowed once of I. B. which booke containing diuers ancient records of the Vniuerſity, ſeemeth to belong ſometimes to the library of the Vniuerſity, bearing the yeere of the compiling thereof, 1396. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him, or that he recanted before Thomas Arundel archbiſhop at Saltwood, where he was impriſoned. Whereunto I thought alſo to anner a certain godly and moſt fruitfull ſermon of like antiquity, preached at Pauls croſſe much about the ſame time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1388. by a certaine learned clerke, as I finde in an old monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit, among the ancient regiſters and records belonging to the archbiſhop of Canturbury, I haue an old worne copy of the ſaid ſermon, written in very old Engliſh, and almoſt halfe conſumed with age, purporting the ſaid author hereof, being alſo the foreſaid name. The true copy of which ſermon, in his owne ſpeech wherein it was firſt ſpoken, and preached at the croſſe on the Sunday of Quinquageſima, and after exhibited to the archbiſhop of Canturbury (being then as it ſeemeth William Courthey) here followeth.

¶ A Sermon no leſſe godly then learned, preached at Pauls croſſe on the Sunday of Quinquageſima, an. 1389. by R. Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem villicationis tuæ. Luce xvi.

My dere frends, ye ſhullen vnderſtond, that Chriſt author and doctor of truth, in his boke of the Goſpel (likening the kingdome of heauen to an houſholder) ſaith on this manner: Like is the kingdome of heauen to an houſholding man, that went out firſt on the morrow to hire workmen into his vine. Also, about the third, firth, ninth and eleuenth houres he went out, and found men ſtonding idle: and ſaid to them: Go ye into mine vineyard, and that right is, I will giue you. When the day was agon, he clepid his ſtuward, and bigh to giue ech man a penie. Matth. 20. The ſermon of R. Wimbeldo.

The ſpirituall vnderſtonding of this houſholder, is our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, that is head of the houſhold of holy church. And thus clepith men in diuerce houres of the day, that is in diuerce agees of the werld. As in time of law of kind, he cleped by enſpiring, Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham. In time of the old law, Moſes, Dauid, Iſay, and Ieremy: and in time of grace, Apoſtles, martyrs, and confeſſors and virgins. Alſo he cleped men in diuers agees, ſome on childhode, as Iohn Baptiſt; ſome on ſtate of wexing, as Iohn the Euangeliſt; ſome in ſtate of manhode, as Peter and Andrew; and ſome in old agee, as Gamaliel, and Ioſeph of Arimathie. And all theſe he clepeth to trauaile in his vine, that is the church, and that in diuers maner. For right as yee ſeeth, that in tilling of the materiall vine, there ben diuers labours, for ſome kutten awey the void branches, ſome maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vine, and ſome diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben ſo neceſſary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it ſhall harme greatly, other deſtroy the vine. For but if the vine be kut, he ſhall wax wilde; but if ſhe be railed, ſhe ſhall be ouergo with netles and wedis: but if the rote be fatted with dong, ſhe for feblenes ſhuld wax barraine. The calling of God is diuers.

Right ſo in the Church beth nedefull theſe three offices, prieſthode, knythode, and laborers. To prieſts it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of ſins with the ſwerd of her tong. To knighthode it falleth to letten wrongs and theſts to ben done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers therof, and alſo to kepe the lond from enemies of other londs. And to labourers it falleth, to trauail bodelich, and with their ſore ſwete, geten out of the earth bodilech lifelode for hem, and other parties. And theſe ſtates beth alſo nedefull to the church, that none may well ben without other: for if prieſthod lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods law, ſhould waxe wilde in vices, and deyen goſtely: and if the knithod laked, and men to rulin the puple by law and hardineſſe, theeues and enemies ſhulden ſo encres, that no man ſhuld liue in peace. And if the labourers were nought, both knights and prieſts muſt become acre men and herdis, and elſe they ſhuld for defaut of bodily ſuſtenance dey. And therefore ſaith clerke Auicenne, that euery vereaſonable beaſt, if he haue that that kind hath ordained for him, as kind hath ordained it, he is ſuffiſance to liue by himſelfe without any helpe of other of the ſame kind. As if there were but one horſe other one ſhepe in the world, yet if he had graſſe and corne, as kind hath ordained for ſuch beaſts, he ſhuld liue well inow. But if there ne were but O man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet for defaut he ſhuld dey, or his life ſhuld be wors then if he were naught; and the cauſe is this, for that thing that kind ordaineth for a mans ſuſtenance, without other arraieng then it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man haue corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meat according to him, vnto it be by mans craft, changed into bread: and though he haue fleſh other fiſh, yet while it is raw, as kind ordained it, till it be by mans trauaile ſodden, roſted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right ſo, wolle that the ſheepe beareth, not by mannis diuers craftis and trauailes be chaunged or it be able to cloth any man: and certis O man by himſelfe ſhuld neuer doe all theſe labours. And therefore, ſaith this clerke, it is need that ſome be acre men, ſome bakers, ſome makers of cloth, and ſome marchaunts to fetch that, that one lond fetcheth from another there it is plenty.

And certis this ſhuld be a cauſe why euery ſtate ſhuld loue other. And men of o craft ſhuld not deſpiſe ne hate men of none other craft, ſith they beſo nedefull euerich to other. And oft thelke crafts that ben moſt vnhoneſt, might worſt ben forbore: and o thing I dare well ſay, that he that is neither trauailing in this world, on ſtudying, on praiers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to prieſts, neither ruling the people,

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people, maintaining ne defending fro enemies, as it falleth to knights, neither trauelling on the earth, in diuers crafts, as it falleth to labourers: Whan the day of rekening commeth, that is, the end of this life, right as he liued here withouten trauaile, so he shall there lack the reward of the pennie, that is, the endlesse ioy of heauen. And as he was here liuing after none state ne order, so he shall be put than in that place that no order is in, but euerlasting horror and sorrow, that is, in hell. Herfore, euerich man see to what state God hath cleped him, and dwel he therein by trauaile, according to his degree. Thou that art a laborer or a craftie man, doe this truly. If thou art a seruant or a bondman, besuget and low in drede of displeasing of thy Lord. If thou art a marchaunt, disceiue nought thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight or a lord, defend the poore mā & needy fro hands that will harme thē. If thou art a Iustice or a Iudge, goe not on the right hand by fauor, neither on the left hand, to punish any man for hate. If thou art a priest, vndernime, pray, and repreue, in all manner patience and doctrine. Vndernime thilke that ben negligent, pray for thilke that ben obedient, reproue tho that ben vnobedient to God. So euery man trauaile in his degree. For whan the euen is come, that is, the end of this world, than euery man shall take reward, good or euill, after that he hath trauailed here.

Iob 10. 2. Cor. 7. 1. Pet. 2. 1. Thess. 4. Prou. 8. 2. Tim. 4.

The words that I haue taken to make of my sermon, be thus much to say; Yeld rekoning of thy baily. Christ, autor of pitie and louer of the saluation of his people, in the processe of this gospell, enformeth euery man what is his baily, by maner of a parable of a baily that he speaketh of, to array him to answer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of strait reconing shall be come, that is, the day of dome. And so I at this time, through the helpe of God, following him that is so great a master of autority, because that I know nothing that should more draw away mans vnreasonable loue fro the passing ioy of this world, then the mind of the dreadfull reconing: As much as suffice, I shall shew you how yee shall dispose you to auoid the vengeance of God, when there shall be time of so straight doome, that we shall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue ispoken. For than it shal be said to vs, and we shall not flee it: Yeld reconing of thy baily.

Nota.

But for forther processe of this first party of this sermon, ye shall wete; that there shall be three bailiffes that shall be cleped to this strait reconing. Twaine to answer for themselfe and for other, that ben priests that haue cure of mens soules, and temporall men that haue gouernaile of people: and the third bailiffe shall account onely for himselfe, and that is euery christen man, of that he hath receiued of God. And euery of these shull answere to three questions. To the first question, how hast thou entred? The second, how hast thou ruled? And to the third, how hast thou liued? And if thou canst well assoile these three questions, was there neuer none earthly lord that euer so well rewarded his seruant without comparison, as thy Lord God shall reward thee, that is, with blisse, and ioy, and life that euer shall last. But on that other side, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine owne welfare, and take none heed of this reconing: If that day take thee sodainly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as thou wotst neuer what shall fall thee) all the tongues that euer were, or euer shall be, mow not tell the sorrow and wo that thou shalt euer be in, and suffer. Therefore the desire of so great ioy, and the dread of so great paine, though loue ne dread of God were not in thine heart, yet should that make thee afeard to sinne, for to thinke that thou shalt giue reconing of thy baily. Therefore as I say to thee, the first question that shall be proposed to the first baily, that is a prelat other a curat of mens soules, is this: How hast thou entred? Matth. 22. Friend, how entredst thou hether? Who brought thee into this office? Truth or Simony? God or the Diuell? Grace or mony? The flesh or the spirit? Giue thou thy reconing if thou canst. If thou canst not, I rede that thou tary for to learne. For vp hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And if thou stand dombe for vnkunning, or else for confusion of thy conscience, thou fall into the sentence that anon followeth: Binde his hands and his feet, and cast him into the vtter ward of darkenesse, there shall be weeping and grenning of teeth. Therefore I rede thee, that thou aduise thee how thou shalt answer to this question: How hast thou entred? whether by cleping, or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldest trauaile in Gods gospell, other for thou wouldest be richly arraied? Answer now to thy owne conscience as thou shalt answere to God, thou that hast take now the order of priest, whether thou be curat or none: who stirred thee to take vpon thee so high an estate? Whether for thou wouldest liue as a priest ought to doe, studying of Gods law to preach, and most heartily to pray for the people: or for to liue a delicious life vpon other mens trauaile, and thy selfe trauaile nought. Why also setten men their sonnes, either their cousins to schoole? Whereto, but for to get them great aduancements, or to make them the better to know how they shulden serue God? This men may see openly by the sciences that they set them to. Why I pray you put men their sonnes to the law ciuill, or to the kings court to write letters and writs, rather then to Philosophie or Diuinitie, but for the hope that these occupations should be euer meanes to make them great in the world? I hope that there will no man say, that they ne should better learne the rule of good liuing in the booke of Gods law, then in any bookes of mans worldly wisdome. But certes now it is sothe, that Iohn Chrysostom saith: Mothers be louing to the bodies of their children, but the soule they despise; they desire them to welfare in this world, but they take none heed what they shall suffer in the tother: some ordeinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to Godward: the lust of their bodies they wol deere by, but the health of their soule they reke nought of. If they see them poore or sicke, they sorrow and sigheth, but though they see them sinne they sorrow not. And in this they shew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the soules. And if we take heed truly, what abominations be scattered and spread abroad in holy church now adaies among priests, we shul wel wit, that they come not all to the fold of Christ by Christs cleping for to profit, but by other waies to get them worldly welth, and this is the cause of lesing of soules, that Christ bought so deare, & of many errors among the people: and therefore it is iwrit in the booke of mourning, where ỳ Prophet speaketh thus to God, Thre. 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all things desireable to him: for he hath let lawlesse folke enter into the sanctuary, of the which thou hadst cōmanded, that they should not enter into the church. This enemie is Sathanas, as his name sowneth, that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What sinne I pray you will the fiend haue sow on men, that nis now yvsed? In what plenty is now pride, enuy, wrath, and couetise? whan were they so great as they be now? and so of all other sinnes. And why trowest thou? But for there be a lawlesse people entred into thy sactuary, that neither keepe in themselfe the law of God, ne konne teachen other: and to euery such, saith God by the Prophet Ose 4. For that thou hast put away cunning, I shall put thee away, that thou shall vse no priesthood to me. Lo that God expresly here in holy writ, forbiddeth men to take the state of priesthood on them, but they haue cunning, that needeth them. Thou than that canst neither rule thy selfe, ne other, after the law of God, beware how thou wilt answere to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he shall say to thee, that which I tooke to my theame:

Solution: Iohannes Chrysostomus Homil. 27.

Note.

The rash making of ministers.

Ose. 4.

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou hast entred.

Three questiōs. The first. Second. Third.

The second question that euery curat and prelat of holy church shall answer to, is this: How hast thou ruled? That is to say, the soules of thy suggets, & the goods of poore men: Geue now thine account. First, how thou hast gouerned Gods folke that were take thee to keepe? Whether art thou an herd or an hired man, that doost all for loue of bodelich hire? As a father, or as a wolfe that eaten his sheepe, and keepeth them nought? Say, whom hast thou turned from his cursed liuing, by thy deuout preaching? Whom hast thou taught the law of God that was earst vncunning? There shall ben heard a grieuous accusing of fatherlesse children, and a hard alledging, that priests haue liueden by their wages, and not done away their sins. Yeld also reconing how thou hast ruled, and spended the goods of poore men. Harke what S. Bernard saith: Dread clerks, dread the ministers of the church, the which ben in the place of Saints, that they doe so wickedly, nought holding them apaid with such wages that were sufficient to them: That ouerplus that needy men should be sustained by, they be not ashamed to waste in the house of their pride and lechery, and withholden to themselfe wickedly and cursedly that which should be the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickednesse truly they sinne. First, for they reeuen other mens goods, and saith they misuse holy things in their vanities and in their filths. Euery such baily therfore beware, for anon, to the last farthing he shall recken with Christ. Trowest thou not then, that thou ne shalt be disallowed of God, of that thou hast mispended in feeding of fat palfreys, of hounds, of hawkes, and if it so be, that is worst of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is said of such: They had led their daies in wealths: And in a point they ben gone downe into hel. Think therefore I rede thee, that thou shalt yeeld reckening of thy baily.

Bernardus.

Against simonie.

Question.

Solution.

Question.

The third question that this baily shall answere to, is this: How hast thou liued? What light of holinesse hast thou shewed in thy liuing to the people, or what mirror hast thou ben of holinesse to them? Geue now thy reconing how thou hast liued, as a priest, or as a leude man, as a man, or as a beast. That is to wonder truly how the life of priests is chaunged. They be clothen as knights, they speaken as vnhonestly as carles; other of winning as Marchaunts; they riden as princes, and all that is thus spended, is of the goods of poore men, and of Christs heritage. Therefore saith an holy doctor: The clay of Egypt was tough and stinking, and medled with bloud. The slates were hard to be vndone, for they were baked with fire of couetise, and with the light of lust. In this trauaileth rich men, in this they wake, awaiting poore men. In these trauaileth prelats, that ben too much blent with too much shining of riches, that make them houses like churches in greatnesse, that with diuers poyntries, coloren their chambers, that with diuers clothings of colours, make images gay: but the poore man for default of clothes, beggeth, and with an empty wombe crieth at the doore. And if I shall the sooth say, saith this doctor, oft time poore men be robbed for to clothe the trees and stones. Of such speaketh the Prophet: How art thou heere? or as who

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Esa.22. *quis tu hic aut quasi quid hic.*

art thou? Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martine: But how, as Iudas among the apostles, as Symon Magus among the disciples, as a candle new queint that stincheth all the house in steed of a light lanterne, as a smoke that blindeth mens eien, in place of cleane fire? If thou contrary thus the forme of liuing that Christ and

Iere 31.

his disciples left to priests: Loe what saith the prophet Ieremy. They haue entred, and they haue had and nought ben obedient. They hauen with false title or with their false and corrupt intention, had poore mens goods to their misusing, and they haue not be obedient to the law of God in their owne liuing.

Sap.6.

Therefore it is writ, that the hardest dome shall fall on such. An hard dome, for they haue misentred. An harder dome, for they haue misruled: and the hardest dome, for they haue so cursedly liued. Thinke therefore I rede, how thou wilt giue reckning of thy baily.

Kings, princes and magistrats admonished.

The second bailiffe, that accounteth at this dome for himselfe and also for other, is hee: that keeping hath of any communite, as kings, princes, maiers, and shireues, and iustices.

How thou hast entred.

And these shull also answere to the same three questions. The first question, how hast thou hentred, that is to say, into thine office? Other for helpe of the people to destroy falshed and fortheren truth? Other for desire of winning of worldly worship? If thou take such an office, more for thine owne worldly profit, than for helpe of the communite, thou art a tyrant as the philosopher seith. For it is to feare lest there ben too many that desiren such states, that they may the rather oppresse thilke that they hateth, and take gifts to spare to punish thilke, that hauen trespassed, and so maketh them partners of their sinnes. And many such, when they ben so high, they recke nought that they beth poore mens brethren, but they were to passe them in kind, as they passeth in worldly worthippe, that is but winde: of which God saith by the prophet, they hauen raigned, but

Ose.8.

nought of me, they haue bene princes but I know nought. So we read of Roboam, that was the son of king Salomon, what

2.Para.10.

time he was first king, the people of Israel comen to him, and said: Thy father in his last daies, put on vs great charge. Wee pray thee some deale make it lighter, and we willen serue thee. And the king tooke counsell of the old wise men, & they counsailden to answere them faire, and that should bee for the best. But he left these old wise mennis counsaile, and did after the counsaile of children that were his playferen, and saide to the people when they came againe. My left finger is greater than my fathers riegge. My father grieued you somewhat, but I will echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and tooke them another king: and sith, the kingdome came neuer whole againe: and therefore it is good, that euery ruler of comminalties, that they be not lad by follies, ne by none other eare rowner, that he ne haue an eygh of loue to the comonty that he hath to rule. For weteye well, bee he neuer so high, that he shall come afore his higher, to yeeld reconing of his baily.

How hast thou ruled.

The second question is, How hast thou ruled the people, & the office that thou haddest to gouerne? Thou that hast bene a iudge in causes of poore men, how hast thou kept this hest of

Deut.9.

God? Thou shalt not take heede to the person of a poore man, to be to him the harder for his pouerty, ne thou shalt not behold a rech mans semblance, to spare or to fauour him in his wrong for his riches. O Lord, what abusion is there among officers of both lawes now a daies: If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, euery officer shall be ready to hie all that hee may, that the rich man might haue such an end as he desired. But if a poore man plead with a rich man, then there shall be so many delaies, that though the poore mans right be open to all the countrie, for pure fault of spending, he shall be glad to cease. Shrieues and bailiffes, willen retourne poore mens writs, with *tarde venit*, but gif they feelen meed in their hands. And yet I here say, men that hauen seyen both lawes, that ilke court that is cleped Christs court, is much

Prou.17.

more cursed. Therefore it is writ, giftes they taken out of mens

Matth.7.

bosomes, to ouerturne the right way of dome. But it is to dread the word of Christ: In what dome ye deeme, ye should be deemed when ye comen to teeld a reckoning of your baily.

How hast thou liued.

The third question is, How hast thou liued, thou that deemest and punishest other men for their trespas? A great doctor saith: thee behoueth to flee the wickednesse of other men that thou chastiest them for their trespas. For if thy selfe do vnlawfullich in deming other men, thou damnest thy selfe, syth thou doest that thou damnest. And Poule saith, why teachest thou

Rom.2.

nought thy selfe, that thou teachest other? Why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steale? Sain Gregory saith: He shall not take gouernaile of other, that cannot goe before them in good liuing. And when any man stand before him in dome, he must take heede to fore what iudge he shal stand himselfe, to take his dome after his deeds. But it is to dread, that

Susan.

many fareth as twe false priests that woulden haue damned to death holie Susan? for she would not assent to their leacherie. Of the which it is writ, they turned away their eyen, for they would not see heauen, ne heue mind of rightfull domes.

Socrates.

So it happeth oft, they that were more worthie to be hanged, damneth them that be lesse worthie, as a clerke telleth of Socrates the Philosopher, saith he, vpon a day a man asked of him why he laughed. And he said, for I see great theeues leaden a little theefe to hanging. I pray thee, whether is hee a greater theefe that benimmeth a man his house and his land from him and from his heires for euermore, other he that for making of great need, stealeth a sheepe or a calfe? Whether trowe we nought, that it happeth such extortioners to bee otherwhile iudges, and demeth men thus: but I read thee that thus deemest other, thinke on that dome thou shalt come to, to yelde the rekening of thine baily.

Valerius Maximus libro.7.

The third Bailiffe that shall be cleped to this dreadfull account shall be euery christian man, that shall geue rekening to to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of his. And heere I will speake but of the first question, that is this: How entrest thou? And here by the way, yee that haue gotte any worldly good, other take by extortion, by rauine, by vsurie, other by disceit: Wo shall be to him at this dreadfull day as sainct Austen sayth. If he be cast into the fire that hath nought giuen of his owne good: where trowest thou shall he be cast in, that hath reued other mens from them? And he shulle bren with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where trowest shall hee bren that hath made him naked that was earst clothed? But as S. Gregory saith, two things maketh men to liue thus by rauaine of other neighbors, that they desire heynes and dread pouerty, and what vengeance falleth of this sinne of couetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, when the angell said to prophet Zacharie. Reare vp thine eien, and see what is that goeth out. And the prophet said what is it? Then the angell said, this is the potte going out, this is the eize of hem on all the earth, and there was a waight of leade I bore, and there was a woman sitting in the middle of this pot. And the angell said, this is impiety: and he tooke her and cast her into the middle of this pot, and he tooke the gobbette of leade and cast it into the pots mouth. And the prophet lift vp his eie, and hee saw two women comming out, and spirits in her wingis like two kytes other gledes, and they arerid vp this pot betweene heauen and the earth, and than the prophet spake to the angell, whider wol these beare this pot? And hee said, into the lond of Sennaar: This pot is couetise. For right as a pot hath a wide open mouth, so couetise gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in the pot, profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh therof: so worldly good oft profiteth not to churles, but to other that commeth after, as it is written. He that hath money shall haue no fruit of it: and this couetise is the eie of couetous men, for they ben blind to see how they should see to goe to heauen, but to winning of worldly thinges they see many waies, like to owles and night crowes, that seene better by night than by day. The gobbet of leade, is the sinne of obstination. The woman that sat in the pot, is vnpittie, as the angell said, that followeth vnrighteousnesse and auarice. For through auarice, a man leeseth the pity that he should haue of the mischiefe of his soule. For oft time, men leese the life of their soule, by deadly sin that they do to haue the worldly winning, and also they leese the pitie that they should haue of their body, putting themselfes to many great bodilie trauayls and perils both by sea and land, and all maketh couetise. This pot is stopped with the gobbet of lead, when vnpitie is thus by sinne of obstination closed in couetise, that hee may not goe out of the chinches hart by penance. For as Iob saith: when he is fulfilled, he shall be stopped. The two women that bare vp this pot, are pride and lust of flesh, that bee cleped in holy writ the twe daughtren of the water Lethe, crying, bring, bring. And they had wings: the first wing is grace spirituall, as cunning, wisedome, and counsell, with such other many. For which gifts many men wexe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentrie, and many other such, whereof men wexe proud. The wings of the second woman, that is, fleshly desire, beth gluttony and sloth. Of gluttony speaketh saint Gregorie: when the wamb is fulfilled, the prickes of lecherie beth meued. And of sloth saint Austine saith: Lot the while he dweled in businesse among shrewes in Sodome, hee was a good man. But when he was in the hill slowe, for sykkernes, he in his drunkennes lay by his daughtren. And these women had wings like kytes, that with a crying voice seecheth their meate, as Bartholomeus saith. And thus fareth couetise of men: Witnessing saint Austine, what is the greedines of fleshlie desire. Inasmuch as the rauenous fyshes haue sometime measure, yet when they hunger, they rapine, and when they fulfill, they spare: But onely couetise of men may not be fulfilled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough. Neither hee dreadeth God, neither shame of men. He ne spareth his father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, neyther keepeth truth with his friend. He ouerpresseth widowes and fatherlesse children. Free men he maketh bond, and bringeth forth false witnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he shulden neuer die. What manhode is this, saith this Doctour, thus to leese life and grace, and get death of soule? Win gold, and leese heauen? And herefore saith the prophet, haue trauaile in the midst, and leaue vnrighteousnesse. Also innocent speaking of the harmes that come of couetoise, saith thus; O how manie men haue couetise deceiued and spilt! When couetise Balaam would for gifts that the king profered him, haue cursed Gods people, his owne asse reproued him, and hurt his foote

The third bailie. Austen. The third admonition in generall to euery christian man.

Iob 22.

Morali. Greg. 8.

Zacha.6.

Expositio.

Eccl.5.

Against couetise. Gregory. August. de conflictu virtutis & vitiorum Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum. Austen.

Augustin. Psal.54. *Innocentius.*

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Nume. 12. Iosue 7. 4. Reg. 5. Act. 7.

against a wall. Achor was stoned to death: for couetise made him steale gold and clothes, against the commandement of God. Giesy was smit with mesilrie, for he sold Naamans heal, that came of Gods grace. Iudas for couetise sold Christ, and afterward hoong himselfe. Anany and Zaphira his wife were dead sodainely, for they forsoken to giue Peter their money that they had. And couetise maketh also that rich men eate the poore, as beastes done their lesous holding them low. This may we see all day, in deed I dread. For if a ritch man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the middest or in the side thereof one acre, and a rich man haue all a street saueth O house, that some poore brother of his oweth, he ceaseth neuer till hee get it out of the poore mans hand, either by praier, or by bying, or by pursuing of deceit. Thus fared it by king Achab, that through his false queenes ginne, slowe the poore man Naboth, for that he would not sell him his vineyard that was nigh to the kings palace. Vppon which proces, thus saith saint Ambrose: How farre will yee rich men stretch your couetise? Will yee dwell alone vpon the earth, and haue no poore man with you? Why put ye out your fellow by kind, and challenge to your selfe the possession comen by kind? In commune to all rich and poore the earth was made. Why will ye rich chalenge proper right herein? Kind knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth all men poore. For we be not got with rich clothes, ne borne with gold ne with siluer. Naked hee bringeth them to this world, needie of meate and of drinke and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, and she naked brought vs hither. Shee cannot close with vs our possession in the sepulchre, for kinde maketh no difference betweene poore and rich, in comming hither, ne in going hence. All in o manner she bringeth forth, all in o maner she closeth in graue. Who so wil make difference of poore and rich, abyde till they haue a little while leyne in the graue. Than open and looke among dead bones who was rich, and who was poore, but if it be thus that mo clothes rotteth with the rich then with the poore, and that harmeth to them that beth on liue, and profit not to them that beene deade: Thus saith the doctour of such extortion as it is writ. Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him that the harme oppressed, they plucke away the grapes: they leueth men naked, and taketh away her clothes that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytwene heauen and earth. For couetous men nother haueth charity to their brethren vpon earth, neyther to God in heauen: and they bare this pot into the lond of Sennaar, that is to say, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell, for there shall be stench, in steed of sweet smelling as Isay saith. Beware I reade, that yee nought haue to doe with this pot, ne with the woman therein: and on all maner that ye be nought weddid to hir, for than ye must be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman: the kings and marchauntis of the earth haue done lecherie, and of her vertue they haueth be made rich, whose damnation is written in the booke of priuities in these words. In o day, shall come all this vengeances of her death, weping and hunger and fire shall brenne her, for strong is God that shall venge him on her, and than shulleth weepe and howle vppe on her; the kings of the earth, that haueth done lecherie with her, and haueth liued in delices when they shull see the smoke of her brenning, stonding aferre weeping and weyling and saying. Alas, alas, thilke great city that was clothed with bis and purpre, and brasile, and ouerguilt with gold and pretious stones and pearle. For in one houre all these great riches shall be destroyed, then shall they sey that shall be damned with her. Wee haue erred fro the way of trouth and right wisnes, light haue not shined to vs, and the sonne of vnderstonding haue not risen to vs: we haue be made weery in euerich way of wickednes and of lust, and haue gone hard waies, but the waies of God we knew nought: what hath pride profited to vs, or the boast of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is as a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holinesse, in our wickednes we be wasted away. Thinke therefore I read, that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly. Here endeth the first part of this sermon, and beginneth the second part.

Ambrosius de ffim libello de Naboth.

Iob 14.

IN which second part with the helpe of God I will shew first, who shall clepe vs to this reckening. Afterward, tofore what iudge we shall reckyn: and last what punishing shall be do to them that ben found false seruants and wicked, and what reward shall be giue to them that be found good and true. For the first ye shall wetoen that there shall be twey domes. The

Mat. 24.

first dome anone after the departing of body and of soule, and this shall bee speciall. And of this rekening or dome speaketh the Gospell of Luke. The second reckening or dome shall be anone after the generall resurrection, and shall be vniuersall. And of this is to speken in the Gospell. To the firste euery man shall bee cleped after other, as the world passeth. To the secunde shall come togedre in the stroke of an eye all mankind. To the first, men shall bee cleped with three sumners, other sergeauntes: the first is sickneſſe, the second is age, and the third is death: the first warneth, the second threateneth, and the third taketh. This is a kindly order, but otherwise it faileth, for sume wee seeth dieth that neuer wist what was sickneſſe ne age, as children that ben suddenly slaine.

3. Sumners. Sickneſſe. Age. Death.

And summe, ye the most part that deyeth now a daies, deyeth byfore her kind agee of deeth: therefore I say, that the first that clepeth to this speciall reckning is sickneſſe, that foloweth all mankind, so that euery man hath it: and summe is sickneſſe that sume men haueth but nought all. Yet the first sickneſſe is double, for sume is within in the mightes of the soule, and sume is without in feeblenesse of the body that needis mo bee stroyed, whan time by hemselfe is cause of corruption as philosophie saith, that thereby feeblenesse and sicknes. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his heart all manner of worldly and fleshlie thoughts, yet vneth shall a man for ought that he can doo, thinke on God only, the space of o Pater noster, but that some other thing that is passing, entreth into the soule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God, what seekenesse is this, an heauie burden on the sonnes of Adam, that on foule moocke and scn of the world we may thinke long ynow. But on that the soule shoulde most delectation haue by kinde mow wee nought thinke so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the wheate. Of this seekenes speaketh Poul, where hee saith: I see a law in my limmes fighting agenes the law of my spirit, and taking me into the law of sinne. So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the sunne, and may nought do it long for nothing. And forsooth that is for no default that is in the sunne, for shee is most cleere in her selfe, and so by reason best should bee seyn, but it is for feeblenes of mans eye. Ryght so, syth Adam our first fader was put out of Paradise, all his offspring haue ben thus sicke, as the prophet seyth. Our faders haue eate a bytter grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The second sickneſſe, that is commune to all mankind, commith of feeblenes of the body, as hunger and thorst, colde and heate, sorrowe and wearines, and many other as Iob 18. saith, A man that is ybore of a woman, lyuing a little while, is fulfilled with many miseases. Yet there is other sickneſſe that commeth to some men, but not to all, as Lepyr, Palsey, Feuer, Dropsie, Blindneſſe, and many other, as it was seyden to the people of Israell, in holy writ. But thou keepe the commandements that be writ in this booke, God shall achen the sickneſſe of thee and of thy seede, great sickneſſe and long abiding. Yet yee shall vnderstond, that God sendeth otherwhile, such sickneſſe to good menne, and other while to shrewes. To good men God dooth it for two causes, and that is sooth. Of sickneſſe I wol to be vnderstond also, of all maner of tribulations. The first cause, for they shoulde alway euer know, that they haue none perfection of themselfe, but of God only, and to echen their meekenes. And thus saieth Poule, least the greatnesse of reuelations rere mee yp into pride, is giuen a pricke of my flesh, the angell of Sathanas to smite me on the necke, wherefore I haue thrice prayed God, that he should go fro me, and he answered met: My grace is suffisant to thee, for vertue is fulfilled in sicknes, where on thus sayn the glose. The fend axing Iob to bee tempted, was heard of God, and nought the apostle axing his temptation to bee remoued. God heard him that should be damned, and he heard nought him, that he should saue. For oft the sicke man axit many things of the leche, that hee wol not geue him, and that is for to make him whole of sicknes. Also God sendeth saincts oft sickneſſe and persecution, to giue vs sinnefull wretches example of patience: For if he suffer his saincts to haue such tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis that God sendeth not the hundred apartie of their sorrowe, shoulden beare it meekely, sith we haue deserued a thousand so much as they haueth. Whereof, Tobie that one day when he was wearie of burying of poore men, the which shulden haue ley vnburied, and haue be etene of houndis, and soules, as carynes, of other vnreasonable beasts, when for wearinesse he had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the swallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wexet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation for soth: Therefore God suffered to come to him, that to them that comen after, should be giuen ensample of patyence, as by the temptation of holy Iob. For sith from his childhod, euermore hee dreade God, and euer kept his hestes: Hee was not agreeued ayenst God that the mischiefe of blindnesse fell to him: but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of GOD, thanking him all the daies of his life. Loe that holy writ sayth expressely, that God suffered this holy man to haue that sickneſſe, to giue them that should come after him ensample of patience. Also otherwhile, God sendeth sickneſſe and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes. First, for that they shoulde the rather dread God, and leaue their sinne. As it is writ: their sickneſſe hath beene multiplied, and after, they haue hyed to Godward. For we see oft men in sickneſſe know their God, that neuer would haue turned to him while they hadde beene whole. Also God sendeth them sickneſſe oft to agast other men, least they followe their sinne. As the sickneſſe of king Antioche, whom God smote with such a sickness, that wormes fell out of his body while he liued, in so far forth, that he stanke so fowle, that his friends were so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at the last, when he himselfe might not suffer his owne stinch, then he began to know himselfe, and said: It is rightfull to be subiect to God, and a deadly manne not to hold

Tobias.

Antioche.

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hold himselfe only euen with God, and the storie saith he asked mercie of God, and made a vow to God, that he would make the citie of Ierusalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens: and that he would honour Gods temple with pretious ary, and multiplie the holy vessels, and finde of his owne rent and spences perteining to the sacrifice. And he would become a Iewe, and goe ouer all the lond to preach Gods might. And yet God gafe him not such mercie as he desired. And I trow certein that it was for good. In as much as God knew he would not afterward hold his couenant, or els for he axket it too late. What meede was it for him to forsake his wickednes? when he was vnmightie to do good or euill. Neuertheless, I trow he was not damned, in asmuch as he had such repentance, for repentance in this life come neuer too late if it be true. But by this vegeance that GOD tooke on this king, should men see, what it is to be vnobedient to God. And also it is to take heede, that when euer sickneſse commeth, euer it sheweth, that he that suffereth this deadlie, shall nedes die. For though he may skape of his sicknes, yet he may not skape death. And so thou must needes come giue reckening of thy bayly. The second somnour that shall clepe thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the condition of him is this, thogh that he tarie with thee, he will not leaue thee, till he bring thee to the third, that is death. But there be many that though they haue this somnor with them, they take none hede, though they see ther heare hore, her backe crooke, her breth stynke, her teeth faile, her yen derk, her visage riuely, her crene wexit heuy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age sumneth to the dome?

The second sumner. Properties of death.

But what more madhead may be than a man to bee cleped, and drawe to so dreadfull a reckening there, where but he answere well he forfeteth both body and soule to damnation for euer? If seing a litle worldly mirth on the way, he thinketh so mekill thereon, that he forgetteth who draweth him, or whether he draweth: So doth he that is smitten with age & liketh so on the false world is wealth, that he forgetteth whether hee is away: Herefore saith an holy Doctour, that among all abusions of the world most is of an olde man that is obstinate: for he thinketh not on his out going of this world, ne of passing into the lyfe that is to come: he beareth messengers of death, and he leueth hem not, and the cause is this, for the threefolde cord that such an old man is bounden with, is hard to breke. This cord is custome, that is of three plightes, that is, of ydle thought, vnhoneſt speach, and wicked deed: the which if they groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to binde the old man on, custome of sin. Herefore sayth Esay, breake the bondes of sin. Thinke herfore whosoeuer that thou be that art thus sumned, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt yeld the rekening of thy baily.

Esay.

The third somner to this reckening, is death. And the condition of him is, that whan euer he come, first, other the second, other the last houre he ne spareth, neyther power, ne yough, ne he dreadeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he graunteth no respit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth saint Austen: Well ought euery man drede the day of his death. For in what state a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this world, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome. Herefore seyth the wiseman: Sonne thinke on thy last daye, and thou shalt neuer sinne. Therefore I rede that thou thinke, that thou shalt geue reconing of thy bayly. I said also, that there shall be another doome, to the which all men shall come together, and this shall be vniuersall. And right as to the other dome, euery man shall bee cleped with these three sumnours: so to this dome all this world shall be cleped with three generall clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans end, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldlie sickneſse, the second cleper is feebleneſse, and the thirde is the end. The sickneſse of the world thou shalt know by charity a cooling. His elde and feblenes thou shalt knowe by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou shalt know by Antichristes pursuing. First I said, thou shalt know the worldes sicknes by charitie a cooling. Clerkes that treate of kinde sayne: that a bodie is sicke, when his bodilie heate is too lite, or when his vnkindelie heate is too much. Sythe then all mankind is one bodie, whose kindlie heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors) vnkindly heate is lustfull loue to other creatures. VVhen therefore thou seest that the loue of men to Godwarde and to their neighbour is little and faint, and the loue of worldlie things and lustes of the flesh is great and feruent: then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this be acknowlich of this sickneſse, I may prooue by autoritie of Christ. For he himselfe gaue them as a signe of the drawing to the ende of the worlde: For that wickedneſse shall be in plentie, charitie shall a coole. Therefore when thou seest charitie this little in the worlde, and wickednes encreaſe, know well that this worlde passeth and his wealth, and that this sumner is come. And thus seyth seynt Poule, VVit ye well, that in the last daies shall come perillous times, and there shall be men louing themselfe, that is to say, their bodies, couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynde fellons, withouten affection; withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmilde withouten benignitie, traytors, rebels, swelling, louers of lustes, more than of God, hauing a likeneſse of pictie, and denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If thou seest the people busied with such conditions, wit thou well that the first sumnour warneth all the world, that the day of reconing draweth toward.

The third somner to this reckening, is death. And the condition of him is, that whan euer he come, first, other the second, other the last houre he ne spareth, neyther power, ne yough, ne he dreadeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he graunteth no respit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth saint Austen: Well ought euery man drede the day of his death. For in what state a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this world, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome. Herefore seyth the wiseman: Sonne thinke on thy last daye, and thou shalt neuer sinne. Therefore I rede that thou thinke, that thou shalt geue reconing of thy bayly. I said also, that there shall be another doome, to the which all men shall come together, and this shall be vniuersall. And right as to the other dome, euery man shall bee cleped with these three sumnours: so to this dome all this world shall be cleped with three generall clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans end, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldlie sickneſse, the second cleper is feebleneſse, and the thirde is the end. The sickneſse of the world thou shalt know by charity a cooling. His elde and feblenes thou shalt knowe by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou shalt know by Antichristes pursuing. First I said, thou shalt know the worldes sicknes by charitie a cooling. Clerkes that treate of kinde sayne: that a bodie is sicke, when his bodilie heate is too lite, or when his vnkindelie heate is too much. Sythe then all mankind is one bodie, whose kindlie heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors) vnkindly heate is lustfull loue to other creatures. VVhen therefore thou seest that the loue of men to Godwarde and to their neighbour is little and faint, and the loue of worldlie things and lustes of the flesh is great and feruent: then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this be acknowlich of this sickneſse, I may prooue by autoritie of Christ. For he himselfe gaue them as a signe of the drawing to the ende of the worlde: For that wickedneſse shall be in plentie, charitie shall a coole. Therefore when thou seest charitie this little in the worlde, and wickednes encreaſe, know well that this worlde passeth and his wealth, and that this sumner is come. And thus seyth seynt Poule, VVit ye well, that in the last daies shall come perillous times, and there shall be men louing themselfe, that is to say, their bodies, couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynde fellons, withouten affection; withouten peace, blamers, incontinent,

The thirde sumner. Distinctio mortis.

Augustinus.

The day of iudgement.

To know the worlds sickneſs. Matth. 21.

2. Timo. 3.

The second sumner. Properties of death.

Luke 12.

1. Corint. 10.

Chrysostome.

A proper similitude.

Ioachim. Maid Hildegar.

Augustine.

Matth. 24.

Note.

Antichrist to come an. 1400. This sermon ergo was made an. 1389. Apoc. 6.

The second and the thirde, he gaue manie tokens, that is to say; That the Realme shall rise against Realme, and people against people, and pestilences and earthquakinges, the which we haue seene in our daies. But the last token that he gaue, was this; when ye seene the abhomination of elengneſse sayd of Danyell the Prophet, standing on the Sanctuarie: then who so readeth, vnderstond. Vppon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a booke that hee maketh of the end of the world. If the wordes of Danyel hauen authoritie (as God sayth that they hauen) it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the world, that Danyel hath written. Now Danyel in the twelfth chapter, speaking of this abhomination, putteth betweene the ceasing of the busie sacrifice of the Iewes, the which fell, when by Titus and Vespasianus, Ierusalem was destroyed, and the people of the Iewes were disparkled into all the world. And this abhomination that doctours sayne, shall be in the great Antichristes daies, 1290. Now prooueth this doctour, that a day must be taken for a yeare, both by autoritie of holy writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason: So it seemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichrist should come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Christ, the which number of yeares is nowe fulfilled, not fully twelue

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yeates and a halfe lacking. And this reason put not I as to shew any certaine time of his comming, sith I haue not that knowledge: but to shew that he is nye, but how nygh I wot neuer. But take wee heede to the fourth part of the second vision of saint Iohn, put in the booke of Reuelations, in the which vnder the opening of the seauen seales, is declared the state of the Church, from the time of Christ into the ende of the worlde. The opening of the foure first seales, shew the state of the Church, fro the time of Christ, to the time of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales. The opening of the first seale, telleth the state of the Church in the time of the preaching of Christ and of his Apostles. For the first, that is, the Lyon, gaue his voice, that betokeneth the preachers of Christes resurrection and his ascension. For then yede out a white horse, and he that sate vpon him had a bowe in his hande, and hee yede out ouercomming to ouercome. By this white horse we vnderstande, the cleane life and conuersation that these preachers haden: and by the bow, their true teaching, pricking sorrowe in mennes heartes for their sinnes withouten flattering. And they wenten out of Iewry that they comen of, ouercomming some of the Iewes, and maken them to leaue the trust that they hadden in the olde lawe, and to beleeue in Iesus Christ, and shewen his teaching. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynemes, shewing to them that their Images were no Gods, but mens workes, vnmightie to saue themselue or any other, drawing them to the beliefe of Iesus Christ God and man. In the opening of the second seale, there cried the second beast, that is, a calfe, that was a beast wonted to be slaine, and offered to God in the olde law. This sheweth the state of the Church in the time of Martyrs, that for their stedfast preaching of Gods true lawe, shed their bloud, that is signified by the redde horse that went out at this seale opening; and this estate began at Nero the cursed Emperour, and dured vnto the time of Constantine the great, that endowed the Church. For in this time many of Christes seruantes, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke were slaine. For of two and twenty bishops of Rome that were betweene Peter and Siluester the first, I reade but of foure, but that they weren Martyrs for the law of Christ. And also in the time of Diocleſian the Emperour, the persecution of the Christen men was so great, that in thirtie daies weren slaine 22. thousande men and women in diuers countreyes, for the lawe of God.

Expositio.
Nero.
Constantinus magnus.
Siluester.

The 3. seale. The opening of the third seale, telleth the state of the Church in time of heretikes that beth figured by the blacke horse, for false vnderstonding of holy write: for than cryed the thirde beast that is a man, for at that time was it need to preache the mysterie of Christes incarnation, and his passion ayenst these erretikis that feliden mis of these pointis: howe Christ tooke verreyly mans kinde of our Lady, him being God as he was bifore, and his moder being mayden byfore and after. The opening of the fourth seale, telleth the state of the Church in the time of ypocritis, that beth signified by the pale horse, that beth signes of penaunce with outfoorth to blinde the people. And he that sate vpon this horse his name was death, for they shulle slee gostly them that they leden, and teacheth to trust vpon other thing than God: and helle followeth him, for helle receiued thilke that these disteineth. At that time shall it need, that the fourth beast that is the Egle make his cry, that flyeth highest of foules to reare vp Gods Gospell, and to praise that lawe aboue other, least mens witte, and their traditions ouergone and treden downe the lawe of God, by enforming of these ypocrites, and this is the last state, that is, other shall be in the Church, byfore the comming of the great Antichrist. The opening of the fift seale, telleth the state of the Church that than God shall followe, and desire that louers of Goddis law shulleth haue after the ende of this world to be deliuered of this woe. The opening of the sixt seale telleth the state of the Church in time of Antichristis time, the which state yee may know to be in the Church whan ye seth fulfilled, that saint Iohn prophesieth to fall in the opening of this, where he saith thus: After this I sawe foure Angelles stonding vpon foure corners of the earth, holding the foure windes of the earth that they blowen nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the sea, ne vpon eny tree. These foure Angels beth the number of all the Deuils ministers, that on that time shulleth in the pleasaunce of their Lord Antichrist, stoppe the foure windis that beth the foure Gospelles to be preached, and so let the breth of the grace of the holy Ghost to fall vpon men morning for sinne, & calling them to amendement, and to other that wolden encrease in vertues, other vpon perfit men? VVhat is there after this to fall, but that the mysterie of the seauenth seale bee shewed, that he come in his owne person. That Iesu Christ shall slee with the spirite of his mouthe, when the fiend shall shewe the vtmost persecution, that he and his seruantis may doo to Christis limmes, and that shall be the third warning that the world shall haue to come to this dreadfull dome.

The 5. seale.
The 6. seale.
The 7. seale.

In all this matter haue I nought seid of my selfe, but of other doctors that beth prooued, I seyd also in my second principall part, that it were to wete tofore what Iudge we shall reken. VVherefore we shulleth wite that God himselfe shall heere this rekening, he that seeth all our dedis, and all our thoughts fro the beginning of our life to the ende, and he shall shew there the hid thingis of our hert, opening to all the world the rightfulnes of his dome. So that with the might of God, euery mans dedis to all the world shall be shewed, and so it seemeth by the wordes of seint Iohn, in the booke of preuities, Apoca. there he seith thus: I sawe dede men litel and great, stonding in the sight of the throne, and bookes weren opened: and an other booke was opened that was of life, and dede men weren iudged after the thinges that weren written in the bookes after their worchings. These bookes beth mens consciences that now beth closed. But than they shulleth bee opened to all the world to reden therein both dedis and thoughtes. But the booke of life, is Christs liuing and doctrine, that is nowe hidde to men that shulleth be damned through their owne malice, that deemeth men to serue the world, rather than God: In the first booke shall be writ all that we haueth doe, in that other booke, shall bee write that wee shulden haue doo, and than shulle dede men bee demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bokis: For if the dedis that wee hauen doe, the which ben written in the bookis of our conscience, be according to the booke of Christes teaching and his liuing, the which is the booke of life, we shulle be saued, and else wee shulle bee damned, for the dome shall be giuen after our workis. Looke therefore now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here: and if thou findest ought contrarie to Christis life, other to his teaching, with the knife of penaunce and repentance, scrape it away and write it better, euermore hertly thinking that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

Also I saide principallie that it were to witen, what reward shall be geue on that doome, to wise seruantes and good, and what to false seruantes and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lorde Iesu Christ, shall come to the dome here into this world, in the same body that hee tooke of our Ladye, hauing thereon the woundis that he suffred for our againe bieng. And all that euer shullen bee saued, taking againe their bodies clyuing to their head Christ, shull be rauished metyng him in the ayre as Paule saith: They that shall be damned lyen vpon the earth, as in a tonne of wine the dreggis dwellen byneth and the cliere wine houeth aboue. Than shall Christ axe rekening of the deedes of mercy, reprouing false christen men for the leuyng of them, rehearsing the deedes of the same, and other truthis by the which his true seruantes than followed him: than shulle thilke false seruauntes goe with the deuill, whom they haue serued in the earth, then swallowing into the endlesse fire. And rightfull men shullen goe into euerlasting life, then shall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of priuities: Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the earth. Woe to the paynym that gaf that worship to dead Images wroght of mans handes, and to other creatures that hee shoulde haue goue to God that him wrought: Woe to the Iewe that trusteth so muchil in the olde Lawe, than shall he see Maries son deming the world whom he despised and set on the crosse: Woe to the false christen man that knew the will of his Lorde and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sinne of thinking to thee, that thou hast shyt out the meine of God, that is minde of his passion, holy contemplation, of his goodnesse and memorie of his benefites, fro the chaumber of thine hert; and hast made it an house of swyn and a denne of theeues, by vncleane thoughtes and delightes. As thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shal spere thee out of heauen: Thou hast herberwid the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou shalt euer abide: woe also for sinne of speach, for thou might nought open thy foule and stinking mouth with the which thou hast spoken vnhonestly, cursing, fraud, deceit, leasinges, forswearing, scorning, and bacbiting, to praise God in the fellowship of saints. For louing is nought comynlych in mouthes of sinners. For in the which gif thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou shouldest haue songen in fellowship of Angelles this blessed song: *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens*: Holie, holy, holy, Lorde God almightie. Then yelling and weeping thou shalt cry in company of deuils. *Uæ, uæ, uæ, quantæ sunt tenebræ*: Woe, woe, woe, how great beth these darknes: woe also for sinne of deede. Thou hast bene proud, thy pride shall be drawne to hell, as Esay sayth, or thou hast bene brent with enuie of the deuill. Enuy entred into the world, and they shoulden folowen him that ben on his side, as Salomon sayth: Or thou hast be stirred with wrath, and euerich man that beareth wrath to his brethren, is gilty in dome, as Christ in the gospell sayth of Matthew. Or thou hast be slow to good deedes, mysfawe shall come to thee as a wayfaring man: and thy pouertie as a man armed, as the booke of Prouerbes sayth. Or thou hast haunted lecherie, glotonie, or couetise. That forsooth wete ye, that euerych auouterer, or vncleane man, that is a glutton, other chynch, shall neuer haue heritage in the realme of Christ and of God, as Poule saith. But fire, brimstone, and the spirit of tempestes, that is the fiend of hell, shulen bee a partie of their paine, as it is written in the Psaulter when these damned men bee in this woe, they shullen sing this reuful song that is ywritten in the booke of mourning. The ioy of our hart is ago, our quiet is turned into woe, the crowne of our heade

Note.

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is fallen vs fro. Alas for sinne that we haue do. But ioy and ioy, and ioy to them that be saued. Ioy in God, ioy in themselfe, ioy in other that ben saued. Also ioy for their trauell is brought to so gracious an end. Ioy, for they scape the paine of hell: Ioy, for their blisse that they han in the sight of God: *Cui sit honor & gloria, in secula seculorum, Amen.*

Conclusion.

And thus much concerning this worthie & fruitfull sermõ, which as by the ancientnesse of the phrase seemeth to be preached much about the time of John Wickliffe: so I thought here, by the occasion of William Thorpes examination, best to place the same: for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially hauing before our eyes, the publike vtilitie of the Reader, to whom by the studious reading thereof, might rise plentifull matter of true christian information, both of the wholesome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of euery christian mans life.

Whereunto I thought good to annere further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdome of William Sawtrey, and of John Badby thus described (as ye haue heard) which was about the yeare 1409. By the way here is to be considered, at least to bee admonished, that all this while the schisme in the church of Rome did yet continue, and so indured till the councell of Constance, which was in whole, the space of twentie and nine yeares. The origine whereof (as was said pag. 399.) first began at Urbanus the fifth; which Urbanus being dead, An. 1389. next followed pope Boniface the ninth, who sate fourteene yeares. Hee in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the keyes of Peter (as saith Platina) in contempt. After him succeeded Innocentius the seuenth, and sate two yeares: who being dead, the cardinals consulting together, and seeing the foule enormitie and inconuenience growing vpon this contentious schisme in their church of Rome (minding to prouide some remedie for the same, after the best deuice they could) in their conclaue where they were assembled for a new election of the pope, tooke this order, promising among themselues with solemne vow made to God, to Marie the blessed virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed companie of saints: That if any of them within the colledge or without the colledge, should be called to that high place of apostolicall preeminence; he should effectuouslie renounce the iurisdiction and title of his popedome, if or whensoeuer the contrarie pope for the time being, would in like maner renounce his place and title, and his cardinals in like maner to condescend to the other cardinals of Rome. So that both these two colledges of cardinals agreeing together, one chiefe bishop might be chosen and taken out of them both, to bee made the true pope. Prouided moreouer, that none should seeke any releasement or absolution from the said promise, vow, and bond, once passed among them: Vnto all which things furthermore euery one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified vpon the same, they proceeded to the election. In which was chosen Gregorius the twelfth, who the same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinals, confirmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in forme as followeth. And I Gregorie, this day being the last of November, in the yeare of our Lord, 1407. chosen and elected for bishop of Rome: doe sweare, vow, and promise, and confirme all the premises aboue contained, &c. This being done, shortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80. yeares. As the time thus passed, the people and cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the pope according to his oth would giue ouer, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed betweene the two popes to be attempted, by letters from one to another: assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.

Vide supra pag. 399.
Vrbanus 5.
Bonifacius 9.
Innocentius 7.
Gregorius 12.
The cardinals deuice to cease the schisme.
The vow and oth of the cardinals made for the schisme.
The oth and vow of pope Gregorie 12.

Ex chron. D. Albani.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the cardinals, to see their holy periured father, so to neglect his oth, and vow aforenamed. Insomuch, that at length, diuers of them did forsake the pope, as being periured (as no lesse hee was) sending moreouer to kings and princes of other lands, for their counsell and assistance therein, to appease the schisme. Amongst the rest, cardinall Bituriensis was sent to the king of England: who publishing diuers propositions and conclusions (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundell) disputeth, that the pope ought to be subiect to lawes and councels. Then king Henry (moued to write to Gregorie the pope) directeth his letter here vnder ensuing, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1409. The contents of the letter be these.

The pope falsly periured.
Cardinals leaue the periured pope.
Anno 1409

The letter of king Henrie the fourth, *to pope Gregorie the twelfth.*

King Henry 4. to pope Gregory the 12.

MOst blessed father, if the discreet prouidence of the Apostolike see, would call to mind with what great perils the vniuersall world hath been damnified hitherto vnder pretence of this present schisme: and especially would consider, what slaughter of christian people to the number of two hundred thousand (as they say) hath beene through the occasion of war raised vp in diuers quarters of the world, and now of late,

Two hundred thousand slaine by schisme of Rome.

to the number of thirtie thousand souldiers, which haue beene slaine through the dissension moued about the bishopricke of Leodium, betweene two set vp, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authoritie of the other pope, fighting in campe for the title of that bishopricke: Certes ye would lament in spirit and bee sore grieued in mind for the same. So that with good conscience yee would relinquish rather the honor of the see apostolike, then to suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, vnder the cloke of dissimulation, following herein the example of the true mother in the booke of kings: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her child, rather would depart from the child, then the child should bee parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new creation of nine cardinals, by you last made, contrarie to your oth (as other men doe say) that you doe but little heede or care for ceasing the schisme: Yet farre be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect seate should euer be noted and distained with such an inconstancie of mind: whereby the last errour may be worse then the first. *Ex Chron. D. Albani:* part the second.

20. thousand slaine in campe fighting for the bishoppricke of Leodium.

King Henry the fourth to the cardinals.

AND to the cardinals likewise, the said king directeth another letter with these contents here following: Wee desiting to shew what zeale wee haue had and haue, to the reformation of peace of the church; by the consent of the states of the realme, haue directed to the bishop of Rome our letters after the tenour of the copie herewith in these presents enclosed to be executed effectually: wherefore wee seriously beseech your reuerend colledge, that if it chance the said Gregorie to bee present at the councell of Pise, and to render vp his popedome, according to your desire, and his owne oth; you then so ordaine for his state totally, that chieflie God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory and also wee which intirely loue his honour and commoditie, may haue cause to giue you worthily condigne thankes for the same: *Ibid.*

King Henry 4. to the cardinals.
Concilium Pisanum.

This being done in the yeare of our Lord 1409. afterward in the yeare next following, An. 1410. the cardinals of both the popes, to wit of Gregorius, and Benedictus; by common aduice assembled together at the citie of Pise, for the reformation of vnity and peace in the church. To the which assemblie, a great multitude of prelats and bishops being conuented, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander the fifth. But to this election, neither Gregorius, nor Benedictus did fully agree. Whereby there were 3. popes together in the Romaine church (that is to vnderstand) not three crownes vpon one popes head, but three heads in one popish church together. This Alexander being newly made pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple crowne; but straight giueth out full remission, not of a few, but of all maner of sinnes whatsoeuer: to all them that conferred any thing to the monasterie of saint Bartlemew by Smithfield, resorting to the said church any of these daies following: to wit, on Maundie thursday, good friday, Easter euen, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first euensong to the latter. But this pope which was so liberall in giuing remission of many yeares to other, was not able to giue one yeare of life to himselfe, for within the same yeare he died. In whose stead stept vp pope John 23.

Ex chron. Albani.
Anno 1410
Concilium Pisanum.
Pope Alexander 5.
3 popes together.
The vaine remission by the popes indulgence.
Pope Alexander dead.
Pope John 23.

In the time of this Alexander, great stirre began in the countrie of Bohemia, by the occasion of the bookes of John Wickliffe, which then comming to the hands of John Hulle, and of other both men and women, especially of the lay sort, and artificers, began there to doe much good. Insomuch, that diuers of them not onely men, but women also, partly by the reading of those bookes translated into their tongue, partly by the setting forward of John Hulle, a notable learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the Vniuersitie of Prage; were in short time so ripe in iudgement, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to moue questions, yea and to reason with the priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

Ex Ioan. Cheelei De historia Hussitarum lib 1.
The gospell beginneth to take roote in Bohemia.

By reason whereof, complaint was brought to the said pope Alexander the fifth, who caused eftsoones the forenamed John Hulle to be cited vp to Rome. But when hee came not at the popes citation, then the said pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Suinco. Wherein hee straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apostolicall, all matter of preachings or sermons to bee made to the people, but onely in cathedrall churches or colledges, or parish churches, or in monasteries, or else in their churchyards. And that the articles of Wickliffe, should in no case of any person of what state, condition or degree soeuer, bee suffered to bee holden, taught, or defended, either priuily or apertly. Commanding moreouer and charging the said archbishop, that he with foure bachelers of Diuinitie, and two Doctors of the canon law ioyned vnto him; would proceede vpon the same, and so prouide that no person in churches, schooles, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approue any of the foresaid articles. So that whosoeuer should attempt the

The letter of pope Alexander 5. to the archb. Swinco of Bohemia.

Ccciij contrarie,

The popes cruell bull against Iohn Huſſe.

contrary ſhould be accounted an hereticke, & vnleſſe he ſhall reuoke ſolemnly & publikely the ſaid articles, and ſhall forthwith abiure the bookes wherein the foreſaid articles be contained, ſo that they may be vtterly abolished out frō the eyes of the faithfull: the ſame to be apprehended and impriſoned, all appellation ſet apart, the helpe alſo of the ſecular arme being called thereunto, if need ſhall require, &c. Theſe were the contents of this mightie and fierce bull of pope Alexander.

Iohn Huſſe obiecteth againſt the popes cruell bull.

Againſt the which bull on the other ſide Iohn Huſſe iuſtly complaining, excepteth againe and obiecteth many things, as appeareth in his booke intituled De eccleſia cap. 18. Where he declareth this mandate of the pope to ſtand directly againſt the doings and ſayings both of Chriſt and of his apoſtles: conſidering, how Chriſt himſelfe preached to the people, both in the ſea, in the deſert, in fields, in houſes, in ſynagogues, in villages: and the apoſtles alſo in all places did the ſame, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreouer, the ſaid mandate or bull of the pope to redound vnto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not haue his free paſſage. Alſo, the ſame to bee preiudiciall vnto chapels newly erected for the word of God to bee preached in them. Wherefore (ſaith hee) from this commandement or mandate of pope Alexander, I did appeale vnto the ſaid Alexander being better informed and adviſed. And as I was proſecuting my appeale, the lord pope (ſaith Iohn Huſſe) immediately died.

The popes bull contrarie to Chriſt.

The notable iudgement of God in striking the aduerſaries of the Goſpell.

Then the archbiſhop of Suinco aforeſaid, to whom this preſent bull was directed, when he ſaw the proces, buls and mandates of the biſhop of Rome, to bee thus contemned of Iohn Huſſe and his fellowes, neither hauing any hope of redreſſe in Wincelaus the king, which ſeemed to neglect the matter; went out of his countrie into Hungarie, to complaine vnto Sigiſmond king of Hungarie, and brother to the ſaid Wincelaus. But this quarrelling archbiſhoppe, whether before (as the Bohemians ſay) or after (as Siluius ſaith) that he had ſpoken with Sigiſmond: immediately there (by the iuſt iudgement of God) died in Hungarie, as the ſtory ſaith for ſorrow. Whereby a little more libertie and quiet was giuen by the Lord vnto his Goſpell, newly beginning to take roote among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquillitie there, did not long continue without trouble and perſecution, neither could it in thoſe furious daies and reigne of Antichriſt. For after this Alexander aforeſaid ſucceeded pope Iohn 23. Who likewiſe playing his part in this tragedie, bent all his might and maine to diſturbe the Bohemians, as more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in further proceſſe of our hiſtorie, comming to the yeare of our Lord, 1413.

The Goſpell ſeldome times long quiet.

Iohn 23.

Thus the poore chriſtians (as ye ſee) like to the ſillie Iſraelites vnder the tyranny of Pharao, were inſeſted and oppreſſed in euery place, but eſpecially here in England: and that ſo much the more here, becauſe that the king, not like to Wincelaus, went full and whole with the pope and his prelats againſt the Goſpellers.

The pride and glory of the clergie of England in thoſe daies.

By reaſon wherof, the kingdome of the pope and his members here in this realme began to be ſo ſtrong, that none durſt ſtirre or once mute againſt them. The biſhops hauing the king ſo full on their ſide, armed moreouer with lawes, ſtatutes, puniſhments, impriſonments, ſword, fire, and fagot: reigned and ruled as they liſted, as kings and princes within themſelues. So ſtrong were they of power, that no humane force was able to ſtand againſt them: ſo exalted in pride and puft vp in glorie, that they thought all things to be ſubiect to their reuerend maieſties. Whatſoeuer they ſet forth or decreed, it muſt of all men be receiued and obeyed.

And ſuch was their ſuperſtitious blindneſſe and curious vanitie, that whatſoeuer toy came once in their fantaſie; it was ſtraightwaies determined and eſtabliſhed for a law of all men to be obſerued, were it neuer ſo friuolous or ſuperſtitious; as well appeareth by Thomas Arundell archbiſhop of Canturbury and other, who hauing now a little leiſure from ſlaying and killing the innocent people, Martyrs and Confeſſours of the Lord, and hauing now brought their enemies (as they thought) vnder feet; began to ſet vp themſelues, and to inuent new cuſtomes, as the guiſe is of the popes church, euer to intrude into the church of God, ſome ceremony or cuſtome of their owne making, whereby the church of Chriſt hath beene hitherto exceedingly peſtred: So likewiſe this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church yet not ſufficiently ſtuffed with ceremonies and vaine traditions of men; bringeth in a new found gaud, commonly called the tolling of Aues, in honor of our ladie, with certaine Aues to be ſaid, and daies of pardon to be giuen for the ſame. For the ratification wherof, vnder ỹ pretence of the kings requeſt, he directed his mandate to the biſhop of London, well ſtuffed with words of Idolatrie, as by the reading therof may appeare, in forme of termes as followeth.

Fortie daies of pardon giuen by Th. Arundel archbiſhop.

A mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the biſhop of London, to warne men to ſay certaine praiers at the tolling of the Aues, or ringing of Curphew.

THomas, &c. To the right reuerend our brother, the lord Robert, by the grace of God biſhop of London, greeting, &c. While wee lift our eyes round about vs, and behold attentiuely with circumſpect conſideration, how the moſt high word that was in the beginning with God choſe to him an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly ſtocke: in whoſe wombe he tooke true fleſh by inſpirall inſpiration, that the mercifull goodneſſe of the ſonne of God that was vncreate, might aboliſh the ſentence of condemnation, which all the poſteritie of mankind that was created, had by ſinne incurred. Amongſt other labours in the vine of the Lord of Sabbaoth, we ſung to God our ſauiour with greate ioy in him: carefully thinking, that though all the people of the chriſtian religion did extoll with woices of praiſes ſo worthy a virgine, by whom we receiued the beginnings of our redemption, by whom the holy day firſt ſhined to vs, which gaue vs hope of ſaluation. And although all the ſame people were drawen to reuerence her, which being a happie virgin, conceiued the ſonne of God, the king of heauen, the redeemer and ſauiour of all nations, miniſtring light to the people that were miſerablie drowned in the darkeneſſe of death: Wee truely as the ſeruants of her owne inheritance, and ſuch as are written of, to bee of her peculiar dower, as we are by euery mans confeſſion acknowledged to be: we I ſay ought more watchfully then any other, to ſhew the endeauours of our deuotion in praiſing her. Who being hitherto mercifull to vs, yea being euen cowards, would that our power, being as it were ſpred abrode euery where through all the coaſts of the world, ſhould with a victorious arme, feare all forren nations: That our power being on all ſides ſo defended with the buckler of her protection, did ſubdue vnto our victorious ſtandards, and made ſubiect vnto vs, nations both neare at hand and farre off.

Ringing of Curphew.

* If this be not blaſphemous and derogatory to Chriſt, let the reader iudge.

Likewiſe our happie eſtate (all the time that we haue paſſed ſince the beginning of our liues) may be well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine: to whom alſo wee may worthilie aſcribe now of late in theſe our times vnder the mighty gouernment of our moſt chriſtian king, our deliuerance from the rauening wolues, and the mouthes of cruell beaſts: which had prepared againſt our bankets, a meſſe of meate mingled full of gall, and hated vs vniuſtly, ſecretly lying in waite for vs, in recompence of the good will that we ſhewed to them. Wherefore, that ſhe being on high ſitting before the throne of the heauenly maieſtie, the defendreſſe and patroneſſe of vs all, being magnified with all mens praiſes; may more plentifully exhibite to vs the ſonnes of adoption the teates of her grace, in all thoſe things that we ſhall haue to doe: At the requeſt of the ſpeciall deuotion of our Lord the king himſelfe, wee command your brotherhood, ſtraitly enioyning you, that you command the ſubiects of your citie and dioceſſe, and of all other ſuffragans, to worſhip our lady Mary the mother of God and our patroneſſe and protectreſſe, euermore in al aduerſity: with ſuch like kind of praier and accuſtomed maner of ringing, as the deuotion of Chriſts faithfull people is wont to worſhip her at the ringing of Coure le feu. And when before day in the morning yee ſhall cauſe them to ring, that with like maner of praier and ringing, ſhe be euery where honoured deuoutly by the aforelaid our and your ſuffragans, and their ſubiects as well religious as ſecular, in your and their monaſteries and collegiate churches: That we ſo humblie calling vpon the mercy of the heauenly father, the right hand of the heauenly piety, may mercifully come to the helpe, the protection, and defence of the ſame our lord the king, who for the happie remedie of quietneſſe, and for our ſuccour from tempeſtuous flouds, is ready to applie his hands to worke, and his eyes with all his whole deſire to watching. We therfore coueting more earneſtly to ſtirre vp the minds of all faithfull people to ſo deuout an exerciſe of God, &c. We grant by theſe preſents, to all and euery man, &c: that ſhall ſay the Lords praier and the ſalutation of the angell fiue times at the morning peale with a deuout mind, *totiens quotiens*, (how oft ſoeuer) 40. daies of pardon by theſe preſents. Giuen vnder our ſeale in our manor of Lambeth the tenth day of Februarie, *An. noſtræ tranſ.* 9. *Ex regiſt. Thom. Arundel.*

These men make a Bellona of our Lady.

Falſe helpe ſought, and ſet vp of idolaters.

b The papiſts would ſucke our Ladies paps.

c Will ye ſtand to this doctrine ye catholikes & Popiſh blaſphemy fighting againſt the grace of Chriſt.

Ringing of Curphew.

Fortie daies pardon, for 5 Aues.

By this friuolous and barbarous conſtitution with many other of like ſort heaped into the church by the papiſts: appeareth the proper nature and condition of this catholike generation. Who being themſelues not greatly exerciſed nor experienced in any ſerious cogitation of ſpirituall matter (as ſeemeth) take vpon them to gouerne the ſpirituall church of Chriſt, whereof indeed they haue no ſkill or very little. And therefore according to their vnſkilfull handling, they leade and rule the church after ſuch outward ſights and ceremonies, ſeemely perhaps to their owne groſſe affection: but not agreeing (nay rather cleane contrarie) to the right nature and condition of the ſpirituall houſe and kingdome of the Lord. And like as in their inuentions they ſwarue vtterly from the right handling of all ſpirituall gouernment: ſo in their maners and forme of life likewiſe, they do reſemble little or no part almoſt, of ſuch as are and ought to be true paſtors and miniſters of the myſticall body of Chriſt.

Heaping vp ceremonies in the church.

Examples hereof are plentie and plaine, in theſe Romane prelats to be noted: who ſo well conſidering the humble ſtate and lowly ſpirit which ought to bee in paſtorall leaders of the

the church, will compare the same with the vsuall pomp of these glorious potestates.

The pomp of the popes church noted.

As for example; what can be more conuenient for a true pastor ecclesiasticall, then humilitie of heart and spirit, according to the example of the head bishoppe himselfe? So what greater shew of arrogancie and pride could there bee, then in this, whom I haue oft named before, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canturbury: who passing by the high street of London, did not only looke and wait for the ringing of the bels, for a triumph of his comming, but toke great snuffe, and did suspend all such churches in London (not only with the steeple and bels, but also with the organs) so many as did not receiue his comming with the noise of bels: according as out of his owne registers may appeare: the words whereof written to his owne Somner, I haue hereto annexed in his owne forme, as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certaine churches of London, because they rung not their bels at the presence of my lord the Archbishop of Canturbury.

Churches of London suspended for not ringing at the comming of the archbishop.

THomas by the permission of God, &c. To our welbeloued Thomas Wilton, our Somner sworne, health, grace, and blessing. The comelinesse of our holy church of Canturbury, ouer which we beare rule, deserueth and requireth, that while we passe through the prouince of the same our church (hauing our crosse carried before vs) euery parish church in their turnes, ought and are bounden in token of speciall reuerence that they beare to vs, to ring their bels. Which notwithstanding, yea on tuesday last past, when we betwixt eight and nine of the clocke before dinner, passed openly on foote as it were, through the midst of the citie of London, with our crosse carried before vs: Diuers churches, whose names are here beneath noted, shewed towards vs willingly (though they certainly knew of our comming) vnreuerence rather then reuerence, and the dutie that they owe to our church of Canturbury, ringing not at all at our comming. Wherefore we being willing to reuenge this iniury, a for the honour of our spouse as we are bounden: command you, that by our authoritie, you put all those churches vnder our interditement, suspending Gods holy organs and instruments in the same. Which wee also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches be able hereafter to attaine of vs the benefit of more plentifull grace. Giuen, &c.

a Oh infinitous enemies to Christ his humility.

What great reason was in this, why this archbishoppe either should thus looke for the ringing of the bels, or why hee should be thus displeased with not ringing, I doe not see. Belike his mind in the meane time was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of Gods feare, with repentance and remembrance of his sinnes, with zealous care and solicitude for his flocke, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Sauiour, who in this world was so despised: or else was set vpon some graue study, while he so waited for the ringing of the bels, which were wont to be so noisome to all students. And why were not the trumpetters also shent as well, because they did not sound before his person? But and though the bels did not clatter in the steeples, and therefore his thunderbolt should haue fallen vpon the steeples which had deserued: why should the bodie of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poore organs (me thinketh) had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quier, because the bels rang not in the tower.

Organs suspended in the church because the bels did not ring.

Of the like matter also we read in the said registers, falling betweene the bishop of Worcester, and the prior of the same towne, for not ringing at the bishops comming into the church. Whereupon much sute and contention was betweene them, till at length the archbishop of Canturbury toke vp the matter, moderating it, as in the said registers, fol. 441. appeareth to be seene as followeth.

In Registro Tho. Arundell. Variance between the bishop and prior of Worcester, for not ringing at the bishops comming.

VNiuersis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately between our reuerend brother the lord bishop of Worcester on the one party, and the religious and discreete men the Prior and Couent of the same church on the other partie, for not ringing of belles at the comming of our said brother to his foresaid church, at length the parties (considering the great inconuenience that might come thereof) at our instance and request did agree on this manner: that as often as it shall happen our reuerend brother to goe to his aforesaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to visit his church in the head or in the inferiours, or to make creame and oyle in the same church: Also in the feast of the assumption of the blessed virgin Mary, which is the chiefest feast in the abby aforesaid: then the Prior and the Couent, and their successours for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his comming, or shall cause to be rung solemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to bee made against the same. Which agreement that it may be more firmely kept, we let you all vnderstand by these presents, sealed with our seale. Giuen at our palace of Canturbury 12. July, the 10. yeer of our gouernment.

The like stir for belringing and for processions, had almost hapned betweene the archbishop of Canturbury, successor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chichley on the one party, and the abby of S. Albons on the other party, had not the abbat in time submitting himselfe to the archbishop, so prouided, that the ringing of their bels at his comming, might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbishop granted by these his letters as followeth.

Ringing in the archbishop at S. Albons.

HEnry, &c. to the religious men, the abbat and couent of the monastery of Saint Albons in the diocesse of Lincolne, health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance betweene vs, and you the abbat and couent, by reason of not giuing reuerence to vs, being due to our prouince of Canturbury, that is, for not ringing the bels, and meeting vs with processions when we passed by diuers places of our prouince as well due of common custome as of old vse, and for the prerogatiue of the church of Canturbury, as also being due of euery one being within the compasse of this our said prouince, when and as often as we shall passe by their places: at length your lord abbat (comming personally to vs) did grant both for you and the couent aforesaid, to doe and to giue of your gentlenesse all reuerence and honour, with such reuerence both to vs and our church of Canturbury, as often as we passe by your monastery, or the places nigh or adioyning thereto, or shall hereafter goe by: so that it might not be preiudiciall to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priuiledge: and that it might not be challenged for dutie hereafter. Wherefore we desiring to keepe you from damage, let you vnderstand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or priuiledge whatsoeuer herein: nor by any meanes to be preiudiciall to you by these your reuerences or other duties, whatsoeuer you haue or shall grant to vs of your deuotion and liberality, both by you, and in places vnder your dominion. In witnesse whereof, &c. Dated the 28. day of Ianuary, 1425. at S. Albons, the 12. yeer of our gouernment.

Ex Regist. Hen. Chicheley fol. 365.

To expresse moreouer and describe the glorious pompe of these princelike prelats in these blinde daies of popish religion raigning then in the church, I thought to adioyne hereunto another example not much vnlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certaine poore men cited vp, and inioyned strait penance by William Courtney, predecessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his horse, not in waines as they should doe, but in priuie sacks, in a secret manner vnder their clokes or cotes. For the which so hainous and horrible trespasse, the said archbishop sitting in his tribunall seat, did call and cite before him the said persons (pro litera, i. for litter, after his owne Latine) and after their submission, inioyned them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foresaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishops registers, both by his owne words, and by picture of the persons in the same registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seene.

William Courtney, archbishop of Canturbury.

Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

A description of the poore men doing their penance, with their straw on their backe.

This bagge full of straw I beare on my backe,
Because my lords horse his litter did lacke.
If ye be not good to my lords graces horse,
Ye are like to goe barefoote before the crosse.

The picture of them drawne in al proportion according to the exemplar standing in the Register.

Errors

Ex Regiſtro W.Courtney.

FRroris mater ignorantia, quoſdam Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengham taliter obcœcauit, quòd ante aduentum dicti domini Archiepiſcopi ad palatium ſuum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominica in ramis palmarum, anno domini milleſimo trecenteſimo nonageſimo, de cariendo & ducendo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, ſtramen, ſiue literam, pront ex tenura terrarum, & tenura ſuorum, quas & quæ tenent de domino & eccleſia ſua Cantuariæ aſtringuntur, per balliuum domini ibidem iuſſi & legitimè præmoniti debita ſeruitia more ſolito impendere dedignantes, ſtramen huiuſmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in ſufficienti quantitate, ſed modice in ſaccis ſub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt; in vilipendium domini ac ſubtractionem iurium eccleſiæ ſuæ Cantua. Vnde ſuper hoc euocati coram domino, die Iouis in hebdomada Paſchæ in caſtro ſuo de Statewode pro tribunali ſedente perſonaliter comparentes, ipſius iudicio in hac parte ſe humiliter ſubmiſerunt, veniam & miſericordiam pro commiſſis deuotè petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtal, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, de ſtando mandatis eccleſiæ, & fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis iniungendam, iuratos abſoluit in forma iuris, nanciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœna ſalutari: videlicet, quòd die dominica tunc proximè ſequente, prædicti pœnitentes nudicapita & pedes, proceſſionem apud eccleſiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum ſingulis ſaccis ſuper humeris ſuis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & ſtramine) ita quòd ſtramen & fœnum huiuſmodi ad ora ſaccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis inceſſibus procederent humiliter & deuotè.

Myrke ye Grãmarians, litera for litcour.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney archbiſh. Cant.

In English:

IGnorance the mother of error, ſo much had blinded and deceiued certaine perſons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forſtall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham: that againſt the comming of the aforeſaid archbiſhop to his palace of Canturbury on Palmes ſunday euen, the yeere of our Lord 1390, where they being warned by the baliffe, to conuey and carry hay, ſtraw, and other littor to the aforeſaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they hold of the ſee of Canturbury: refuſing and diſdaining to doe their due ſeruice, as they were accuſtomed, brought their ſtraw and other littour, not in carts and waines openly and ſufficiently, but by peece meale; and cloſely in bags or ſacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the ſee of Canturbury. Whereupon they being aſcited and preſented before the archbiſhop, ſitting in iudgement at his manor of Statewod, yeelded and ſubmitted themſelues to his lordſhips pleaſure, humbly crauing pardon of their treſpaſſe. Then the aforeſaid archbiſhop abſolued the aboue named Hugh Pennie, &c. they ſwearing to obey the lawes and ordinances of holy church, and to doe the puniſhment that ſhould be appointed them for their deſerts: that is, that they going leaſurely before the proceſſion, euery one of them ſhould carry openly on his ſhoulder, his bagge ſtuffed with hay and ſtraw; ſo that the ſaid hay and ſtraw ſhould appeare hanging out, the mouthes of the ſacks being open.

Penance inioined for bringing ſtraw to my lords houſe.

Excommunication and abſolution abuſed.

Notes of certaine parliament matters paſſed in this kings daies.

TO proceed now further in the raigne of this king, and to intreat alſo ſomething of his parliaments, as we haue done of other before. Firſt, we will begin with the parliament holden in the firſt yeere of his comming in.

Notes of this kings parliaments.

Moreouer, forſomuch as our catholike papiſts will not beleeue yet the contrary, but that the iuriſdiction of their father the pope, hath euer extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places: Here therefore ſpeaking of the parliaments holden in this kings daies concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the ſaid king Henry in his firſt yeere holden, and to the 27. article of the ſame. Where they may reade in the tenth obiection laid againſt king Richard in plaine words: how that, foraſmuch as the crowne of this realme of England, and the iuriſdiction belonging to the ſame, as alſo the whole realme it ſelfe, at all times lately paſt, hath been at ſuch liberty, and inioied ſuch prerogatiue, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the ſame kingdome ought to intrude himſelfe, nor intermeddle therein: it was therefore obiected vnto the forenamed king Richard the ſecond, for procuring the letters Apoſtolicall from the pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certaine ſtatutes of his, and that his cenſures might be proſecuted againſt the breakers thereof. Which ſeemed then to the parliament, to tend againſt the crowne and regall dignity, as alſo againſt the ſtatutes and liberties of this the ſaid our realm of England. Act. parl. An. 1. Reg. Henrici 4. Act. 27.

The popes iuriſdiction excluded out of this realme.

Ex ann. 1. Reg. Henrici, Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the ſecond yeere of the ſaid king, this was in the parliament required, that all ſuch perſons as ſhall be arreſted by force of the ſtatute made againſt the Lollards in the ſecond yeer of Henry the fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation: that they be arreſted by none other then by the Sheriffes or ſuch like officers, neither that any hanocke be made of their goods. The king granted to take aduice therein.

Anno 2. Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 29.

In the eighth yeere moreouer of this kings raigne, it was likewiſe propounded in the parliament, that all ſuch perſons as ſhal procure, or ſue in the court of Rome, any proceſſe touching any benefice, collation, or preſentation of the ſame, ſhall incur the paine of the ſtatute of prouiſors, made in the thirteenth yeere of Richard 2. whereunto the king granted, that the ſtatutes herefore prouided, ſhould be obſerued.

An. 8. Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 6.

Item, in the ſaid parliament, there it was put vp by petition, that the king might inioy halfe the profits of euery parſons benefice, who is not reſident thereon. Thereunto the king anſwered; that the Ordinaries ſhould doe their duties therein, or elſe hee would prouide further remedie to ſtay their pluralities.

An. 8 Reg. Hen. 4. Act. 114.

Item, in the ſaid parliament it was required, that none doe ſue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but onely in the kings Courts.

Ibidem act. 37.

¶ In the next yeere following, which was the ninth of this king, another petition of the commons was put vp in parliament againſt the court of Rome, which I thought good here to expreſſe, as followeth.

Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9. Henrici 4.

The Commons doe beſeech, that foraſmuch as diuers prouiſors of the benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their ſingular couetouſneſſe now newly imagined to deſtroy thoſe that haue been long time incumbents in diuers their benefices of holy church peaceably, ſome of them by the title of the king, ſome by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of prouiſions, collations, and other grants made to the ſame prouiſors by the Apoſtoll of the ſaid benefices, doe purſue proceſſes in the ſaid court by citation made beyond the ſea, without any citations made within the realme in deed againſt the ſame incumbents, whereby many of the ſaid incumbents, through ſuch priuie and craftie proceſſes and ſentences of priuation and inhabilitation, haue loſt their benefices, and others put in the places of the ſaid incumbents before the publication of the ſame ſentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to loſe their benefices through ſuch proceſſes, to their perpetuall deſtruction and miſchiefe. And foraſmuch as this miſchiefe cannot be holpen without an eſpeciall remedy bee had by parliament: Pleaſeth it the king to conſider the great miſchiefe and danger that may ſo come vnto diuers his ſubiects without their knowledge, through ſuch citations out of the realme, and thereupon to ordaine by the aduice of the lords of this preſent parliament, that none preſented, bee receiued by any Ordinary vnto any benefice of any ſuch incumbent for any cauſe of priuation or inhabilitation, whereof the proceſſe is not founded vpon citation made within the realme, and alſo that ſuch incumbents may remaine in all their benefices, vntill it be proued by due inqueſt in the court of the king, that the citations whereupon ſuch priuations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the realme: and that if ſuch Ordinaries, or ſuch preſented, or others, doe purſue the contrary, that then they and their procurators, fautors and counſellers, doe incurre the paines contained in the ſtatute made againſt prouiſors in the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of the late Richard king of England the ſecond, by proceſſes to be made, as is declared in the ſtatute made againſt ſuch prouiſors in the 27. yeere of the raigne of king Edward, predeceſſor to our lord the king that now is, any roiall licences or grants in any maner to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that all other ſtatutes made againſt prouiſors, and not repealed before this preſent parliament, be in their full force, and be firmely kept in all points.

The wickednes of popes prouiſors in citing and depriuing benificed men in England, their citation being not knowen in the realme.

That the kings counſell haue power by authority of parliament, in caſe that any man finde himſelfe greeued in particular, that he may purſue: and that the ſaid counſell by the aduice of the Iuſtices, doe right vnto the parties. This to indure vntill the next parliament, reſeruing alwaies vnto the king his prerogatiue and liberty.

Item, that no popes collector thenceforth ſhould leuy any mony within the realme, for firſt fruits of any eccleſiaſticall dignity, vnder paine of incurring the ſtatute of prouiſions.

Anno 9. Regis Hen. 4. act. 43.

Beſides, in the ſaid parliament holden the eleuenth yeere of this king, is to be noted; how the commons of the land put vp a bill vnto the king, to take the temporall lands out from ſpirituall mens hands or poſſeſſion. The effect of which bill was, that the temporalities, diſorderately walked by men of the church, might ſuffice to finde to the king fifteene earles, fifteene hundred knights, ſix thouſand two hundred eſquires, and a hundred houſes of almoſe, to the reliefe of poore people, more then at thoſe daies were within England. And ouer all theſe foreſaid charges, the king might put yeerly in his cofers 20000. pound.

Ex Chronic. D. Alban. Fabiano, & alijs.

Prouided, that euery earle ſhould haue of yeerely rent three thouſand marke, euery knight a hundred marke, foure plough lands: euery eſquire forty marke by yeer, with two plough lands, and euery houſe of almoſe a hundred marke, with ouerſight of two true ſeculars vnto euery houſe: and alſo with prouiſo, that euery townſhip ſhould keep all poore people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their liuing; with condition, that

that if not fell in a towne then the towne might maintaine, then the said almes houses to releeue such townships.

A computation of church goods, to how much they doe mount.

And for to beare these charges, they alledged by their said bill, that the temporalties, being in the possession of spirituall men, amounted to iii. C. and xvii. M. marke by yeere. Whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canterbury, with the abbies of Christs church, of S. Augustines, Shrewsbury, Coggelhale, and S. Olus, xx. M. marke by yeere. In the see of Yorke and abbies there, xx. M. marke. In the see of Winchester, and abbies there, xx. M. marke. In the see of London, with abbies and other houses there, xx. M. marke. In the see of Lincolne, with the abbies of Peterborow, Ramsey and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Norwich, with the abbies of Bury and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Ely, Spalding and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Bathe, with the abby of Okinborne and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Worcester, with the abbies of Euisham, Abingdon and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Chester, with the precinct of the same, with the sees of S. David, of Salisbury, and Exeter, with their precincts, xx. M. marke. The abbies of Rauens or Reuans, of Fountaines, of Gernons, and diuers other to the number of fiue mo, xx. M. marke. The abbies of Leicester, Waltham, Gosborne, Merton, Ticetir, Osney and other, vnto the number of six mo, xx. M. marke. The abbies of Douers, Batil, Lewys, Couentry, Dauentre, and Tourney, xx. M. marke. The abbies of Northampton, Thorton, Bristow, Killingworth, Winchcombe, Hailes, Parchillor, Frideswide, Notly, and Grimmisby, xx. M. marke.

The which forsaid summes amount to the full of iii. c. M. marke. And for the odde of xvii. M. mark, they appointed Hartford, Rochester, Huntingdon, Swinthed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Teukesbury, Dunstable, Shirborn, Taunton, and Biland.

And duer this, they alledged by the said bill, that ouer and aboue the said sum of iii. C. and xvii. M. marke, diuers houses of religion in England, possessed as many temporalties as might suffice to finde yeerly xv. M. priests and clerks, euery priest to be allowed for his stipend vii. marke by the yeere.

To the which bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and aduisement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labor was made.

Anno 1413

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as haue been incident in the life time of this king, followeth next the 13. yeere of his raigne. In the which yeere the said king Henry the 4. after that he had sent a little before a certaine company of captaines & souldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France (among whom was the lord Cobham) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell greeuously sicke. From thence he was conueied to London, where he began to call a parliament, but taried not the end. In the meane time, the infirmity of the king more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a faire chamber at Westminster. And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same chamber: and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his prophecie, that he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so disposing himselfe toward his end, in the foresaid chamber he died: vpon what sickenesse, whether of leprosie, or of some other sharpe disease, I haue not to affirme. Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium: That all men called. The like prophecy wee reade of pope Siluester 2. pag. 151. to whom being inquisitiue for the time and place where he should die, it was answered that he should die in Jerusalem. Who then saying masse in a chapell (called likewise Jerusalem) perceiued his end there to be neere, and died. And thus king Henry the 4. successor to the lawfull king Richard 2. finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canturbury by the tombe of Thomas Becket, &c. An. 1413.

The king had a prophecy that he should die in Jerusalem. Prophecies detestable.

Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cui initium est. That all men called. The prophecy of pope Siluester 2.

King Henry the fifth.

King Henry 5.

After this Henry the fourth, raigned Henry the fifth his sonne, which was borne at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other vertues and great victories gotten in France, I haue not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy prowesse, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader, and vnburden my labor herein; especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that vneth any vacant leasure shal be left, to intermeddle with matters prophane.

Great tempest at the coronation of the new king.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of Aprill, called then passion Sunday, which was an exceeding stormy day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, an. 1413. At which time, Thomas Arundel the archbishop of Canturbury, collected in Pauls church at London, an vniuersall synod of all the bishops and clergy of England. In that synod among other weighty matters and ponderous, was determined; that the day of S. George, and also of S. Dunstan should be double feast, called Duplex Festum, in holy kitchen, in holy church I would say.

A synod called at London.

S. George and S. Dunstans day made double feast.

And because the order and maner of those pope-holy feasts, either yet is not sufficiently knowne to some rude and grosse capacities, or may peraduenture grow out of vse, and to be strange and vnknowne to our posterity hereafter: therefore to giue a little memorandum thereof (by the way for erudition of times hereafter to come) touching this mysticall science of the popes deepe and secret diuinity; here is to be noted, that the feasts of the popes holy mother catholike church, be diuided into sundry members: Like as a plentifull rote in a fruitfull field, riseth vp and burgeneth into manifold armes, and the armes againe doe multiply into diuers and sundry branches, out of the which moreouer, although no fruit doe come, yet both leaues and flowers do bud and blossome in most copious wise, right beautifull to behold: Euen so this Festum, containing a large matter of great variety of daies and feasts, groweth in it selfe and multiplieth, being thus diuided: First, into Festum duplex, and into Festum simplex, that is, into feast double, and to feast simple. Againe, this Festum duplex brancheth foure fold wise, to wit, into Festum principale duplex: into Maius duplex: into Minus duplex, and inferius duplex: that is, in principall double, in greater double, in lesser double, and inferior or lower double. Vnto these seuerall sorts of feasts what daies were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to vnderstand, that as vnto the principall double feast only belonged eight daies in the yeere; so the Maius duplex festum, had giuen vnto him by this conuocation, the day of S. George and of S. Dunstan, as is afore remembred: albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custome it was not so vsed. Item, to be noted, that these two feasts, to wit, Principale duplex, and Maius duplex, did differ and were knowne from all other by foure notes; by seruice in the kitchen, and by seruice in the church, which was both double, by ringing in the steeple, which was with double peale: by copes in the quier, and by thurifying or censing the altars. For in these two principall and greater double feasts, the seuenth, eighth, and ninth lesson must bee read with silken copes. Also at the said feasts in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurified, that is, smoked with incense, &c. And likewise the Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex had also their peculiar seruice to them belonging.

The feast of the popes church described & diuided.

Festum duplex. Principale duplex, Maius duplex, Minus duplex, Inferius duplex.

Constitution against councels. Ex tab. festorum.

Secondly, the Simplex festum, which is the second arme springing of this diuision, is thus diuided: Either hauing a triple inuitory, or a double, or else a single inuitory. Of the which moreouer, some haue three lessons, some haue nine, &c.

Simplex festum in the popes church.

And thus much by occasion for popish feasts; not that I doe so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonor of our Lord God, which is only to be honoured.

The trouble and persecution of the Lord Cobham.

The trouble of the lord Cobham. Ex Chron. Monast. Albanensis.

BVt to let this by-matter passe, againe to returne to the foresaid vniuersall synod assembled by Thomas Arundell at S. Pauls church in London, as is before remembred: the chiefe and principall cause of the assembling thereof (as recordeth the chronicle of S. Albons) was to represse the growing and spreading of the Gospell, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principall fauorer, receiuer, and maintainer of them, whom the bishop misnamed to be Lollards, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester and Hereford, setting them vp to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution prouinciall, before remembred, pag. 483. holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keies and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the receiued determination of the Romish church, &c.

Vide pag. 483.

In the meane time, as these were in talke amongst them, concerning the good lord Cobham; resorted vnto them the 12. inquisitors of heresies (whom they had appointed at Orford the yeere afore, to search out heretikes, with all Wicklifes bookes) who brought 200. and 46. conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said bookes. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

Walden. in fascic. zizaniorum Wicklefi.

1. John Witnam, a maister in the new Colledge.
2. John Langedon, monke of Christ church in Canturbury.
3. William Vfford, regent of the Carmelites.
4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominicks.
5. Robert Gilbert.
6. Richard Earthisdale.
7. John Lucke.
8. Richard Snedisham.
9. Richard Fleming.
10. Thomas Rotborne.
11. Robert Ronbery.
12. Richard Grafdale.

These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselues, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs coat without seame (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) vnlesse certain great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the said

The L. Cobham accused for maintaining the Godhead of Christ.

said disciples of Wickliffe. Among whom this noble knight sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, was cõplained of by the generall prelates to be the chief principall. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocesse of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to haue sent thither the said preachers, but also to haue assisted them there by force of armes, notwithstanding their synodall constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in beleefe of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and of the ecclesiasticall power, then the holy church of Rome had taught many yéeres before.

The lord Cobham accused for his christian beliefe.

Processe against him.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, processe should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernitious heretike.

A spirituall practise.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience then the other, thought it not best to haue the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before, considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in fauor at that time with the king; their counsell was to know first the kings mind to saue all things vpright. This counsell was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundell with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightwaies vnto the king, then remaining at Kenningston, and there laid forth most grieuous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard those bloudthirsty prelats, and farre otherwise then became his princely dignitie: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stocke and knighthood, they should yet fauorably deale with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling, reduce him againe to the churches vnity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, his self would seriously commune the matter with him.

The king speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

The kings admonishment to the L. Cobham.

Anon after, the king sent for the said Lord Cobham. And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whom the christian knight made this answer: Your most worthy prince, saith he, I am alwaies prompt and willing to obey, forsomuch as I know you a christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of euill doers, and for safegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternall God) owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I haue done euer) all that I haue, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill whatsoeuer ye shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his spiritualty, I owe them neither sute nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the scriptures to be the great antichrist, the sonne of perdition, the open aduersary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place. When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talke no longer with him, but left him so vtterly.

The answer of the lord Cobham to the king.
Rom.13.
1.Pet.2.
Lord Cobham obedient to the king.
Amost christian obedience.
2.Thess.2.
Matth.24.
The lord Cobham forsaken of the king.

And as the archbishop resorted againe vnto him for an answere, hee gaue him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their diuellish decrées, which they called the lawes of holy church. Then the said archbishop by the counsell of his other bishoppes and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare, to answere to such suspect Articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chiefe Summoner, with a very sharpe citation vnto the castell of Cowling, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said Summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his licence, and therefore hee returned home againe, his message not done.

Lord Cobham summoned by the archbishop.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler vnto him, which was then the doore keeper of the kings priuy chamber: and with him he couenanted through promises and rewards, to haue this matter craftily brought to passe vnder the kings name. Whereupon, the said John Butler toke the archbishops Sumner with him, and went vnto the said lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the kings pleasure that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then said hee to them in few words, that hee in no case would consent to those most diuellish practises of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man priuately to cite him after that, without perill of life, he decréed by and by to haue him cited by publike processe or open commandement. And in all the haste possible, vpon the wednesday before the natiuity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory, to be set vpon the great gates of the cathedrall church of Rochester (which was but three English miles from thence) charging him to appeare personally before him at Ledis the eleuenth day of the same month and yére, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, by such as bare fauor vnto the Lord Cobham, and so conueied aside. After that caused the archbishop new letters to be set vp on the nativity day of our Lady, which also were rent downe and vtterly consumed.

John Butler plaieth Judas part.

Citation set vp against the lord Cobham.

The citations taken downe.

Then forsomuch as he did not appeare at the day appointed at Ledis (where he sate in consistory, as cruell as euer was Caiphas, with his court of hypocrits about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most déepe contumacie. After that, when he had béen falsly informed by his hired spies, and other glosing glauerers, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorne, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for all these was he then accused of) in his mody madnes without inst proue, did he openly excommunicat him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but commanded him to be cited afresh, to appeare before him the saturday before the feast of S. Matthew the Apostle, with these cruell threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himselfe more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay power by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostata, schismatike, and heretike, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the realme, and great aduersary of all holy church; for all these hatefull names did he giue him.

False accusations against the lord Cobham.

Lord Cobham excommunicated.

Lord Cobham againe cited.

This most constant seruant of the Lord, and worthy knight sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, beholding the vnpeaceable fury of antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiuing himselfe also compassed on euery side with deadly dangers; he toke paper & pen in hand, and so wrote a christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his owne hand. Wherein he also answered to the foure chiefest articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he toke the copie with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to finde mercy and fauor at his hand. None other was that confession of his, then the common beléefe or sum of the churches faith, called the Apostles Créed, of all christian men then vsed, with a briefe declaration vpon the same, as here vnder ensueth.

Lord Cobham confessed his God before men.

The Apostles faith.

The Christian beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

The common Creed of christians.

I Beléeue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceiued by the holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, suffered vnder Ponce Pilat, crucified, dead and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose againe from death, ascended vp to heauen, sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, and from thence shall come againe to iudge the quicke and the dead. I beléeue in the holy Ghost, the vniuersall holy church, the communion of Saints, the forgiuenesse of sins, the vprising of the flesh, and euerlasting life, Amen.

A declaration of his beliefe.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholike church, I stedfastly beléeue, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfesame God almighty. I beléeue also that the second person of this most blessed Trinity, in most conuenient time appointed thereunto afore, toke flesh and blood of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the sauegard and redemption of the vniuersall kind of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence.

1.Ioh.5.
Gal.4.
Ioh.1.
Luk.2.

Christ is the only head of his church.

Moreouer I beléeue, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole christian church, and that all those that haue been, or shall be saued, be members of this most holy church. And this holy church I thinke to be diuided into three sorts or companies:

The church diuided into three parts.

Whereof the first sort be now in heauen, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conuersant, conformed alwaies their liues to the most holy lawes and pure examples of Christ, renouncing satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and euils.

Contrary wrote hee, *ad parliamentum Ex Waldens.*

The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be in the scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a ful deliuerance of paine.

The third sort are here vpon the earth, and be called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the diuell, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthinesse of the flesh.

The church militant diuided in three.

This latter congregation by the iust ordinance of God is also seuered into three diuers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all secluded from all worldlinesse, should conforme their liues vtterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Euermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely, and in giuing wholesome examples of good liuing to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more louing, gentle, and lowly in spirit, should they be, then any other sorts of people.

What the priests should be.

In knighthood are all they which beare sword by law of office. These should defend Gods lawes, and see that the gospell were purely taught, conforming their liues to the same, and secluding all false preachers: yea those ought rather to hazard their

Knighthood what it should do.

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their liues, then to suffer such wicked decrées as either blemisheth the eternall Testament of God, or yet letteth the frée passage thereof, whereby heresies and schismes might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, then of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in vnder hypocriticall lies, for aduantage. They ought also to preserue Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and theeues, and to sée the clergie supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacraments freely. And if they sée them do otherwise, they are bound by the lawe of office to compell them to change their doings; and to sée all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinance.

Marke here a most christian heart.

What the common people ought to doe.

The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people: whose duetie is, to beare their good mindes and true obedience, to the foresaid ministers of God, their kings, ciuill gouernours and Priests. The right office of these, is iustly to occupie euerie man his facultie, be it marchandise, handicraft, or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to bee as an helper to another, following alwaies in their sortes the iust commandements of the Lord God.

The first examination of the Lord Cobham.

SIr John, in the last generall conuocation of the clergie of this our Prouince, yee were detected of certaine heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon yee were by forme of spirituall lawe cited, and would in no case appeare. In conclusion, vpon your rebellious contumacie, ye were both priuately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding wee neither yet shewed our selues vnreadie to haue giuen your absolution (nor yet doe not to this houre) would ye haue meekely asked it. Vnto this the L. Cobham shewed, as though he had giuen no eare, hauing his minde otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution. But said he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearsall of that faith which hee held and intended alwaies to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then hee toke out of his bosome a certaine writing indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giuing it vnto the archbishop as hee had maue thereof an end. Whereof this is the copie.

Anselme was herein full power.

A signe of gods true seruant.

I John Oldcastle knight, L. of Cobham, will that all Christian men weet and vnderstand: that I clepe almighty God into witnesse, that it hath been, now is, and euer with the help of God, shall be mine intent and my will, to beleeue faithfully and fully all the Sacramentes that euer God ordained to bee doe in holy church: and moreouer to declare me in these foure points, I beleeue that the most worshipfull Sacrament of the aultar is Christes body in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heauen.

The sacrament of the Lords bord.

Also as for the sacrament of penance I beleeue, that it is needefull to euery man that shalbe saued to forsake sinne, and doe due penance for sinne before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction as Gods lawe limitteth and teacheth, and els may hee not bee saued: which penance I desire all men to doe.

Penance.

And as of Images, I vnderstand, that they be not of beleeue, but that they were ordained sith they beleeue was zeale of Christ, by sufferance of the Church, to be Calenders to lewd men, to represent and bring to minde the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, and martyrdome and good liuing of other Saints: And that who so it be, that doth the worship to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust, in helpe of them, as hee should doe to G O D, or hath affection in one more then in an other, he doth in that the greatest sinne of mawmetrie.

Images.

Also I suppose this fully, that euery man in this earth is a pilgrime toward blisse, or toward paine: and that hee that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holy commandementes of God in his liuing here (albeit that he be go on pilgrimages to all the world, and hee die so) hee shalbe damned: he that knoweth the holy commandements of God, and keepeth them to his end, hee shalbe saued though hee neuer in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now vse to Canturbury or to Rome, or to any other place.

Pilgrimage.

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he deliuered it to the Bishops as is said afore. Then counselled the Archbishop with the other two Bishops, and with diuers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter: commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion by their assent and information, hee said thus vnto him: Come hither sir John. In this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholicke also, wee deny it not: but yee must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore yee must yet declare vs your minde more plainely.

The answere examined.

Quarell picked where none was giuen.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirme, and beleeue, that in the sacrament of the aultar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth materiall bread, or not? Moreouer, whether ye do hold, affirme and beleeue, that as concerning the sacrament of penance (where as a competent number of priests are) euery christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sinnes to a priest ordained by the church, or not.

The wolfe was hungry, he must needs be fed with blood.

After certaine other communication, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham. That none otherwise would hee declare his minde, nor yet answere vnto his articles, then was expressly

The christian answere of the L. Cobham vnto their quarellings.

Obedience vnto his king.

Gods law to be preferred before mans law.

Antichrist. The L. Cobham refuseth the Pope.

The L. Cobham refuseth the Pope.

A christian desire of the L. Cobham. This request was lawfull.

The L. Cobham refuseth the Pope.

The L. Cobham refuseth the Pope.

The christian stomacke and manhood of the L. Cobham.

No reasonable offer would serue.

L. Cobham appealeth from the archb. to the pope.

Straight handling of the king.

L. Cobham would not obey the beast.

The confession and answere of the L. Cobham newly copied.

B. Lieke of the L. Cobham, concerning the Sacraments.

The sacrament of the aultar.

Finally, this is my faith also, that God will aske no more of a christian beleeuer in this life, but onely to obey the precepts of that most blessed lawe. If any Prelates of the church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, then this to be vsed: hee contemneth Christ, exalting himselfe aboue God, and so becommeth an open Antichrist. All the premisses I beleeue particularlie, and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I should beleeue; instantly desiring you my liege Lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine, may be iustly examined by the most godly wise and learned men of your realme. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the veritie, then let it be so allowed: and I thereupon holden for none other then a true christian. If it bee proued otherwise, then let it be vtterly condemned: prouided alwaies, that I be taught a better belieke by the word of God: and I shall most reuerently at all times obey thereunto.

This briefe confession of this faith, the L. Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and so toke it with him to the court, offering it with all meekenesse vnto the king to reade it ouer. The king would in no case receiue it, but commanded it to be deliuered vnto them that should be his iudges. Then desired he in the kings presence, that an hundred knightes and esquires might be suffered to come in vpon his purgation, which hee knew would cleare him of all heresies. Moreouer hee offered himselfe after the lawe of armes, to fight for life or death with any man liuing, christian or heathen, in the quarrell of his faith, the king and the Lords of his counsell excepted. Finally with all gentlenesse hee protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no maner of correction that should after the lawes of God be ministred vnto him, but that he would at all times with all meekenesse obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to bee summoned personally in his own priuy chamber. Then said the L. Cobham to the king that he had appealed from the Archbishop to the pope of Rome, and therefore hee ought he said, in no case to be his iudge. And hauing his appeale there at hand readie written, hee shewed it with all reuerence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased then afore, and said angerly vnto him, that he should not pursue his appeale: but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he, or nild he, the archbishop should bee his iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But forsomuch as hee would not bee sworne in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the Archbishop would enioyne him: Hee was arrested againe at the kings commandement, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keepe his day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appointed him afore in the kings chamber.

Then caused hee the foresaid confession of his faith to bee copied againe, and the answere also (which hee had made to the foure articles propounded against him) to be written in maner of an Indenture in two sheets of paper: That when hee should come to his answer, he might giue the one copie vnto the archbishop, and reserue the other to himselfe. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September the Saterday before the feast of S. Matthew: Thomas Arundel the archbishop, sitting in Cayphas rowme in the Chapterhouse of Paules, with Richard Clifford Bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke Bishop of Winchester: sir Robert Morley knight and lieftenant of the Tower, brought personallie before him the said L. Cobham, and there left him for the time: vnto whom the archbishop said these words.

Cayphas sitteth in consistory.

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erpressely in his writting there contained. Then said the archb. againe vnto him: Sir Iohn, beware what yee doe. For if yee answere not clearely to those thinges that are here obiected against you (especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose) the law of holy church is, that compelled once by a iudge, we may openly proclaime you an heretick. Vnto whom hee gaue this answer: Doe as ye shall thinke best, for I am at a point. Whatsoeuer hee or the other bishops did aske him after that, he bad them resort to his bill: for thereby would he stand to the verie death. Other answere would hee not giue that day, wherewith the bishops and prelates were in a maner amased and wonderfully disquieted.

A tyrannous whore is that mother.

His answer not to their minds.

At the last the Archb. counselled againe with his other Bishops and Doctors, and in the end thereof declared vnto him, what the holy church of Rome (following the saying of S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, and of other holy Doctors) had determined in these matters, no manner of mention once made of Christ. Which determination (saith he) ought all christian men both to beleeue and to follow.

Antichrist setteth men aboue God.

Then said the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he would gladly both beleeue and obserue whatsoeuer holy church of Christes institution had determined, or yet whatsoeuer God had willed him either to beleeue or to do. But that the pope of Rome with his Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates of that church had lawfull power to determine such matter as stood not with his word throughly: that would he not (he said) at the time affirme. With this the archb. bad him to take good aduisement till the munday next following (which was the 25. day of September) and then iustly to answere, specially vnto this point: whether there remained materiall bread in the sacrament of the aultar, after the words of consecration or not? He promised him also, to send vnto him in writing those matters clearely determined, that he might then bee the more perfect in his answere making. And all this was nought els, but to blinde the multitude with somewhat. The nert day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent vnto him into the Tower, this folish and blaspheamous writing, made by him and by his vnlearned clergy.

The Lord Cobham resorteth vnto Christ.

What could be more reasonably said if they had reason to receiue it.

A doctrine of diuels to blind the simple.

The determination of the Archbishop, and Clergie.

Ex magno professu Thomæ Arundel.

The 1. article.

THe faith and determination of the holy Church touching the blissfull sacrament of the aultar, is this: that after the Sacramentall words be once spoken by a priest in his Masse, the materiall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christes very body. And the materiall wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christes very blood. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the aultar, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken: How beleeue ye this article? Holy church hath determined that euery christian man liuing here bodily vpon the earth, ought to be shriuen to a Priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. How feele ye this

The 2. article.

article?

The 3. article.

Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose See is the holy church of Rome: And he granted, that the same power which he gaue vnto Peter, should succeed to all Peters successors, which wee call now Popes of Rome: by whose power in Churches particular, be ordained prelates, as Archbishops, Bishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more. Vnto whom christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. How feele ye this article?

The seed of the serpent.

The 4. article.

Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places: and there specially to worship holy reliques and Images of saints Apostles, and Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approued by the church of Rome. How feele ye this article?

He seeth their ignorance and malice.

And as the Lord Cobham had read ouer this most wretched writing, he maruelled greatly of their madde ignorance. But that he considered againe, that God had giuen them ouer for their vnbeliefes sake, into most deep errours and blindnesse of soule. Againe, he perceiued hereby, that their vttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoeuer he should answere. And therefore hee put his life into the hands of God, desiring his onely spirit to assist him in his nert answer. When the said 25. day of Septemb. was come (which was also the munday before Michaelmas) in the said yeare of our Lord 1413. Thomas Arundell the Archbishop of Canturbury commanded his iudiciall seate to be remoued from the chapter house of Paules to the Dominicke Friers within Ludgate at London. And as hee was there set with Richard Bishop of London, Henry the Bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the bishop of Bangor: He called in vnto him his counsell and his officers, with diuers other Doctors and Friers, of whom these are the names here following, maister Henry Ware, the Officiall of Canturburie: Philip Morgan, Doctor of both lawes: Holwell Kiffin, Doctor of the Canon lawe: Iohn Kempe, doctor of the Canon lawe: William Carletan, doctor of the Canon law: Iohn Witnam, of the newe Colledge in Oxforde: Iohn Whithead, doctor in Oxford also, Robert Wombewell, vicar of S. Laurence in the Iewry: Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Minors: Robert Chamberlaine, Prior of the Dominickes: Richard Dodington, Prior of the Augustines: Thomas Walden, Prior of the Carmellites, all doctors of Diuinitie. Iohn Steuens also, and James Cole, both Notaries, appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these with a great sort more of Priestes, Monkes, Canons, Friers, Parish Clarkes, Belringers, Pardoners, disdained him, with innumerable mockes and scornes, reckoning him to bee an horrible heretick, and a man accursed afore God.

Hee putteth his life in Gods hand.

Ex vtroque exemplari.

The counsell of Cayphas.

The Pharisies and Scribes.

A rable of Antichristes.

Anone the Archbishop called for a Masse booke, and caused all those prelates and doctors to sweare thereupon, that euerie man should faithfully doe his office and duetie that day. And that neither for fauour nor fear, loue nor hate of the one partie nor the other: any thing should there be witnessed, spoken or done, but according to the trueth, as they would answer before God and all the world at the day of dome. Then were the two foresaid Notaries sworne also, to write and to witnes the proces that there should be vttered on both parties, and to saie their mindes (if they otherwise knew) before they should register it. And all this dissimulation was but to colour their mischieues, before the ignorant multitude.

Concilium magnanimum.

For a false colour sweare they.

All done to deceiue the ignorant.

Consider herein (gentle reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the iuill feare of God, for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them, sir Robert Morley knight and lieftenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good L. Cobham, there leauing him among them as a lamb among Wolues, to his examination and answere.

Lord Cobham commeth again before them.

An other examination of the Lord Cobham.

Ex vetusto exemplari Londinensium.

THen said the archb. vnto him: Lord Cobham ye be aduised (I am sure) of the words and proces which wee had vnto you vpon Saterdaie last past in the chapterhouse of Paules: which proces were now too long to be rehearsed againe: I said vnto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacie and disobedience to holy church, thinking that yee should with meekenesse haue desired your absolution.

The curse of Antichrist.

Then spake the L. Cobham with a chearfull countenance, and said, God said by his holie Prophet, Maledicam benedictionibus vestris, which is as much to say as, I shall curse where you blesse.

Malachi 2.

The archb. made then as though hee had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying: Sir, at that time I gently profered to haue assoiled you if you would haue asked it. And yet I doe the same if ye will humbly desire it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordained.

A wolfish offer of gentlenesse.

Then said the Lord Cobham. Nay forsooth will I not, for I neuer yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not doe it. And with that he kneeled downe on the pauement, holding vp his hands towards heauen, and said: I shriue me here vnto thee my eternall liuing God, that in my fraile youth I offended thee (O Lord) most greeuously in pride, wrath, & gluttony: in couetousnesse, and in letcherie. Many men haue I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins, good Lord I aske thee mercie. And therewith weepingly hee stode vp againe and said with a mighty voice. Loe, good people, loe: For the breaking of Gods lawe and his great commandements, they neuer yet cursed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, most cruelly doe they handle both me and other men. And therefore, both they and their lawes, by the promise of God, shall vtterly be destroied.

L. Cobham confesseth himselfe vnto God.

Mans lawe before Gods law preferred. Hiere. 51.

At this the archb. and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, hee tooke stomacke vnto him againe after certaine words had, in excuse of their tyrannie, and examined the Lord Cobham of his christian beleefe.

The true christian beliefe of the L. Cobham.

Whereunto the L. Cobham made this godly answere, I beleeue (saith he) fully and faithfully in the vniuersall lawes of God. I beleeue that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleeue, all that my Lord God would I should beleeue. Then demanded the archbishop an answere of that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the church concerning the foure articles whereof hee was accused, specially for the sacrament of the aultar, how hee beleeued therein.

Whereunto the L. Cobham said, that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he said) concerning the sacrament. That his Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most deare disciples, the night before hee should suffer tooke bread in his hand: And giuing thanks to his eternall father, blessed it, brake it, and so gaue it vnto them, saying: Take it vnto you, and eate thereof all, this is my body which shall be betraied for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembrance. This doe I throughly beleeue (saith he) for this faith am I taught in the Gospell of Mathew, in Mark, and in Luke, and also in the first Epistle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. chap. 11.

Math 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. 1. Cor. 11. Antichrist alloweth not this faith.

Then asked the Archbishop, if he beleeued that it were bread after

after the consecration or sacramentall words spoken ouer it.

The lord Cobham said: I beleeue that in the sacrament of the altar is Christs very bodie in forme of bread, the same that was borne of the virgin Marie, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heauen.

The sacrament of the altar.

Then said one of the doctors of the law: After the sacramentall words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but onely the bodie of Christ.

John Whitehead gone from his opinion.

The lord Cobham said then to one maister John Whitehead: You said once vnto me in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred host was not Christs bodie. But I held then against you, and proued that therein was his bodie, though the seculars and friers could not therein agree, but held each one against other in that opinion. These were my words then, if yee remember it.

All this would not helpe.

A blasphemous brood.

Then shouted a sort of them together and cried with great noise: We say all, that it is Gods bodie.

Quarel pickers

And diuers of them asked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the consecration or not?

Then looked the lord Cobham earnestly vpon the archbishop, and said: I beleeue surely that it is Christs bodie in forme of bread. Sir beleeue not you thus?

And the archbishop said, yes mary doe I?

Then asked him the doctors, whether it were onely Christs bodie after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

The sacrament of Christs body is both the body and bread. Neither will scripture nor reason serue. This opinion hath S. Augustine.

And he said vnto them, it is both Christs bodie and bread; I shall proue it as thus: For like as Christ dwelling here vpon the earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the inuisible Godhead couered vnder that manhood, which was onely visible and seene in him: So in the sacrament of the altar, is Christs very bodie and bread also, as I beleeue the bread is the thing that we see with our eies, the bodie of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is there vnder hid, and not seene, but in faith.

Gelasius contra Eutychen.

And moreouer, to proue that it is both Christs bodie and also bread after the consecration, it is by plaine words expressed by one of your owne doctors writing against Eutyches, which saith: Like as the selfe same sacraments doe passe by the operation of the holy Ghost, into a diuine nature, and yet notwithstanding keepe the propertie still of their former nature: so, that principall mysterie declareth to remaine one true, and perfect Christ, &c.

The Popes diuinitie.

Then smiled they each one vpon other, that the people should iudge him taken in a great heresie. And with a great brag diuers of them said: It is a foule heresie.

Then asked the archbishop what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it were materiall or not?

Materiall.

The lord Cobham said vnto them: The scriptures make no mention of this word materiall, and therefore my faith hath nothing to doe therewith. But this I say and beleeue, that it is Christs body and bread. For Christ said in the vi. of Johns Gospell, Ego sum panis viuus, qui de cœlo descendi: I which came downe from heauen, am the liuing and not the dead bread. Therefore I say now againe as I said afore, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, is Christs very body and bread.

John 6.

An heresie after the papists making.

Then said they all with one voice: It is an heresie.

1. Cor. 10.

One of the bishops stood vp by and by, and said: What? it is an heresie manifest, to say that it is bread after the Sacramentall words be once spoken, but Christs body onely.

The sacrament is called bread.

The lord Cobham said: S. Paul the Apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and hee called it bread, writing to the Corinthians: The bread that we breake, saith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? Lo, he called it bread and not Christs body, but a meane whereby we receiue Christs body.

Then said they againe: Paul must be otherwise vnderstood. For it is sure an heresie to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christs body.

The lord Cobham asked, how they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They answered him thus: For it is against the determination of holy church.

The determination of the Church must stand, whatsoeuer Paul saith.

Then said the Archbishop vnto him: Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed Sacrament, clearely determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy Doctors.

A most christian answere.

Then hee said againe vnto him, I know none holier then is Christ and his Apostles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it bee the Churches, as yee say it is, it hath beene hers onely since she receiued the great poison of worldly possessions, and not afore.

The iudgement of the Lord Cobham concerning the determination of the Church.

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith: If hee beleeued not in the determination of the church?

The Doctors confounded in their owne question.

And he said vnto them: No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our creede, this word (in) is but thrice mentioned concerning beleefe: In God the Father, in God the Sonne, in God the holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the buriall, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath none (in) for beleefe, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the sacraments, the forgiuenesse of sinne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life euerlasting, nor any other (in) then in the holy Ghost.

Then said one of the Lawyers: Tush, that was but a word of office. But what is your beliefe concerning holy Church?

The lord Cobham answered: My beliefe is, (as I said afore,) that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded vpon them I beleeue throughly. For I know, it is Gods pleasure that I should so doe. But in your lordly lawes and idle determinations, haue I no beliefe. For yee be no part of Christs holy church, as your open deeds doe shew: But yee are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The lawes that yee haue made, are nothing to his glory, but onely for your vaine glory and abominable couetousnesse.

The Lord Cobham beleeueth not in the pope.

This, they said, was an exceeding heresie (that in a great fume) not to beleeue the determination of holy Church.

An heresie after the papists.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he thought of holy Church.

Holy Church defined.

He said vnto him, my beliefe is, that the holy church is the number of them, which shall be saued, of whom Christ is the head. Of this church, one part is in heauen with Christ, another in purgatorie (you say;) and the third is heere in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the communalty, as I said afore plainely in the confession of my beliefe.

Consider him to be then in shiewd handling.

Then said the Archbishop vnto him: Can you tell me who is of this church?

The lord Cobham answered: Yea truely can I.

Then said Doctor Walden the Prior of the Carmelits: It is doubt vnto you who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew, Nolite iudicare, presume to iudge no man. If yee be heere forbidden the iudgement of your neighbour or brother, much more the iudgement of your superiour.

Walden contra Wicleuistas, li. ar. 2. Cap. 89.

How we may iudge or not iudge by the scriptures. Matth. 7.

The lord Cobham made him this answere: Christ saith also in the selfesame chapter of Matthew, that like as the euill tree is knowne by his fruit, so is a false Prophet by his works, appeare they neuer so glorious: But that yee left behind yee. And in John he hath this text: Operibus credite, beleeue you the outward doings. And in an other place of John: Iustum iudicium iudicate; when we know the thing to bee true, we may so iudge it, and not offend. For Dauid said also: Rectè iudicate filij hominum: Judge rightly alwaies yee children of men. And as for your superiorities, were yee of Christ, yee should be meeke ministers, and no proud superiours.

John 1. John 7. Deut. 16. Psal. 56.

Diuersitie of iudgements.

Then said Doctor Walden vnto him, Yee make heere no difference of iudgements: Yee put no diuersitie betweene the euill iudgements which Christ hath forbidden, & the good iudgements, which he hath commanded vs to haue. Rash iudgement, and right iudgement, all is one with you. So swift iudges alwaies are the learned scholars of Wickliffe.

A pertit answere. Esay 5. Esay 55.

Unto whom the lord Cobham thus answered: It is well sophistred of you forsooth. Preposterous are your iudgements euermore. For as the Prophet Esay saith, Yes iudge euill good, and good euill: and therefore the same Prophet concludeth, that your waies are not Gods waies, nor Gods waies your waies. And as for that vertuous man Wickliffe, whose iudgements yee so highly disdaine, I shall say heere of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I neuer abstained from sinne. But since I learned therein to feare my Lord God, it hath otherwise I trust beene with me: so much grace could I neuer find in all your glorious instructions.

Walden in præfatione doctrinæ 7.

A great aduersarie.

Then said Doctor Walden againe yet vnto him: It were not well with me (so many vertuous men liuing, and so many learned men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous,) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the diuell preach. S. Hierome saith, that he which seeketh such suspected matters, shall not find the midday light, but the midday diuell.

Hieron. in breuiar. in minori.

Luke 11. Iohn 10.

The lord Cobham said: Your fathers the old Pharisies, ascribed Christs miracles to Belzebub, & his doctrine to the diuell. And you as their naturall children, haue still the selfe same iudgement concerning his faithfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious liuing must needs be heretickes, & that must your doctors proue, when you haue no scripture to doe it. Then said he to them all: to iudge you as you be, we neede no further goe then to your owne proper acts. Where doe yee find in all Gods law, that yee should thus sit in iudgement of any christian man, or yet giue sentence vpon any other man vnto death as yee doe heere daily? no ground haue yee in all the Scriptures so lordly to take it vpon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, which sat thus vpon Christ, and vpon his Apostles after his ascension. Of them only haue yee taken it to iudge Christs members as yee doe, and neither of Peter nor John.

Doctours when the scripture faile, they begin to raile.

The clergie to sit on life or death, hath no ground in the scriptures. Followers of Caiphas.

Then said some of the Lawyers: Yes forsooth sir, for Christ iudged Judas.

The Lord Cobham said: No, Christ iudged him not, but he iudged himselfe, and thereupon went forth, and so did hang himselfe: But indeede Christ said: Woe vnto him, for that

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coueteous act of his, as he doth yet still vnto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the Church, yée neuer followed Christ, neither yet haue yée stood in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venime?

The lord Cobham said: your possessions and Lordships. For then cried an Angell in the aire (as your owne Chronicles mention) Woe, woe, woe, this day is venime shed into the Church of God. Before that time, all the Bishops of Rome were Martyrs in a maner. And since that time, we read of very few. But indéede since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned an other, one hath cursed another, and one hath slaine another, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was méeke, and mercifull; the Pope is proud, and a tyrant: Christ was poore and forgaue; the pope is rich and a malicious manslater, as his daily acts doe proue him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest commeth all the Disciples of him. Of whom, Prelates, Priests, and Monkes, are the body, and these pild Friers are the taile which couereth his most filthy part.

Then said the Prior of the Friers Augustines, Alack sir, why doe you say so? that is vncharitably spoken.

And the lord Cobham said: Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet Esayas, long afore my time. The Prophet, saith he, which preacheth lies, is the taile behind. For as you Friers and Monkes be (like Pharisies) diuided in your outward apparell and vsages, so make yée diuision among the people. And thus, you with such other, are the very naturall members of Antichrist.

Then said he vnto them all: Christ saith in his Gospell, Woe vnto you Scribes and Pharisies, Hypocrites; for yée close vp the kingdome of heauen before men, neither enter yée in your selues, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but yée stop vp the waies thereunto with your owne traditions, and therefore are yée the household of Antichrist; yée will not permit Gods veritie to haue passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing to haue your wickednesse reproued. But by such flatterers as vphold you in your mischiefes, yée suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

Then said the Archbishop: By our Lady sir, there shal none such preach within any dioces (and God wil,) nor yet in my iurisdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh diuision, or yet dissension among the poore commons.

The lord Cobham said: Both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable men. Both Daniel and Christ prophecied that such a troublous time should come, as hath not béene yet since the worlds beginning. And this prophecie is partly fulfilled in your daies and doings; for many haue yée slaine alreadie, and more will yée slay hereafter, if God fulfill not his promise. Christ saith also, if those daies of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any fleth be saued: therefore looke for it iustly, for God will shorten your daies. Moreouer, though Priests and Deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacraments, with prouision for the poore, be grounded on Gods law, yet haue these other sects no maner of ground hereof, so farre as I haue read.

Then a Doctor of law, called master John Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copy of the bill which they had afore sent him into the tower, by the Archbishops counsell, thinking therby to make shorter worke with him. For they were so amazed with his answeres (not all vnlike to them which disputed with Stephen) that they knew not well how to occupie the time, their wits and sophistrie (as God would) so failed them that day.

My Lord Cobham (saith this Doctor) we must briefely know your minde concerning these foure points here following. The first of them is this: And then he read vpon the bill: The faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this: That after the sacramentall words be once spoken of a Priest in his masse, the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body: and the materiall wine is turned into Christs bloud. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar from thencefoorth no materiall bread nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken. Sir beléeue yée not this?

The lord Cobham said: This is not my beliefe. But my faith is (as I said to you afore) that in the worshipfull sacrament of the altar, is Christs very bodie in forme of bread.

Then said the Archbishop: sir John yée must say otherwise.

The lord Cobham said: Nay, that I shall not, if God be vpon my side (as I trust he is,) but that there is Christs body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is.

Then read the doctour againe.

The second point is this: Holy church hath determined, that euery Christian man liuing héere bodily vpon earth, ought to be shriuen of a Priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir what say you to this?

The lord Cobham answered and said: A diseased or sore wounded man, hath need to haue a sure wise Chirurgian and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same: Most necessarie were it therefore to be first shriuen vnto God which only knoweth our diseases, and can helpe vs. I denie not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning: For the lawes of God are to be required of the priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiote, or a man of vitious liuing that is my Curate, I ought rather to flie from him then to séeke vnto him: For sooner might I catch euill of him that is naught, then any goodnesse towards my soules health.

Confession of sinne to God onely.

Malachi. 2.

Then read the doctour againe.

The third point is this: Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicar héere in earth, whose sea is the church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gaue vnto Peter, should succéed to all Peters successours, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whose spectall power in churches particular, be ordained prelates and Archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, vnto whom Christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir beléeue yée not this?

The third article.

To this he answered and said: He that followeth Peter most nighest in pure liuing, is nert vnto him in succession: But your Lordly order estéemeth not greatly the lowly behauiour of poore Peter, what soeuer yée prate of him. Neither care yée greatly for the humble maners of them that succéeded him, till the time of Siluester, which for the more part were Martyrs, as I told you before. Yée can let all their good conditions goe by you, and not hurt your selues with them at all. All the world knoweth this wel enough by you, and yet yée can make boast of Peter.

Who is nert vnto Peter.

Succession not of place but of conditions, maketh Peters heire.

With that, one of the other doctors asked him; Then what do yée say of the Pope?

The lord Cobham answered: As I said before: He and you together maketh whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you bishops, priests, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging friers are the taile, for they couer the filthinesse of you both with their subtile sophistrie: Neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I sée you with Peter follow Christ in conuersation.

Antichrists head, bodie, and taile.

Then read the doctor againe.

The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques and images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approued by the church of Rome. Sir what say yée to this?

The fourth article. Pilgrimage.

Whereunto he answered: I owe them no seruice by any commandement of God, and therefore I minde not to séeke them for your couetousnesse. It were best ye swept them faire from cop webs and dust, and so laid them vp for catching of scathe: or else to burie them faire in the ground as ye doe other aged people which are Gods images.

What is to be done with Images.

It is a wonderfull thing, that Saints now being dead, should become so couetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all couetousnesse and begging. But this I say vnto you, & I would all the world should marke it, that with your shrines and idols, your fained absolutions and pardons, yée draw vnto you the substance, wealth, and chiefe pleasures of all christian Realmes.

Saints are become now couetous beggers.

Why sir (said one of the clerkes) will ye not worship good images?

A whelpe of the same haire.

What worship should I giue vnto them? said the lord Cobham.

Images not to be worshipped.

Then said Frier Palmer vnto him: Sir, will ye worship the crosse of Christ, that he died vpon?

Where is it, said the lord Cobham?

The Frier said: I put you the case sir, that it were heere euen now before you.

The lord Cobham answered: This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himselfe knoweth not where the thing it selfe is. Yet once againe I aske you, what worship I should doe vnto it?

The crosse, whether it is to be worshipped.

A clerke said vnto him: Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this: God forbid that I should ioy, but only in the crosse of Jesu Christ.

Galat. 6.

Then said the Lord Cobham, & spread his armes abroad: This is a very crosse, yea, and so much better then your crosse of wood, in that it was created of God: Yet will not I séeke to haue it worshipped.

Then said the Bishop of London: Sir, yée wote well that he died on a materiall crosse.

The lord Cobham said: Yea, and I wote also that our saluation came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wote, that holy Saint Paul reioiced in none other crosse, but in Christs passion and death only, and in his owne sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfesame veritie that he had suffered for afore.

The materiall crosse is not materiall to our faith. What it is to reioice in the crosse of Christ.

Another clerke yet asked him: Will yée then doe none honour to the holy crosse?

He answered him: Yes, if it were mine owne, I would lay him vp honestly, and see vnto him that he should take no more

Matth. 23.

The religion of Bishops.

Note I pray you how those are counted traitors and seditious, that teach or cause Gods truth to be taught.

Luke 23.

John 19. Prophecy.

Matth. 24. Prophecy. Priests. Deacons.

Marke this working of Satan.

Acts 6.

The first article.

Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

The Lord Cobhams beliefe in the sacrament.

The second article.

Esay. 9. Friers proued seditious, and yet found no traytors.

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more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now a daies.

Slandered with the truth.

Then said the archbishop vnto him: Sir John, ye haue spoken heere manie wonderfull words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spiritualtie, giuing a great euill example vnto the common sort heere, to haue vs in the more disdaine. Much time haue we spent heere about you, and all in vaine so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: Ye must otherwise submit your selfe to the ordinance of holie church, or else throw your selfe (no remedie) into most deepe danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else to late.

These men seeme to stand only vpon their estimation amongst the people.

The lord Cobham said, I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more haue you offended me, then euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.

A wolfish offer of gentlenesse.

Then said the archbishop againe vnto him, We once againe require to remember your selfe well, and to haue none other manner opinion in these matters, then the vniuersall faith and belefe of the holie church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child returne againe to the vnitie of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may haue remedie, whereas anon it will be to late.

The lord Cobham said erpresse before them all; I will none otherwise beleeue in these points, then that I haue told you here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Bloodie murtherers.

Finallie, then the archbishop said; Well, then I see none other but we must needs do the law: we must proceed forth to the sentence definitiue, and both iudge you, and condemne you for an heretike.

And with that, the archbishop stood vp, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergie and lattie hailing their bonets. And this was the tenor thereof.

¶ The definitiue sentence of his condemnation.

Suffered of God as a plague.

An heretike for confessing of Christ.

IN the name of God: So be it. We Thomas by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canturburie, Metropolitan, and primate of all England, and legat from the apostolike See of Rome, willeth this to be knowne vnto all men. In a certaine cause of heresie and vpon diuers articles, whereupon sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before vs in our last conuocation of all our prouince of Canturburie, holden in the cathedrall church of Pauls at London: At the lawfull denouncement and request of our vniuersall clergie in the said conuocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witnesse) with all the fauour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be conuerted and liue: we tooke vpon vs to correct him, and sought all other waies possible to bring him againe to the churches vnitie, declaring vnto him what the holy and vniuersall church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him in the catholike faith farre wide, and so stifnecked, that he would not confesse his error, nor purge himselfe, nor yet repent him thereof: We yet pitying him of fatherlie compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soule, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if hee would repent and seeke to be reformed: but since that time we haue found him worse and worse. Considering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driuen to the verie extremitie of the law, and with great heauinesse of heart, we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitiue, against him.

Ezech. 18. Ezech. 35.

The wolfe would appeare charitable.

See, if they shew not themselues.

¶ Then brought he forth another bill, containing the said sentence, and that he read also in his beggerlie Latine. Christi nomine inuocato, ipsumq; solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, and so forth. Which I haue also translated into English, that men may vnderstand it.

Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli.

¶ Christ we take vnto witnesse, that nothing else we seeke in this our whole enterprise, but his only glorie. For as much as we haue found by diuers acts done, brought forth and exhibited by sundrie euidences, signes and tokens, and also by manie most manifest proofes, the said sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an euident heretike in his owne person, but also a mightie maintainer of other heretikes against the faith and religion of the holie and vniuersall church of Rome: namely about the two Sacraments (of the altar, and of penance) besides the popes power, and pilgrimages: And that hee as the child of iniquitie and darknesse, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend vnto the voice of his pastor: Neither will he be allured by strait admonishments, nor yet be brought in by fauourable words: The worthinesse of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his vnworthinesse againe considered on the other side, his faults also aggrauated or made double through his damnable obstinacie (wee being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousnesse infect the multitude) by the sage counsell and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honorable brethren and lords, bishops heere present, Richard of London, Henrie of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men heere, both doctors of diuinitie, and of the lawes canon and ciuill, seculars and religious, with diuers other expert men assisting vs: we sententially and definitiuely by this present writing, iudge, declare and condemne the said sir Iohn Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, conuicted vpon the same, and refusing vtterly to obey the church againe, committing him heere from henceforth as a condemned heretike to the secular iurisdiction, power and iudgement, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not onlie this heretike heere present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter in fauour of his error, either receiue him or defend him, counsell him or helpe him, or any other way maintaine him: as verie fautors, receiuers, defenders, counsellers, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretikes.

As Caiphas did Christ.

Christ is condemned in his faithfull members.

And that these premisses, may be the better knowne of all faithfull christian men: we commit it here vnto your charges, and giue you strait commandement thereupon by this writing also: That ye cause this condemnation and definitiue sentence of excommunication, concerning both this heretike and his fautors; to bee published throughout all dioceses, in cities, townes and villages by your curats and parish priests, at such times as they shall haue most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered deuoutly together, let the curat euerie where goe into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound, this excesse in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceiued of all men: and that vpon the feare of this declaration also, the people may fall from their euill opinions conceiued now of late by seditious preachers. Moreouer we will, that after wee haue deliuered vnto each one of you bishops which are heere present, a copie hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out againe into diuers copies, and to be sent vnto the other bishops and prelats of our whole prouince, that they may also see the contens thereof solemnely published within their dioceses and cures. Finally, we will that both you and they signifie againe vnto vs seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour in euerie point performed; the day whereon ye receiued this processe, the time when it was of vs executed, and after what sort it was done in euerie condition, according to the tenour hereof; that we may know it to be iustly the same.

How spirituall these fathers are.

Keepe the sepulchre neuer so much, yet Christ will rise.

None office left vndone pertaining to Antichrist.

What care is heere to hold vp their popery?

A copie of this writing sent Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie afterward from Maidstone the tenth day of October, within the same yeere of our Lord 1413. vnto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth: Thomas permissione diuina, &c.

Tho. Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.

The said Richard Clifford sent another copie thereof, enclosed within his owne letters, vnto Robert Waschall a Carmelite frier, which was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam the 23. day of October in the same yeere, and the beginning thereof is this: Reuerende in Christo pater, &c.

Richard Clifford.

This Robert Waschall directed another copie thereof from London the 27. day of Nouember in the same yeere, inclosed in his owne commission also, vnto his archdeacon and deanes in Hereford and Shrewsburie. And this is thereof the beginning: Venerabilibus & discretis viris, &c. In like manner did the other bishops within their dioceses.

Robert Waschall.

After that the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremitie before the whole multitude; the lord Cobham said with a most cheerefull countenance: Though ye iudge my bodie which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certaine and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soule, no more then could Satan vpon the soule of Iob. He that created that, will of his infinite mercie and promise saue it, I haue therein no maner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them euen to the verie death, by the grace of my eternall God.

Ex vtroque exemplari.

Matth. 10. Iob 1.

And therewith he turned him vnto the people, calling his hands abroad, and saying with a verie loude voice: Good christian people, for Gods loue be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindling into hell with themselues. For Christ saith plainly vnto you: If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.

Matth. 15.

After this, he fell downe there vpon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding vp both his hands and his eies towards heauen and saying: Lord God eternall, I beseech thee of thy great mercies sake, to forgiue my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will. And then he was deliuered to sir Robert Morlie, and so led forth againe to the tower of London. And thus was there an end of that daies worke.

He prayeth for his enemies.

While the lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out priuilie vnto his friends. And they at his request wrote this little bill heere following, causing it to be set vp in diuers quarters of London, that the people should not beleeue the slanders and lies that his enemies the bishops seruants and priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter.

Ex vetusto exemplari Londinensium.

FOr as much as sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, is vntruelie conuicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and

A testimonial made by his friends.

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and slandered among the common people by his aduersaries, that he should otherwise both thinke and speake of the Sacraments of the church, and specially of the blessed Sacrament of the altar, then was written in the confession of his beliefe, which was indented and taken to the clergie, and so set vp in diuers open places in the citie of London: knowne be it heere to all the world, that he (neuer since) varied in any point therefro, but this is plainlie his beliefe, that all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saued, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he beleeueth, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is verilie and truly Christs bodie in forme of bread.

To stop lying lips. A rehearsall of his belieke. In forme of bread, but not without bread he meaneth.

After this, the bishops and prelats were in much great discredit both with the nobilitie and commons, partlie for that they had so cruelly handled the good lord Cobham: and partlie againe, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelats feared this to grow to further inconuenience towards them both waies, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the last consented to vse another practise somewhat contrarie to that they had done afore. They caused it by and by to be blowne abroad by their fed seruants, friends, and babling sir Johns, that the said lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lowlie submitted himselfe in all things vnto holy church, vtterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abiuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

The clergie in hate of the people. A practise of false prelats. These are their common feats.

This is the abiuration (say they) of sir John Oldcastle knight, sometime the lord Cobham.

❧ An abiuration counterfeited of the bishops.

Walden. in fasciculo zizaniorum Wicleui.

IN Dei nomine: Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and conuicted, of and vpon diuers articles sauouring both heresie and errour, before the reuerend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canturburie, and my lawfull and rightfull iudge in that behalfe, expresselie grant and confesse, that as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelats, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, specially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other obseruances besides of our mother holie church, as pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I saie) before the said reuerend father archbishop and elsewhere, that I being euill seduced by diuers seditious preachers, haue grieuoulie erred, and hereticallie persisted, blasphemoulie answered, and obstinatelie rebelled. And therefore I am by the said reuerend father, before the reuerend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfullie condemned for an hereticke.

Marke from whence this geare commeth. Fine workmanship I trow.

Neuertheless, yet I now remembring my selfe, and coueting by this meane to auoid that temporall paine which I am worthie to suffer as an heretike, at the assignation of my most excellent christian prince and liege lord, king Henrie the fifth, now by the grace of God most worthie king both of England and of France: minding also to preferre the wholesome determination, sentence and doctrine of the holie vniuersall church of Rome, before the vnwholesome opinions of my selfe, my teachers, & my followers, I freelie, willinglie, deliberatelie, and throughlie confesse, grant, and affirme, that the most holie fathers in Christ, Saint Peter the Apostle and his successors bishops of Rome, specially now at this time, my most blessed lord pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentith pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters seat (and each of them in their succession) hath full strength and power to be Christs vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the strength of his office (what though he be a great sinner, and afore knowne of God to be damned:) he hath full authoritie and power to rule and gouerne, bind and lose, saue and destroy, accurse and assoyle all other christian men.

Alas good man thou art slandered.

And agreeably still vnto this, I confesse, grant, and affirme all other archbishops, bishops, and prelats in their prouinces, diocesse, and parishes (appointed by the said pope of Rome, to assist him in his doings or businesse) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his office; to haue had in times past, to haue now at this time, and that they ought to haue in time to come, authoritie and power to rule and to gouerne, bind and lose, accurse and assoyle the subiects or people of their aforesaid prouinces, diocesse, and parishes, and that their said subiects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that the said spirituall fathers, as our most holie father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, authoritie and power for the estate, order and gouernance of their subiects or people, to make lawes, decrees, statutes and constitutions, yea and to publish, command, and compell their said subiects and people to the obseruation of them.

How prone ye that by the Scriptures?

Moreouer, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that all these foresaid lawes, decrees, statutes and constitutions made, published and commanded, according to the forme of spirituall law, all christian people, and euerie man in himselfe is straitly bound to obserue, and meekelie to obey, according to the diuersitie of the foresaid powers. As the lawes, statutes, canons and constitutions of our most holie father the pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Rescripts, Sextiles, and Extrauagants ouer all the world: and as the prouinciall statutes of archbishops in their prouinces, the Synodall acts of bishops in their diocesse, and the commendable rules and customes of prelats in their Colledges, and curats in their parishes, all christian people are both bound to obserue, and also most meekelie to obey. Ouer and besides all this, I John Oldcastle vtterlie forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, & all other errors and heresies like vnto them, lay my hand here vpon this booke or holie Euangelie of God, and sweare, that I shall neuer more from henceforth hold these aforesaid heresies, nor yet anie other like vnto them wittinglie. Neither shall I giue counsell, aid, helpe, nor fauour at anie time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirme, or maintaine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holie Euangelies.

No Scripture haue they to shew. Intollerable pokes lay they. Neuer made he such an oath.

And that I shall from henceforth faithfully obey and inuiolablie obserue all the holie lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, as are contained and determined in their holie Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Rescripts, Sextiles, Summs papall, Extrauagants, statutes prouinciall, acts synodall, & other ordinarie regules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directlie to be determined or made. To these and all such other, will I my selfe with all power possiblie applie. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reuerend father the lord archbishop of Canturburie hereafter to enioyne me for my sinnes, I will meekelie obey and faithfullie fulfill. Finallie, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresie or errors, I shall effectuallie present, or cause to be presented vnto my said reuerend father, lord archbishop, or to them which haue his authoritie, so soone as I can conuenientlie do it, and see that they be corrected to my vttermost power

and clergie: that it was almoſt impoſſible to amend the hole of our Lords coat which was without ſeame, but that firſt of all certaine nobles of the realme, which are authors, fauourers, protectors, defenders, and receiuers of theſe heretikes called Lollards, were ſharpely rebuked, and if need were by the cenſures of the church, and the helpe of the ſecular power, they be reuoked from their errors. And afterward hauing made diligent inquiſition in the conuocation amongſt the proctors of the clergie and others which were there in great number out of euery dioceſſe of our prouince: it was found out amongſt others, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, was and is the principall receiuer, fauourer, protector and defender of them, and that ſpecially in the dioceſſe of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, he hath ſent the ſaid Lollards to preach, not being licenced by the ordinaries and biſhops of the dioceſſe or places, contrary to the prouinciall conſtitutions in that behalfe made, and hath been preſent at their wicked ſermons, grieuouſly puniſhing with threatnings, terrors, and the power of the ſecular ſword, ſuch as did withſtand him: alleaging and affirming amongſt others, that we and our fellow brethren, Suffragans of our prouinces, had not, neither haue any power to make any ſuch conſtitutions. Alſo he hath holden, and doth hold opinion, and teach as touching the Sacraments of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of the worſhipping of Saints, and of the keyes, contrarie to that which the vniuerſall church of Rome doth teach and affirme.

A thing thought right neceſſarie that the lord Cobham ſhould be made out of the way, or elſe not poſſible for papiſtrie to flouriſh.

Wherefore, on the behalfe of the ſaid prelats, and clergie, we were then required that we would vouchſafe to proceed againſt the ſaid ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle vpon the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding, for the reuerence of our lord the king, in whoſe fauour the ſaid ſir Iohn at that preſent was, and no leſſe alſo for honor of his knighthood: we with our fellow brethren, and ſuffragans then preſent, with a great part of the clergie of our prouince, comming perſonallie before the preſence of our lord the king, being then at his Manor of Kenington, put vp againſt the ſaid ſir Iohn, a complaint, and partlie reciting the defaults of the ſaid ſir Iohn. But at the requeſt of our lord the king, we deſiring to reduce the ſaid ſir Iohn to the vnitie of the church, without any reproch, we deferred all the execution of the premiſſes for a great time. But at the laſt, for ſo much as our ſaid lord the king, after his great trauels taken about the conuerſion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our ſaid lord the king vouchſafed to certifie vs both by word and writing: Wee immediatlie decreed to call forth the ſaid ſir Iohn perſonally to anſwere before vs at a certaine time alreadie paſſed, in and vpon the premiſſes, and ſent our meſſengers with theſe our letters of citation to the ſaid ſir Iohn, then being at his caſtle of Cowling, vnto the which meſſenger we gaue commandement that he ſhould in no caſe go into the caſtle, except he were licenſed. But by the meane of one Iohn Butler, porter of the kings chamber, he ſhould require the ſaid ſir Iohn, that he would either licenſe the ſaid meſſenger to come into the caſtle, or that he would cite him, or at the leaſt that he would ſuffer himſelfe to be cited without his caſtle. The which ſir Iohn openly anſwered vnto the ſaid Iohn Butler, declaring the premiſſes vnto him on the behalfe of our lord the king: that hee would by no meanes be cited, neither in anie caſe ſuffer his citation. Then we being certified of the premiſſes, lawfully proceeded further.

Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle in fauour with the king.

First, hauing faithfull report made vnto vs, that he could not be apprehended by perſonall citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly ſet vp in the porches of the cathedrall church of Rocheſter next vnto him, little more then three Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſaid caſtle of Cowling. As we had thus cauſed him to be cited, and our edict aforeſaid to bee publikely and openly ſet vpon the porches of the ſaid church, that he ſhould perſonally appeare before vs the eleuenth day of September laſt paſt to anſwere vnto the premiſſes, and certaine other things concerning hereſie: The which day being come, wee ſitting in the tribunall ſeat in our greater chapell within the caſtle of Leeds of our dioceſſe, the which we then inhabited, and where as we then kept reſidence with our court, and hauing taken an oth which is requiſite in the premiſſes, and the information by vs heard and receiued, as the common report goeth: In the parts where as the ſaid ſir Iohn dwelleth (fortifying himſelfe in his ſaid caſtle, defending his opinions manifoldlie, contemning the keyes of the church and the archbiſhops power:) We therefore cauſed the ſaid ſir Iohn cited, as is aforeſaid, to be openly with a loud voice called by the crier: and ſo being called, long looked for, and by no meanes appearing, we iudged him (as he was no leſſe worthie) obſtinate, and for puniſhment of his ſaid obſtinacie, we did then and there excommunicat him. And for ſo much as by the order of the premiſſes, and other euident tokens of his doings, we vnderſtand that the ſaid ſir Iohn for the defence of his error doth fortifie himſelfe, as is aforeſaid, againſt the keyes of the church, by pretence whereof, a vehement ſuſpition of hereſie and ſchiſme riſeth againſt him: We haue decreed, if he may be apprehended, againe perſonally to cite him, or elſe, as before, by an edict, that he ſhould appeare before vs the Saturday next after the feaſt of Saint Matthew the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt next comming, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe if he can, why we ſhould not proceed againſt him, to more grieuous puniſhment, as an open heretick, ſchiſmatike, and open enemie of the vniuerſall church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhould not be pronounced ſuch a one, or that the aid of the ſecular power ſhould not be ſolemnely required againſt him. And further to anſwere, do, and receiue as touching the premiſſes, whatſoeuer iuſtice ſhall require. The which time being come, that is to ſay, the Saturday next after the feaſt of Saint Matthew being the 24. day of September, ſir Robert Morley knight, Lieftenant of the tower of London, appeared perſonally before vs, ſitting in the chapter-houſe of the church of Saint Paul at London, with our reuerend fellow brethren and lords, Richard by the grace of God biſhop of London, and Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter, and brought with him ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, and ſet him before vs (for a little before he was taken by the kings ſeruants, and caſt into the Tower:) vnto which ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle ſo perſonally preſent, we rehearſed all the order of the proceſſe, as it is contained in the acts of the day before paſſed, with good and modeſt words and gentle meanes: That is to ſay, how he the ſaid ſir Iohn was detected and accuſed in the conuocation of the prelats and clergie of our ſaid prouince, as is aforeſaid, vpon the articles before rehearſed, and how he was cited, and for his contumacie excommunicat. And when we were come to that point, we offered our ſelues readie to abſolue him. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid ſir Iohn, not regarding our offer, ſaid, that he would willingly rehearſe before vs, and my ſaid fellow brethren, the faith which he held and affirmed. So he hauing his deſire, and obtaining licence, tooke out of his boſome a certaine Schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the ſame, and deliuered the ſame Schedule vnto vs, and the Schedule of the articles whereupon he was examined, which was as in forme following.

The lord Cobham excommunicates.

The lord Cobham caſt into the Tower.

The teares of the Crocodile.

Popiſh abſolution neglected.

❧ The catholike faith and confeſſion of the lord Cobham.

I John Oldcaſtle knight, Lord of Cobham, deſire to make manifeſt vnto all chriſtians, and God to be taken to witneſſe, that I neuer thought otherwiſe or would thinke otherwiſe (by Gods helpe) then with a ſtedfaſt and vndoubted faith to embrace all thoſe his Sacraments which he hath inſtituted for the vſe of his church.

The Sacrament of the altar.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in theſe foure points of my faith: Firſt of all I beleeue the Sacrament of the altar to be the bodie of Chriſt vnder the forme of bread, the verie ſame bodie which was borne of his mother Marie, crucified for vs, dead and buried, roſe againe the third day, ſitteth on the right hand of his immortall father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternall glorie.

Of penance.

Then as touching the Sacrament of penance, this is my beliefe, that I do thinke the correction of a ſinfull life to be moſt neceſſarie for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaued, and that they ought to take vpon them ſuch repentance of their former life by true confeſſion, vnfained contrition, and lawfull ſatisfaction, as the word of God doth preſcribe vnto vs: otherwiſe, there will be no hope of ſaluation.

Of images.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion, that I do iudge them no point of faith, but brought into the world after the faith of Chriſt by the ſufferance of the church, and ſo growne in vſe, that they might ſerue for a kalendar for the lay people and ignorant. By the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdome of Chriſt and other holy men: but if any man doe otherwiſe abuſe this repreſentation, and giue the reuerence vnto thoſe images, which is due vnto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather vnto him whom the holy men themſelues giue all their honor, ſetting all their truſt and hope in them which ought to be referred vnto God: or if they be ſo affected toward the dumbe images, that they be in any behalfe addict vnto them, either be more addicted vnto one Saint then another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatrie, grieuouſly offending againſt God the author of all honor.

Of pilgrimages.

Laſt of all, I am thus perſwaded, that there be no inhabitants heere in earth, but that we ſhall paſſe ſtraight either to life or puniſhment: for whoſoeuer doth ſo order his life that he ſtumble at the commandements of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vaine for him to looke for ſaluation, although he ran ouer all the corners of the world. Contrariwiſe, he which obſerueth his commandements cannot perith, although in all his life time he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canturburie, nor Compoſtella, or to any other place, whither as the common people are accuſtomed to walke.

This Schedule with the articles therein contained being read (as is aforeſaid) by the ſaid ſir John, we with our fellow brethren aforeſaid, and many other doctors and learned men had conference vpon the ſame, and at the laſt by the counſel and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe words following vnto the ſaid ſir John there preſent. Behold ſir John, there are many good and catholike things contained in this ſchedule. But you haue this time to anſwere vnto other matters which ſauor of errors and hereſies. Whereunto, by the contents of this ſchedule, it is

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not fully answered, and therefore you must answere thereunto, and more plainelie expresse and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill. That is to say, whether you hold, beleeue and affirme, that in the Sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightlie done, there remaineth materiall bread or not.

See whether these men picke quarels where they need not.

Item, whether you hold, beleeue and affirme, that it is necessarie in the Sacrament of penance for a man to confesse his sinnes vnto a priest appointed by the church.

The which articles in this maner delivered vnto him, amongst manie other things he answered plainelie, that he would make no other declaration or answere thereunto then was contained in the said Schedule. Whereupon we favoring the said sir John, with benigne and gentle means we spake vnto him in this manner. Sir John take heed, for if you doe not plainly answere to these things, which are obiected against you within a lawful time now granted you by the Judges, we may declare you to be an heretike: but the said sir John persevered as before, and would make no other answere. Consequentlie notwithstanding, we together with our said fellow brethren, and others of our counsell take advice, and by their counsell declared vnto the said sir John Oldcastle, that the said holy church of Rome in this matter following the saying of blessed S. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and other holie men, hath determined, the which determinations euery catholike ought to observe.

Here is no mention made of the word of God.

Whereupon the said sir John answered, that he would beleeue and observe whatsoeuer the holy church determined, and whatsoeuer God would he should observe and beleeue. But that he would in no case affirme that our lord the pope, the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, or other prelats of the church haue anie power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we yet favouring him, vnder hope of better aduisement, promised the said sir John, that we would give him in writing certaine determinations vpon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answere, written in Latine, & for his better vnderstanding translated into English: whereupon we commanded, and heartily desired him, that against monday next following, he should give a plaine and full answere; the which determinations we caused to be translated the same day, and to be deliuered vnto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this maner.

Wolues clothed in sheeps skins.

The faith and determination of the holy church vpon the holy Sacrament of the altar is this: That after the consecration done in the Masse by the priest, the materiall bread shall be changed into the materiall bodie of Christ, and the materiall wine into the materiall blood of Christ; therefore after the consecration there remaineth no more any substance of bread and wine, which was there before. What doe you answere to this article?

The summe of the popish belefe.

Confession.

Also the holy church hath determined, that euery christian dwelling vpon earth, ought to confesse his sinnes vnto a priest ordained by the church, if he may come vnto him. How thinke you by this article?

Christ ordained S. Peter his Vicar in earth, whose seat is in the church of Rome, giving and granting the same authoritie which he gaue vnto Peter, also to his successours which are now called popes of Rome, in whose power it is to ordaine and institute prelats in particular churches, as archbishops, bishops, curats and other ecclesiasticall orders, vnto whom the christian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holie church. What thinke you by this article?

The popes supremacie.

Besides this, the holy church hath determined, that it is necessarie for euery christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all saints, whomsoeuer the church of Rome hath allowed. What thinke you of this article?

Pilgrimage.

Upon which monday being the 25. day of the said moneth of September before vs and our fellow brethren aforesaid, hauing also taken vnto vs our reuerend brother, Benedict by the grace of God, bishop of Bangor, and by our commandement our counsellers and ministers, master Henrie Ware officiall of our court of Canturburie, Philip Morgan Doctor of both lawes, Howel Kiffin Doctor of the decretals, John Kemp, and William Carlton, doctors of law, John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombewell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlaine, Richard Dotington, and Thomas Walden, professors of Diuinitie: Also James Cole, and John Steuens our notaries appointed on this behalfe. They all and euerie one being sworne vpon the holy Gospell of God, laying their hands vpon the booke, that they should giue their faithful counsell in, and vpon the matter aforesaid, and in euery such cause, and to the whole world. By and by appeared sir Robert Morley knight, Lieutenant of the tower of London, and brought with him the foresaid sir John Oldcastle, setting him before vs. Vnto whom, we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed. And as before we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and intreating him that hee would desire and receiue in due forme the absolution of the church. Vnto whom the said sir John then and there plainly answered, that in this behalfe he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft meanes we desired and required him to make plaine answere vnto the articles which were laid against him. And first of all, as touching the Sacrament of the altar. To the which article, besides other things he answered and said thus: That as Christ being here on earth had in him both Godhead and manhood: notwithstanding, the Godhead was couered and inuisible vnder the humanitie, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the Sacrament of the altar there is the verie bodie and verie bread, bread which we do see, the bodie of Christ hidden vnder the same which we do not see. And plainly denied, that the faith as touching the said Sacrament determined by the Romish church and holy Doctors, and sent vnto him by vs in the said Schedule, to be the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrarie vnto the Scriptures, after the church was endowed, and that poison was powred into the church, and not afore. Also, as touching the Sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there, that if any man were in any grieuous sinne, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go vnto some holy and discreet priest to take counsell of him: But that he should confesse his sin to any proper priest, or to any other, although he might haue the vse of him, it is not necessarie to saluation, for so much as by only contrition such sinne can be wiped away, and the sinner himselfe purged. As concerning the worshipping of the crosse, he said and affirmed, that the only bodie of Christ which did hang vpon the crosse is to be worshipped. For so much as that bodie alone was and is the crosse, which is to be worshipped.

The Sacrament both body and bread in diuers respects.

How confession is to be allowed.

And being demanded what honor he would do vnto the image of the crosse: Hee answered by expresse words that hee would only do it that honor that he would make it cleane and lay it vp safe. As touching the power and authoritie of the keies, the archbishops, bishops and other prelats, he said that the pope is very Antichrist, that is, the head; the archbishops, bishops, and other prelats to be his members, and the friers to be his taile. The which pope, archbishops and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, maners, and conuersation, and that he is the successor of Peter, which is best and purest in life and maners. Furthermore, the said sir John spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him: These men which iudge and would condemne me, will seduce you all and themselues, and will lead you vnto hell; therefore take heed of them. When he had spoken those words, we againe as oftentimes before with lamentable countenance, spake vnto the said sir John, exhorting him with as gentle words as wee might, that he would returne to the vnitie of the church, to beleeue and hold that which the church of Rome doth beleeue and hold. Who expresly answered that he would not beleeue or hold otherwise then he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiuing, as it appeared by him, that we could not preuaile, at the last with bitternesse of heart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitiue sentence in this maner.

What honor is to be done to the crosse.

The pope is Antichrist, the bishops are his members, and friers his taile.

The bold talke of the lord Cobham.

¶ In the name of God, Amen: We Thomas by the permission of God archbishop and humble minister of the holy church of Canturburie, primat of all England, and legat of the apostolike see, in a certaine cause or matter of heresie vpon certaine articles, whereupon sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, lord Cobham, before vs in the last conuocation of our clergie of our prouince of Canturburie, holden in the church of S. Paul in London after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said prouince notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole clergie aforesaid thereupon made vnto vs in the said conuocation, with al fauor possible that we might (God we take to witnesse) lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be conuerted and liue, we haue indeuoured by all waies and meanes we might or could to reforme him, and rather reduce him to the vnitie of the church, declaring vnto him what the holy vniuersall church of Rome doth teach, hold and determine in this behalfe. And albeit that we found him wandring astray from the Catholike faith, and so stubborne and stifnecked, that he would not confesse his error or cleare himselfe therof, to detest the same; Notwithstanding, we fauouring him with a fatherly affection, and hartily wishing and desiring his preseruation, prefixed him a certaine competent time to deliberate with himselfe, and if he would, to repent and reforme himselfe. And last of all, for so much as we perceiued him to be vnreasonable, obseruing chieflie those things which by the law are required in this behalfe, with great sorow and bitternes of heart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitiue sentence in this manner.

They call themselues humble which rule ouer kings, and exercise the tyrannie of the world.

Following Christs footsteps cleane contrarie.

The vniuersall church, meaning by a figure the part for the whole.

The name of Christ being called vpon, setting him onlie before our eyes. For so much as by acts enacted, signes exhibited, euidences and diuers tokens, besides sundrie kind of proofes, we find the said sir Iohn to be, and haue been an heretike, and a follower of heretikes in the faith, and obseruation of the sacred vniuersall church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacraments of the Eucharist and of penance. And that as the sonne of iniquitie and darknesse hee hath so hardened his heart, that hee will not vnderstand the voice of his shepheard, neither

They call light darknesse, and darknesse light.

Conuenerunt in vnum aduersus dominum & Christum eius. Psalm. 2.

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neither wil be allured with his monitions, or couerted with any faire speech. Hauing first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said sir Iohn, his deserts and faults aggrauated through his damnable obstinacie: Not willing that hee that is wicked, should become more wicked and infect other with his contagion, by the counsell and consent of the reuerend men of profound wisdome and discretion, our brethren the lords, Richard bishop of London, Henrie bishop of Winchester, and Benedict bishop of Bangor, and also of many other doctors of diuinitie, the decretals and ciuill law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistants; we haue iudged and declared sententially, and definitiuely condemned the said sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, lord Cobham, being conuict in and vpon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church, and in those things which the sacred vniuersall Church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and shew forth. And specially as one erring in the articles aboue written, leauing him from henceforth as an heretick vnto the secular iudgement.

Like will to like.

So did the Phærisies deliuer Christ vnto Pilate.

Moreouer, we haue excommunicated, and by these writings doe pronounce and excommunicate him as an heretike, and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his error, shall receiue, defend, or giue him counsell, or fauour, or helpe him in this behalfe, as fauourers, defenders, and receiuers of heretikes. And to the intent that these premises may be knowne vnto all faithfull Christians, we charge and command you, that by your sentence definitiue you doe cause the Curates which are vnder you, with a loud and audible voice in their Churches, when as most people is present, in their mother tongue, through al your cities and diocesse to publish and declare the said sir Iohn Oldcastle as is before said, to be by vs condemned as an heretick, schismaticke, and one erring in the articles aboue said: and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his errors shall receiue or defend him, giuing him any counsell, comfort, or fauor in this behalfe, to bee excommunicate as receiuers, fauourers, and defenders of heretikes: As is more effectually contained in the proces. That by such meanes the erroneous opinions of the people (which peraduenture hath otherwise conceiued the matter) by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing also we will and command to bee written and signified by you, word for word, vnto al our fellow brethren: that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all their cities and diocesse, the manner and forme of this our processe, and also the sentence by vs giuen, and all other singuler the contents in the same. And likewise cause it to bee published by their Curates which are vnder them as touching the day of the receit of these presents, and what you haue done in the premisses, how you and they haue executed this our commandement. We will that you and they duly and distinctly certifie vs the businesse being done, by you and their letters patents, according to this tenour. Dated in our manor of Maidstone, the 10. of October an. 1413. and in the 18. yeere of our translation.

Thus haue you here the iudiciall processe of the bishops against this most noble christian knight, described by their owne letters and stile. After all this, the sentence of death being giuen, the lord Cobham was sent away, sir Robert Morley carrying him againe vnto the tower: where as after he had remained a certaine space, in the night season, (it is not knowne by what meanes) he escaped out and fled into Wales, where as he continued by the space of foure yeeres.

Sir Robert Morley.

The lord Cobham returned againe to the tower.

A defence of the Lord Cobham, against Nicolas Harpsfield, set out vnder the name of *Alanus Copus*.

AS I was entring into this storie of the lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former histories hitherto passed, hauing nert to set vpon this present matter, luckilie, and as God would, in such opportunitie of season, as may seeme, God to worke himselfe for defence of his Saints; commeth to my hands a certaine booke of new found dialogues, compiled in Latine by Nicolas Harpsfield, set out by Alanus Copus, an English man, a person to me vnknowne, and obscure hitherto vnto the world, but now to purchase himselfe a name with Erostratus, or with the sonnes of Enachim, commeth out not with his fiue egges, but with his fire railing dialogues. In the which dialogues the said Alanus Copus Anglus (whether hee vnder the armor of other, or other vnder title of his name, I know not, nor passe not) vncourteously behauing himself, intemperately abusing his time, studie, and pen, forgetting himselfe, neglecting all respect of honestie, and milde modestie, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor passing for shame, neither fauouring the liuing, nor sparing the dead, who being alius as they neuer offended him, so now cannot answere for themselues being gone: thus prouoking both God and man against him, after an vnseemely sort, and with a foule mouth, and a stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead mens ashes, taking now the spoile of their good name, after their bodies lie slaine in the field. His gall and choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memorie after them to remaine vpon earth. In so much that for the hatred of them, he spurneth also against me, and fleeth in my face, for that in my Acts and Monuments, describing the history of the church, I would say any thing in the fauor of them, whom the Romish Catholikes haue so vnmercifully put to death. The answer to whose booke although it would require a seuerall tractation by it selfe (as if Christ grant space and leisure, hereafter it shall not be forgotten) yet because such opportunitie of the booke is offered to me at this present comming now to the matter of the lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton and other, with whom he first beginneth to quarrell, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, what soeuer he be, so much as truth shall giue me for their defence to say something. And here to cut off all the offalles of his railing talke and vnhonest rebukes, which I leaue to scolds and men of his profession against they list to braule, let vs briefly and quietly consider the matter, for discussing of the truth. Wherein first I shall desire the Reader with equalitie and indifferencie to heare both the parties to speake, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and slaine could say for themselues, if they were present, as also what this man here doth obiect against them now being gone. And so according to the same to iudge both vpon them as they deserue, and of me as they shall please.

Answere to Alanus Copus.

Indifferencie of the reader craued.

Now to the scope of maister Copes matter, which is this: whether this foresaid sir Iohn Oldcastle, lord Cobham (first to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a Martyr, or to be reproued for a traitor. And whether that I in writing of him, and of Sir Roger Acton, with other moe in my former edition, haue dealt fraudulently, and corruptly in commending them in these Acts and Monuments or no. Touching the discussion whereof, first I trust the gentle maister Cope my friend, neither will, nor well can deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the storie of the lord Cobham, hath been premised; who yet all this while was neither traitor to his countrie, nor rebell to his prince, as by the course of his history hitherto the reader may well vnderstand. First, in the time of king Henry the fourth, hee was sent ouer to France to the duke of Orliance; he did obey. Afterward king Henry the fift, comming to the crowne, he was of him likewise well liked and fauoured, vntill the time that Thomas Arundell with his clergy complaining to the king, made bate betweene them. Then the lord Cobham being cited by the archbishop, at his citation would not appeare. But sent for by the king, he obeied and came. Being come, what lowly subiection he shewed there to the king, the pag. 514. declareth. After he yeelded an obedient confession of his faith; it would not be receiued. Then did he appeale to the bishop of Rome, for the which the king tooke great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the king to the archbishop, and committed to the tower; which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twice: there like a constant martyr, and witnesse of the truth, hee stood to his confession, and that vnto the very sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let Alanus Copus say what he will, or what he can: This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like triall himselfe, would venture so narrow a point of martyrdome for his religion, as this Christian knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

Whether the lord Cobham be to be iudged a traitor or a martyr.

The lord Cobham true and obedient to king Henry the 4.

The lord Cobham in the beginning fauoured of king Henry the 5.

The kings displeasure procured against the lord Cobham by popish prelates.

The lord Cobham obedient to the king.

The lord Cobham constant in his faith to the sentence of death.

To proceede, after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said lord Cobham was then returned againe vnto the tower; which he with patience and meekenesse did also obey: from the which tower if hee afterward by the lords prouidence did escape, whether hath Alanus Copus, herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the man for taking that which was offered. What catholike in all Louen hauing his house ouer his head on fire, will not be glad to haue if he might, the doore set open to flee the perill: or else why did Alanus Copus flie his countrie, hauing so little need, if this man, bleeding almost vnder the butchers axe, might not enioy so great an offer of so luckie deliuerance?

Thus hitherto I trust, the cause of the lord Cobham standeth firme and strong against all danger of iust reprehension. Who being (as ye haue heard) so faithfull and obedient to God: so submisse to his king: so sound in his doctrine: so constant in his cause: so affected for the truth: so readie and prepared to death: as we haue sufficiently declared, not out of vncertaine and doubtfull chronicles, but out of the true originals and instruments remaining in ancient records: What lacketh now or what should let to the contrarie, but that he declaring himselfe such a martyr, that is, a witnes to the veritie (for the which also at last hee suffered the fire) may therefore worthily be crowned with the title of a martyr, which is in Greeke as much as a witnesse bearer.

The lord Cobham worthy the name of a martyr.

The name of a martyr what it signifieth.

Alanus Copus Anglus with his fire Dialogues. Erostratus to get him a fame set Dianaes temple on fire.

Alanus Copus Anglus, intemperately abuseth his pen.

Copus a barker against dead men.

But here now steppeth in dame *Nasbia*, with her colen scold Alecto, &c. who neither learning to hold her tongue, nor yet to speake well, must needs find here a knot in a rush, and beginning now to quarrell inferreth thus: But after (saith hee) that the lord Cobham was escaped out of the tower, his fellowes and confederates conuented themselues together, seditiously against the king, and against their countrie. A great crime no doubt maister Cope, if it be true; so if it be not true, the greater blame returneth vnto your selfe, so to enter this action

Calumnia.

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tion of such slander, vnlesse the ground whereupon yée stand, be sure. First, what fellowes of the lord Cobham were these you meane of? Sir Roger Acton yée say, master Browne and J. Beuerly, with 36. other hanged and burned in the said field of S. Giles. A maruellous matter, that such a great multitude of 20000. specified in storie, should rise against the king, and yet but 3. persons only knowne and named. Then to proceede further, I would aske of master Cope what was the end of this conspiracie, to rebell against the king, to destroy their countrie, and to subuert the Christian faith, for so purporteth the storie. As like true the one as the other. For euen as it is like, that they being Turkes, went about to destroy the faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subuert their country wherein they were bred: euen so like it is that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey.

Sir Roger Acton knight, maister John Browne esquire, John Beuerley preacher.

Yet further procéedeth this summe promoter in his accusation, and saith moreouer: that these foresaid fellowes and adherents of the lord Cobham, were in the field assembled and there incamped in a great number against the king: and how is this prooued? by Robert Fabian. Which appeareth to be as true, as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth, in the same place where affirmeth that John Cledon, and Richard Turmin, were burnt in the same yéere, being 1413. When indéed by the true Registers, they were not burnt before the yéere of our Lord, 1415. But what will maister Cope say, if the originall copie of the inditement of these pretensed conspirators do testifie, that they were not there assembled or present in the field as your accusation pretendeth? But they purposed (will you say) and intended to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to iudge, where as no fact appeareth. But giue their intent was so to come: Yet might they not come to those thickets néere to the field of S. Giles, hauing Beuerley their preacher with them (as yée say your selfe) as well to pray and to preach in that woodly place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the Church of Christ, in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate woods, and secret thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In Quéene Maries time was not the same colour of treason obiected against George Egle and other moe, for frequenting and vsing into backsides and fields, and suffered for that, whereof hee was innocent and guiltlesse? Did not Adam Damlipe die in like case of treason, for hauing a French crowne giuen him, at his departure out of Rome, by Cardinal Pole? What cannot cankred Calumnia inuent, when she is disposed to cauill? It was not the Cardinals crowne that made him a traitour, but it was the hatred of his preaching, that stirred vp the accuser.

Robert Fabian proued with an vntruth.

An vntruth in Alanus Copus.

Praying and preaching in back corners, a common thing in time of persecution.

Ill will taketh all things to worst meaning.

In France what assemblies haue there been in late yéeres of good and innocent Christians, congregating together in backe fields and couerts in great routs to heare the preaching of Gods holy word, and to pray: yea and not without their weapon also, for their owne safegard, and yet neuer intended nor minded any rebellion against their king? Wherefore in cases of Religion it may and doth happen many times that such congregations may méet without intent of any treason ment. But howsoeuer the intent and purpose was of these foresaid confederates of the L. Cobham, whither to come, or what to do (séeing this is plaine by records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come vnto the place) how will master Cope now iustifie his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the field of Saint Giles against the king? And marke here I beséech thée (gently Reader) how vnlikely and vntidely the points of this tale are tied and hang together (I wil not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie); wherein these accusers in this matter séeme to me, to lacke some part of Sinons art, in conueying their narration so vnartificially. First (say they) the king was come first with his garrison, vnto the field of S. Giles. And then after the king was there incamped, consequently the fellowes of the lord Cobham (the captaine being away) came and were assembled in the said field where the king was, against the king: and yet not knowing of the king, to the number of xx. thousand: and yet neuer a stroke in that field giuen. And furthermore of all this xx. thousand aforesaid, neuer a mans name knowne, but onely three, to wit, sir Roger Acton, sir John Browne, and John Beuerley, a preacher. How this geare is clampered together let the Reader iudge, and beléeue as he séeth cause.

Another vntruth in Alanus Copus.

An vnlikely tale.

But giue all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proued, yet by the popes dispensation (which in this earth is almost omnipotent) be it granted: that after the king had taken S. Giles field before, the companions of the L. Cobham afterward comming and assembling in the thickets néere to the said field, to fight seditiously against the king, against their countrie, and against the faith of Christ, to the number of xx. thousand, where no stroke being giuen, so many were taken, that all the prisons of London were full, and yet neuer a mans name knowne of all this multitude, but onlie three: All this, I say, being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of M. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here present with this company in the field, or not? Not in person (saith Cope) but with his mind and with his counsell hee was present, and addeth this reason, saying: And therefore he being brought againe, after his escape, was conuict both of treason and heresie, and therefore sustaining a double punishment was both hanged and burnt for the same, &c. And how is all this proued? By Robert Fabian, he saith: Whereunto briefly I answer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsell. His words be these: That certaine adherents of Sir John Oldcastle assembled in the field néere to S. Giles, in great number: of whom was sir Roger Acton, sir John Browne, and John Beuerley. The which with 36. moe in number were after conuict of heresie and treason, and for the same were hanged and burnt, within the said field of S. Giles, &c. Thus much in Fabiã touching the commotion and condemnation of these men: but that the lord Cobham, was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsell, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian but is added of his liberall cornu copiæ, whereof he is so copious and plentifull, that he may kéepe an open shop of such vnwritten vntruths, which he may afford very good cheap I think, being such a plentifull artificer.

The lord Cobham no traitor.

Alanus Copus pag. 833. lin. 1.

Alanus Copus taken with an other vntruth.

But here will be obiected against me the words of the statute made the second yéere of king Henry the fift, whereupon this aduersarie triumphing with no little glorie, ὡσπερ πεῖσμα περίκειται, thinketh himselfe to haue double vantage against me: first, in proouing these foresaid complices and adherents of the L. Cobham, to haue made insurrection against the king, and so to be traitors. Secondly, in conuicting that to be vntrue, where as in my former booke of Acts and Monuments I doe report: how that after the death of sir Roger Acton, of Browne and Beuerley, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect: that all and singuler, such as were of Wickliffes learning, if they would not giue ouer (as in case of felony and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the king) should suffer death in two maner of kinds, that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresie against God.

Ex statut. Reg. Hen. 5. an. 2. cap. 7.

The former edition of Acts and Monu. pag. 175.

Whereupon, remaineth now in examining this obiection and answering to the same, that I purge both them of treason, and my selfe of vntruth, so far as truth and fidelitie in Gods cause shall assist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my history of ecclesiastical matters, wherein I hauing nothing to do with debatement of causes iudicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed; neuer suspected that euer any would be so captious with me, or so nice nosed, as to presse me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing euery cause and matter so exactly, and straining (as yée would say) the bowels of the statute law so rigorously against me. Yet for so much as I am thereunto constrained now by this aduersarie, I will first lay open all the whole statute made the second yéere of this foresaid Henrie the fifth, after the death of the foresaid sir Roger Acton and his fellowes, at the Parliament holden at Leicester, an. 1415. That done, I will note vpon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appeare what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocencie, or for the accusation of this aduersarie. The tenor and purport of the statute here vnder ensueth.

The words and contents of the statute made an. 2. Henrici 5. cap. 7.

The preface or preamble of the statute.

FOr so much as great (A) rumors, congregations, and insurrections here in England by diuers of the king his maiesties léege people haue bin made here of late, as well by those which were of the sect of heresie called Lollardie, as by other of their confederation, excitations, and abetment: to the intent (B) to adnull and subuert the christian faith and the law of God within the same Realme, as also to (C) destroy our soueraigne lord the king himselfe, and (D) all manner of estates of the same his Realme, as well spirituall as temporall (E) and also all maner policy, and the lawes of the land: Finally the same our Lord the king, to the honour of God, in conseruation and fortification of the Christian faith, and also in saluation of his royall estate, and of the estate of all his Realme, willing to prouide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such heretikes and Lollards, then hath been had or vsed in that case heretofore, so that for the feare of the same lawes and punishment, such heresies and Lollardies may the rather cease in time to come.

(A)
(B)
(C)
(D)
(E)

Here it appeareth at whose sute and supplication this statute was set forward, as also the cause why.

By the aduice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons hath ordained and established: that especiallie the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Iustice of the one bench and of the other, Iustices of Assise, Iustices of peace, Sheriffes, Maiors, and Bailiffes of cities and townes, and all other officers, hauing the gouernment of people either now present or which for the time shall be, doe make an oth in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole paine and diligence, to put out, to doe to put out, cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors commonly called Lollardies within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices, from time to time, with all their power: and that they assist, fauor, and maintaine the ordinaries and their commissaries so often as they

Assiterunt reges & Pharisæi.

of

or any of them shall be thereunto required by the said ordinaries or their commissaries: So that the said officers and ministers, when they trauell or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the (F) instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries, by vertue of this statute: that the same ordinaries and commissaries doe (G) pay for their costs reasonably. And that the seruices of the king (vnto whom the officers be first sworne) be preferred before all other statutes for the libertie of holy Church and the ministers of the same: And especially for the correction and punishment of hereticks and Lollards, made before these daies and not repealed, but being in their force. And also that all persons conuict of heresie, of whatsoeuer estate, condition or degree they be, by the said ordinaries or their commissaries left vnto the secular power according to the lawes of holy Church, shall lese and forfeite all their lands and tenements, which they haue in fee simple, in manner and forme as followeth: That is to say, that the king shall haue all the lands and tenements, which the said conuicts haue in fee simple and which be immediatlie holden of him, as forfeited: And that the other lords of whom the lands and tenements of such conuicts be holden immediatly, after that the king is thereof seized and answered of the (H) yeere, day, and waste: shall haue liuerie thereof out of the hands of the king of the lands and tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath been vsed in case of attainder of felonies, except the lands and tenements, which be holden of the ordinaries or their commissaries, before whom any such impeached of heresie be conuict, (I) which lands and tenements shall wholly remaine to the king as forfeit. And moreouer, that all the goods and cattels of such conuicted, be forfeit to our right soueraigne lord the king, so that no person conuict of heresie, and left vnto the the secular power (according to the lawes of holie Church) doe forfeit his lands before that hee bee dead. And if any such person so conuicted bee enfeoffed, whether it be by fine, or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents, or seruices, in fee or otherwise in whatsoeuer maner, or haue any other possessions or cattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the vse of any other then only to the vse of such cõuicts: That the same lands, tenements, rents, nor seruices, nor other such possessions, nor cattels shall not be forfeit vnto our soueraigne lord the king in no manner wise.

And moreouer, that the iustices of the kings bench, the Iustices of peace, and iustices of Assise, haue full power to inquire of all such, which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who bee their maintainers, receiuers, fautors, and sustainers, common writers of such bookes, as well of their sermons as scholes, conuenticles, congregations and confederacies, and that this clause bee put in the commissions of the Iustices of peace. And if any persons be indited of any points aboue said, that the said Iustices haue power to award against them a Capias, and that the Sheriffe be bound to arrest the person or persons so indited as soone as hee can find them, either by himselfe, or by his officers. And for so much as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or Lollardies, appertaine to the iudges of holie Church, and not vnto the secular Iudges; that such persons indited (K) be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, or to their commissaries by Indentures betweene them to bee made, within ten daies after their arrest, or sooner if it may bee done, to be thereof acquitted, or conuict by the lawes of holy church in case such persons be not indited of any other thing, the cognisance whereof appertaineth to the iudges and secular officers, in which case after they shall be acquitted, or deliuered before the secular Iudges of such things as appertaineth to the secular iudges, they shall be sent in safe custodie vnto the said Ordinaries, or their commissaries, and to them to be deliuered by Indentures, as is aforesaid, to be acquitted or conuicted of the same heresies, errors and Lollardies, as is aforesaid, according to the lawes of holy Church, and that within the terme abouesaid. Prouided, that the said inditements bee not taken (L) in euidence (L) but only for information before the iudges spirituall, against such persons indited: but that the Ordinaries begin their processe against such persons indited, in the same manner, as though no such iudgement were, hauing no regard to such inditements. And if any bee indited of heresie, error, or Lollardie, and taken by the Sheriffe, or any other officer of the king, he may be let to mainepryse within the said ten daies, by good suretie, for whom the said Sheriffes, or other officers will answere, so that the person so indited bee readie to be deliuered vnto the said Ordinaries, or to their commissaries, before the end of the tenth day aboue here recited, if hee may by any meanes for sicknesse. And that euery Ordinarie haue sufficient commissaries or commissarie, abiding in euery Countie in place notable, so that if any such person indited bee taken, that the said commissaries, or commissarie may bee warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Sheriffe, or any of his officers to come vnto the kings gaile within the said Countie, there to receiue the same person so indited by Indenture, as is aforesaid: And that in the Inquests in this case taken, the Sheriffes and other officers vnto whom it appertaineth, do impanell good and sufficient persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to say, such as haue at the least, euery one of them that shall bee so impanelled in such inquests, within the realme, a hundred shillings by the yeere of lands, tenements, or of rent, vpon paine to lese to the kings vse xx. pound. And that those which shall be impanelled vpon such inquests at sessions and gailes, haue euery one of them to the value of xl. shillings by the yeere. And if any such person arrested, whether it be by the Ordinaries, or the officers of the king, (M) either escape or breake prison before hee be thereof acquit before the Ordinarie: that then all his goods and cattels, which hee had at the day of such arrest, shall bee forfeit to the king: And his lands and tenements which he had the same day, be seised also into the kings hands, and that the king haue the profits thereof from the same day vntill he render himselfe to the said prison from whence hee escaped. And that the aforesaid iustices haue full power to enquire of all such escapes and breaking of prisons, and also of the lands, tenements, goods, and cattels of such persons indited. Prouided, that if any such person indited, doe not returne vnto the said prison, and dieth (not being conuict); that then it shall bee lawfull for his heires, to enter into the lands and tenements of his or their ancestor without any other sute made vnto the king for this cause. And that all those which haue liberties, or franchises royall in England, as the County of Chester, the Countie and libertie of Durham, and other like: And also all the lords which haue iurisdictions and franchises roiall in Wales where the kings writs doe not run, haue like power to execute and put in execution in all points, these articles by them or by their officers in like maner, as doe the Iustices and other the kings officers aboue declared. (M)

Notes touching the statutes prefixed.

Thus hauing recited the words of the statute, now let vs consider the reasons and obiections of this aduersarie, who grounding peraduenture vpon the preface or preamble of this foresaid statute; will proone thereby the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, with the rest of their abettours, to haue been traitors to their king and their countrie. Whereunto I answere, first in generall, that although the face or preface prefixed before the statute, may shew and declare the cause and occasion originall why the statute was made, yet the making of the statute importeth no necessarie probation of the preface alwaies to bee true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giueth no force materiall thereunto, nor is any necessarie part of the body of the said statute: But onelie adhereth as a declaration of the circumstance thereof, and sometime is cleane omitted and differeth much from the substance of the same. For as statutes in ciuill policie most commonlie doe tend to a publike end and are generall; so prefaces before statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning thereof, are priuate: and doe stand onely but vpon particular facts, which either of ill will and displeasure may bee suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for feare may be beleeued, at least suspected, as many suspitions doe oft times rise in princes heads, through false surmises, and malitious complaints of certaine euill disposed about them, whereby many cruell lawes rising vpon a false ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent blood. Example whereof we haue not onlie in this present statute, an. 2. Reg. Hen. 5. but also in the like statute, commonly called the statute Ex officio vel de comburendo, made by this kings father and predecessor, an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 5. In the preface of which bloudie statute, is contained another like complaint of the prelates and clergie, not so hainous, as also most shamefullie false and vntrue against the poore Lollards, as by the words of the complaint may appeare, beginning; Excellentissimo & Gratiosiss. principi, &c. Wherein, most falsly they slander and misreport the true seruants of Christ to bee Lollards, hereticks, subuerters of the common-wealth, destroyers of the Christian faith, enemies to all good lawes, and to the Church of Christ. The words of which statute proceeding much after the like course as doth this present statute, may easilie bewray the vntruth and false surmise thereof, if thou please (gentle reader) to marke and conferre the words according as they are there to be read and seene, as followeth: Conuenticulas & confœderationes faciunt, scholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt & informant, & ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, & magnas dissensiones in populo faciunt, & alia diuersa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei cathol. & ecclesiæ subuersionem, diuinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status, iurium, & libertatum dictæ ecclesiæ Anglic. And after a few words: Ad omnem iuris, & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus destruendum &c. He that is or shall bee acquainted with old histories and with the vsuall practises of Satan the old enemie of Christ, from the first beginning of the primitiue Church vnto this present time, shall see this to bee no newes, but a common and (as ye would say) a quotidian feuer among Christs children, to bee bered with false accusations, and cruell slanders.

Memelion the Egyptian, and true martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a felon? And when that could not bee proued, he was condemned at the same iudgement for a Christian: and therefore being taken into bands, was scourged, by the

Notes vpon the statute aforesaid.

Prefaces before statutes not to be regarded in triall of truth.

Statut. an. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7.

The preface before the statute *Do combarendo.*

Ex vsitatis instrumentis.

False accusation no newes in Christs church.

Example of Memelion martyr. pag. 56.

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the commaundement of the Presidents double to the other felons: and at length was burned with the theeues, although he neuer was found theefe nor felon: vide pag.56.

Example of Cyprian, pag.62.

Against Cyprian in like sort it was slanderously obiected by Galenus Maximus proconsull: Quòd diu sacrilega mente vixerit, & nephariæ sibi conspirationis homines adiunxerit: That he had long continued with a mind full of sacriledge, and that he had gathered vnto him men of wicked conspiracie, pag.62.

Example of Iustine the martyr. Example of Cornelius bish. of Rome, pa.59.

So Iustinus martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens? Cornelius bishop of Rome and martyr, was accused of Decius, quòd ad Cyprianum literas daret contra remp.i. That hee wrote letters vnto Cyprian against the common wealth: vide pag.59.

Lawes and statutes grounded vpon false causes against the Christians.

To consider the lawes and statutes made by tyrants and Emperors in the first persecutions of the primitiue Church, against the innocent seruants of Christ, and to compare the same with the lawes and statutes in this latter persecution vnder antichrist: a man shall find, that as they agreed all in like crueltie, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretensed causes and crimes deuised. For as then, the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections and rebellions against the emperors and empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infants, for worshipping the sunne (because they prayed toward the east) for worshipping also the head of an asse, &c. vide pag.48.34. vpon the rumors wherof, diuers and sundry lawes and statutes were enacted, some engrauen in brasse, some otherwise wrote against them: so in this foresaid statute, an.2.Hen.5.cap.7. also an.2.Hen.4.cap.15. and in such other statutes or inditementes made and conceiued against the Lollards: the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making therof did rise rather vpon malice and hatred against their religion conceiued, then vpon any iust cause minister of their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of Domitianus, for feare of Dauids stocke, all the nephewes of Iude the lords brother in flesh, were accused to the emperor, pag.33. And also the like feare and hatred stirred vp other Emperours, and the Senat of of Rome, to proceed with persecuting lawes against the Christian flocke of Christ: Euseb.lib.5.cap.21. whereupon, rose vp those malitious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongfull accusations against the Christians: so that what crimes soeuer either malice could inuent, or rash suspition could minister, that was imputed against them: vide pag.34.

The persecuting statutes in the primitiue church & of the latter church compared.

Feare and hatred causers of persecution.

Vide supra. pag.34.

Not vnlike also it may seeme, that the pope with his Prelates fearing and mistrusting lest the proceeding of the Gospell preached by these persons should ouerthrow the state of their maiestie: did therefore by sinister accusations inflame the harts of princes against them, and vnder some coloured couert, to shadow their cloked hatred, deuised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serue their purpose.

This hitherto haue I said as in a generall summe, answering to the preamble of the foresaid statute, for the defence of Sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, and other, not as defining precisely what was or was not (for here I may say with Hall, that as I was not present at the deed doing, so with him I may also leaue the same at large:) But as one by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all coniectures hunting out in this matter, what is most like, would but only say my minde sine strepitu (as lawyers say) & sine figura iudicij.

The matter debated by records, whether the L. Cobham and sir Roger Acton were traytors or not.

Now consequentlie it followeth, that we descend to the speciall points and particulars of the foresaid preamble: to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarilie is to bee iudged, either for proofe or disproofe, of this foresaid sir John Oldcastle and his fellowes.

A Rumors. Congregatiõs. Insurrections.

(A) And first, where the proeme of this statute beginneth with rumors, congregations, and insurrections, &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forceable entrees or rebellion against the king, they would haue made anie rumors thereof before the deed done: so is it more credible to be supposed, all these flourishes of words to bee but words of course, or of office, and to sauor rather of the rankenesse of the inditers pen, who disposed either per amplificationem rhetoricam to shew his copie, or else per malitiam papisticam, to aggrauate the crime, and to make mountaines of molehils, first of rumors maketh congregations, and from congregations riseth vp to insurrections; whereas in all these rumors, congregations, and insurrections, yet neuer a blow was giuen, neuer a stroke was stricken, no blood spilt, no furniture nor instruments of warre, no signe of battell, yea no expresse signification either of any rebellious word, or malious fact described, neither in records, nor yet in any chronicle. Again, if these rumors were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tyrant, an vsurper of the crowne, the Prince of priests, &c. why then be none of these words expressed in their inditements, or left in Records? Doth M. Cope thinke for a man to be called a traitor, to be enough to make him a traitor, vnlesse some euident proofe be brought for him to bee so in deed, as he is called? Rumors (saith he) congregations and insurrections were made. Rumours are vncertaine: congregations haue been and may be among christian men in dangerous times for good purposes, and no treason against their princes meant. The terme of insurrections may be added ἐν τῷ πλείονι by practise, or surmise of the prelats and pen men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might adde this rather of their owne gentlenesse, then of the others deseruing. Certaine it is and vndoubted, that the prelats in those daies being so mightily inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor vtterlie idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kind of practise among the popish clergie, haue not lacked neither before, nor since. Moreouer, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason: how chanceth then, that the whole bodie of the statute following after the said preface or preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches therof both in maner of arrest, of inditement, information, request, allowance of officers, cognisance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c. vpon cases of heresie and not of treason, as by particular tractation shal be (Christ willing) declared?

Insurrection of the Lollards against the king not likely.

And for so much as these men be so grieuously accused of Alanus copus, for congregating and rising against their king, and the whole realme, if I had so much leasure to defend, as he hath pleasure to diffame: Heere might be demanded of him, to keepe him some further pley (touching this mightie insurrection, where as they came in number twentie thousand against the king) in what order of battell raie they marched, what captaines, vnder-captaines, and petie captaines they had to guide the wings, and to leade the armie: whether they were horsemen, or footmen. If they were horsemen (as is pretensed) what meant they then to resort to the thickets neere to Saint Giles field, which was no meet place for horses to stirre? If they were footmen; how standeth that with the author, which reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreouer, is to be demanded, what ensignes or flagges, what shot, what powder, what armor, weapons, and other furniture of war: also what treasure of money to wage so manie, to the number of twentie thousand, what trumpets, drums, and other noise necessarie for the purpose they had? All these preparations for such an enterprise is requisite and necessarie to bee had. And peraduenture, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that in stead of armies and weapon, they were comming onlie with their bookes, and with Beuerlay their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact (as is before said) so haue I neither certainely to define vpon their case, nor yet master Cope to exclame against them, vnlesse peraduenture he taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them: that because it was the hote moneth of Januarie, the 2. day after the Epiphanie, therefore it is like, that sir John Oldcastle with twentie thousand Lollards camped together in the fields in all the heate of the weather, to destroy the king and all the nobles, and to make himselfe Regent of England. And why not as well the king, as Regent of England, seeing all the nobles should haue bene destroyed, and he onely left alone to reigne by himselfe?

(B) A slander of the lord Cobham that he intended to destroy christian faith.

It followeth more in the preamble of the foresaid statute, (B) to adnull, destroy, and subuert the christian faith, and the law of God, and holy church, &c. Yee that was the forger and inuenter of this report (as it appeareth to procede from the prelats) seemeth no cunning Dædalus, nor halfe his crafts master in lying for the whetstone. Better he might haue learned of Sinon in Virgil, more artificially to haue framed and conueied his narration. Which although in no case could sound like any truth, yet some colour of probabilitie should haue beene set vpon it, to giue it some countenance of a like tale. As if he had first declared the lord Cobham, to haue bin before in secret confederacie with the great Turke, or if hee had made him some termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herode of Iudea, or some antichrist out of Rome, or some grandpanch epicure of this world: and had shewed, that he had receiued letters from the great Soldan, to fight against the faith of Christ and law of God; then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said sir John Oldcastle with his sect of heresie, went about to adnull, destroy, and subuert the christian faith, and law of God within the realme of England, &c.

But now, where will either he or master Cope find men so mad to beleeue, or so ingenious that can imagine this to bee true, that the lord Cobham (being a christian) and so faithfull a christian, would or did euer cogitate in his mind to destroy and adnull the faith of Christ in the realme of England? Whatsoeuer the report of this pursuant or preface saith, I report me vnto the indifferent Reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? That he which before through the reading of Wickliffes workes, had beene so earnestly conuerted to the law of God, who had also approued himselfe such a faithfull seruant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ he being examined and tried before the prelats: pag.518. not onely ventred his life, but stood constant vnto the sentence of death, defined against him; being a condemned and a dead man by law; Et qui quantum

Cyprian. lib.4. Epist.2.

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tum ad eius deuotionem pertinet & timorē, passus sit, quicquid pati potuit, who had as much as to deuotion & feare appertained, suffered alreadie what he might or could suffer, as Cyprian said by Cornelius. That he (I say) which a little before in the moneth of September, stood so constant in defence of Christs faith, would now in the moneth of Januarie rise to destroy, annull, and subuert Christs faith, and the law of God, and holy church within the realme of England?

How can it be, not like only but possible to be true, that he which neuer denied the faith: which euer confessed the faith so constantly: which was for the same faith condemned: yea and at last also burned for the faith, would euer fight against the faith and law of God, to annull and to subuert it? Let vs proceed yet further, and see when that he should haue so destroyed and annulled the Christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he, or did he intend to bring into the realme of England: The Turks faith? or the Iewes faith? or the popes faith? or what faith else I pray you? For hee that will be an enemie to the faith of Christ, and will show himselfe friend to no other faith beside, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C) The lord Cobham falsly slandered for intending to destroy the king.

(C) And therefore euen as it is true, that Sir John Oldcastle with his confederats and abettours were vp in armes to subuert and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in the realme of England: so by the like truth it may be esteemed, that the same persons rose also to destroy their Soueraigne Lord the king and his brethren. First, thankes bee to God, that neither the king, nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy his Soueraigne Lord the king. Whereunto I answere, with this interrogatorie, whether his intent was priuilie to haue destroyed him, or by open force of armes? If priuilie, what néedeth then such a great army of xx. thousand men to atchieue that secret feat? Rather I would thinke, that he néeded more the helpe of such as were neere about the king: as some of the kings priuie chamber, or some of his secret counsell: whereof, neither Chronicle nor record doth insinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to inuade the king: You must vnderstand (maister Cope) that to withstand a king in his owne realme, many things are required, long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance, and aid of kindred, monie, horse, men, armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

How vnlike it is, that the lord Cobham did rise against the king.

Earle Godwin of Westsaxe, who had married Canutus daughter, being a man both ambitious, and as false a traitor, for all his fire sonnes, and great alliance; yet durst not set vpon king Edward to inuade him within his Realme, although he sought many occasions so to doe, yet neuer durst enterprise openlie, that which his ambition so greedilie presumed vnto: pag. 147.

Examples what an hard matter it is to rise against the king.

In the time of king Henrie the third, Simon Montford earle of Glocester, Gilbert Clare earle of Leicester, Humfry Bone earle of Ferrence, with a great number of lords and barons, thought themselues to haue great right on their sides; yet durst not for all their power openly assaile the king in his Realme, before great debatement and talke first had betweene: pag. 299.

The nobles against king Henry 3.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was in the realme against king Edward the second, among the peeres and nobles, and also prelats (only Walter bishop of Couentrie except) first for Gauestон, then for the Spencers, at what time Thomas earle of Lancaster, Guido earle of Warwike, with the most part of all other earles and barons concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gauestон, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly nor without great feare durst stirre vp warre in the land, or disquiet or vexe the king, but first by all meanes of moderate counsell, and humble petition, thought rather to perswade, then to inuade the king: pag. 337.

The nobles against king Edward 2.

In like maner, and with like grudging minds, in the raigne of king Richard 2. Thomas Woodstocke duke of Glocester the kings vncle, with the earles of Arundell, of Warwicke, and Darby, with the power almost of the whole commons, stood vp in armes against the king: and yet notwithstanding all their power ioyned together, being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy, straightwaies to flie vpon the king, but by way of Parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceiued, and so did, without any war striking against the king: pag. 472.

The nobles against king Richard 2.

After king Richard 2. was deposed, and was in prison yet liuing, diuers noble men were greatly inflamed against king Henry the fourth, as Sir John Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Spencer earle of Glocester, the earles likewise of Kent, and of Salisburie, with Sir John Cheiney and other mo, whereof diuers had been dukes before, and now deposed by king Henry 4. although they had conceiued in their hearts great grudge and malice against the said king Henry: yet had they neither heart nor power openly with mans force to assaile the king, but secretly were compelled to atchieue their conceiued intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish. Ex hist. D. Alban.

The nobles against king Henry 4.

Thus, you may see, maister Cope, or else maister Harpsfield, or whatsoeuer ye bee, to gainstand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his owne land, and in his owne chamber of London, where hee is so sure and strong, what a matter of how great cheuance it is, wherein so many and so great difficulties do lie, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so vncertaine, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any kings daies heretofore, any peeres or nobles of the Realme, were they neuer so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsell, yet either were able, or else well durst euer enterprize vpon the case so dangerous, notwithstanding were they neuer of themselues so farre from all feare of God, and true obedience. And shall we then thinke, or can we imagine (maister Cope) that Sir John Oldcastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of Gods word, being but a poore knight by his degree, hauing none of all the peeres and nobles in all the world to ioyne with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a little before in the moneth of December, could now in the moneth of Januarie, so suddenly, in such an hot season of the yeere start vp an armie of xx. thousand fighting men to inuade the king, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to annull Christian faith, to destroy Gods law, and to subuert holy Church? And why doth not he adde moreouer, to set also all London on fire, and to turne all England into a fish pole? Belike these men which giue out these figments of Sir John Oldcastle, did thinke him to bee one of Deucalions flocke, who casting of stones ouer his shoulder, could by and by make men at his pleasure, or els that he had Cadmus teeth to sow, to make so many harnest men to start vp at once.

The insurrection of the lord Cobham against the king iudged by circumstance.

A rebellion to be of 20. thousand, and yet no countrie to be knowne from whence they came, it is not like.

But let vs consider yet further of these xx. thousand souldiers so suddenly without wages, without victuall, or other prouision congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, countrie, or countries they came. In other kings daies, whensoeuer any rebellion is against the king moued by the Commons; as when Jack Straw and Wat Tiler of Kent, and Essex rose in the time of king Richard the 2. When William Mandeuill of Abington, Jacke Cade of Kent, in the time king Henry the 6. In the time of king Henry the 8. when the commotion was of rebels in Lincolneshire, then in Yorkeshire. When in king Edward the 6. time Humfrey Arundell in Deuonshire, Captaine Kyte in Northfolke made stirre against the king, the countrie and parts from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also diffamed. In this so traiterous commotion therefore let vs now learne, what men these were, and from what countrie or Countries in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chroniclers declare what countries they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Utopia, where belike this figment was first forged, and inuented. Wherefore seeing neither the countries from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these xx. thousand doe appeare that they were either in Chronicle or in record, but remaine altogether vnknowne, I leaue it (gentle Reader) to thy iudgement, to thinke thereupon, as thy wisdome shall leade thee.

Neuer was any rebellion of Commons in England, but the speciall countrie from whence they came was noted and knowne.

(D) Another false report of Sir John Oldcastle, that he intended to kill al manner of estates in the realme.

(D) It followeth more in the foresaid preface: And to destroy all other manner of estates, of the same Realme of England, as well spirituall as temporall, &c. By the course of this preamble it appeareth, that the said Sir John Oldcastle, was a wonderfull cruell tyrant and murderer, who being not yet satisfied with the bloud of the king, nor of the two dukes his brethren, would also make hauocke and sweepestake, of all manner of estates in the realme of England. What, and leaue no manner of estate aliue? No, neither lord spirituall nor temporall, but all together should bee destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserablie to bee destroyed? Although percase the mode of this man might haue been incensed and kindled against the king, and the lords spirituall, by whom hee had been condemned, as is aforesaid: yet why should all other maner of other estates both spirituall and temporall bee killed? If none of all the estates in England, neither duke, earle, baron, lord, knight, or other gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he hauing all the estates, peeres, nobles, and gentlemen of the realme against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman only with sir Roger Acton, and maister Browne left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred knights should haue been spared out of this bloudy slaughter, whom he offered to produce vnto the king before, for his purgation, pag. 515. And finallie, if this was his purpose, that all these estates both spirituall and temporall should haue been cut downe, what néeded then that he should haue made himselfe a Regent, when hee might as well haue made himselfe a king, or what else hee would, being left then prince alone?

(E) An hard matter to destroy all policie and lawes of a land.

(E) The preamble as it began with vntruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one vntruth vpon another: so now endeth with another misreport as vntrue as the rest, shewing and declaring, the intent of sir John Oldcastle was also to destroy all manner of policie, and finallie the lawes of the land, &c. We reade of William Conquerer, otherwise named William

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William Bastard: who being a puissant duke in his countrie, when that the crowne of England was allotted to him, and he comming ouer with all his peeres, nobles, and barons of his whole land, into this Realme, and had with great difficultie obtained victorie against king Harold: yet to alter and destroy the policie and the lawes of the land, it passed his power. Insomuch that it had not been permitted vnto him to haue proceeded so farre as he did, vnlesse he had first sworne to the nobles of this land, to retaine still the lawes of king Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forswore himselfe, breaking his oth in altering and changing many of the foresaid lawes, yet wild he, nild hee, could not so destroy them all (for the which, much warre and great commotions endured long after in the Realme) but that hee was constrained, and also contented to allow and admit a great part of the said lawes of king Edward, pag. 154. And if he being king and conqueror, with all his strength of Normands and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all maner of policie and lawes of this land, which he had conquered: how much lesse then is it to be supposed, ỹ Sir John Oldcastle being but a priuat subiect, and a poore knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all lords, earles and barons, who to saue his owne life, had more to do, then he could wel compasse, would either take in hand, or conceiue in his head any such exploit, after the subuersion of Christian faith, and law of God, after the slaughter of the king and all manner of estates, as well spirituall as temporall, in the Realme of England, after the desolation of holy Church, to destroy also all manner of policie, and finally, the lawes of the land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seeme to master Cope, or to some other late Chronicles of the like credulitie, I cannot tell: Certainly to me, and as I think to all indifferent readers, it appeareth as true, as is the verse of the Satyre, wherewith it may well be compared:

Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.

Obiection. But here will be said again perhaps, that the matter of such preambles and prefaces being but pursuants, of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggranate, and to giue a shew of a thing, which they would haue to seeme more odible to the people, is not so precisely to bee scand or exquisitely to bee stood vpon, as for the ground of a necessarie cale of truth.

Answere. This is it (M. Cope) that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lined with a non sequitur, containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course (and rather monsters out of course) and many times rising vpon falle information, are not alwaies in themselues materiall, or necessarie probations in all points to be followed: as appeareth both by this statute, and also by the statute of this kings father, an. 2. Hen. 5. chap. 15. beginning, Excellentissimo, &c. And yet notwithstanding out of these same preambles, and forefronts of statutes, and other inditements, which commonly rising vpon matter of information, run onely vpon words of course, of office, and not vpon simple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, hauing no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but only following bare rumors, or else such words as they see in such fabling prefaces, or inditements expressed. Whereby it commeth so to passe, that the younger Chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of errour. And you also (master Cope) following the steps of the same, doe seeme likewise to erre together with them, for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this statute hitherto sufficiently.

Ex originali statut. Hen. 4. ca. 15.

The reason and cause, how chroniclers oft times be deceiued.

Alanus Copus deceiued by his Chroniclers.

Now let vs consider and discusse in like maner, first the coherence, then the particular contents of the said statute. As touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall finde almost a Chimera of it. In which neither the head accordeth with the bodie, nor yet the branches of the statute well agree with themselues. Wherein he that was the drawer, or first informer thereof, seemeth to haue forgot his verse and art Poeticall:

Horat. art. Poet.

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo.

For whereas the preface of the statute standeth onely vpon matter of treason, conceiued by false suggestion and wrong information; the bodie of the said statute which should follow vpon the same, runneth only vpõ matter of heresie, pertaining to the ordinaries, as by euery branch thereof may appeare.

(F) The bodie of the statute an. 2. Reg. Hen. 5. ca. 7. examined.

(F) For first where he saith, at the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries, &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treason, nor felonie. For that euery man of dutie is bound, and by the lawes of the realme may arrest and apprehend a traitour, or a felon, if he can: where otherwise by this statute an officer is not bound to arrest him which offendeth in case of this statute, without request made by the ordinaries or their commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason nor felonie.

(G) Secondly, where it followeth, that the same ordinaries and commissaries doe pay for their costs, &c. This allowance of the officers charges in this sort, proueth this offence neither treason nor felonie.

(H) Thirdly, where the statute willeth the king to bee answered of the peere, day, and waste, &c. by this also is proued the offence not to be treason. Or else in cases of treason, the whole inheritance (I trow, master Cope, speaking as no great skilfull lawyer) is forfait to the prince. (H)

(I) The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, whereas such lands and tenements which bee holden of the ordinaries are willed wholly to remaine to the king as forfait, &c. Whereby it is manifest, that the prelates (for their matter of Lollardie onely) were the occasioners and procurers of this statute: and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit rising thereby, as good reason was, they should. And thus it is notorious, that the preface running specially and principally vpon treason, and the statute running altogether vpon points of heresie, doe not well cohere nor ioyne together. (I)

(K) Fiftly, in that such persons indited, shall bee deliuered vnto the ordinaries of the places, &c. it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no maner of treason: forsomuch as ordinaries cannot bee iudges in cases of treason, or felonie, by the lawes of our realme. Bracton, in fine 1. libri. (K)

(L) Sixtly, by the inditements prouided not to be taken in euidence, but only for information, before the iudges spirituall, &c. it is likewise to be noted; to what end these inditements were taken, to wit, only to informe the ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of treason. (L)

(M) Lastly, where it followeth toward the end of the statute touching escape or breaking of prison, &c. by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this statute driueth, that is, to the speciall escape of the Lord Cobham out of the tower, to this end, to haue his lands and possessions forfeit vnto the king. And yet the same escape of the Lord Cobham in this statute considered, is taken by Master Iustice Stanford in lib. primo of the pleas of the crowne cap. 33. to be an escape of one arrested for heresie, where hee speaketh of the case of the lord Cobham. (M)

Iustice Stanford of the pleas of the crowne, lib. 1. cap. 33.

Moreouer, as touching the parts of this foresaid statute, how will you ioyne these two branches together, whereas in the former part is said, that the lands of such persons conuict, shall be forfait to the king, not before they be dead: And afterward it followeth, that their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest, to the king. But herein standeth no such great doubt nor matter to be weighed. This is without al doubt, and notoriouslie, euidently, and most manifestlie may appeare, by all the arguments and whole purport of the statute: that as well the preamble and preface thereof, as the whole bodie of the said statute was made, framed, and procured onely by and through the instigation, information, and excitation of the prelates, and the popish clergie, not so much for any treason committed against the king: but onely for feare and hatred of Lollardie, tending against their law, which they more dreaded and abhorred, then euer any treason against the prince. And then to set the king and all the states against them, whereby the more readily to worke their dispatch, they thought it best, and none so compendious a policie, as pretily to ioyne treason together with their Lollardy. Wherein the poore men being once intangled, could no waies escape destruction. Papæ concilium callidum.

The first procurers of this statute.

Practise of prelates to couple treason with heresie.

This M. Cope, haue I said, and say againe, not as one absolutely determining vpon the matter. At the doing whereof as I was not present my selfe, so with your own Hall, I may and do leaue it at large, but as one leading the reader by all coniectures and arguments of probabilitie and of due circumstances, to consider with themselues, what is further to bee thought in these old accustomed practises and procedings of these prelates. Protesting moreouer (M. Cope) in this matter to you, that those Chroniclers which you so much ground vpon, I take them in this matter, neither as witnesses sufficient, nor as iudges competent. Who as they were not themselues present at the deed done, no more then I, but onely following vncertaine rumors, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certaine triall of that which they do affirme, may therein both be deceiued themselues, and also deceiue you, and other which depend vpon them.

And hitherto concerning this statute enough. Out of which statute you see (M. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great aduantage, to proue any treason in the lord Cobham or in his fellowes, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premisses.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your sixth dialogue with your author Edward Hall, do alleage the records Et publica iudicij Acta, to diffame these men for traitors (although what records they be, you bring forth neuer a word) I therefore in their defence doe answere for them, which cannot now answere for themselues. And because you, to accuse them doe mention a certaine record, and yet doe not shew vs what record it is, and peraduenture cannot, if ye would: I haue taken the paines therfore, for the loue of them whom you so hate, to search out such Records, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first will declare the commission granted, then the inditement commenced against them.

Alanus Copus pag. 833. lin. 4.

The which commission, and inditement, albeit in countenance

stance of words will seeme to minister much suspition against them, to the simple Reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtill dealings and practises of Prelats: yet trusting vpon the goodnesse of the cause, which I see here so fairly and sleightly to be handled, I nothing feare nor doubt, to produce the same out of the records in Latine as they stand: to the intent that when the crafty handling of the aduersaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicitie of the innocent, to the true hearted Reader, shall the more better appeare. The words first of the Commission here follow vnder written: which when thou shalt heare, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle Reader, I beseech thee, before thou vnderstand further, what packing and subtill conueyance lieth couered and hid vnder the same.

In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

The words of commission against the lord Cobham.

R. Delectis & fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croiomere maiori Ciuitatis suæ London. Hugoni Huls, Ioanni Preston, & Ioanni Mertin salutem. Sciatis quòd cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeste dignoscatur quòd quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alij mortem nostram contra ligeanciæ suæ debitum proditorie imaginauerunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicæ, quàm status dominorum & magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt, ac diuersas congregationes, & alia conuenticula illicita pro nephando proposito suo in hac parte per implend. fecerunt in nostri exheredationem ac Regni nostri destructionem manifestam: Nos huiusmodi Lollardos ac alios prædictos, iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes: assignauimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres vestrum, quorum vos præfati maior & Hugo, duos esse volumus Iustic. nostros, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate prædicta & suburbijs eiusdem, ac de Comitate Middlesex. tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus per huiusmodi Lollardos in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. prædictis, factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnimodo proditionibus & insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. prædictis, per quoscunque, & qualitercunque factis siue perpetratis, et ad easdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni nostri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ad hoc prouideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones & premissa omnia & singula audiatis & terminetis in forma prædicta facturi, &c. Saluis, &c. Mandauimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. eius scire fac. venire faciet is coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot, &c. de Balliua sua, tam infr. libertates, quam extra, per quos, &c. & inquiri. In cuius, (B) &c. T. R. apud Westm. (B) x. die Ianuarij. Per ipsum Regem.

By these high and tragicall words in this commission sent downe against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and their fellowes: it may peraduenture seeme to the ignorant and simple Reader, some hainous crime of treason to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the church, the king and their countrey. But what cannot the ketching practise of the Romish prelats bring about, where they haue once conceiued a malice? Wherefore marueil not (good Reader) at this, nor iudge thou according to the words which thou hearest. But suspend thy iudgement a while, till the matter be more opened vnto thee. Examples of like handling be not so rare, but thou maist some iudge by other times the like also of these. George Egle, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of quéene Marie, and yet commission was directed against him, as in case of raising vp a commotion against the quéene. Adam Damlip in Calice did but preach, and the receiuing of one penie crowne two yéeres before at Rome was enough to make him a traytor. In the time of king Henrie the eight one Cingleton chaplaine to quéene Anne, the quéenes Maiesties mother that now is, did but preach the Gospell, moued by zeale (as I haue credible witnesse of his owne scholar that heard him speake it being with him) and yet by vertue of commission it was obiected to him: for raising vp commotion against the king, yea and also for killing of Pakington, and suffered for the same as a traytor. So heere, what matter or marueil is it, if the king incensed, or rather circumuented by the wrong information of the prelats (whom he beléeued) gaue out his commission, against things neuer wrought nor thought?

Examples of diuers falsly accused for treasons.

Wherefore I exhort thée (christian Reader) as I said before, iudge not by and by the truth, by the words of the commission: but iudge the words rather of the commission by the truth. Neither measure thou the line by the stone: but the stone rather by the line. At least yet deferre thy sentence, till both the Commission and the inditement being laid together, thou maist afterward sée and perceiue more, what is to be iudged in the case.

(A) In the meane season marke well these words of the king in this commission, (A) Cum nos plenius informemur, &c. By the which words it is easie to be vnderstood, that the king himselfe had no certaine knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of bishops no doubt and prelats) and thereupon gaue forth his commission aforesaid. And then how will this stand with our chroniclers and other epitomes and summaries, whom master Cope doth alleage? for if it be certaine that Robert Fabian saith, that the king himselfe being in the field tooke certaine of them, as sir Roger Acton, master Browne, and John Beuerley, and your owne Edward Hall, also and your Epitome agréeth to the same, and saith moreouer that they were brought before the kings presence: Thomas Couper also whom you alleage, addeth further and saith, that the king there by strength did take them:

Our English chronicles examined by the words of the Commission.

I pray you (master Cope) what néeded the king to write this by information, when as he both himselfe was present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witnesse of the déed? The which and if it be true, that the king heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your Chronicos & your Epitomas? But herein I will neither greatly sticke with you, nor contend with them: Desiring the Reader this only to beare in mind, the date of this present commission when it was giuen, (B) which is vnderstood to be the tenth day of Ianuarie, and afterward to compare the same with the date of the inditement heere vnder following, which I will (the Lord willing) also hereunto anner, leauing nothing out: yea rather ministring to the aduersaries all maner of helpes, whatsoeuer they can séeke or require for their most aduantage in this matter, to be desired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, nor fearing whatsoeuer blind malice can cauill against them.

(B)

The inditement of the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton and others, with notes following vpon the same.

PArliamenta coronæ coram domino rege apud Westm. de termino sancti Hillarij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti, post conque. primo Rot. vij. inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Gulielmo Crowmere maiore ciuitatis London. Hugone Huls & socijs Iustic. domini regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate domini regis London. & suburbijs eiusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus, per quæ plures subditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. predictis, factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnibus proditionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. pred. per quoscunq; & qualitercunq; factis siue perpetratis, & ad easdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius domini Regis patentes, assign. apud west. die Mercurij (A) proximo post festum Epiphaniæ domini (A) anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo, (B) per (B) sacram. xij. Iur. extitit presentatum: quod Ioannes Oldcastle de Couling in com. Kanc. chr. & alij Lollardi vulgar. nucupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diuersas opiniones hæreticas, & alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes à diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones & errores predictos manutenere, at in facto minime perimplere valentes, quandiu regia potestas & tam status regal. domini nostri regis, quam status & officium prelaciæ dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseuerarent, falso et proditorie machinando, tam statum regni, quam statum et officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnullare: Ac dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, prelatos, & alios magnates eiusdem regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, relict. cult. diuinis & religiosis obseruantijs ad occupationes mundanas prouocare, & tam ecclesias cathedrales, quam alias ecclesias et domos religiosas de reliquis & alijs bonis ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, et dictum Ioannem Oldcastel (C) Regentem eiusdem regni constituere, et quam plura regimina secundum eorum voluntatē infra regnum predictum (D) quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei catholicæ et cleri, quam status et maiestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falso et proditorie ordinauerunt et proposuerunt, quod ipso insimul cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diuersis partibus regni Angl. modo guerrino ariuat. (F) priuatim insurgent. et die Mercurij proximo (G) post festum Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis prędicti prędicto apud villam et parochiam sancti Egigij (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem vnanimit. conuenirent et insimul obuiarent pro nephando proposito suo in prémissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurij apud villam & parochiam predictas predicti I. Oldcastle et alij in huiusmodi proposito proditorio perseuerantes, predictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, videlicet, (H) Thomam ducem Clarentiæ, Ioannem de Lancastre, & Humfredum de Lancastre, necnon prelatos & magnates predictos interficere, nec non ipsum dominum nostrum regem et heredes suos de regno suo predicto exheredare, et premissa omnia & singula, necnon quam plura alia mala et intolerabilia facere et perimplere falso et proditorie proposuerunt et imaginauerunt (I) et ibidem versus campum predictum modo (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H) (I)

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guerrino arriati, proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitauerunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum Regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem inditamentū Dominus Rex nunc, certis de causis coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet prefatum Ioannem Oldcastle, si &c. Et saluo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus eius coram Domino Rege, apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurij proximo post octauas sancti Hillarij isto eodem termino ad respondendum domino Regi de premissis, &c. Ad quos diem et locum, coram domino Rege vic. return. quod predictus Iohannes Oldcastle non fuit inuentus in balliua sua, &c. per quod preceptum fuit, vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quousque vtlagetur si non, &c. Et si &c. tunc eum caperet, et saluo, &c. Ita quod haberent corpus eius coram Domino Rege in octauas Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ ex tunc proximum sequen. vbicunque, &c. ad respondendum domino regi de proditionibus, et felonijs superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octauas sancti Ioannis Baptistæ, an. regni R. Henrici quinti post conquestum secundo. Ioanne Sutton, & Io. Michell vic. Midd. coram domino Rege returnauerunt quod ad com. Mid. centum apud Braynford die Iouis proximo ante festum S. Barnabæ Apostoli, an. reg. R. Hen. quint. post conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes predictus Ioannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. comparuit. Ideo presentibus coronatoribus com. predicti vtlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis suis.

Notes or considerations vpon the inditement *and commission aboue prefixed.*

(A) The first note concerning the date and day both of the commission and of the verdict of Iurers concurring on one day.

(A) Die Mercurij proximo post festum Epiphaniæ, &c. ¶ First heere is to be noted and considered (good Reader) the day and date of giuing out the commission, and then of the verdict presented by the Iurers, which was both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, in the first yeer of the raigne of king Henrie the fifth, which was the tenth day of the month of Januarie (as the date of the commission saith) an. 1413. after the vse of England, or after the Romish vse, anno 1414. So that after the vse euer we count whether it be anno 1413. or else an. 1414. the Dominicall letter beginning at the first day of Januarie to change, must needs be G. for the yeere, and so necessarily make Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, to be the tenth day of the said moneth of Januarie. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the moneth, being well noted and borne in mind, on the which day both the commission was directed, and also the verdict presented, let vs now proceed further in the foresaid inditement. It followeth.

(B) The second note of the names of the Iurers left out.

(B) Per sacramentum xij. iuratorum extitit præsentatum, &c. ¶ If there had been true dealing in this, the Iurers should haue been named. But it is not like, that there was euer any such inditement found by any Iurers, and therefore they did best, not to name the Iurers, lest they would haue denied this inditement to be their act. It followeth more in processe of the inditement.

(C) The third argument, by making a Regent, the king being not yet gone ouer.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcastle Regentem Eiusdem regni constituere, &c. ¶ If there were no other argument, this were sufficient to disproue the manifest vntruth of this surmised inditement. When as the king was not yet gone to France, nor determined to go. how could they conspire then to make a Regent? For the king went in July following, viz. the second yeere of his raigne, leauing behind him the queene his mother in law, for Regent; whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was vntruly entred and stollen into the records with an antedate, or else at the least, there appeareth manifest vntruth, that they should conspire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought vpon, vnlesse it were already ruine into the heads of the clergie, who shortly after fearing their temporalties (as Caxton saith) perswaded the king to make wars in France. This word Regent therefore procedeth of the secret spirit of the clergie, and maketh the whole matter very suspitious, to be grounded altogether vpon the malice of the clergie, and their vntrue surmises. It followeth moreouer.

(D) The fifth argument by contrarietie.

(D) Quasi gens sine capite in finalem destructionem, &c. ¶ How doth this stand with that goeth before, that they conspired to make a Regent, except you will say that to make a Regent, is to be a people without an head? It followeth:

(E) The sixth argument by the persons vnknowne.

(E) Cum quampluribus rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum, &c. ¶ A strange matter that they should know of the conspiracie of twentie thousand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels, but the lord Cobham only, or one or two mo. And all the rest were ignoti.

(F) The seuenth argument by the vnskilfull penning.

(F) Priuatim insurgentes, &c. ¶ This smelleth of the clergies owne penning, without any great aduice of learned counsell: for otherwise such as had been herein skilfull, would neuer haue put in priuatim insurgentes.

(G) The eight argument by the date and time.

(G) Die Mercurij proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Anno R. R. prædicto, &c. This Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, was the tenth day of the month of Januarie, and the same day when both the conspiracie was put in execution, and the same day when the commission was giuen out to enquire, also when the fact was by inquirie presented. Whereby it may seeme a strange thing that so great a conspiracie knowen beforehand, was not suppressed nor inquired of by any commission but only by a commission bearing date of the same daie, vpon which day by the purport of the inditement, the conspiracie should haue been put in execution, by open rebellion, as it is afforesaid.

(H) The ninth argument by error and wrong naming the Dukes.

(H) Prædictum Dnostrum Regem fratres suos, videl. Thomam Ducem Clarentiæ, Ioannem de Lancastrē, et Humfredum de Lancastre, &c. ¶ If the kings learned counsell had dealt in this inditement, as in case of treason they should haue done, if it had been a matter of truth, they would neuer haue handled it so slenderly, and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford, and of Gloceſter; John of Lancaster, and Hunfrey of Lancaster, who were made dukes in the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of king Henrie the fourth their father, as appeareth by Caxtones chronicle.

(I) The tenth note or argument by the absence of the partie.

(I) Et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie modo insurrectionis, contra ligeantias suas equitauerunt ad debellandum dictum D. nostrum regem, &c. ¶ This is falsified by plaine euidence of histories. And Cope himself confesseth no lesse. For he so saith & confesseth, pag. 833. lin. 12. That sir John Oldcastle was not there in person, but onlie, that his consent and good will was there.

The eleuenth note or argument.

Againe, seeing this equitation or riding toward Saint Giles field was vpon the Wednesday next after the feast of Epiphanie (as in this inditement and processe of outlawrie is aboue testified) which was the tenth day of Januarie, and commission also the same day was charged, and the iurie moreouer impanelled the same day, and yet no Iurer named: Item, the verdict the same day presented; how all these can concur together, and all in one day, let the Reader after he haue well considered the matter, vse his iudgement therein, not only whether it be like, but also whether it be possible.

The twelfth note or argument. The lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, &c. proued no traitors.

Ouer and beside all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duely handled, as touching the treason, then had it not been needful to haue brought sir John Oldcastle into the Parliament house, before the lords to haue had his iudgement. For by the outlawrie (if it had been true) he was attainted, and without any more ado should haue had iudgement in the kings Bench as a traytour. But the chiefe Iustice knowing the handling of the matter, durst not belike enterprise so farre. Wherefore it was deuised, that he should certifie the record into the parliament, which he did together with the bishops sentence filed to the record, which was verie strange.

And thereupon the lords gaue such a iudgement, as was not due for a traytour. For that they gaue no iudgement, that he should be drawen, hanged, and let downe aliue, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the iudgement of a traytour. And albeit the parliament might haue attainted him without anie more adoe: And by the same act of attainder haue ordained a speciall iudgement, as they should thinke good: yet when he was before attainted by the outlawrie, they could not lawfullie varie from the common iudgement of treason. At least how could or should the iudgement of Sir Roger Acton, maister Browne, and John Beuerley, who were iudged in the Guildhall before and without the parliament, varie from the said common iudgement of Traytours, if they had truelie committed, and been conuicted of such high treason?

The thirteenth note or argument.

Adde this moreouer to the foresaid notes: that if sir John Oldcastle after his escape out of prison, had been culpable and so attainted of that high treason, whereby his lands had been immediatly forfeit vnto the king by the processe of his outlawrie: What needed the king then in the second yeere of his raigne, in the parliament after holden at Leicester, haue made that prouiso to haue his land forfeit to him by vertue of parliament, vpon his escape on the day of his arrest: when as the lands and cattel of his had been forfeit before, by the processe of the outlawrie, as is before specified?

Thus you see (maister Cope) how little aduantage you can wrest out of this commission and enditement against the lord Cobham and his fellowes, to proue them traytours. And admit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons assented to the Act: yet it bindeth not in such sort (as if in deed he were no traitour) that any may not by search of the truth vtter and set forth sincerely and iustly the very true cause whereby his death hapt and followed.

Answere to the allegations of Fabian, Polydore, and Hall, &c.

¶ Thus then hauing sufficiently cleared the lord Cobham and his partners, from all that you can obiect vnto them out of records and statutes: let vs now come to your English chronicles, wherewith you seeme to presse me, and to oppresse them, whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Hall, Polydor Virgilius, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other briefe Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which authors, as I haue not to saie, but to their commendation in this place: so if that you had auouched the same, to the commendation rather then to the reproofe of other, I would better haue commended your nature, and beleeued your cause. But now like a spidercatcher sucking out of euery one, what

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what is the worst, to make vp your leyksall, you heape vp a dunghill of dirtie Dialogues containing nothing in them but malitious railing, virulent slanders, manifest vntruthes, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemies, able almost to corrupt and infect the aire. Such is the maladie and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to barke, before it hath learned well to write. Which pen of yours notwithstanding I doe not here reprooch nor contemne, as neither doe I greatly feare the same. God of his mercie kéepe the sword out of the Papists hand, it is not the pen of the Papists I greatly passe vpon, though twentie copes, and so many surpleses, were set against the booke of Monuments, were I so disposed (maister Cope) to dallie, or as the Grécke doe say παιζειν, and to repay againe as I am prouoked. But in despitefull railing, and in this satyricall sort of barking I giue you ouer, and suffer you therein to passe not onely your selfe, but also Cerberus himselfe if yée will, the great bandog of Pluto. Mildnesse and humanitie rather beseemeth and is the grace of the Latine phrase. If yée could hit vpon the vaine thereof, it would win you much more honestie, with all honest men. But the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beséech him to doe, and to forgiue you that you haue done.

Modestie commended in writers.

In the meane time séeing this your prattling penne must néeds be walking, yet this you might haue learned of these your owne authors whom you alleage, more ciuillie to haue tempered your fume, in exclaiming against them, whose cause is to you not perfitly knowne. And now briefly to answere to these your foresaid writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in these chronicle-writers to be considered: First the grounds which they follow: secondly in what place they serue.

Two things to be obserued in story-writers.

As touching the order and ground of writting among these Chronicles, yée must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed, was present at the deed, nor witnesse of the fact, so haue they nothing of themselues herein certainly to affirme, but either must follow publicke rumor and hearesay for their author, or else one of them must borrow of another. Whereof neither séemeth to me sufficient. For as publike rumor is neuer certaine: so one author may some deceiue another.

The ground of histories to be considered.

By reason whereof it commeth oft to passe, that as these story-writers hit many times the trueth, so againe all is not the gospell that they doe write. Wherefore great respect is here to be had, either not to credite rashly euery one that writeth stories, or else to sée what grounds they haue whom we doe follow.

All things not true, that be found in stories.

Now to demand (Master Cope) of you, what authoritie or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, hath Polydore Virgil, Edward Hall, and other of your authors, to proue these men to be traitors? What authoritie doe they auouch? what acts, what registers, what records, or out of what court doe they shew? or what demonstration doe they make? And doe you thinke it sufficient, because these men do onely affirme it, without any further probation, with your αὐτοψιαν, therefore we are bound to beléeue it? Take me not so (M. Cope) that I doe here diminish any thing or derogate from the credite of those writers you alleage, whose labors haue deserued well, and serue to great vtilitie: but comming now to triall of a matter lying in controuersie betweene vs, we are now forced to séeke out the fountaine and bottome of the trueth, where it is not enough to say, so it is, but the cause is to be shewed, why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall, should all together (as they doe not) agrée in the treason of sir John Oldcastle and of the rest: yet neither is this any sufficient surety to proue them traitors. Considering that writers of stories for most part following either blind report: or else one taking of another, vse commonly all to sound together after one time, tanquam Dodonæi lebetes, so that as one saith, all say, and if one erre, all doe erre. Wherefore you sée M. Cope, how it is not sufficient nor sure to sticke onely to the names and authorities of Chronographers, vnlesse the ground be found substantiall whereupon they stand themselues. Which yet in none of these whom you haue produced, doth appeare.

Words without probation are not sufficient in story matters.

Secondly, in alleaging and writing of chronicles is to be considered to what place and effect they serue. If yée would shew out of them the order and course of times, what yéeres were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their christmas, what conduites were made, what Maiors and Sheriffes were in London, what battailes were fought, what triumphes and great feasts were holden, when kings began their raigne, and when they ended, &c. In such vulgar and popular affaires, the narration of the chronicler serueth to good purpose, and may haue his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much, whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to beléeue them. But whereas a thing is denied, and in cases of iudgement, and in controuersies doubtfull, which are to be decided and boulted out by euidence of iust demonstration: I take them neither for Iudges of the bench, not for arbitrers of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselues sufficient necessarily to be sticked vnto. Albeit I deny not but histories are taken many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquitie, &c. yet not such witnesses, as whose testimonie beareth alwaies a necessary truth and bindeth beliefe.

Chroniclers how far, and to what effect they serue.

The two witnesses which came against Susanna, being seniors both of ancient yéeres, bare a great countenance of a most euident testimonie, whereby they almost both deceiued the people, and oppressed the innocent: had not young Daniel by the holy spirit of God, taken them aside, and seuerallie examining them one from the other, found them to be false liers both; leauing to vs thereby a lesson of wholsome circumspection, not rashly to beléeue euery one that commeth: and also teaching vs how to trie them out. Wherefore (M. Cope) following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your records whom yée infer against these men, we will in like manner examine them, seuerally one from another, and sée how their testimony agreeth: first beginning with your Robert Fabian. Which Robert Fabian being neither in the same age, nor at the déede doing, can of himselfe giue no credite herein, without due proofe, and euidence conuenient.

Hillarius not rashly to be beleeued.

How then doth Robert Fabian proue this matter of treason true? what probation doth he bring? what authoritie doth he alleage? And doth Robert Fabian thinke, if he were not disposed to conceiue of the lord Cobham, and those men a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bound to beléeue him onely at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so doe, but onely because he so saith and pléased him so to write? And if yée thinke (M. Cope) the word onely of this witnesse sufficient to make authoritie speaking against the lord Cobham, and proouing nothing which followed so many yéeres after him: Why may not I as well and much rather take the word and testimonie of Richard Welward a Northfolke man and of the towne of Crikam, who liuing both in his time, and possible knowing the partie, and punished also for the like trueth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of the church of Norwich, to giue this testimonie among other his articles, for the foresaid lord Cobham, that is, that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholike man and falsely condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c. Ex Regi-stro Noruic.

The testimonie of Fabian against the lord Cobham examined.

The testimonie of Richard Welward for the lord Cobham.

Ex Regist. Epis. Noruic.

Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one heretike will hold with another: why may not I with the like exception replie to you againe, and say as well, one papist hold with another, and both conioure together, to make and say the worst against a true Protestant.

Further, yet to examine this foresaid Fabian, witnesse against sir John Oldcastle, as Daniel examined the witnesses against Susanna: I will not here aske vnder what trée these adherents of sir John Oldcastle conspired against the king, and subuersion of the land, but in what time, in what yéere and moneth this conspiracy was wrought: Fabian witnesseth that it was in the moneth of Ianuarie. Contrariwise Edw. Hall and other our abridgementers following him, doe affirme that they were condemned in the Guildhall the 17. of December, and that their execution vpon the same was in Ianuarie following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the moneth of December, or else before; and so Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, vt cum Daniele dicam: or if it were in the moneth of Ianuarie, as Fabian saith, then is Hall and his followers deceiued, testifying the fact to be done in the moneth of December.

Witnesses against the lord Cobham agree not together.

And yet to obiect moreouer against the said Fabian, for so much as he is such a rash witnes against these burned persons, whom he calleth traitors: it would be demanded further of him, or in his absence of maister Cope, in what yeare this treason was conspired? If it were in the same yeare (as he confesseth himselfe) in which yéer John Cleidon the Skinner, and Richard Tarmine Baker were burned, then was it neither in ỹ moneth of Ianuarie, nor in the first year of king Henry the fifth. For in the Register of Canturbury it appeareth plaine, that John Cleydon was condemned neither in the time of Thomas Arundell archbishop, nor yet in the first nor second yéere of king Henry the 5. but was condemned in the second yéer of the translation of Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canturbury, the 17. day of August, which was the yéer of our Lord, 1415. So that if this conspiracy was in the same yéer (after the witnesse of Fabian) in which yéer John Cleidon was burned, then doth the testimony of Fabian neither accord with other witnesses, nor with himselfe, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witnesse of R. Fabian.

Fabian conflicted of a manifest vntruth in his story of the lord Cobham.

Fabian, pars. 7. in vita Henr. 5. pag. 390.

Ex Regist. Archiepisc. Cant.

Let vs next proceed to Polydore Virgil, whose partiall and vntrue handling of our history in other places of his books, doth offer vnto vs sufficient exceptiõ not to admit his credit in this. And yet because we will rather examine him, then exclude him, let vs heare a little what he saith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbring the same vpon my fiue fingers.

The testimonie of Polydore examined.

First ending with the life of king Henry 4. hée saith that hée reigned 14 yéeres and 6. moneths, and 2. daies, Angl. hist. lib. 21. which is an vntruth, worthy to be punished with a whole yeeres banishment (to speake after the maner Apuleius) when as truth is, he reigned by the testimony of the story of saint Albons, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English chronicle, and of Scalamundi, but 13. and 6. moneths, lacking, as some say, 5. daies, Hall saith he reigned but 12. yéers.

5. Untruths of Polydore noted in one story.

1. Untruth.

2. Untruth. The second vntruth of Polydore is this, whereas he speaking of this sedition of sir John Oldcastle and his adherents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of John Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, which was (saith he) An. 1415. in which yeare (saith he) Thomas Arundell died. His words be these: In eodem concilio damnata est Ioh. Wicliffi hæresis, ac Ioan. Hus, & Hieronymus Pragensis in ea vrbe combusti sunt. Quod vbi reliquis consocijs, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furijs agitati primùm coniurationes in omnes sacerdotes, deinde in regem, &c. In which words hee not onely erreth, falsly assigning the cause and occasion of this sedition to the death of John Hus, and of Hierome, but also misseth as much in the order & computation of the yers. For neither was sir Roger Acton with his foresaid fellowes aliue at the time of the councell; neither doth hee agrée therein with any of our English writers, except onely with Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

3.4. Untruth. For the third and fourth vntruth I note this, where he adeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the king, the said sir John Oldcastle being there present himselfe, was taken and prisoned in the Tower, and afterward escaped out of the said Tower by night: wherein is contained a double vntruth. For neither was sir John Oldcastle there present himselfe, if we beleeue Fabian and Cope, Dial.6.pag.833, lin.11. neither yet did he euer escape out of the Tower after that conspiracie, if euer any such conspiracie was.

Copus pag.833. lin.11.

5. Untruth. His v. but not the last vntruth in Polydore is this, that hee saith, Tho. Arundell to haue died in the same yeare, noting the yeare to be Anno 1415. whereas by the true registers he died Anno 1413.

Another vntruth in Polydor noted. To this vntruth an other also may be ioyned, where he erring in the computation of the yeare of the said Tho. Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, reporteth him to sit 22. yeares. Who was there archbishop but onely 18. yeares, as is to bee seene in the records of Cant. The words of Polydor be these: Thomas Arundellius Cantuariensis antistes annum iam tunc sedens tertium & trigesimum è vita excessit, lib. 22. Ang. hist. Albeit in this I doe not greatly contend with Polydore, and peraduenture the aduersarie will find some ealle shift for this matter.

The testimonie of Hall against the L. Cobham examined. But let vs now passe from Polydore, not (as they say) out of the hall into the kitchin, but out of the kitchin vnto the hall, examining and perpending what saith Edward Hall an other witnes in this matter: vpon whom master Cope bindeth so fast, that he supposeth his knot is neuer able to be loosed. And moreouer so treadeth me downe vnder his feet in the dirt (as a man would thinke him some dirtdaubers sonne) so that the spots therof, he saith, will neuer be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer. Notwithstanding I trust M. Cope that your dirtie pen with your cockish brags hath not so bedaubed and bespotted me, nor yet conuicted me to be such a deprauer of histories, but I hope to spunge it out. At least way, with a little asperges of the popes holy water, I trust to come to a dealbabor, well enough.

But certes, M. Cope, your maistership must first vnderstand, that if ye thinke so to deprelle, and disproue mee of vntruth in my history, you must go more roundly to worke, and bring against me other authors then Edward Hall. You must consider (M. Cope) if you will be a controller in storie matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing spirit, or a mind disposed to carpe and cauill where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great searching out of bookes and authors not onely of our time, but of all ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church; it is not sufficient to see what Fabian, or what Hall saith, but the records must be sought, the registers must be turned ouer, letters also and ancient instruments ought to bee perused, and authors with the same compared; finally, the writers among themselues one to be conferred with another. And so with iudgement to be waighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with simplicitie pure from all addiction and partialitie to be vttered.

Thus did Auentinus, thus did Sleidanus write. These helps also the eldest and best historicians seemed to haue, both Titus Liuius, Salustius, Quintus Curtius, and such like, as by their letters and records inserted may wel appeare. The same helps likewise both in your Fabian and in your Edward Hall were to be required, but especially in you (M. Cope) your selfe, which take vpon you so cockishly (rather then wisely) to bee a controller and master moderator of other mens matters. In which matters (to say the truth) you haue no great skill, and lesse experience, neither haue you either such plentie of authors méete for that purpose, nor yet euer trauelled to search out the origens and grounds of that whereof ye write. But onely contented with such as commeth next to hand, or peraduenture receiuing such almose as some of your poore friends bestow vpon you, thinke it sufficient if you can alledge Fabian and Hall for your purpose.

Cope a carper of stories wherof he hath no skill.

Now what purpose and affection herein doth leade you, or rather doth driue you to the carping and barking against the history of these good men, that be hence gone and had their punishment, all men may see it to bee no simple sinceritie of a mind indifferent, but the zeale onely of your sect of poperie, or rather of furie, which setteth your railing spirit on fire. But now out of the fierie kitchin, to come to the hall againe, let vs see what matter lieth in the testimonie of Edward Hall, to proue these men to be traitors. And here for so much (master Cope) as you seeme neither sufficiently acquainted with this your own master and author master Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of histories, I will take a little paines for you, in this behalfe, to certifie you concerning the storie of this author, whereof percase you your selfe are ignorant.

Answere to Edward Hall.

The trueth whereof is this, that as the said Edward Hall, your great master and testis, was about the compiling of his storie, certaine there were which resorted to him, of whom some were drawers of his petigree and vineat, some were grauers, the names of whom were John Bets, and Tyrrall, which be now both dead. And other there were of the same sodalitie, who be yet aliue, and were then in the house of Richard Grafton, both the Printer of the said booke, and also (as is thought) a great helper of the penning of the same. It so befell that as Hall was entring into the storie of sir John Oldcastle, of sir Roger Acton, and their fellowes, the booke of John Bale touching the storie of the lord Cobham, was the same time newly come ouer. Which booke was priuilie conueyed by one of his seruants into the studie of Hall, so that in turning ouer his bookes, it must needs come to his hands. At the sight whereof, when he saw the ground and reasons in that booke contained, he turned to the authors in the foresaid booke alleaged, whereupon within two nights after, moued by what cause I knowe not; but so it was, that he taking his pen, raced and cancelled all that he had written before, against sir John Oldcastle and his fellowes, and was now ready to goe to the print, containing neere to the quantitie of three pages. And lest (M. Cope) you, or any other should thinke me to speake beside my booke, be it therefore knowne both to you and to all other, by these presents, that the very selfe same first copie of Hall raced and crossed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be shewed and seene, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out came to this effect. Wherein he following the narration of Polydore, began with like words, to declare how the Sacramentaries here in England, after the death of John Hulle, and Hierome of Prage, being pricked, as he saith, with a demoniacall sting, first conspired against the priests, and after against the king, hauing to their Captaines sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton knight, with many mo words to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore and other such like Chroniclers doe write against him. All which matter notwithstanding, the said Hall with his pen at the sight of John Bales booke, did vtterly extinct and abolish. Adding in the place thereof the words of master Bales booke, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said lord Cobham, before Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, taken out of the letter of the said archbishop, as is in his owne storie to bée seene: In vita Hen.5.pag.2.lin.30.

Hall racketh out his owne storie written against the L. Cobham.

Hal. in vita Hen.5.pag. 2.b.lin.30.

And thus Edward Hall your author, reuoking and casting backe all that he had deuised before against the lord Cobham (whereof I haue his owne hand to shew, and witnesse substantiall vpon the same) in his printed booke recordeth of him no more, but only sheweth the processe betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and him for matters of religion. And so ending with sir John Oldcastle, proceedeth further to the assemblie of sir Roger Acton (whom he falsely calleth Robert Acton) John Browne, and Beuerley, the narration whereof he handleth in such sort, that hee neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with trueth it selfe. For where hée excludeth the lord Cobham out of that assembly, he discordeth therein from Polydore and other: And where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracie, to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of December: that is manifestly false, if the records before alleaged be true. And where he reporteth this assembly to be after the burning of John Hulle, and of Hierome of Prage, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with the trueth. Moreouer, so doubtfull he is and ambiguous in declaration of this storie, that no great certaintie can be gathered of him.

Hall in the story of the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other stories.

Untrueth in Hall noted.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himselfe, that he saw it not, and therefore leaueth it at large. And as concerning the causes of their death, he leaueth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth M. Cope) to define or pronounce any thing therof, but onely reciteth the surmises and mindes of diuers men diuerslie, some thinking it was for conueying the lord Cobham out of the tower, some that it was for treason and heresie; and here commeth in the mention onely of a record, but what record it is neither doth he vtter it, nor doth hee examine it: other some againe affirming (as he saith) that it was for fained causes surmised by the spiritualtie, more of displeasure then trueth. And thus your author Hall, hauing recited the varietie of mens opinions, determineth himselfe no certaine thing therof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the coniectures of all men, nor to the writings of all men, referreth the whole iudgement of the matter free vnto the Reader. And so concluding his narration, forsomuch as he was neither a witnesse of the fact, nor present at the deede, he ouerpasseth the storie therof.

Hall doubtfull in the storie of sir R. Acton, &c.

Hall no witnes in sir Roger Actons case.

And

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And what witnes then will you, or can you (maister Cope) take of Edward Hall, which denieth himselfe to be a witnesse? Will you compell him to say that he saw not? and to witnesse that he cannot? Wherefore like as Sulanna, in the storie of Daniel was quit by right iudgement in the case of adulterie, because her accusers and testes being examined asunder, were found to varie and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees: So why may not in like case of treason, sir Roger Acton, sir John Oldcastle, Browne with the rest, claime the same priuiledge? seeing among the testes and witnes produced against them, such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, yeere, day, nor moneth.

Repugnance noted in the witnesse against the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton.

1. Repugnance in the place.

1 For first where Fabian and his fellowes say: that they were assembled together in a great companie, in the field neere to S. Giles, the forged inditement aboue alleaged, saith, they were but riding toward the field.

2. Repugnance in the person. *Ala. Copus pag. 833. lin. 12.*

2 Secondly, where the foresaid inditement and Polydore, giue the lord Cobham to be present personally in that assemblie, Hall, and Alanus Copus Anglus, do exclude his personall presence from thence: and so doth Fabian also seeme to agree, speaking only of the adherents of sir John Oldcastle.

3. Repugnance in the yeere.

3 Thirdly, where Hall and Polydorus report this assemblie to be after the burning of John Hus, and of Hierome at the councell of Constance, which was An. 1413. that cannot be, but if there were any such conspiracie in the first yeere of Henrie the fifth, it must needs be an. 1413. And heere by the way, why doe certaine of your Epitome writers, speaking of the lord Cobham committed first to the tower for heresie, refer the said imprisonment to the yeere 1412. whereas, by their owne count, reckoning the yeere from the Annunciation, it must needs be an. 1413. being done in haruest time?

4. Repugnance in the month.

4 Fourthly, where Hall with his followers affirme that sir Roger Acton, Browne and Beuerley were condemned the twelfth day of December, the record is euident against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of Januarie.

5. Repugnance in the day.

5 Fifthly, whereas the foresaid record of the inditement giueth the Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, which was the tenth day of Januarie that present yeere, both the fact to be committed the same day, the Commission also to be granted and deliuered to the Commissioners the same day: the said Commissioners to sit in Commission the same day: the sheriffs of Middlesex to returne a iury out of the body of Middlesex the same day: and the Iurers to find the inditement the same day, and yet no iurer in the inditement named the same day:

Item, the lord Cobham the same day to be found conspiring to make himselfe Regent, when as the king, that day and yeere, was not yet passed into France: how all these can concurre and hang together and all in one day; I suppose it will cost you two daies, before you, with all your learned counsell will studie it out. And when you in your vnlawfull assemblies haue conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will yee make it (as I thinke) three daies, before you honestly dispatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye thinke, that you haue imprested in me such a foule note of lying, neuer to be claimed off while the world standeth, yet shall the posteritie to come iudge betweene you and me, whether shall appeare more honest and true, my defence for that worthie lord, then your vncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, moued with no other cause, but onlie with the peeuish spirit of poperie, which can abide nothing, but that sauoureth of your owne sect. For else how manie loud lying legends, yea what legion of lies are daily bled and receiued in the popish church? What doltish dreames? what fained miracles? what blasphemous tales and frierlie fables, and idle inuentions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine and crosse of Christ? And could you hold your pen from all these, and find nothing else to set your idlenesse on worke, but onlie to write against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Browne, Onley, Colbrige, with a few other, whom with much ado, at length you haue sought out, not so much for anie true zeale to rebuke iniquitie, as craftilie seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the booke of Acts and Monuments? Which seemeth belike to make you scratch there, where it itcheth not. And if I should after the like dealing take in hand your popish portues, and with like diligence excuse euerie popish Martyr and Saint there canonized: thinke you maister Cope, I could not make you out halfe a dosen as ranke traitours and rebels to their kings and princes, as euer were anie of these of your picking out? What pope almost hath there been these last 500. yeeres, which hath not been a traitour to his emperour and prince, and to his countrie? either openlie rebelling against them, or priuilie conspiring their destruction, or proudlie setting their feet vpon their neckes, or spurning their crownes off from their heads, or making the sonne to fight against the father? how manie haue they deposed, and set vp other in their seats? how manie emperours and kings haue they wrongfullie cursed? what Consuls of Rome haue they resisted, deposed, and put to death? What warres haue they raised vp against their owne countrie of Rome? Yea the continuall holding of the citie of Rome, from his lawfull emperour, what is it but a continuall point of treason?

Papists cannot see great beams in their owne eyes, which spie small motes in other.

Popes traitors to their emperours and princes.

What will you answere me (maister Cope) to the pope, which conspired to let fall downe a stone vpon the emperours head, kneeling at his praiers? pag. 160.

And though this treacherie being as big as a millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eie, that it could not be espied: yet what will you say by the monke of Swinsted, that poisoned king John, who was both absolued by his abbat before his treason committed, and after his treason had a perpetuall Masse sung for him, to helpe him out of purgatorie?

The popes saints and confessors many were traitors.

And what thinke yee in your conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more then became him, to set the French king, and the king of England together by the eares? Of Anselme likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the realme to complaine of their princes and soueraignes? the like may be said also of John Peckham. John Stratford archbishop of the same see, notoriouslie resisted the kings commandement, being sent for by king Edward the third, to come to the parliament at Yorke, through the default of whose comming, the present opportunitie of getting of Scotland was the same time lost.

Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke, was openlie in armes to rebell and fight against king Henrie the fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death. And yet notwithstanding commission was sent down from the pope shortlie after, to excommunicat them which put him to death, his treason notwithstanding. Reade the storie sincerelie of pope Benedict the twelfth, and of pope Clement the sixth. And see how the traiterous rebellion of these two popes against Ludouicus their rightfull emperour can be defended: which emperour at last was also empoisoned, and that not without the practise of pope Clement, as doth Hieronymus Marius crediblie witnesse.

Rich. Scrope archbishop of Yorke traytor, and yet counted a holy man.

Popes commonly traytors.

In the raigne of king Edward the second, mention was made before of Thomas earle of Lancaster. Who with a great number of other nobles and barons of the realme, rose in armour against their prince, and therefore at length were put to death as traitors. And yet notwithstanding this treason committed (maister Cope) if you be so ignorant in our stories, that you know it not; set your setters on to search, and you shall find it true, that certaine noble men went vp to Rome, for the canonizing of the said Thomas of Lancaster to be made a Saint, and obtained the same. In so much that in a certaine old Calendar, the name of the said S. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seene.

Tho. Lancaster a traitor, and yet made a saint by the pope.

In the former booke of the Acts and Monuments aboue, about the pag. 353. & 354. mention was made of Edmund of Abbenden archb. of Canturb. whom although I do not disprooue, but rather commend in my history, for his bold and sage counsell giuen vnto king Henrie the third: and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the king in so necessary a cause: yet notwithstanding the same Edmund afterward about his latter end, went vp with a rebelling mind to complaine of his king vnto the pope, and in his iourney died, before his returne: who afterward for the same, was canonized by the pope, & now shineth among the Saints in the popes Calendar.

Edmund archbishop of Canturburie rebelled against his prince, and yet made a saint by the pope.

Let vs come more neere to these daies and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king, and afterward comming in with Henrie Bolinbroke duke of Hereford, in open armes and with maine force rose against his naturall and lawfull king: thinke you (maister Cope) this is not as great a point of treason, as that which was done in Thickets fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous Saints, yet I thinke nothing contrarie, but in your heart you will not greatly sticke to say, Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.

Thomas Arundell a ranke traytor against his king, and yet a great pillar counted in the popes church.

All these things well considered, tell me (M. Cope) I pray you, is treason such a strange and vnsoth thing in your popecatholike church, that your burning zeale of obedience to kings and princes, cannot reade the storie of the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many traitors in your owne Calendars neither seene, nor once spoken of? And if the traiterous conspiracie and rebellion of so manie your Calendar saints committed against emperours, kings and princes, cannot stir your zeale, nor moue your pen: Nor if the treason of pope Gregorie the ninth raising war against his owne citie of Rome, and causing thirty thousand citizens in one battel to be slaine, pag. 256. deserueth not to be espied, and accused as much as this treason of the lord Cobham: yet what will you or can you answere to me (maister Cope) as touching the horrible treason of pope Gregorie the seuenth, committed not against emperour nor king, nor any mortall man, but against the Lord himselfe, euen against your God of your owne making, being therein as you say no substance of bread, but the verie personall bodie, flesh, blood, and bones of Christ himselfe; which bodie notwithstanding the foresaid pope Gregorie the seuenth tooke and cast with his owne hands into the burning fire, because he would not answere him to a certaine doubt or demand? Ben. Card. pag. 160. Sothly, if sir John Oldcastle had taken the bodie of king Henrie 5. and throwne him into the fire, the fact being so notoriouslie certaine as this is, I would neuer haue bestowed any word

Pope Gregorie the seuenth a traytor against the Lords owne bodie.

Vide supra, pag. 160.

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in his defence. And could this, and so many other hainous treasons passe through your fingers (M. Cope) and no other to sticke in your pen but the lord Cobham?

Finally and simplie to conclude with you (M. Cope) and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions and practises of your religion, or hath been almost these fiue hundred yeeres, but a certaine perpetuall kind of treason, to thrust downe your princes and magistrates, to derogate from their right and iurisdiction, and to aduance your owne maiesties and dominations, as hath been sufficiently aboue proued and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in France, by the lord Peter de Cugnerijs? vide pag. 324. Wherefore if the assemblie of these forenamed persons, either within or without S. Giles field be such a great mote of treason in your eyes, first looke vpon the great blockes and millstones of your owne traytors at home, and when you haue well discussed the same, then after powre out your wallet of your triseling dialogues or trialogues if ye list against vs, and spare vs not.

Vide supra, pag. 324.

Not that I so thinke this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the treason of these men, if your popish calendars and legends be found full of traytors, Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium: But this I think, that the same cause which made them to suffer as traytors, hath made you also to raile against them for traytors, that is, meere hatred only against their religion, rather then any true affection you haue to your princes and gouernors. Who if they had been as feruent in your poperie, and had suffered so much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother church of Rome, I doubt not, but they as holy children of Rome had been rung into your Romish calendar with a festum duplex, or at least with a festum simplex of nine lessons, also with a vigil peraduenture before them.

Religion commonly maketh treason among the papists.

Now because they were of the contrarie profession, and enemies to your Magna Diana Ephesiorum, you play with them as the Ephesian caruers did with Saint Paul and worse. You thrust them out as seditious rebels, not only out of life and bodie, but also cannot abide them to haue any poore harbour in their owne friends houses, among our Acts and Monuments to be remembred. In the which Acts and Monuments, and if gentle master Ireneus, with his fellow Critobulus in your clerkly Dialogues, wil not suffer them to be numbred for martyrs: yet speake a good word for them (M. Cope) they may stand for tokes or witnesse bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Answere to the second part of Copes accusation concerning his untrue charging of the booke of Acts and Monuments.

Now to the other part of his accusation, wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus in his ἑπταπλᾶ, or sirfold dialogues contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to proue me in my historie to be a lier, forger, imprudent, a misreporter of truth, a deprauer of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else not: whose virulent words and contumelious termes, how well they become his popish person, I know not. Certes for my part I neuer deserued this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. M. Cope is a man whom yet I neuer saw, and lesse offended, nor euer heard of him before. And if he had not in the front of his booke intituled himselfe to be an English man, by his writing I would haue iudged him rather some wilde Irishman, lately crept out of S. Patrikes purgatorie, so wildely he writeth, so fumishly he fareth.

But I cease heere, and temper my selfe, considering not what M. Cope deserueth to be said vnto, nor how farre the pen heere could runne if it had his scope, but considering what the tractation rather of such a serious cause requireth. And therefore seriously to say vnto you (M. Cope) in this matter, where you charge my historie of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of vntruthes, false lies, impudent forgeries, deprauations, fraudulent corruptions, and fained fables; briefly, and in one word to answere you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of their aduersarie, with ſi, but with ὁ ſi: Would God (M. Cope) that in all the whole booke of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the latter end of the same, were neuer a true storie, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables. Would God the crueltie of your catholikes had suffered all them to liue, of whose death ye say now that I do lie. Although I denie not but in that booke of Acts and Monuments containing such diuersitie of matter, some thing might ouerscape: yet haue I bestowed my poore diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

The booke of Acts and Monuments too true, if it had pleased God otherwise.

If you (master Cope) or any other can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely or truly, with all my heart, I shall reioyce with you and the Common wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexteritie, fineneſſe or other indiuments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you, nor any other. I grant that in a laboured storie, such as you seeme to require, containing such infinite varietie of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: but such time as I had, that I did bestow, if not so laboriously as other could, yet as diligently as I might.

But heere partly I heare what you will say: I should haue taken more leasure and done it better. I grant and confesse my fault, such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day (master Cope) smoothing and minsing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing my selfe all the day at the glasse of Cicero: Yet notwithstanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinkes I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at master Copes hand. Who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other mens labours (which is an easie thing to do) it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himselfe vpon the matter, and so should haue proued what faults might haue been found in him. Not that I herein do vtterly excuse my selfe, yea rather am readie to accuse my selfe, but yet notwithstanding thinke my selfe vngently dealt withall at master Copes hand: Who being mine owne countriman, an English man as he saith, also of the same Vniuersitie, yea Colledge and schole that I was of: knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of Germanie, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had: And the same edition afterward translated out of Latine into English by others, whiles I in the meane time was occupied about other regesters. And now the said Cope hearing moreouer and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of diuers things therein to be reformed: if he had knowen any fault needfull to be corrected, he might gently by letters haue admonished me thereof; gentlenesse would so haue required it, time would well haue suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but might sooner haue written a letter to me, then a booke against me. Neither was I so ingratefull and inhumane, but would haue thanked him for his monition: neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, would haue corrected willingly where any fault had been committed.

Vngentlenesse noted in Cope.

But herein your nature (master Cope) doth right well appeare. First in the said booke of Acts and Monuments, where manie other good things be contained, not vnfruitfull nor vnprofitable peraduenture for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might haue deserued your thankes, all that you dissemble and passe ouer, only scraping those matters which make for cauillation. Thus the blacke spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh his poyson. And what booke is so pleasant or fruitfull, though it were the popes owne Decretues, yea his owne Decretals, yea his owne verie Masse booke, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to cauill, as you bring to the reading of my historie, but I could find out twice as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos, fabulas, fucos, as you haue done in these Acts and Monuments? And yet you haue done prettily well.

The nature of the spider.

Besides all this, yet better to marke the goodnesse of your gentle nature: Be it so I had been in some piece of my story deceiued, as I do not iustifie my selfe in all points therein: yet you vnderstanding that I was about the correction of my booke againe, might either haue taken the best, and left the worst: or else gently haue taken the paines to haue aduertised me of such notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at least might haue deferred your dialogues for a time, till the comming out of my booke, to see first what would in the latter edition be altered. But belike your gall was full, your halke could not tarie, your venim must needs burst out:

Et si non aliquà nocuisses mortuus esses.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and disposition of your nature so far from all humanitie, dealing with me so extreamely, if I thus prouoked with your extremitie againe, should now after this your currish nature shape you a name accordingly, and in stead of Cope godfather you to be a perpetuall sycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your sycophanticall booke well deserue it? or thinke you I could not repay you againe with like extremitie as you bring, and dresse your drowsie or rather lousie Dialogues, in their right colours, if I were so disposed? But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you; God make you a good man. Peraduenture hee may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, then to sting you. Leauing therefore the consideration of your ingratefull doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your booke, answering briefly vnto the same. Briefly, I say, because the greatnesse of this volume, and abundance of other more fruitfull matter, giueth me little leasure at this present to stand about brawling words.

Copus Sycophanta.

First he seemeth highly to be grieued with me, for my calendar prefixed before the booke of Monuments. Wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himselfe. As touching which calendar I haue sufficiently and expressely declared before so much, as might quickly satisfie this scruple of master Cope, if he either would haue taken the paines, or else had had the leasure to reade the words contained in the Latine preface before the booke prefixed, which are thus: Quanquam à me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad priuatum lectoris seruiret vsum, &c. In which words preuenting before the cauilling obiection of the aduersarie, I forewarned the Reader afore hand, touching the calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed; for no other purpose, but to serue the vse only of the reader,

The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments defended.

Ex præmio ad lectorem.

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reader, in stead of a table, shewing the yeere and moneth of euery martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt I pray you is in this calendar prefixed before the book of Monuments, more then in the table of maister Copes booke, set after his Dialogues? But maister Cope had no leisure to peruse this place: it made not for his humour.

But this grieueth him in the Calendar, and that very sore: For that I place in this Calendar, sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, Browne, Beuerlie, and other for martyrs, and displace for them, other holy ancient martyrs and saints, as Anatholius, Sother, Dorothe, Clarus, Lucianus, Seuerinus, &c.

Obiection for martyrs in the calendar.

Answere.

Answere: If maister Cope cannot abide the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Browne and Beuerleie, which were hanged (as he saith for treason) to haue the name of martyrs, then let them beare the name of witnesse bearers, or testes of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimonie of their faith. Seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me by which they are called.

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldring out the old and ancient holy saints aforenamed out of this calendar, and placing other new come saints in their roomes: this is not the first vntruth that maister Cope hath made in his dialogues, nor yet the least. Vnto whom I might therfore fitly answere againe with his owne familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which hee doth so much affectate: Quod nimirum hic ipse Alanus Copus Anglus, vnde me mendacij coarguit, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac ineluibilem turpissimi mendacij, ac singularis impudentiæ notam inurat. For why haue not I as iust cause to say this to him, as he to mee? For somuch as in the first beginning and preface of the said booke of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressely doe warne all men before, first that I make here no calendar purposely of any saints, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to shew the day and moneth of their suffering. My words be extant and eudent, which are these: Neque verò ideo inter diuos à me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in calendarium, &c. And declaring afterward how the said calendar doth stand but in stead of a table, my words doe follow thus: Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, Lectori ad vsum atque ad manum seruiat, &c.

Vntruth noted in Ala. Copus.

Copus pag. 130. lin. 18.

In præfatione ad dict. lectorem. li. Acts and Mon.

Againe, neither did I receiue these men into that calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, with other ancient holy Saints should be remoued out, as you doe falsly and vntruely affirme, but because the course of that storie reaching but 500. yeeres, did not comprehend those former times of such ancient Martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these latter dates: therefore requisite it was that in the table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the whole booke did then principally and onely entreat, to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their martyrdome. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new calendar, which were neuer inserted in the same before, but only because both together could not there haue standing, necessitie so required these in no case to be omitted, and yet no iniurie meant to the other to bee excluded out of their owne calendars, whereto properly they did pertaine. As for this calendar or this table, because they were not pertinent vnto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessarie they should be included. And yet neither did I (M. Cope) without due and solemne protestation omit the same in my foresaid catalogue, to preuent and stop all cauilling mouthes: As by speciall words in the said proeme of my booke vnto the reader doth appeare, following in this wise: Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, meminerit, non in templis à me collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari, &c. And where is now (maister Cope) this your reiecting, expelling, remouing, expulsing, exempting, deturbating and thrusting out of Anatholius, Sanct Dorothe, and other holy saints out of Catalogues, fasts, and calendars? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth hee, Qui veros Christi martyres è cœlo ad tartara deturbat? That is, Which tumbleth downe true martyrs frō heauen into hel? Which if yee mean by me: In one word I answere, yee falsly belie me M. Copus, I had almost called you maister Capus, so like a capon yee speake. Neither haue you nor any other euer heard me so say. Neither haue I euer heard of any so mad to play so the giants with their mountaines to clime the heauens, to tumble downe Gods true and holy martyrs out of heauen, downe into hell, vnlesse it were your selfe (as yet yee are, yee may be better) and such other of your gilde and popish fraternitie, which make of Gods true saints, stinking dunghils, (for so ye terme them in your bookes) and not only thrust into heauen your Pseudosanctos, saints of your owne making, whom God by his word doth not allow: but also depulse downe from heauen, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloued seruants, his faithfal people, and blessed martyrs, which haue died for the word of God. And what maruell then, if in your blasphemous books, ye cast down from heauen to hell, the poore saints of Christ, when in effect you deiect also the bloud and crosse of the son of God, Christ Iesus himselfe, setting vp in his office and place, tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quò Thoma ascendit. Say, maister Cope, your conscience indifferently, set all popish partialitie apart, where as the scripture teacheth vs simply: Quòd citra sanguinem nulla sit remissio. i. Without bloud there is no remission; whether yee thinke, by this bloud of the new Testament is meant the bloud of Christ alone, or the bloud of other more besides? If the bloud of one must stand alone, why doe yee then with the giants build vp your mountaines, and make a ladder of Beckets popish bloud, for men to scale the heauens? Or in so doing, how can you, but either with the Protestants wipe out of your calendar, Thomæ sanguinem, or else demolish from heauen Sanguinem Christi, with the Papists?

The papists would thrust downe Gods true saints out of heauen to hell.

Becketts bloud set vp, to the iniury of Christs bloud.

And here by the way, I cannot but muse, why you are so deuout in setting vp the crosse of Christ in your Church, which are such enemies to the true crosse of Christ to stand in heauen. Looke vpon this (M. Cope) and tell mee, vtra pars verius veros Christi martyres è cœlo in tartara detrudat? And therefore as you falsly belye me in this, for detruding and tumbling out of heauen Anatholius, Iulianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other, against whom I neuer yet spake any reproching word, but rather in this my volume haue set forth their commendation: so is it vntrue likewise, where you affirme, that in this my calendar I make an ἀπόθεωσιν, or canonisation of false martyrs. I told you before when yee were in England, I tell you again, being now in your transmigration, in words as plaine as I could: Hanc ego Apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Were not these words of my protestation manifest enough? were they not sufficient to satisfie a reasonable Momus? And to make the matter more plaine, did I not adde moreouer as followeth: Porrò neque cò spectat hoc calendarium, vt nouam aliquam festorum dierum legem prescribam ecclesiæ, &c. And not contented with this, foreseeing before such wrangling spirits to come, as now I see in you: I shewed also the cause why I needed not so to do. My words were these: Festorum dierum iam plus satis erat in mundo, &c. And yet further, because no cauiller should take hold here of any iniurie done to the holy saints, either old or new in the church, therefore in expresse words I remoued away all suspition of any iniurie, preuenting the obiection of the aduersary in these words: Habeat & Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes, tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim ijdem ne adorentur, modò quàm sint vetusti, tam etiam verè sancti sint, &c.

Papists verdone to set vp Christs crosse in earth: but enemies to Christs crosse in heauen.

A double vntruth in Copus.

Copus mendax.

Copus pag. 820.

These places of my booke, if ye did see; why do you dissemble them? If ye had not so much leisure to read them; how had you so much leisure to write against any mans book, not knowing what is in the book contained? and how stands it then with truth, that so like a Mome ye crie out so in your booke, against these new made martyrs, qui non possunt nisi per aliorum iniuriam crescere? &c. And againe, where you exclaime against me, and say that I thrust out the ancient martyrs out from their seat and possession, and place new in their roomes, &c.

Also where you continuing yet still in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digresse) doe charge me farther, that I doe appoint out holy daies and working daies by colours of red and blacke, in my foresaid calendar to be obserued: these leaud notes of yours, if they had been picked out of my calendar by you, without mine owne speciall declaration before made to the contrary, they might seeme to haue some blush of credit. Now what will the reader say, or what may he iudge, considering and conferring this your cauilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether set to play the perpetuall Syc. I had almost called you by your right name maister Cope. But God make you (as I said) a good man. Reading further in your book I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud lying Hyperbolismum: where as you comparing my making of saints, with the popes making, can find (as yee say) in the pope no such impudent arrogancie in presuming, as yee find in me, &c. If the pope had not abused his arrogant iurisdiction in canonising and deifying his saints, more then I haue done: the yeere should not bee cumbred with so many idle holy daies, nor the calendars with so many rascall saints, some of them as good, as euer were they that put Christ to death.

Vntruth in Cope.

Copus pag. 820. lin. 2.

Copus pag. 161. lin. penultima.

Copus almost called Capus.

Copus pag. 819. lin. 7.

But where will you find (Maister Cope) any man to beleeue this your hyperbolicall comparison to be true, which seeth and knoweth the infinit and vnmeasurable excesse of the popes arrogancie, not only in shrining such a rabble of blind saints of his owne creating: but also in prescribing the same to bee receiued vniuersally in the whole world, and not to bee receiued only, but also to bee inuocated for gifts and graces: also to be worshipped for aduocates and mediatours, wherin riseth a double abomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saints: the other for his blasphemous iniurie and derogation to Christ, in repulsing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other mediatours of his owne making. And now to consider what Saints these were, or what were the causes of their Sainctiing: what saint almost among all the Popes Saints shall you find (maister

Double abomination in the popes calendar.

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The great saint-maker of Rome, and who be his saints.

maister Cope) made within these fiue hundred yéeres, but commonlie hee was either some pope, or some rich bishop and prelate, or some fat abbat, or some blind frier, some monke, or Nun, some superstitious regular, or some builder of monasteries, or some giuer and benefactor to the popish clergie, or maintainer agonizing for the dignities and liberties of the popish Church? What poore lay man or lay woman, were their liues neuer so Christian, their faith and confession neuer so pure, their death neuer so agonizing for the witnesse of Christ, and truth of his word, shall find any place or fauour in al the popes μαρτυρολογιε, that is in the popes calendar, either in red colour, or else in blacke?

The great god-maker of Rome.

But here (maister Cope) if ye had the wit, so much to defend as yée haue ta ouerthwart, you might take me with the manner, and replie againe for the defence of your great saint-maker, or rather god-maker of Rome: that he maketh mo martyrs and saints of these foresaid poore lay men, and lay women, then euer hee did of any other. For he burneth them, hee hangeth them, hee drowneth them, imprisoneth and famisheth them, and so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, then any other of his new shrined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his calendar. For the one hee doth rubricate, only with his red letters, the other he doth rubricate with their owne bloud. And therefore to answer you (M. Cope) to your comparison made betweene the pope and me, for making of holy martyrs and saints: Briefly I say, and report me to all the world, that herein is no comparison. For if yée speake of true martyrs, who doth make them, but ẏ pope: if yée speake of false martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And further more, to compare together the causes of these martyred saints in my calendar, with them which shine shrined in the popes calendar (taking the same proportion of time as I doe, within these last 500. yéeres) why may not I haue as good cause to celebrate these in my calendar, which lost their liues and were slaine, principally for the cause of Christ and of his word: as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted saints in his calendar, who in their doings, doctrine and life, as they séemed rather to serue the pope, then Christ the lord: so in their death appeared no such cause, why they should be sanctified in the church beyond all other? Let not the church of Christ (M. Cope) be deluded with hypocriticall names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither bee you deceiued your selfe, but let vs resort sincerely to the word of God. What was in saint Francis (look vpon his superstitious life, & presumptuous testament, wrought no doubt by Satan, to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ) why he should be made a saint, and not an enemie rather of Christ?

No cause why the popes new saints should be put in the calendar.

What was likewise in frier Dominicke, who before Francis ten yéeres together persecuted the poore Waldenses to death and destruction? why should he stand a saint and a piller of the Church? I pray you what sée you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the popish church? what in Aldelmus, and in Anselmus, but only that they chased away married priests from the churches, and planted in idle monks in their stead? The like also did Dunstanus, who was rubricated with a duplex festum. Elizabeth who was the wife of the marquesse of Thuring, when shee had with much perswasions got out her husband to fight against the Turks, and was there slaine, she afterward encloystered her selfe, and was made a Nun. And doe yée thinke these causes to be sufficient why they should bee made saints, worshipped in Churches, and set in calendars? Long it were to make rehearsall of all this riffraffe, and almost infinit. One example may suffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringham, was the sonne of Jocelin a knight, who for his deformity of his body was set to learning, and afterward made canon, and was author of the Gilbertines, in the time of king John.

Tho. Becket. Aldelmus. Anselmus.

Dunstanus. S. Elizabeth.

The canonization of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

This Gilbert after he had erected 13. monasteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterward laboured for vnto the pope to be made a saint: Who hearing of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert archbishop of Canturbury, in the behalf of the foresaid Gilbert, willing and commanding per apostolica scripta, that the feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnised through all the prouince of Canterb. Vt meritis nimirum eius & precibus apud misericordissimum iudicem misericordiam consequamur, &c.

Ex lib. de vita S. Gilberti confessoris.

Whereupon Hubert the archbishop directeth downe his writings to all the bishops within his prouince, the contents of which his writings doe follow: Hubertus Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo frat. Episco. per prouinciam Cant. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, sicut ex literis ipsius manifestè perpenditur, de conuersatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham. & miraculis à Deo per eum factis per testes & testimonia sufficienter instructus, de consilio fratrum Cardin. ipsum mag. Catalogo sanctorum decreuit ascribi, solemnitatem eius constituit & mandauit per Cant. prouinciam solemniter celebrari. Insuper & corpus eius cum requisiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam eleuari. Vestra igitur Vniuersitas huic mandato cum deuotione congaudeat, & secundum formam in ipso mandato præscriptam, prædicti confessoris domini depositionem annuam faciatis cum reuerentia & solemniter obseruari: vt apud Dominum & ab illo vestra debeat & possit deuotio commendari, nec non & ipsius sancti supplex intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.

The popes letter and the archbishops for the canonising of saint Gilbert.

The summe of the which writting of the archbishop tendeth to this effect: That forsomuch as the pope hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, maister of the order of Sempringham, by sufficient witnesse and testimonies, hath in his letters commanded him by the aduice of his cardinals, that the said Gilbert should be canonized and ascribed in the catalogue of saints, and that his solemnitie should be celebrate solemnelie throughout all the prouince of Canturbury. And also his bodie to be taken vp and shrined to the honour and glorie of God: He therefore at the popes commandement writing vnto them, willeth all the suffraganes within his prouince of Canturburie, yéerely to solemnize and cause to be solemnized reuerentlie the deposition of the said saint Gilbert confessor: to the intent that their deuotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And also, that the humble intercession of the said saint, may profit them to their saluation.

Is this good doctrine M. Cope, in the popes canonization?

Furthermore, for the more ful canonising (canonising I had almost said) of this new made saint, the said pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforesaid, adioyneth withall a collect of his owne making, which is this: Plenam in nobis æterne saluator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, vt qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramur, ipsius adiuti suffragijs à cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur: Qui viuis & regnas, &c. That is: Worke in vs O eternall Sauiour full remedie of thy vertue, that wee which worship the worthie merits of blessed Gilbert thy confessor, being succoured by his suffrages, may be deliuered from all languors and diseases of our soules; who liuest and raignest, &c.

The blasphemous collect of the popes making for Saint Gilbert.

The consecration of this one saint (who perhaps was not the worst) I thought here to commemorate, to the intent that the reader measuring by this one the canonisation of all the rest, may iudge the better vpon this comparison of maister Cope, whether of vs doth vendicate more impudent authoritie, the pope in his calendar, or I in mine: or to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent, the pope in his calendar, or else maister Cope in his dialogues more doltish.

Copus pag. 219. lin. 7.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you; to canonise or to authorise any saints, for man it is presumptuous: to prescribe any thing here to bee worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous: to set vp any mediatores but Christ onlie, it is blasphemous. And whatsoeuer the pope doth or hath done in his calendar, my purpose in my calendar, was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnise any new. In my bookes of Acts and Monuments entreating of matters passed in the Church, these latter fiue hundred yéeres, I did regulate out a calendar, not for any canon to constitute saints, but onlie for a table of them which within the same time did suffer for the testimonie of the word, whom I did and doe take to bee good and godly men. If any haue other iudgement of them, I binde no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come which shall iudge both them and you. In the meane season it shall be best for you (maister Cope) in my iudgement to keepe a good tongue in your head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgment may faile and is vncertaine, the iudgement of God is alwaies sure. Best it is therefore either to be sure by the word and iudgement of God before, what you doe say, or else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intemperat railing, can come no good, neither to them whom yée raile vpon: nor to your selfe which raileth: nor to the church of God that heareth you raile. For them you cannot hurt, they are gone. To your selfe, and though your matters be true, yet little honestie it will bring, to bee counted a railer; and if it bee vncertaine, your state is dangerous; and if it bee false, most miserable: And as to the Church, what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I doe not greatlie sée. And if the zeale of the bishop of Romes Church haue so much swallowed you vp, that yée cannot but stampe and stare at traytours when yée sée them put in calendars: (first maister Cope) be yée sure first that they bee traitours (wisdome would) whom you call traitors. And if yée can so proone them (as yée haue not yet) then let your Irenæus, or Critobulus tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeale of yours as hot as Purgatorie burne out, and flame as well against your owne traitors, hauing so many in your owne Calendar and Church at home?

Copus counselled to cease his railing.

No good commeth of railing.

And if there be such a chatholike zeale in you, that hath set your gentle breast on such a pelting chafe, why then is not this your Catholike zeale equallie indifferent? Why take yée on so fell on the one side against sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, M. Browne, &c? A man would thinke you plaied Hercules furens in Orchestra. On the other side againe ye are Oleo tranquillior. What indifferencie (maister Cope) call you this? Or what zeale make you this to be? Albeit, your zeale I iudge not, as I know it not. Swift iudgement shall not become mee, which goe about to correct the same in you. But this I exhort you, to beware (maister Cope) that by your owne fruits and doings euident, yée doe not bewray this zeale in you to be Non secundum scientiam, nor such a zeale as fighteth

The zeale of Maister Cope, expended.

fighteth Pro domo Dei, sed pro domo Pontificis. As I said, I iudge you not. You haue your iudge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsell is, that yée doe not so zeale the bishop of Rome, that for his sake yée lose your owne soule. Yée remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good Ludere cum sanctis; worse it is Illudere: worst of all it is Debacchari in immerentes: Because that Deus ipse vltionum Dominus, many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written: Opprobria opprobrantium tibi ceciderunt in me.i. The rebukes of thy rebukers fell vpon me. And seldome haue I séene any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of Gods saints and seruants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselues.

And admit this (as granted vnto you maister Cope) that these men had been traitors, which yée are not able to prooue. Well, they had their punishment therefore, the world can go no further, and what would you haue more? who and if they repented, why may they not haue as good part in Christs kingdome as your selfe? Now forsomuch as the said persons also suffring a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I saw it pertaine to the profit of the church, why might I not insert it with other church stories in my booke? Let the church take that which belongeth to the Church. Let the world take that, which to the world pertaineth, and goe no further. And if yée thinke it much, that I would exemplifie these whom you call traitors in the booke of Martyrs: first yée must vnderstand, that I wrote no such booke bearing the title of the booke of martyrs: I wrote a booke called the Acts and Monuments, &c. of things passed in the Church, &c. Wherein many other matters be contained beside the martyrs of Christ. But this peraduenture moueth your choler, that in the Calendar I name them for martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendar call them by the name of martyrs, which were faithfull witnesses of Christs truth and Testament, for the which they were also chiefly brought vnto that end? Or why may I not call them holy Saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed bloud? And what if I should also call the théefe and murderer hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a holy Saint and confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord, what can maister Cope say against it?

The name of martyrs in the Calendar defended.

What is a martyr.

Holy saints of Christ.

Martyrs in the calendar coloured with red.

And as for colouring the names of certain martyrs in the said calendar in red or Scarlet letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great saintmaker of Rome, who hath redded them much more then euer did I? For he did red and die them with their owne bloud, whereas I did but only colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

The painter coloureth with red.

The pope coloureth with bloud.

Proceeding now out of the calendar vnto the booke, where he chargeth mee with so many lies, impudencies, vanities, deprauations, and vntruths, it remaineth likewise I cleare my selfe, answering first to those lies and vntruths, which to the storie of sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle doe appertaine. And after to other particulars, as in order of my booke doe follow. And first where he laieth against me whole heapes, and cartlodes, I cannot tell, how many of lies and falsities: I here briefly answer maister Cope againe (or what English Harpesfield else soeuer lieth couered vnder this English Cope) that if a lie be (after the definition of Saint Augustine) whatsoeuer thing is pronounced with the intent to deceiue another: then I protest to you maister Cope, and to all the world, there is neuer a lie in all my booke. What the intent and custome is of the papists to doe, I cannot tell: for mine owne, I will say, although many other vices I haue, yet from this one I haue alwaies of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceiue any man or child, so néere as I could, much lesse the Church of God, whom I with all my heart doe reuerence, and with feare obey. And therefore among diuers causes, that haue withdrawne my mind from the papists faction, almost there is none greater then this, because I see them so little giuen to truth, so farre from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretensed hypocrisie and dissimulation, so little regarding the church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much haue in their mouthes: so, as vnder the title thereof they may hold vp their owne estate. Otherwise so little reuerence they yéeld to the true and honorable Church of Iesus the son of God, that what vnworthie and rascall ministers they take into it they passe not, what fictions, what lies and fables, what false miracles and absurd forgeries they inuent to delude it, they care not. I speake not of all.

The author cleareth himself of lies and vntruths laid against him.

Some there bee of that sect vnfained in consciences, and more religious, and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceiued. But such commonlie haue been and be the chiefe guides and leaders of the papists Church, that little true care and small zeale hath appeared in them, toward the Church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therin, so that their commodities might not decrease. Thus out of this fountaine haue gushed out so many prodigious lies in Church Legends, in Saints liues, in monkish fictions, in fabulous miracles, in false and forged reliques, as in péeces of the holy crosse, in the bloud of Hales, in our Ladies milke, in the nailes of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errours, corrupt doctrines, absurd inuentions, repugnant to the truth of the word. Item in their ballard bookes, forged Epistles, their Apocrypha, and Pseudopigrapha. Here commeth in their forged canons, their foisting and cogging in ancient councels and decrées, as in ὡς ἀπὸ ἑμοῦ πέτρου, in Canons of the Apostles (if those canons were the Apostles) Excepta Romana sede, foisted into the decrées by Gratianus, also the cogging in a false canon to the councell of Nice for the maintenance of the sea of Rome, as appeareth in the sixth Synod of Carthage.

The lies and fictions innumerable in the popes Church.

Heere commeth in also the epistles of Clement, and other sundrie epistles Decretall, which as they are no doubt falslie inserted by other, so are they the well-head of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the Church of Christ. To speake moreouer of the liturgies of Saint James, of Chrysostome and other, of the first masse said by Saint Peter at Rome, and that Saint Peter sate 25. yéeres bishop of Rome. To speake also of the workes of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, and Gregorie, what Doctor or famous writer hath there been in the Church, vnder whose name some counterfaited bookes haue not falslie been fathered, and yet stand still authorised vnder their patronage, to the great detriment of the Church? What should I speake of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionysius Areopagita: The Dialogues of Gregorie, which falslie to this day haue been ascribed to Gregorie the first, where indeed they were first written in Greeke, by Gregorie the third, and afterward translated out of Greeke into Latine by pope Zacharie? vide supra, pag. 116. Likewise that worthy and Imperiall sermon intituled, Eusebij Pamphili Sermo ad Conuentum sanctorum, hath to this day wrongfullie borne the name of Eusebius. Whereas in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Constantinus himselfe, in his owne heroicall stile in Latine, and afterward translated out of Latine into Greeke by Eusebius, as hee himselfe confesseth in his worke De vita Constant. lib. 4. But as touching this sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitfull it is, that it mattereth not much vnder whose name it bee read, yet worthie to be read vnder the name of none so much, as of the emperor Constantine himselfe, who was the true author and owner thereof.

Untruth in the popish epistle decretall.

Untruth in the popish liturgies.

Untruth in bookes counterfaite. Gregories Dialogues.

Sermo ad Conuentum sanctorum, in fine Eusebij, made by Constantine the emperour.

Briefly, except it be the bookes only of the new Testament, and of the old, what is almost in the popes Church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and gelded, or by some glosse adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? So that in their doctrine standeth little truth, in their legends, portues, and masse bookes, lesse truth, in their miracles and reliques least truth of all. Neither yet doe their sacraments remaine cleare and void of manifest lies and corruption. And specially here commeth in the maister Bée, which bringeth in much swéete honie into popes hiues, the maister lie I meane of all lies, where the pope leauing not one crum of bread, nor drop of wine in the reuerend communion, vntrulie and idolatrouslie taketh away all substance of bread from it, turning the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christs owne bodie: which substance of bread, if the pope take from the sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it: for breaking and the bodie of Christ, can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proued by the word of God to be a manifest lie: so think not much (good reader hereat) as though I passed the bounds of modestie in calling it the arch lie, or maister lie of all lies. Because vpon this one, an infinite number of other lies and errors in the popes church, as handmaids doe wait and depend.

Untruth in the popes doctrine.

Untruth in the popes Legends and Masse bookes.

Untruth in the popes miracles and reliques.

Untruth in the popes sacraments.

A matter lie.

But forsomuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend my selfe, ceasing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to stir this stinking puddle of these wilfull and intended lies and vntruths, which in the popes religion and in papists bookes bée innumerable, I will now returne to those vntruths and impudent lies which maister Cope hath hunted out in my history of Acts and Monuments, first beginning with those vntruths which he carpeth in the storie of the foresaid sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, Browne and the rest.

And first, where he laieth to my charge, that I call them martyrs, which were traytors and seditious rebels against the king, and their countrie: to this I haue answered sufficientlie before.

Now here then must the Reader néeds stay a little at M. Copes request, to sée my vanitie and impudencie yet more fullie and amplie repressed in refuting a certaine place in my Latine storie, concerning the kings statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alleaged, be these, pag. 107. Quocirca Rex indicto Leicestriæ concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto immanem denunciat pœnam his, quicunque deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus sectarentur, vsque adeo in eos seuerus, vt non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino

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mino eos ſupplicio, ſuſpendio ſimul & incendio afficiendos ſtatuerit,&c. Et mox: Adeo ille vires, rationeſque intendebat omnes aduerſus Wickleuianos. Wicleuiani id temporis dicebantur,quicunque Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent,&c.

Upon theſe words out of my foreſaid Latine booke alleaged, maſter Cope perſwadeth himſelfe, to haue great aduantage againſt me,to proue me a notorious lier, in three ſundrie points. Firſt,in that, whereas I ſay that the king did hold his Parliament at Leiceſter, adding this by the way of parentheſis (quod fortaſſis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum,&c.) here hee concludeth thereby, ſimpliciter and preciſely, that the lord Cobham and ſir Roger Acton with his fellowes, were traytors, &c. Whereby a man may ſone ſhape a cauiller, by the ſhadow of maſter Cope. For whereas my Dialyſis out of the text ſpeaketh doubtfully, and vncertainely, by this word (fortaſſis) meaning indeed,the king to be in feare of the Goſpellers, that hee durſt not hold his Parliament at London, but went to Leiceſter: he argueth preciſely therfore, that the lord Cobham,ſir Richard Acton, and his fellowes went about to kill the king. Secondly, where I affirme that the king in that Parliament made a grieuous law againſt all ſuch as did hold the doctrine of Wickliffe, that they ſhould bee taken hereafter,not for heretiks,but alſo for fellons,or rebels,or traitors, and therefore ſhould ſuſtaine a double puniſhment, both to be hanged,and alſo to be burned,&c. Here commeth in maſter Momus, with his Cope on his backe, and prouing me to be a liar,denieth plainely that the king made any ſuch ſtatute: vide pag. 835. line 6. where his words be theſe: Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus,& deinceps geminatas pœnas ſuſpendij & incendij luerent, vt nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur, &c.

3. Points.
1. Obiection.
Cope cauilleth without cauſe.
Stat.an.2. Hen.5.cap.7.
2. Obiection.
Copus pag.835. lin 6.
3. Obiection.

Firſt here would be aſked of maſter Cope,what he calleth patriæ hoſtes,& proditores? If hee call theſe traitors, then let vs ſee whether they that followed the ſect of Wickliffe, were made traitors and heretikes by the kings law, or not. And firſt let vs heare what ſaith Polydore Virgil, his owne witnes in this behalfe, whoſe words in his xxij. booke,pag.441. bee theſe: Quare publice edixit, vt ſi vſpiam deinceps reperirentur,qui eam ſequerentur ſectam,patriæ hoſtes haberentur,quo ſine omni lenitate ſeuerius ac ocyus de illis ſupplicium ſumeretur,&c. That is, wherefore it was by publike ſtatute decreed, that whoſoeuer were found hereafter to follow the ſect of Wickliffe, ſhould be accounted for traitors, whereby without all lenitie, they ſhould bee puniſhed more ſeuerely and quickly,&c.

The ſect of Wickliffe made hereſie and treaſon by king Henrie 5.
Polyd. Virg. lib.22.

Thus haue you (maſter Cope) the plaine teſtimonie of Polydore with mee. And becauſe ye ſhall further ſee your ſelfe more impudent in carping, then I am in deprauing of hiſtories,you ſhall vnderſtand moreouer and heare, what Thomas Walden, one of your owne catholike brotherhood, and who was alſo himſelfe aliue, and a doer in the ſame Parliament, being the prouinciall of the Carmelites, ſaith in this matter writing to pope Martin, whoſe very words in Latine here follow,written in his prologue to the ſaid Martin,in this wiſe: Nec mora longa proceſſit, quin ſtatutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanauit edicto, quod omnes Wicleuiſtæ ſicut dei proditores eſſent,ſic proditores regis,proſcriptis bonis cenſerentur & regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter deum, ſuſpendio propter regem, &c. That is: And it was not long after, but a publike law and ſtatute came out, by the common aſſent of the generall parliament of the whole realme, that all Wickleniſts, as they were traitors to God, ſo alſo ſhould bee counted traitors to the king and to the realme, hauing their goods loſt and confiſcat vnto the king. And therefore ſhould ſuffer double puniſhment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the king,&c. And thus haue you (M. Cope) not only my ſentence, but alſo the very words of my ſtorie confirmed by this author: becauſe ye ſhall not thinke me to ſpeake ſo lightly or impudently without my booke. And moreouer to confirme the ſaid ſentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth alſo in another place of the foreſaid author: Tom.1. lib. 2. De doctrinali fidei Eccleſiæ Cathol. cap.46. where hee writeth in theſe words: Et tamen iam cum regnare cœpiſſet Illuſtris rex Henricus 5. qui adhuc agit in ſceptris, & de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos, legem ſtatui fecit, vt vbique per regnum Wickleuiſta probatus, vt reus puniretur de crimine læſæ maieſtatis,&c. That is: And yet when the noble K. Henrie the fifth, who as yet doth liue and raigne, began firſt to raigne,began to ſet forth a law,by his learned catholikes which were about him, againſt the falſeneſſe of theſe men, ſo that whoſoeuer was proued to be a Wickleuiſt, through the whole Realme, ſhould bee puniſhed for a traytor, &c. What words can you haue maſter Cope, more plaine then theſe? or what authoritie can you require of more credit, which liued in the ſame time, and both did ſee and heare of the ſame things done? who alſo writing to pope Martine, was by the ſaid pope Martine allowed, approued, and ſolemnlie commended, as appeareth by the popes epiſtle to him, wherin the pope declareth,how he cauſed his bookes, Per ſolennes viros videri, & examinari: That is, by ſolemne perſons to be ſeene and examined,&c. So that you muſt nees grant either this to be true, that Walden writeth, or elſe that the pope (tanquam papa) in allowing his

Tho. Walden in tomo primo. Doctrinali, ad Mart. papam in prologo.
Walden tomo 1. De doctrinali eccleſiæ.cap.46. lib.2.
Either Walden writeth true, or elſe the pope erreth.

writings, may erre and be deceiued. Chuſe ye (maſter Cope) of theſe two options whether you will take.

And if yee thinke this my aſſertion yet not ſufficiently relieued with theſe authorities aforeſaid, I will alſo hereunto adioyne the teſtimonie of another writer named Roger Wall, who writing De Geſtis Henric.5. and ſpeaking of the ſaid ſtatute of this parliament ſomething more plainely then the reſt, hath theſe words: In hoc etiam Parliamento nobilitas regia hoſtes Chriſti ſibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere vniuerſis,quod ipſe abſque cuiuſcunque fluctuationis dubio, quam diu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Chriſtianæ fidei æmulator exiſteret: ſtatuit & decreuit, vt quotquot ipſius ſectæ,quæ dicitur Lollardorum,inuenirentur æmuli & fautores eo facto rei proditorij criminis in maieſtatem regiam haberentur,&c. In English: Alſo in this parliament, the noble king reputing Chriſts enemies to be traitors to himſelfe, to the intent that all men ſhould know without all doubt, that ſo long as he liued,he would be a true and perfect follower of Chriſtian faith: did enact and decree, that whoſoeuer ſhould be found followers and maintainers of this ſect, which is called the Lollards ſect, Ipſo facto, ſhould be counted and reputed guiltie of treaſon againſt the kings maieſtie,&c.

Roger Wallus lib. de geſtis Hen.5. fol.10.

By theſe hitherto alleaged, if M. Cope will not be ſatisfied, yet let the reader indifferent iudge: Vtrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur. And yet moreouer to make the matter more certaine, marke the clamation of the ſaid Roger Walle, added to the end of thoſe words aboue recited,whereby we haue to vnderſtand more clearely both what were the procedings of the king in the ſaid Parliament, and alſo what was the blind affection of monks and prieſts at that time toward their king and prince (which was then called princeps ſacerdotum) in condemning and deſtroying the poore Lollards. The words of the monke be theſe: O verus amicus, qui amico illatam iniuriam ſibi inferri conſimiliter arbitratur, præiudicium illi intentum reputat eſſe ſuum, & ad eius onera conferenda,auxiliationis humeros ſupponere non veretur, &c. That is: O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that iniurie no leſſe done to himſelfe which is done to his friend: and that preiudice which is intended againſt him, reputeth to bee as his owne; and to beare together the burdens of his friend ſticketh not to lay to his owne ſhoulders,for the eaſing and helping of him,&c.

King Henry the fifth called Princeps ſacerdotum.
Roger Wallus, ibid.

How can it now be denied (maſter Cope) in reading theſe authors, and ſeeing their teſtimonies, but that Lollarderie in this Parliament was made both treaſon and hereſie, and had therefore a double iudgement of puniſhment annexed,to bee hanged for the one, and to bee burned for the other, according as in my former Latine ſtorie I recorded, and yet I truſt, I trifled not?

But you will ſay againe (as yee doe) that there is no mention made for hereſie to bee made treaſon, nor of any double puniſhment to bee inflicted for the ſame. In the bodie of the ſtatute (I grant) there is no expreſſe mention in words of hereſie to be made treaſon, expreſſely ſignified in rigor of words: but incluſiuelie it is ſo inferred, that it cannot be denied. For firſt,where lands, goods and cattell of the ſaid Lollards were loſt and forfeit to the king, what doth this import elſe,but treaſon or felonie?

Copus pag.835. lin.8. Obiection. Anſwere.
Stat.an.2.Hen.5.cap.7.

And where the lord Cobham (for whoſe cauſe ſpecially this ſtatute ſeemed to be made) did ſuſtaine afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the ſame ſtatute,what is here contained, but a double penaltie? Againe,where in the beginning of the ſtatute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after vpon the ſame followeth the ſeruices of the K. whereunto the officers be firſt ſworne ſhould be firſt preferred for libertie of holy church,and puniſhment of heretikes, made before theſe dates & not repealed, vt ſupra,pag. 524.what meaneth this,but to make theſe congregations of the Lollards, to be forceable entrees, riots,great ridings, vnlawfull aſſemblies, affraiers of the people, armour,routs,and inſurrections, and ſo lendeth them to the former ſtatutes not repealed, that is, to the ſtatute, an. 13. Henr.4.chap.7. where the puniſhment is left to the diſcretion of the king. Or elſe to the ſtatute, an. 15. Richard 2. chap. 2. where the penaltie is made fine and ranſome: Or elſe to the ſtatute, an.5. Richard 2. chapter 6. where ſuch aſſemblies bee made plaine treaſon, in fine ſtatuti.

Vid.ſtat.an.1. Hen.4.cap.7. Vide ſtat. an.15. Rich.2.cap.2. Vide ſtat.an.5. Rich.2.cap.6.

And as here is matter of treaſon ſufficiently contained, ſo for hereſie likewiſe the ſame ſtatute referreth them to the ordinaries and to the lawes,properly to hereſie appertaining, and to the ſtatute an. 2. Henr.4. chapter 15. where the penaltie is burning. Alſo to the ſtatute an.5.Rich.2.chapter 5.

Vide ſtat.an.2. Hen.4.cap.15. Vide ſtat.an.5. Rich.2.cap.5.&6.

So that in this preſent ſtatute here mention is contained, as yee ſee,although not in expreſſe words, yet incluſiuely (by referring to other ſtatutes not repealed) both Lollarderie which is puniſhed with burning, and forcible entrees which is puniſhed at the kings pleaſure. And thus much concerning the ſecond vntruth, which maſter Cope vntruely noted in me.

3. The third vntruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I ſay,there was no other cauſe of deuiſing this ſharpe law and puniſhment againſt theſe men, but only for hauing the Scripture bookes.

3. Obiection. Anſwere

And

And therefore here is noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let master Cope take heed, he deceiue not himselfe and other. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latine storie where I so say. Only my words bee these, added in the latter end of the place aboue recited: Wicleuiani verò dicebantur quicunque id temporis scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent, &c. That is: They were called Wickleuists, whosoeuer at that time read ỹ scripture in English, or vulgar tongue, &c. I say not, that for the scriptures being read in the English tongue, therfore the law was enacted, but so is master Cope disposed to construe it. What law and statutes were made against writing, or reading of any booke in English, or in any other tongue contrary to the catholike (that is, the Romish) faith, or to the determination of the holy Church (that is, of Rome) reade I beseech thee the bloudie statute made anno 2. Hen. 4. chap. 15. aboue specified pag. 482. Also read the constitution prouinciall of Thomas Arundell aboue mentioned, pag. 484. col. 1. line 39. Where it was decreed, that the text of holy scripture should not bee had, or read in the vulgar tongue from the time of master John Wickliffe, for euer after, vnlesse the said translation be approued first by the ordinarie, or by prouinciall councell, vnder paine and punishment of heresie. Now let the Reader iudge whether the reading of Scripture bookes in the English tongue, by the making or translating of Wickliffe, or from the time of Wickliffe downeward, be counted heresie, or not. As for the approuing of the ordinarie, or of the prouinciall councell added in the end of the said constitution, it maketh more for a shew, or pretence, then for any iust exception, or any true intention. For what man hauing those scriptures translated in English, would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such bookes: or what ordinarie would or did euer yet since Arundels time approue any such translation, presented vnto them: Or else why did the good martyrs of Amersam suffer death, in the beginning of king Henry the eight, for hauing and reading certaine bookes of Scripture, which were (as is said) only foure epistles of saint Paul, with certaine other prayers: And the other which heard them but only read, did beare faggots: and the same time, the children were compelled to set faggots vnto their fathers; at which time Longland being then bishop of Lincolne, and preaching to them at the stake, said: that whatsoeuer they were, that did but moue his lips in reading those chapters, were damned for euer: as when we come to that time, by the grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amplie and notoriouslie appeare. And where then is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined against me, for craftie dealing in my storie?

Moreouer, where master Cope proceeding farther in this matter, asketh me: how was the lord Cobham obedient to the king, when as for the feare of him, the king durst not then keep his Parliament at London? To whom I answer again, asking likewise of master Cope, how was the king then afraid to hold his Parliament at London for the lord Cobham, when the lord Cobham at that time was in Wales? And here master Cope thinking to haue me at a narrow straitt, and to hold me fast, biddeth me tell him, how it could be otherwise, but the lord Cobham must needs haue fautors? And who should these fautors be (saith he) but sir Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes? The which mightie question of master Cope, I answer againe: how could sir Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes bee then fautors of the lord Cobham, for whom the king durst not hold his Parliament at London, when as the said Roger Acton, Browne, and the rest were put to death, a whole yeere almost before the Parliament at Leicester began?

And now as I haue hitherto briefly, and truly answered your askings (master Cope;) let me be so bold with you againe, to propound to you likewise another question, for so much as you haue put me to the searching of the statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now out of the same statutes riseth a double scruple, or question, worthie to be solued. The case is this, That forasmuch as so many good martyrs and saints of God hitherto in this realme of England, haue been burned from the time of king Henrie the fourth, Henry the fifth, Henrie the sixth, Henrie the eighth, to the time, and in the time of Queene Mary; my question is, that you, with all your learned counsell about you will tell me, by what law, or statute of the realme were these men burnt? I know the ancient custome hath been, that heretikes conuicted by a prouinciall councell, were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will yee proue mee, these heretikes were either conuict by such prouinciall councell, or that these secular men ought to be your butchers in burning them, whom ye haue committed to them? If yee alleage the three articles made in the raigne of king Henrie the eighth: those articles neither did serue before the time of king Henry the eighth, neither yet were they reuiued after his time. If ye alleage the statute made anno 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. In that statute (I answer) is contained no matter of burning, but onely of arrest to bee done at the certifications of the prelats, without any further punishment there mentioned. To conclude, if yee alleage the statute made an. 2. Hen. 4. cha. 15. and reuiued in the raigne of Queene Mary, mentioned before pag. 482. To that statute I answer, that although the pretensed statute appeareth in forme of words in the printed booke to giue vnto the temporall officers authoritie to bring them to the stake, and to burne them, whom the bishop deliuereth: yet is it not to be proued, either by you, or any other, that statute to bee law, or warrant sufficient to burne any person or persons committed to the secular power by the clergie. And that I proue thus; for although the same statute of king Henrie the fourth in the bookes printed, appeare to haue law and authoritie sufficient, by the full assent both of the king, of the lords, and of the commons: yet being occasioned by master Cope to search further in the statutes, I haue found that in the rolles and first originals of that Parliament, there is no such mention either of any petition or else of any assent of the commons annexed, or contained in that statute, according as in the printed bookes vsuall in the lawyers hands two craftilie and fallie is foisted in, as by the plaine words thereof may well appeare.

For where the said statute, an. 2. Hen. 4. chap. 15. being thus intituled in the roles: Petitio cleri contra hæreticos, and assented vnto in this forme: hath these words:

Stat. an. 2. Henri. 4. cap. 15. Intituled in the Rolle thus: Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos, and assented vnto in this forme.

QVas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri superius expressatas dominus noster Rex, de consensu magnatum & aliorum procerum regni sui, in præsenti Parliamento existentium concessit, & in omnibus & singulis iuxta formam & effectum eorundem ordinauit & statuit de cætero firmiter obseruari, and so forth according to the petition: and moe words, are there not in the statute roll. Wherefore where as the statute booke printed hath thus: Super quibus quidem nouitatibus & excessibus superius recitatis (videlicet, in the petition of the prelats and clergie) prælati & clerus supradicti ac etiam communitates dicti Regni in eodem parliamento existen. dicto Domino Regi supplicarunt, &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex, &c. ex assensu magnatum & aliorum procerum eiusdem Regni, &c. concessit, ordinauit, &c. These words, &c etiã communitates dicti Regni, &c. are put in further then the roll doth warrant, and seemeth to be the practise of the clergie, to make that as an act of Parliament, and to seeme to haue the force of a law, which was neuer assented vnto by the commons.

And thus you see how this forsaid statute, printed both in English and in Latine among the prouinciall councels of Oxford (by the vertue whereof so many good men haue been burned so long in England) doth vtterlie ouerthrow it selfe, for that it swerueth from the record both in forme and in matter, and lacketh the assent of the commons. Which doubt I thought at this present to propound vnto you (master Cope) for that you haue so vrged me to the searching out of the statutes, by your declaiming against the lord Cobham.

Moreouer vnto this statute aforesaid, ioyne also withall another Memorandum of like practise done, an. 5. Rich. 2. In the which yeere, where as a statute was concluded in the Parliament an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. against certaine preachers specified in the same statute, which going about in certaine habits from place to place, did draw the people to sermons: And commissions were made and directed in the said Parliament to the sheriffes, to arrest all such preachers, and to imprison the same, at the certifications of the prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the same statute, an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. was reuoked by the king in the parliament, an. 6. Rich. 2. vpon the words of the commons being these, videl. Forasmuch as the same statute was neuer assented, ne granted by the commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their assent, and now ought to be vndone, for that it was neuer their meaning to be iustified and to bind themselues and their successors to the prelates no more, then their ancestors had done before them. Ex Rotul. And yet this foresaid reuocation notwithstanding in Queene Maries time, they inquired vpon that statute.

In searching of these statutes, as you haue occasioned me to find out these scruples: so being found out, I thought here not to dissemble them, forsomuch as I see & heare many now a daies so boldly to beare themselues vpon this statute, and thinking so to excuse themselues do say, ỹ they haue done nothing but the law, the law: to the intent that these men seeing now how inexcusable they be both before God and man, hauing no law to beare them out, may the sooner repent their bloudie and vnlawfull tyrannie, exercised so long against Gods true seruants, yet in time before that the iust law of God shall find out their vniust dealings, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will doe hereafter.

In the meanie time this my petition I put vp to the commons, and to all other which shall hereafter put vp any petition to the Parliament: that they being admonished by this abuse, will shew themselues hereafter more wise and circumspect both what they agree vnto in parliaments, and also what commeth out in their name. And as these good commons in this time of king Henry 4. would not consent nor agree to this bloudie statute, nor to any other like: For so we read that the commons in that bloudie time of king Hen. 4. when another like cruell bill was put vp by the prelates in an. 8. Henry 4. against

Hen. 4 de comburendo, prooued not sufficient to burne any man.

The printed statute an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. falsly corrupted.

Ex constitutionibus prouincialibus Oxoniæ celebratis. Ioan. Athon.

Vide stat. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.

Ex Rot. Parliam.

The perfection in burning Gods people haue done against the law.

A necessarie admonition to the commons of England.

Reading of scripture bookes contrary to the Romish faith made heresie. *Statut an. 2. Hen. 4 cap. 14.* *Vide sup. pa. 483* The text of the scripture not to be translated into the vulgar tongue vnder paine of heresie. *Const. prouinc. Tho. Arund. Vid. sup. p. 484.*

Children of Amersham cast to set fagots to their fathers.

Copus pag. 833. line 20.

Copus pag. 836. line 13.

Statute of the 6. articles in the time of king Henry 8. *Statut. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. Statut. de comburendo an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. Vide supr. p. 406*

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against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also ouerthrow the other: so in like maner it is to bee wished, that the commons in this our time, or such other that shall haue to doe in parliaments hereafter following the steps of these former times, will take vigilant heed to such cruell billes of the popes prelacie, being put vp, that neither their consent doe passe rashly: nor that their names in any condition bee so abused: Considering with themselues that a thing once being passed in the parliament, cannot afterward bee called backe: And a little inconuenience once admitted, may grow afterward to mischiefes that cannot be stopped. And sometime it may so happen, that through rash consent of voices, the end of things being not well aduised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that afterward many daies may cause the whole realme to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with such blacke parliaments to beware of afterclaps. The lord Jesus onely protector of his Church, stop all crafty deuices of subtill enemies, and with his wisedome direct our parliaments, as may be most to the aduantage of his word, and comfort of his people, Amen, Amen.

And thus much hauing said for the defence of the lord Cobham, of sir Roger Acton knight, maister John Browne Esquier, John Beuerlie preacher, and of other their fellowes against Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an end with this present Interim, till further leisure serue me hereafter (Christ willing) to pay him the whole interest which I owe vnto him. Adding this in the meane time, and by the way: that if maister Cope had been a Momus any thing reasonable, hee had no great cause so to wrangle with mee in this matter, who as I did commend the lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his valiant standing by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundell the archbishop: so touching the matter of this conspiracie, I did not affirme or define any thing thereof in my former history so precisely, that he could well take any vantage of against me, who in writting of this conspiracie laid against sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle, doe but disiunctiuely or doubtfully speake thereof, not concluding certainely this conspiracie either to be true, or not true, but only proouing the same not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall in their histories doe affirme: which say that this conspiracie began after the burning of John Husse and Hierome of Prage: Which could not be. And thereto tendeth my assertion. My words are plaine, and are these: pag. 174. col. line 13. Wherefore it is euident that there was either no conspiracie at all against the king: or else that it was at some other time, or done by other captaines, &c.

Proposition disiunctiue.

Lib. Act. & Mon. 174.

These be my words with other moe, pag. col. and line aboue noted. In the which proposition disiunctiue, if either part bee true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refell both, which he hath not done. But onely standing fast vpon the one part, dissimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that he shall come from Rome (whither he is now gone as I heare say) I trust he will returne a better Logician home againe in suam Angliam.

But to the truth of our matter; as I said before, so I say againe, whatsoeuer this worthie, noble, vertuous knight, Sir Roger Acton was otherwise, this is certaine, that he was alwaies of contrary mind and opinion to the bishop of Rome, and to that kind of people, for the which cause he had great enuie and hatred at their hands, and could as little beare it: neither doe I greatly dissent from them, which do suspect or iudge that the lord Cobham, by his friendly helpe escaped out of the Tower, and that peraduenture was the cause why hee was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other causes also there might be, that these good men percase did frequent among themselues some conuenticles, (which conuenticles was made treason by the statute aforesaid) either in those thickets or in some place else, for the hearing of Gods word, and for publike prayer: and therefore had they this Beuerlie their preacher with them.

Sir Roger Acton contrarie to the bishop of Rome.

Causes coniecturall why sir Roger Acton with the rest, were put to death for traitors and Lollards.

But to conclude, whatsoeuer this sir Roger Acton was, this is the truth, which I may boldlie record, as one writing the Acts and things done in the church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned and put to death or martyrdome 3. yeares and more before the lord Cobham died. Likewise maister John Browne, and John Beuerlie the preacher, suffered with him the same kind of death (as some say) in the field of saint Giles, with other moe, to the number of 36. if the stories bee true. Which was in the moneth of Januarie, an. 1413. after the computation of our English stories, counting the yeare from the annunciation, but after the Latine writers counting from Christs natiuitie, an. 1414. according as this picture is specified.

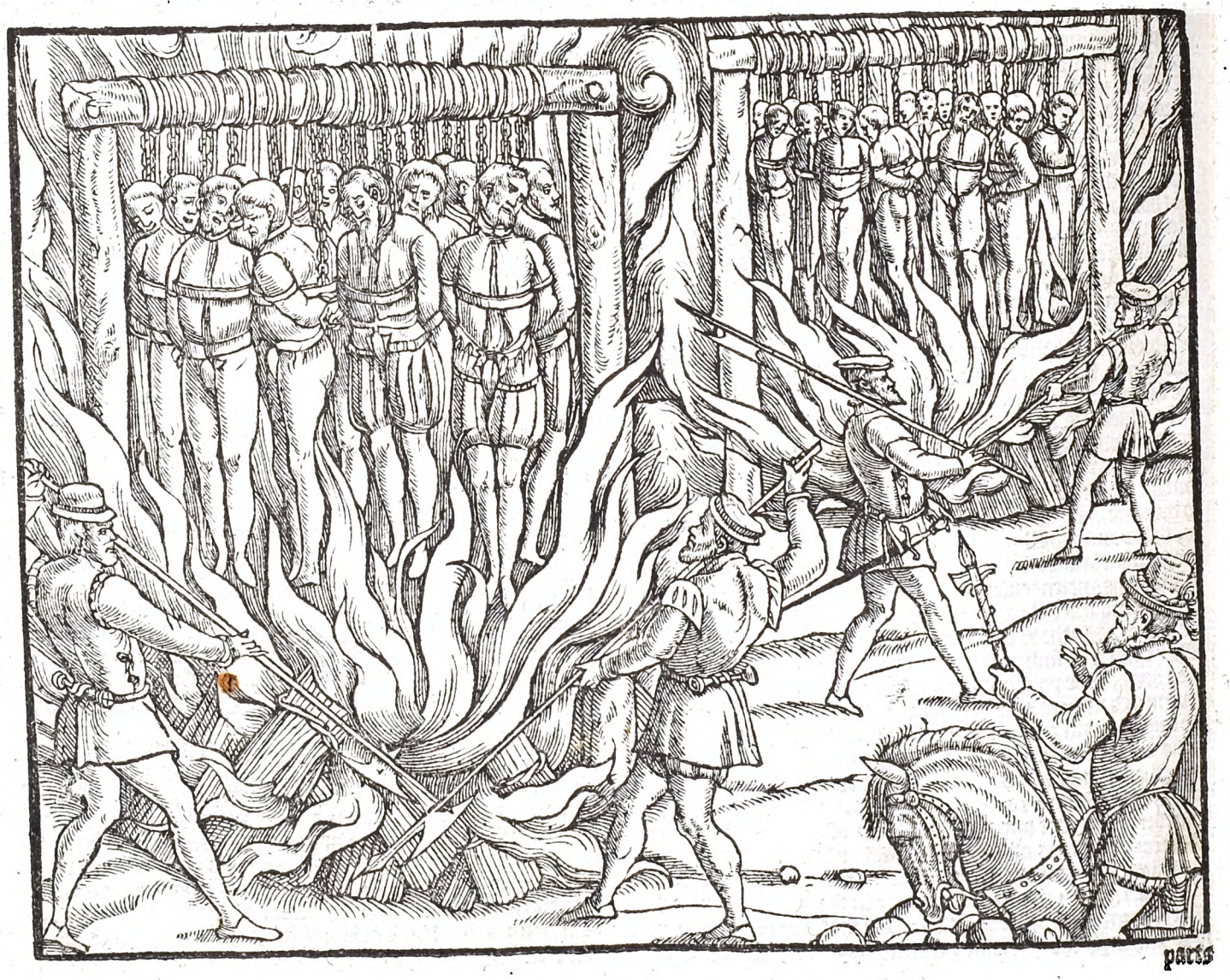
These men, as is said, suffered before the lord Cobham about three yeares, of whose death diuers doe write diuerslie. Some say they were hanged and burnt in S. Giles field; of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be which say that some of them were hanged and burnt. Polydorus speaking onlie of their burning maketh no mention of hanging. Another certaine English chronicle I haue in my hands borrowed of one M. Bowyer, who somwhat differing from the rest, recordeth thus of sir Roger Acton, that his iudgement before the iustice was thus, to be drawne through London to Tiborn, and there to bee hanged, and so hee was naked, saue certaine

{Anno 1414}

Diuersitie in authors.

An English storie beginning thus: A table of all the kings.

The picture of the hanging and burning of diuers persons counted for Lollardes, in the first yeere of the raigne of king Henry the fifth.



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parts of him couered with a cloth, &c. And when certaine daies were past (saith the author) a trumpeter of the kings called Thomas Cliffe gat grant of the king to take him downe, and to bury him, and so he did, &c. And thus haue you the storie of sir Roger Acton, and his fellow brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or else by error or mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops surmised, I refer it to the iudgement of him which shall iudge both the quicke and dead, & seculum per ignem. To whom also I commit you M. Cope: God speed your iournie well to Rome, whither I heare say you are going, and make you a good man.

M. Cope gone to Rome.

The death of Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canturbury. *Exhist. S. Alba.*

Gods workes and punishments to be noted.

After the decease or martyrdom of these aboue mentioned, who were executed in the moneth of Januarie, an. 1414. in the next moneth following, and in the same yeere, the 20. day of Februarie, God tooke away the great enemie of his word, and rebell to his king Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie. Whose death following after the execution of these good men aboue recited, by the maruellous stroke of God so suddenly, may seeme somewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to liue, striking him with death incontinently vpon the same. But as I did the other before, so this also I doe referre, to the secret iudgement of the Lord, who once shall iudge all secrets openly.

In the meane time this may seeme strange, that the same Thomas Arundell, who a little before sitting vpon iudgement against the lord Cobham, and pronounced sentence of death vpon him, did himselfe feele the stroke of death, and the sentence of God executed vpon him before the other. Who would haue thought that the lord Cobham being so cast and condemned definitiuely by the archbishops sentence, but that hee should haue died long before the archbishop? But such be the works of Gods almightie hand, who so turned the wheele that this condemned lord suruiued his condemner 3. or 4. yeeres.

Thomas Arundell giueth sentence against the lord Cobham: and God giueth sentence against Thom. Arundel.

The condemned man ouerliueth his condemner.

In the death of this archb. first Polydor Virgil is deceiued, who in his 22. book, pag. 441. affirmed his death to be an. 1415. and in the second yeere of king Henry 5. also after the beginning of the Councell of Constance, who in deed neuer reached the beginning thereof, nor euer saw the second yeere of that king (vnlesse ye count the first day for a yeere) but died before, an. 1414. Feb. 20. Ex hist. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore concerning the death of this Arundell, and the maner thereof, who had been so heauie a troubler of Christs saints in his time, because the thing seemeth worthie of noting, to behold the punishment of God vpon his enemies, this is the report, as I haue found it alleaged out of Thomas Gascoin in Dictionario Theologico: Whose plaine words be these: An. 1414. Tho. Arundel Cant. Archiepiscop. sic lingua percussus erat, vt nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortẽ suam potuerit, diuitis epulonis exemplo, & sic tantum obijt. Atque multi tunc fieri putabãt, quia verbũ alligasset, ne suo tempore prædicaretur. That is, Thomas Arundel archb. of Cant. was so stricken in his tongue, that neither he could swallow nor speake for a certaine space before his death, much like after the example of the rich glutton, and so died vpon the same. And this was thought of many to come vpon him, for that hee so bound the word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his daies, &c. Which if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, these and such other horrible examples of Gods wrath may be terrible spectacles for such as occupie their tongues and braines so busilie to stop the course of Gods word, striuing but against the streame; against the force whereof, neither they are able to resist, and many times in resisting are ouerturned themselues & drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundell, who continued archbishop in the see of Cant. the space of 18. yeares.

Polydor Virgil erreth.

Thom. Gascoinus in Dictionario theologico.

An example of Gods working hand against the enemies of his word.

The marueilous hand of God vpon Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canturbury.

It is in vaine to gainestand Gods word.

After this Arundell, succeeded next in the said see of Cant. Henry Chichellie, made archb. An. 1414. and sate 25. yeares. This Henry following likewise the steps of his predecessour, shewed himselfe no small aduersarie against the fauourers of the truth. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction in the church. For as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiplie and spread abrode daily more and more, so on the contrarie side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed and encreased against the people of God, by reason whereof diuers did suffer, and were burned, some for feare fled the countrie: many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abiure. Of whom hereafter (Christ willing) particularly in order of their times we will entreat.

Henry Chichellie archbishop of Cant.

As true pietie, and sincere preaching of Christs word began at this time to decay: So idle monkerie and vaine superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same yeare the king began the foundation of two monasteries, one of the one side of Thames of friers obseruants, the other on the other side Thames called Shene and Sion, dedicated to Charter house monks, with certaine Bridgit nuns or recluses, to the nũber of 60. dwelling within the same precinct, so that the whole number of these with priests, monks, deacons, and nunnes, should equall the number of 12. apostles and 72. disciples. The order of these was according to the description of S. Paul the apostle, Col. 1. Eate not, taste not, touch not, &c. to eate no flesh, to weare no linnen, to touch no money, &c.

Sion & Bethleem builded.

About Michaelmas, the same yeer the king began his parliament at Leicester, aboue mentioned. In the which parliament the commons put vp their bill againe, which they had put vp before, An. 11. Hen. 4. that temporalties disorderly walked by men of the church, might be conuerted and imployed to the vse of the king, of his earles and knights, and to the releefe of the poore people, as is before recited, page 513. In feare of which bill, lest the king would giue thereunto any comfortable audience (as testifieth Rob. Fabian and other writers) certaine of the prelats and other headmen of the church put the king in mind to claime his right in France. Whereupon Henry Chichellie archbishop of Canturburie made a long and solemne oration before the king to perswade him to the same, offering to the king in the behalfe of the clergy great and notable sums. By reason whereof (saith Fabian) the bill was againe put off, and the king set his mind for the recouery of the same: so that soone after hee sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and receiued from him againe answere of derision, with a pipe of tennis balles (as some record) sent from the Dolphin, for him to play with at home. Whereby the kings mind was incensed the more towards that voiage. Who then furnishing himselfe with strength and armour, with powder and shot, and gunstones to play with in France, and with other artillery for that purpose conuenient, so set ouer into France, where hee got Hareflew with diuers other townes and castles in Normandie and Picardy, and at Agyncourt had a great victorie ouer the French armie, they being counted but 7. thousand, by pricking sharpe stakes before them, &c. After that hee wanne Caen, Towke, Rowan with other townes moe, as Meldune, or Melione, and married with Katharine the French kings daughter. And yet notwithstanding the third time hee made his voyage againe into France, where at length at Bloys he fell sicke and died: concerning al which voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hal, and other Chronographers, referring therfore the reader vnto them, I will returne my storie to other matters of the church more effectuall.

Vide supra pag. 513.

Fabian with othir.

A craftie practise of the prelats.

The king stirred vp to wars by the bishops.

The entrie of the storie of the Bohemians.

I Declared a little before how by the occasion of Quéen Anne, which was a Bohemian and maried to king Richard 2. the Bohemians comming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliffes bookes here in England, began first to tast and sauour Christs Gospell, till at length by the preaching of John Hus, they encreased more and more in knowledge. Insomuch that pope Alexander the 5. hearing thereof, began at last to stirre coales, & directeth his bull to the archbishop of Swinco, requiring him to looke to the matter, and to prouide that no person in churches, schooles or other places should maintaine that doctrine, citing also John Hus to appeare before him. To whom the said John answering againe, declared that mandate or bull of the pope vtterly to repugne against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and to be preiudiciall to the libertie of the Gospell, in binding the word of God not to haue free recourse. And therefore from this mandate of the pope he appealed to the same pope better aduised. But while he was prosecuting his appeale, pope Alexander died, as is afore said, pag. 510. Ex Cochlæo. in hist. Huss.

Vide supra pag. 428.

The Bohemians receiuing the Gospell.

The P. against the Bohemias.

John Hus cited of the pope.

John Hus appealeth from the pope to the pope.

Pope John 23

After whom succeeded pope John the three and twentith, who also playing his part here in this matter like a pope, sought by all meanes possible how to represse and keepe vnder the Bohemians, first beginning to worke his malice vpon the foresaid John Hus their preacher. Who at the same time preaching at Prage in the temple of Bethleem, because hee seemed rather willing to teach the Gospell of Christ, then the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certaine to the forenamed pope John the three and twentith for an heretick. The bishop committed the whole matter vnto cardinall de Columna; who when he had heard the accusation, he appointed a day to John Hus, that he should appeare in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus king of the Romans and of Boheme, at the request specially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobilitie of Boheme, as also at the earnest suite and desire of the towne and Vniuersitie of Prage: He sent his embassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to quit and clearely deliuer John Hus from that sentence and iudgement; and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdome of Boheme to bee infected with any heretical or false doctrine, that he should send his embassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any errour or fault in them. And that all this should be done at the onely costs and charges of the king of Boheme, and to promise in his name that he would aid and assist the bishops legats with all his power and authoritie, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the meane season also John Husse before his daie appointed, sent his lawfull and meeke procurators vnto the court of Rome, and with most firme and strong reasons, did proue his innocencie; whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should haue easily obtained that he should not haue beene compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appeare the day appointed. But when as the Cardinall de Columna, (vnto whose will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would

John Hus accused to pope John.

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John Hus excommunicate by cardinall de Columna.

not admit no defence or excuse: John Hulle his procuratours appeared vnto the high bishop: yet notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much preuaile with cardinall de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Hus as an obstinate hereticke, because he came not at his day appointed vnto Rome.

Notwithstanding forsomuch as his procurators had appealed vnto the high bishop, they had other iudges appointed vnto them, as cardinall Aquileianus and cardinall Venetus with certaine others. The which iudges after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the space of one yeare and a halfe, at last they returned to the sentence and iudgement of cardinall de Columna, and confirming the same, commanded John Hus his procurators that they should leaue off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Whereupon when his procurators would not cease their instant sute, certaine of them were cast into prison, and grieuously punished, the other leauing their busines vndone, returned into Boheme.

The Bohemians against the pope and his doings. *Ex Cochleo in Hist. Hussit. lib. 1.*

The Bohemians notwithstanding little cared for all this, but continuing still as they grew more in knowledge, so the lesse they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God, and the Gospell of Christ to be preached, saying that by their indulgences and other practises of the court of Rome, and of the bishops consistorie, they sought their owne profit, and not of Iesus Christ: that they pluckt from the sheepe of Christ the woll and milke, and did not feed them, neither with the word of God nor with good examples. Teaching moreouer and affirming, that the commandements of the pope and prelats are not to be obeyed, but so farre as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his apostles, and that lay men ought to iudge the workes of prelats as Paul iudged the workes of Peter in correcting him: Gal. 2. Furthermore, they had amongst them certaine notes and obseruations, whereby they might discerne how far and wherein they might obey their prelats: they derided also and scorned the popes iurisdiction, because of the schisme that was then in the church, when there were three popes together one striuing against another for the papacy.

2. Doubts of John Hus propounded.

Ouer and besides this, at the same time John Hus did propound publikely, and by the notaries caused to bee written 3. doubtfull questions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this. Forasmuch, saith he, as it is good for men being in doubt to aske counsell, wherby al dubitation remoued, they may be able the more firmely to adhere to the truth, three doubts here arise to be solued. The first doubt is, whether we ought to beleeue in the pope. The second, whether it be possible for any man to be saued, which confesseth not with his mouth vnto a mortall priest. The third doubt is, whether any of the Doctors do hold or say that some of Pharaos host being drowned in the red sea, & of ỹ Sodomites being subuerted, be saued.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatiuely, alledging the saying of Bede vpon this place of the apostle: To him that beleeueth vpon him which iustifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousnes: Rom. 4. Vpon this place saith Bede: Aliud est credere in deum, aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum, &c. The second doubt, saith hee, the master of the sentences doth answere, lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11. in these words: What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and allowing of the outward paine, sins be forgiuen through contrition and humilitie of the heart, &c. For the third doubt he brought in the words of S. Hierom vpon the prophet Nahum, speaking of the Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. Know you (saith Hierome) that God therefore punished them for their sinnes here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, and therefore because they were here punished, they shall not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lie, which is not to bee granted. These 3. questions belike John Hus did bring in to declare how the Doctors do not agree in all things neither with the church of Roume, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

Credere in Deū. Credere Deo. Credere Deum. Pet. Lomb. lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11.

Against auricular confession.

Counsell of the prelats of Prage against the Gospellers.

It followeth moreouer after the death of the archbishop Swinco aboue mentioned, that one named Conradus was placed by the pope there to bee chiefe generall, which Conradus conferring with the diuines and Doctors of the Vniuersitie of Prage, required their aduices and counsels, what way they might best take to allwage the dissension and discords betweén the clergie and the people. Wherupon a certaine councell was deuised to be holden after this sort and maner as followeth.

1 First, that all Doctors and masters of the Vniuersitie of Prage should be assembled in the court of the archbishop and in his presence, that euery doctor and master should sweare, not to hold or maintaine any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe before condemned.

2 Item, concerning the 7. Sacraments of the Church the keyes and censures of the church, the maners, rites, ceremonies, customes, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of reliques and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that euery one shall sweare that hee doth hold, beleeue and maintaine, and will maintaine, as doth the church of Rome and no otherwise, of the which church of Rome the pope is the head, and the colledge of cardinals is the body: who are the true and manifest successors of blessed S. Peter prince of the apostles, and of the colledge of the other apostles of Christ.

3 Item that euery one shall sweare, that in euery catholicke matter belonging to the church, that he will stand to the determination of the apostolicall sée, and that hee will obey the prelats in all maner of things whersoeuer, the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden: or that which is mere ill, is not commanded: but is meane and indifferent betweéne both. Which meane or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or euill.

Purum bonum, Purum malum, Medium.

4 Item, that euery one shall sweare and confesse by his oth, that the opinions of Wickliffe and others, touching the 7. Sacraments of the church and other things aboue notified, being contrarie to the said church of Rome, be false.

5 Item that an oth be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintaine any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe aforesaid, or in any other matter catholicke, and especially of the 7. Sacraments and other articles aboue specified, but only as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwise.

6 Item, that euery ordinarie in his diocesse shall cause the said premisses contained in the 1. 2. 3. 4. articles aforesaid, to bee published in his Synods, and by his preachers to bee declared to the people in the kingdome of Boheme.

7 Item, that if any clerke, student, or lay man shall withstand any of the premisses, that the ordinarie haue authoritie if he be conuicted thereof, to correct him according to the old lawes and canons, and that no man shall defend such one by any meanes, for none but the ordinarie hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdome and Vniuersitie of Prage.

8 Item, that the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous and offensiue to others fame, bee not sung neither in streets, tauernes, nor any other place.

9 Item, that master John Hus shall not preach so long as he shall haue no absolution of the court, neither shall hinder the preaching in Prage by his presence: that by this, his obedience to the apostolicall sée may be knowne.

10 Item, that this councell doth appeare to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdome of Boheme.

11 Item, if master John Hus, with his complices will performe this, which is contained in the 4. former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would with vs and haue vs, whensoeuer neede shall require, that we do agrée with them in matter of faith: otherwise if they will not so doe, wee in giuing this testimony should lie greatly vnto our lord the king and to the whole world. And moreouer, wee will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saued. This counsell and deuice being considered amongst the head of the Vniuersitie of Prage, the foresaid administrator named Conradus, presented vnto the king and to the barons of the realme, and also to the Senate of Prage. Whereof as soone as word came to John Hus and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in maner and form of a councell as followeth:

For the honor of God and the true preaching of his Gospel, for the health of the people, and to auoide the sinister and false infamie of the kingdome of Boheme, and of the Marquesship of Morauia, and of the citie and Vniuersitie of Prage, and for the reforming of peace and vnitie betweene the clergie and the scholars of the Vniuersitie:

1 First let the right and full decreement of the princes and of the kings counsell, be holden and stand in force, which betweéne the lord archbishop Swinco on the one partie, and betweéne the rector and master John Hus on the other partie, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts receiued and allowed in the court of our souereigne lord the king.

2 Item, that the kingdome of Boheme remaine in his former rites, liberties, and common customes, so as other kingdomes and lands do enioy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother vniuersall church.

3 Item, that master John Hus, against whom the foresaid lord Swinco, could obiect no crime before the councell, that the said John Hus may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there whosoeuer will obiect to him either heresie or errour, let him obiect, binding himselfe to suffer the like paine, if he do not proue it.

4 Item, if no man will set himselfe on the contrarie part against him, then let the commandement be made by our souereigne lord the king through all his cities, and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and townes, that master John Hus, is ready to render account of his faith, and therefore if any will obiect vnto him any heresie or errour, let him write his name in the chancerie of the lord archbishop, and to bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5 Item, if none such shalbe found to obiect, or which will write his name, then let them bee called for, which caused to bee noised and rumored, in the popes court, that in the kingdome of Boheme

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Boheme in the city of Prage, and in the Marquesdome of Moraua, many there be whose hearts be infected with heresie and errour, that they may proue who they be: and if they be not able to proue it, let them be punished.

6 Item, that commandement be directed to Doctors of Diuinity and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedrall churches, and that it be required of them all and of euery one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be an hereticke or erroneous, and if they denie to know any such, then let them make recognition therof, before the publike notary, confirming the same with their seales.

7 Item, these things thus done and premised, then that our soueraigne lord the king, and also that the archbishop will giue commandement vnder paine, that no man shall call one another hereticke or erroneous, vnlesse he will stand to the probation of that heresie or error, as it becommeth him.

8 Item, after these things obtained, that our soueraign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then lende a subsidie, or collect of the clergie, and direct an honest ambassie to the popes court; with the which ambassadors, let them also goe vpon their owne proper charges or expences for their purgation, which haue caused this kingdome falsly and grieuously to be infamed in the apostolicall court.

9 Item, in the meane season for the presence of maister John Hus no Interdict ought to bee made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church, &c.

As this matter was thus in altercation betweene the two parts, the one obiecting, the other answering in articles, as is aforesaid; in the meane time it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus king of Naples, who had besieged the popes townes and territories, that pope John raising vp warre against the said Ladislaus, gaue full remission of sinnes to all them which would warre of his side to defend the church. When this bull of the popes indulgence was come to Prage, and there published, the king Wenceslaus, who then fauoured that pope, gaue commandement that no man should attempt any thing against the said popes indulgences. But Hus with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manifestly to speake against them: of the which company were 3. certaine artificers, who hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speake against them, and called the pope Antichrist, which would set vp the crosse to fight against his euenchristened. Wherfore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward. But the people ioyning themselues together in armes, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates with gentle words and faire promises satisfied the people, so that euery man returning home to his owne house, the tumult was asswaged. But the captiues being in prison, notwithstanding were there beheaded, whose names were John, Martine, and Stalcon. The death and martyrdome of these three being knowne vnto the people, they toke the bodies of them that were slaine, and with great solemnity brought them vnto the church of Bethlem. At whose funerall diuers priests fauouring that side, did sing on this wise: These be the saints which for the Testament of God gaue their bodies, &c. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlem, John Hus preaching at the same funerall, much commending them for their constancie, & blessing God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had hid the way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, & had reuealed it to the simple lay people and inferior priests, which chose rather to please God then men.

The pope maketh warre.

John. Martine. Stalcon. Martyrs.

Thus this city of Prage was diuided. The prelates with the greatest part of the clergie, and most of the barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the pope, especially Steuen Paletz, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergie and students of the vniuersity went with John Hus. Wenceslaus the king fearing lest this would growe to a tumult, being moued by the doctors, prelats, and counsell of his barons, thought best to remoue John Hus out of the city, who had beene excommunicated before by the pope: And further, to cease this dissension risen in the church, committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergie. They consulting together among themselues, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the summe of 18. articles for the maintenance of the pope and the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wicklisse and John Hus. The names of the Doctors of diuinity were these: Steuen Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Ioannes Heliæ, Andreas Broda, Iohannes Hildesen, Matthæus Monachus, Hermannus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Hus thus departing out of Prage, went to his countrie, where he being protected by the lord of the soile, continued there preaching; to whom resorted a great concourse of people; neither yet was hee so expelled out of Prage, but that sometimes hee resorted to his church at Bethlem, and there also preached vnto the people.

Steuen Paletz a great enemy to I. Hus.

John Hus banished out of Prage.

Moreouer, against the said decree of the Doctors, John Hus with his company replied againe, and answered to their articles, with contrary articles againe, as followeth.

The obiections of Iohn Hus and of his part, against the decree of the Doctors.

FIrst, the foundation of the Doctors whereupon they found all their writings and councels is false: which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdome of Boheme is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsly of the Sacraments.

2 The Doctors hereby do defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do raise vp new discords.

3 Let them shew therefore those persons of the clergie, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verifie their report, binding themselues to suffer the like paine, if they be not able to proue it.

4 False it is that they say, the pope and the cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, neither that any other successors of Peter and of the apostles, can be found vpon the earth besides them. Whenas no man knoweth whether he be worthie of hatred or of fauor. And all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

5 Not the pope, but Christ onely is the head: and not the cardinals, but all Christs faithfull people be the body of the catholicke church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testifie and affirme.

6 And as touching the pope, if he bee a reprobate, it is plaine that hee is no head, no nor member also of the holy church of God, but of the diuell, and of his synagogue.

7 The clergie of the Gospellers agreeing with the saying of saint Austen which they alledge, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirme laudablie: that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45. articles is vnlawfull, and vniust, and rashly done: for that not onely because the Doctors, but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely, touching faith (as these articles doe) haue no authority at all, as appeareth, De baptismo et eius effectu, cap. Maiores. Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. Hinc sedi, &c.

8 The second cause of the discord which they alledge, also is most false: seeing the faith of whole Christendome concerning the church of Rome, is diuided into 3. parts by the reason of 3. popes, which now together do reigne: and the 4. part is neutrall. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope, and of the cardinals, but so farre forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the old & new Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers, did first spring, as is euident, De accusationibus cap. qualiter, &c.

9 In the 4. article they brast out into a certaine dotage, and are contrary to themselues. By reason that they dotishly haue reprehended the Gospellers, who in all their doings receiue the holy Scripture (which is the law of God, the way of truth and life) for their iudge and measure: and afterward they themselues do alledge the Scripture, Deut. 17. where al iudges both popes and cardinals are taught to iudge and discerne betweene leper and leper, and in euery ecclesiasticall cause, onely after the rule of Gods law. And so are they contrary vnto their second article, wherein they say: that in euery catholike matter we must run to the pope: which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

10 Consequently, like idiots they doe most fallie alledge for their purpose the canon, vnder the name and authority of Hierome, written 24. q. 1. Hæc est fides papæ, &c. where they do aplie the words of Hierome most impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to S. Austen, calling him a most blessed pope.

24. q. 1. Hæc est fides. Austen called pope.

11 By which place of Hierome, it is manifest that the first article of those Doctors is false. Forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seate of Peter, and are successors of the apostles as was Austen and other holy bishops moe.

12 Whereof it followeth moreouer, that the church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principall see of his whole church. For Christ which was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit some in Bonony, some at Perusium, some at Auinion.

13 Item, the forsaid prelats are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthie to bee punished: Which affirme and say, that we must obey the pope in al things.

14 For why? it is knowne that many popes haue erred, and one pope was also a woman. To whom not onely it was not lawfull to giue obedience, but also vnlawfull to communicate with them. As all Rubrices, and infinite canons do declare.

Pope Ioane a woman.

14 Item, their 6.7.8.9.10.11. articles do stand and are grounded vpon vntrue and false persuasions. And therefore are to be reiected and detested like the other before: Seeing they doe induce not to peace and verity, but to dissension and falsitie.

15 It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissension among the clergie, riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the Gospell, which reprehendeth such Simoniaks, and such heretickes in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abrode into all the

Simony, luxurie, auarice, three causes of dissension in the clergie.

world. Who deserue to be removed and extirpate not only of the clergy gospellers, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, luxurie, and auarice (which is idolworship) be the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falsly ascribe to the gospellers of Prage. These three vices being removed, peace & vnity would soone be reformed in the clergy.

16. Moreouer, their last article is too grosse, and not onely is without all law, but also without all colour of law: whereas they fondly and childishly doe argue thus: that the processes made against M. John Hus ought to bee obeyed, because forsooth the common sort of the clergie of Prage, hath receiued them. By the same reason they may argue also, that wee must obey the diuell, for our first parents Adam and Eue obeyed him. Also our forefathers before vs were Pagans, wherefore we must obey them, and play also the Pagans.

17. But let this friuolous opinion goe: this is certaine truth, that the said processes made against M. John Hus, by law are none. Forsomuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the commission of the pope, against the determination of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom. and a thousand other lawes besides.

18. Finally, whosoeuer wittingly and obstinately doe defend & execute (the said processes made) or consenteth vnto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and hereticks, as hath beene afore written and exhibited to the lord generall bishop Olomucense. And more shall be declared and proued, if audience may be giuen openly before all the Doctors. Ex Aenea Sylui. & Cochleo.

¶ Vnto these obiections of I. Hus and his part, the catholike Doctors again did answere in a long tedious processe: The scope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the pope, and to maintaine his obedience aboue all other potentates in the world: affirming & contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in purgatorie, and which are labouring in the church militant, and which are resting in heauen: yet this letteth not, but the pope is head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithfull, which here in this world liue vnder his office. Like as Christ is king of all kings, and yet Charles may bee the king of France: so say they, Christ may bee the vniuersall head, and yet the pope may bee head vnder him of the whole church. And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the colledge of cardinals is the body of the Romish church; which church of Rome is placed in the ecclesiasticall office here ouer the earth, to know and define vpon euery ecclesiasticall and catholike matter; to correct errors, and to purge them; and to haue care vpon all such vniuersall matters, and cure vpon all vniuersall churches, and vpon the vniuersall flocke of faithfull christians. Forasmuch as in the regiment of the church thorough the vniuersall world, there must needs remain in such office alwaies some such manifest and true successors of Peter, prince of the apostles and of the colledge of the other apostles of Christ: neither can there be found or giuen vpon earth any other successors, but only the pope which is the head, and the colledge of cardinals, which is the body of the foresaid church of Rome. And although the whole vniuersall multitude of the faithfull do make the body of Christ, yet the same body of Christ is not placed here in office to exercise such authority vpon earth. Because that vniuersall multitude was neuer yet, nor euer can be congregate together.

As Charles may be king of France: so also we grant, the pope may be bishop of Italy, and so it is a good consequet. He may so be if God had so appointed him, but where doth he so appoint?

Ex Cochleo in hist. Hussit. Catholicke, that is, vniuersall.

If ye go to humane policy, who euer saw any vniuersall case of England brought to the emperors court to be decided? If ye go to Gods policy, tye shew Gods word for it.

And therfore necessary it is, that some such true and manifest successors and iudges be appointed, to whom recourse must be had, in all such catholike and ecclesiasticall matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments, euery cause of discord is brought before his iudge, and hath his place alligned where to bee decided: so like reason would require, that in principall matters and controuersies of faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to haue such doubts resolued. And this being granted, then the Doctors proceed, and here must needs conclude (say they) that there cannot be giuen in all the world any other place, but only the church of Rome: the head whereof is the pope, and the body is the colledge of cardinals. For like as Christ departing out of this world in his corporall presence, left his body here with vs vnder the Sacrament in an other forme, wherby he remaineth with vs (according to his promise, Mat vlt.) vnto the consummation of the world: euen so while Christ walked here on earth in his bodily presence, he was pope himselfe and chiefe bishop, and so head of the church here militant in earth, corporally conioyned with the same, as the head is to his body. But after that he departed out of the world, because his body, which is the church militant vpon the earth, should not be headlesse, therefore he left Peter and his successors to his church, for an head in his place, vnto the consummation of the world, saying to him: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my church, &c. Mat. 16. And againe he saith, Feede my sheep: Ioan vlt. That is to say, be thou Peter the head ouer thy brethren.

The promise of Christ doctorly applied.

Deepe diuinity of these Doctors.

Vide Aeneam. Silui. & Cochlei. De Hist. Hussit. lib. 1.

Tedious it were to recite all the bibble babble of these doctors in this their long rehearsal. Whoso listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing & knowledg, may resort either to the history of Siluius, or else to M. Cochleus, in his 1. booke De hist. Hussit.

Thus then M. John Hus being driuen out of Prage (as is afore touched) by the motion of these Doctors, and moreouer being so excommunicate, that no masse nor other musk bee said there where he was present: the people beganne mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelats & other popish priests, which were the workers thereof, acculing them to be Simoniacks, couetous, whoremasters, adulterers, proud, sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and shame. And much crauing reformation to be had of the clergie.

The king seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickednesse of the clergie, vnder pretence to reforme the church, began to require greater exactions vpon such priests and men of the clergie, as were knowne & accused to be wicked liuers. Wherupon they on the other part, that fauoured John Hus, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoeuer they knew to bee of the catholick faction, or enemies to I. Hus. By reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distresse, and such as were not faulty, into great feare. Insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this meanes M. Hus began to take some more liberty vnto him, and to preach in his church at Bethleem, and none to controll him: by the same meanes the people also receiued some comfort, and the king much gaine and money by that reason.

The priests of Boheme disliked and taxed for their ill life.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute I. Hus, were inwrapped themselues in great tribulation, and afflicted on euery side, as well of lay men, as of learned men of the clergie. Insomuch that women also and children were against them. And by the same reason, wherewith they thought to entangle him, they were ouerthrowne themselues. For the doctors which before condemned this doctrine in I. Hus, for intollerable heresie, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporall lords might take away temporall liuings from the clergy sinning habitualiter, that is, lying & continuing stil in the custom of iniquity: now when the K. and the lords temporall beganne to mearse them and bereaue them of their temporalties for their transgressions, the said doctors did keepe silence and durst speake neuer a word. Againe, where the foresaid doctors before could not abide in John Hus, that tithes were to be counted for pure almes, now coming to the Guildhal, were faine to entreat for their temporall goods, not to be taken from them, pleading the same temporalties to bee mere almes & deuotion of good men, giuen vnto the church. Ex Cochl.

The popish doctors & priests ouerthrowne in their owne reason.

And thus now did they themselues grant the thing, which before they did condemne. The more that the popes clergie was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Hus, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their owne wicked deseruings. For the which cause Steuen Paletz, & Andreas de Broda, beeing the chiefe champions of that faction, though they could not remedie the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharpe and cruell letters to master Hus. And to helpe the matter forward, the pope also here must helpe at a pinch, who likewise writeth his letters to Wencellaus king of Boheme, which was brother to Sigismund emperor, for the suppressing of John Hus and of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last yeere of his popedome, An. 1414. The tenor of whose letters to king Wencellaus in this wise proceedeth.

Steuen Paletz, Andrew Broda, writers against John Hus.

The letter of pope Iohn to king Wencellaus.

The letter of pope Iohn to king Wencellaus.

IOhn bishop seruant of Gods seruants, to his welbeloued son in Christ Wencellaus, king of Romanes and of Boheme, greeting and apostolicall benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart; who, although vnworthy, represent the roome of Christ here in earth; this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we doe heare of the brotherly entreatie of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms doe encrease, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honor, & our welbeloued son in the Lord, Sigismund your brother germaine and cosin, for the noble king of the Romanes, &c. And furthermore it followeth in these words: And as we haue cause to ioy at the premisses: so likewise againe the heauie rumors which are here, doe trouble and dampe our minds: For wee heare, that in diuers places vnder your dominion, there be certaine which doe follow and leane to the errors of that archhereticke Wickliffe, whose bookes haue bene long since condemned in the general Romane councell, to be erroneous, hereticall, and swaruing from the catholicke faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons cleauing to the opinions of the hereticks (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excesse, to couer their naughtines and stubbornes in despising the commandements of the apostolicall seat) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keyes and ecclesiastical censure, to the subuersion of the apostolicall dignity, setting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers, and canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship for the mercy of our God, as hartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire & hope you wil (so effectuously) to shew forth your regall power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholike faith (which you go about to defend) and for the conseruation of your kingly name, state and honor, for the prosperous & safe gouernment of your kingdom and dominions, as it becommeth a catholick prince, wherby this blot

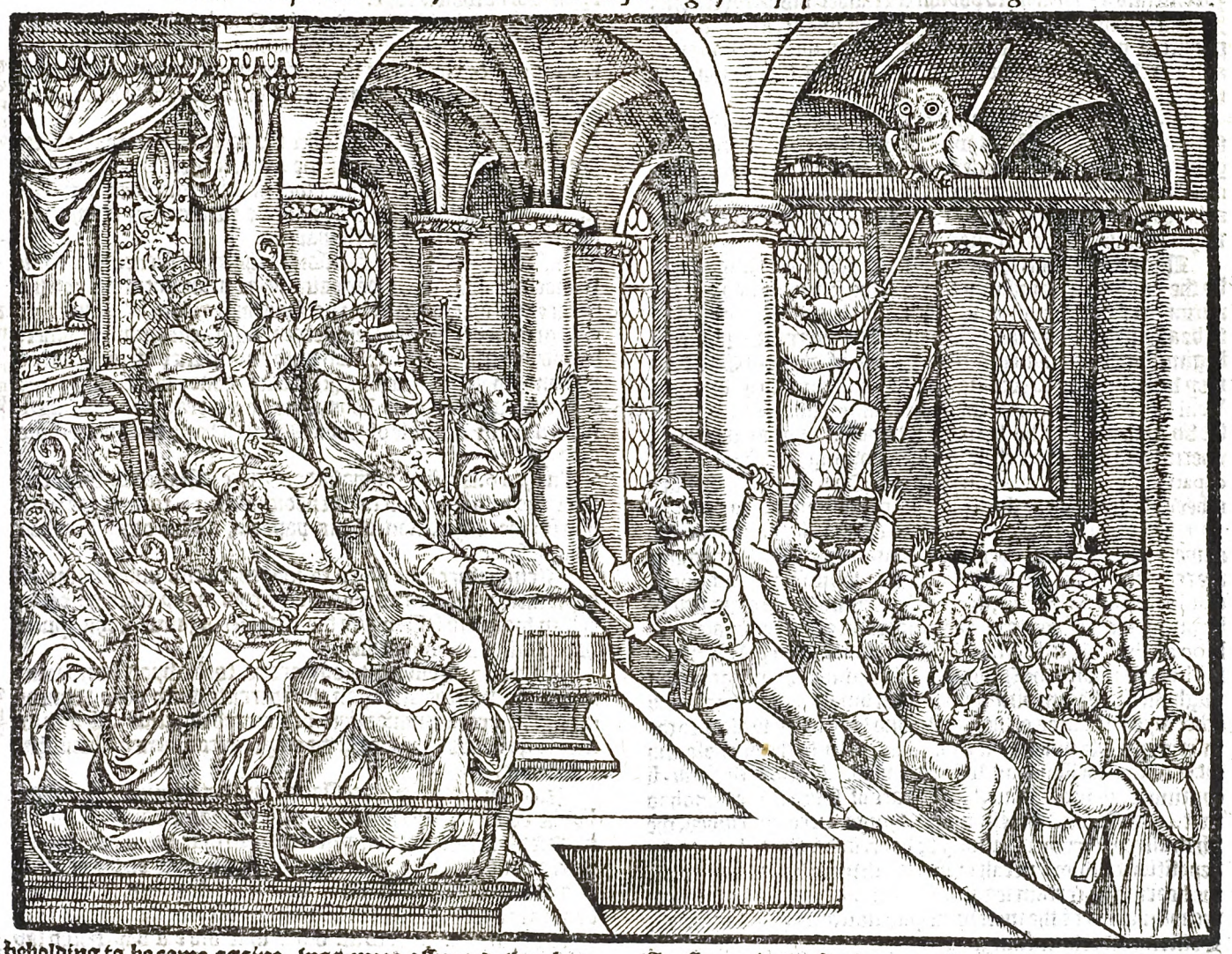
blot of hereſie (which doth ſo lamentablie and miſerably ſpring and creepe in thoſe parts, and doth ſo infect the minds of mortall men, to the deſtruction of their ſoules, and doth ſequeſter them from the congregation of the pure and catholike faith and truth) may be rooted out, &c. Giuen at Bononia in the Ides of Iune, in the fifth yeere of our popedome, &c.

In this epiſtle of pope Iohn aboue preſtred, forſomuch as mention is made of a certaine councel before holden at Rome (which was foure yéeres before) againſt the articles and bookes of Iohn Wickliffe: it ſhall not be impertinent nor out of purpoſe to repeate a certaine merry hiſtory, and worthy otherwiſe to be noted at, written by Nicolas Clemangis of a certaine ſpirit, which ruled the popiſh councels: his words are theſe.

The ſtorie of an Owle appearing at the councell of pope Iohn. *Ex Nic. Clemangis.*

The ſame pope called a councel at Rome about foure yéers before, at the earneſt ſuite of diuers men. And a maſſe of the holy Ghoſt being ſaid at the entrance into the ſaid councell, (according to the accuſtomed maner) the councell being ſet, and the ſaid Iohn ſitting higheſt in a chaire prepared for him for that purpoſe: Behold an vglie and dreadfull Owle, or as the common prouerbe is, the euill ſigne of ſome miſchance of death to follow, comming out of the backe halfe of him, flew to and fro, with her euill fauoured voice, and ſtanding vpon the middle beame of the church, call her ſtaring eyes vpon the pope ſitting. The whole companie began to marueil, to ſee the night Crow, which is wont to abide no light, how hee ſhould in the mid day come in the face of ſuch a multitude, and iudged (not without cauſe) that it was an ilfauoured token. For behold, ſaid they, (whiſpering one in an others eare) the ſpirit appeareth in the ſhape of an Owle. And as they ſtood beholding one an other, and aduiſing the pope, ſcarcely could keepe their countenance from laughter. Iohn himſelfe, vpon whom the Owle ſtedfaſtly looked, bluſhing at the matter, began to ſweat and to fret and fume with himſelfe, and not finding by what other meanes he might ſalue the matter, being ſo confuſed, diſſoluing the councell, roſe vp and departed. After that there followed another ſeſſion: in the which the Owle againe, after the maner aforeſaid, although, as I beléeue, not called, was preſent, looking ſtedfaſtly vpon the biſhop; whom hee

The deſcription of the Popes Councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monſtrous Owle, to the vtter defacing of the pope and all his Clergie.



beholding to be come againe, was more aſhamed then hee was before (and iuſtly;) ſaying he could no longer abide the ſight of her, and commanded that ſhee ſhould be driuen away with battes and ſhoutings: but ſhee being afraid neither with their noiſe, neither of any thing elſe, would not away, vntill that with the ſtrokes of the ſticks, which were throwne at her, ſhe fell downe dead before them all. This I learned of a faithfull friend, who at the ſame time came to Rome: the which thing I ſcarcely crediting for the rareneſſe of the matter, he affirmed by his oth, that it was moſt certaine and true: adding moreouer, that all there preſent were much offended, and did greatly deride that councell called for ſuch a purpoſe, and by little and little the councell was diſſolued, nothing done there, as he ſaith. Although it hath not beene alwaies ſéene that ſuch ſpirituall Doues haue béene preſent with popes and their councels, and gouerned them: yet their euill doctrine declareth no leſſe. Reade, gentle Reader, the booke of Clemangis, and thou ſhalt not thinke thy labour euill beſtowed. For hee hath both learnedly, truely, fréely, and godly bewraied the filthines of Antichriſt, and his miniſters, their wickednelſe, impietie and cruelty, and the miſerable ſtate and face of the church, &c. And thus much for pope Iohn.

The Councell of Conſtance.

The councel of Conſtance.

HEre by the way is to be noted and vnderſtood, that during all this time of pope Iohn, there were 3. popes raigning together, neither was yet the ſchiſme ceaſed, which ſo long time had continued, the ſpace (as I ſaid) of 29. yéeres. By the reaſon whereof a generall councell was ordained and holden at Conſtance in the ſame yeere, Anno 1414. being called by Sigiſmund the emperour, and pope Iohn the three and twentith, for the pacifying of the foreſaid ſchiſme, which was then betwéene three popes, ſtriuing for the popedome: The firſt whereof was Iohn, whom the Italians ſet vp: The ſecond was Gregorie, whom the Frenchmen ſet vp: The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this ſchiſmaticall ambitious conflict, euery one defended his pope, to the great diſturbance of chriſtian nations. This councell endured foure yéeres long, wherein all their matters were decided moſt by foure nations, to ſay, the Engliſh, Germaine, French, and Italian nation. Out of which foure nations were appointed and choſen foure Preſidents to iudge and determine the matters of the councell. The names of which Preſidents were theſe; Iohn the Patriarke of Antioch for France, Anthonie archbiſhop of Rigen for Italy, Nicolas archbiſhop of Geneſuenſis for Germanie, and Nicolas biſhop of Bathe for England; by whom many great and profitable things to the glorie of God, and publike profit, might haue beene concluded, if the rotten fleſh of the churchmen could haue bidden the ſalt of the Goſpell, and if they had loued the truth: But as Gregorius Nazianzenus writeth, there lightly come few generall councels, but they end more with diſturbance, then tranquillitie. So it happened in this councell: for whereas Iohn the 23. in the firſt Seſſion exhorteth them by theſe words taken out of the 8. of Zacharie: Veritatem diligite: that is to ſay: Loue the truth; further, monithing them, and ſpecially the Diuines, euery man to do his endeauour for the vnitie of the church, and to ſpeake their mind fréely: but how ſoone this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared ſhortly after by the deſpiſing of the pro-

Three popes together ſtriuing for the popedome.

The prelats aſſembled in this councell were numbred together with their deputies, 1400. Philip and Theyney, &c. *Gregorius in Epiſtola quadam.*

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phets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appeare hereafter in the processe of this storie. First this John did resigne his papacie, the emperor giuing him thankes kissed his feet.

Afterward the said John repenting him that he had so done, sought meanes to flee; whereunto Fredericke Duke of Austrich did assist him; for he changing his garments, fled by night with a small companie. And when hee was now come vnto Schaffe house to goe into Italy, the emperor pursuing, tooke him, and proclaimed Fredericke traitour, and for that cause tooke away certaine cities from him. At the last the matter was appealed vnder this condition, that Fredericke should require grace of the emperor, and resigne all his possessions vnto him. Whereupon the emperour receiued him againe into fauor, and restored him to his dukedome. This pope being thus deposed, was committed vnto the county Palatine, and by him caried to the castle of Manheime, where he was kept prisoner by the space of three yeres. Afterward hee was againe by pope Martine admitted to the number of cardinals.

Duke Fredericke of Austrich proclaimed a traitor.

Pope John taken and cast into prison.

This pope John was deposed by the decree of the councell, more then 40 most grieuous and hainous crimes being obiected and proued against him: as that hee had hired Marcilus Vermensis a physition, to poyson Alexander his predecessour. Further, that he was an heretick, a simoniake, a liar, an hypocrite, a murtherer, an inchanter, a diceplayer, an adulterer, and a Sodomite; and finally what crime is it, that he was not infected withall?

Marke the good qualities of pope John.

And now to returne vnto the councell, first we will declare the order of their Sessions, with things therein concluded, in general: then we will (Christ willing) adioyne the speciall tractation of such matters, as pertaine to the storie of the Bohemians, and John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, who in the same vngodly councell were condemned and burned.

This councel therfore of Constance, which was summoned by the emperour Sigismund, and pope John 23, about the natiuitie of our Lord Jesus, An. 1414, began the same yere to be assembled about the latter end of the yere. Which first beginning as the maner is, with a masse of the holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custome their Hymne, Veni sancte spiritus, there was at the same time a certaine bill set vp in the church by some well disposed man, as it seemed, wherin was contained these words following: Alijs rebus occupati nunc adesse vobis non possumus; That is to say: We are otherwise occupied at this time, we cannot intend to come to you. Here is also to bee remembred the worthie saying of the emperor Sigismund, when talke was ministred as touching the reformation of the spiritualtie, and some said, quòd oporteat incipere à Minoritis, that is, the reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites; the emperour answering againe: Non à Minoritis, sed à Maioritis, that is, not with ỹ Minorites, saith hee, but with the Maiorites. Meaning, the reformation ought first to begin with the pope, cardinals and bishops, and other superiour states of the church; and so to descend after to the inferiours. This much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the Sessions as wee promised. The which councell continued, as is afore said, by the space of foure yeeres, and had in it 45. Sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which all together were too long to be recited in this place: as the deposition of three seuerall popes, which were before spoken of, the hearing of certain legats. Yet I mind to make some briefe recapitulation of the most principall matters there done in the Sessions orderly ensuing.

A writing set vp how the holy Ghost had no leisure to come to the councell of Constance.

The worthie answere of the emperor touching the order of reformation.

1 In the first Session chiefly was concluded, first that this councell was lawfully congregate.

Note by this example, the authority of councels preferred before the pope.

2 Item, that the going away of the pope should bee no let or stay, but the councell might proceed.

2 Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the generall councell is aboue the pope, contrarie to their owne doctrine.

3 3 Item, this councell should not be dissolued before the church were reformed, as well in the superiours, as inferiours.

4 In the 4. Session amongst other things, this was first concluded: That a Synode congregate in the holy Ghost, making a generall councell, representing the whole catholike church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power euery person, of what state or dignitie soeuer he be, yea being the pope himselfe, ought to be obedient in all such things as concerne the generall reformation of the church, aswell in the heads, as in the subiects.

{Anno 1415}

Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome and the officers of the same court, from the city of Constance. And that all his censures, doings and workings after the time of his departure, whatsoeuer he should enterprise to doe to the preiudice of this councell, should be of no effect.

5 In the 5. Session the same articles were repeated and concluded againe.

6 In the 6. Session procuration and citation was sent out against the pope.

Commissioners appointed to heare John Hus.

Item, commissioners were appointed out of the foure nations for the hearing of John Hus, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his storie following.

Item, the memorie of John Wickliffe was condemned, and the sentence giuen in the councell holden at Rome vpon the condemnation and burning of Wickliffes bookes, was there confirmed.

Item, in the same Session, citation was sent out against Hierome of Prage, the tenor whereof followeth after in the storie of the said Hierome. Citation granted against Ieroome of Prage.

Item, in this session was decreed against libels of infamy.

In the 7. session nothing was handled, but that the tenour of the citation against pope John was recited. 7

In the 8. Session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wickliffe, and his 45. articles was recited, and sentence giuen against his memorie and bones to bee burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the historie of John Wickliffe before passed, fol. 413. 8 Sentence giuen for the burning of Wickliffes bones.

In the 9. Session, the matter and cause of pope Iohn was againe intreated, and commissioners appointed to enquire vpon his cause, and iudges for the same. 9

In the 10. Session, suspension was giuen out and read against the said pope. 10

In the 11. and 12. Sessions, notaries were assigned and definitiue sentence giuen against the said pope: where also was decreed that none of them that contended before for the papacy, should be chosen pope. 11 12

In the 13. Session was decreed, Quod nullus presbyter sub poena excommunications communicet populo sub vtraque specie panis & vini: That is, that no priest vnder paine of excommunication shal communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds of bread and wine. 13 The people of Christ excommunicated from the communion of the holy cup.

In the 14. Session, came in the resignation of pope Gregory the 12, which was one of the 3. before mentioned, striuing for the papacy, with certaine other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning, which gaue ouer the papacy. 14

Then ensueth the 15. Session, in the which silence was commanded on all parts vnder paine of excommunication, and the great curse, that no person or persons high or low, of what estate or degree soeuer he were, emperour, king, cardinall, or other, should disturbe the said session with any maner of noise, either by hand, foote or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Hus, was read and published, which after in the storie of John Hus, followeth to be seene more at large. 15 The solemne publishing of the sentence of condemnation against John Hus.

In the 16. Session, ambassadors were assigned by the councell to go into Arragon to Benedictus the 13. to intreate with him for the resignation of his papacie, as the other two had done before. 16

Item, power was giuen to iudges, to cite vnder paine of deprivation, all such as priuily departed away from the councell: in the which session also the sentence against John Hus was confirmed and ratified.

In the 17. Session, the emperour tooke vpon him a iourney to the king of Arragon, to entreate with pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced against all such as should go about to empeach the emperours iourney about that matter, &c. 17 The emperors iourney into Arragon.

Item, praiers and processions were determined to be made by the councell, euery Sunday for the same cause, with an hundred daies of pardon giuen to them that would be present thereat; and that all prelats should be present at euery of these said masses and processions in their pontificalibus. Granting besides to euery priest that said one masse, for the same a 100. daies of pardon. And to all other that once a day should say one Pater noster, and one Aue, for the safety of the emperour, fortie daies of pardon. Pardons were here vngood cheape.

In the 18. Session, certaine iudges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the councel had no leisure to heare. 18

It was there also decreed, that such letters and buls as were written in the name of that councell, should bee receiued with no lesse credit and authoritie, then the buls proceeding from the see apostolicall, and that the falsifiers of the same should incurre no lesse penaltie, then the falsifiers of the other. Legates also and ambassadors were sent into Italie.

In the 19. Session, which was the same yeer in the moneth of September, Hierome of Prage, who was cited, as is before said, was accused of heresie, and cast into prison by the said councell, and constrained to abiure. The which his abiuration hereafter followeth to be seene in his historie. 19

Item, it was decreed: Quod non obstantibus saluis conductibus Imperatoris, Regum, &c. possit per iudicem competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri, &c. That is, notwithstanding the safe-conduct giuen by the emperor and kings, &c. inquirie may be made against a man for heresie by a sufficient iudge, and processe to be made according to the law. Concilium infringum.

The causes of heresies were committed to certaine iudges and deputies.

Item, the Chart called Carolina, and diuers other Charts and constitutions concerning the liberties of the church of Rome, being brought forth were approued and confirmed. And how certeth it that the Chart of Constantines donation, is not here mentioned.

In the 20. Session, letters and instruments were made, and set vpon church doores, to require and admonish Duke Fredericke to restore againe vnto George bishop of Austrich, such lands, rents, and reuenues as hee detained and withheld 20 Prouide that the churchmen

sole nothing in no cale.

withheld, vnder paine of interdittement, suspending and excommunication.

During the time of this session, the ambassadors returned out of Arragon frō pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; where as certaine articles and conditions betweene the pope and the councell were brought forth and agreed vpon, to the number of twelue.

21 Anno 1416

In the yeere of our Lord 1416, was the 21 session, beginning after their manner with a masse of the holy Ghost, with processions, and such other rites; in the time of which masse, James bishop of Londy made a sermon, taking for his theme these words, Exprobrauit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam: That is, the Lord rebuked their misbeliefe and hardnesse, &c. This sermon being ended, Jerome of Prage which had abiured, as is said, the yeere before, being present thereat, stood vp vpon a certaine bench or forme, replying against the foresaid James and his sermon, alleadging and preaching diuers and sundry things, whereupon the Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners, proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitiue, which hee had in writing against the said Jerome; which sentence being read and approued by the councell (the tenth whereof insueth in his history) the said Jerome was deliuered vnto the secular power, and burned.

Jerome of Prage replied against the sermon of the bishop of Londy.

22. 23 The 22. and 23. sessions containe no worthy matter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Alphonsus king of Arragon: and graunting them voices in the Councell.

24 In the 24. session, citation was giuen out against Benedict, keeping with Alphonsus king of Arragon.

25 The 25. session containeth nothing but a certaine Commendam giuen to the church of Dlemicensis.

26 The 26. session there was nothing else handled, but the vniting and incorporating of the ambassadors of the king of Nauarre into the Councell, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

27. 28 Anno 1417

After this, followed the 27. and 28. sessions, which were in the yeere 1417. Wherein was intreated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt duke Fredericke and the bishop of Trident, and processe giuen out against the said duke, accusing him of sacriledge, and also excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the Councell, concerning the vsurpation and detaining of the city of Trident, and other possessions from bishop George, as is afore specified.

29. 30 In the 29. and 30. sessions, protectors and notaries were giuen out in the cause against pope Benedict, and order decreed vpon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the same pope, was recited and approued by the Councell.

31 In the 31. session, certaine instruments and speciall letters monitory were directed from the Councell to a certaine earle of Italy named Comes virtutum, for laying violent hands vpon Albert bishop of Alce, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the said earle, vnder paine of interdiction excommunication, to set the said bishop at liberty. Also, another decree was set forth for the restoring againe the liberties of the church of Baron.

32. 33 Pope Benedict accused. In the 32. and 33. sessions, the accusation of pope Benedict was renewed, and his obstinacie accused, and witnesse brought in; at which thing doing, the emperor Sigismund was present.

34 In the 34. session, the cause of the foresaid pope was heard, and processe giuen out against him.

35 In the 35. Session, the ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and vnited to the Councell, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the othes made to the foresaid pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

36 The pope excuseth the councell. In the 36. session, a certaine citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation, and the sentence against him, and instruments made vpon the same. And whereas this pope had thundred out his curses, deprivations and excommunications against them; the said synod did annihilate all his doings.

37 The 37. session did renew againe the accusation of the foresaid pope, and the sentence definitiue against him was published.

38 In the 38. session certaine decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of king Henrie, sonne of Alphonsus king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the reuocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

Thus pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next sessions following they addressed themselues to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the

39 Decrees for generall councels. 39. session, to giue out decrees concerning generall Councels, and prouision for the auoiding of such like schismes hereafter. Decreeing euery tenth yeere to haue a generall Councell, after the two Councels that should follow immediatly after this; of the which, the one should bee kept within fiue yeeres then next following; and the second within seuen yeeres after that.

Item, in the same session was drawne out a forme touching such things as the pope should professe and bind himselfe to obserue at the time of his election, of the which forme the order and tenor is this.

The profession which the pope is bound to.

I. N. elected for pope, professe with heart and mouth vnto almighty God, whose church I take vpon me to gouerne by his helpe, and to blessed Saint Peter the prince of the Apostles, so long as I shall endure in this fraile and brittle life, firmely to beleeue and hold the holy catholike faith after the traditions of the Apostles, of generall Councels, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight generall Councels, Nicene the first, the second of Constantinople, Ephesine the third, Chalcedone the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seuenth of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the generall Councels of Lateran, Lions, and Vienne, willing to obserue the same faith vnviolate euen to the vttermost, and to preach and defend the same, euen to the spending of my life and bloud, and also by all meanes possible to prosecute and obserue the rite of the sacraments canonically deliuered to the catholike Church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandement being written out by the Notary of the arches of the holy Church of Rome, I haue subscribed with mine owne hand, and sincerely with a pure mind and deuout conscience, I offer it vnto the Almighty God vpon such an altar, &c. In the presence of such witnesse, &c. Peuen, &c.

It was also decided in this session, that no prelats should be translated against their wils.

The third of the same month and the same yeere, followed the 40. session, wherein certaine decrees were constitute and read, as touching reformations to be made through the whole church by the pope that next should be, with the Councell, before this synod should breake vp. 40

Item, that they should so proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those Cardinals which were with pope Benedict in Spaine. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After these things thus decreed, in the next session, which was 41. the constitution of Clement the sixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being then in the conclaue about the chusing of the pope; and vpon the same, oathes were ministred vnto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to obserue and keepe all such things as they should bee bound to, during the time of the election. 41

The order and maner of the conclaue in chusing the pope.

First, that they should enter into the conclaue within ten daies after the fortith session, which was this present day after supine set.

Secondly, that euery cardinall should haue but two seruitors attending vpon him at the most, either of the laity or clergie, as they would themselues.

Thirdly, that they should remaine together in the said conclaue, without any wall betwixt them, or any other couer, saue only bare curtaines, if any were disposed to sleepe.

Fourthly, that the conclaue should so be shut vp, and the entrie to the priuy chamber to be kept so straitly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any to haue recourse vnto them to talke with them priuily or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except by the consent of them all certain should be called about matters concerning the election.

Fifthly, that no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

Sixthly, that a competent window should be assigned vnto them to receiue in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

Seuenthly, that no day after their first ingresse into the conclaue, beside bread, wine, and water, they should haue any more dishes but one of one onely kind, either of flesh or fish, egges, pottage, made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort, beside salades, cheese, fruit, and confections, wherein there shall be no principall messe made but for sauce and taste.

Eighthly, that not one should be compelled to goe into the conclaue: but if they did all refuse to goe in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

Ninthly, that such as would goe out, might; but if they would all goe out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to goe in againe, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmitie, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that such as went out by reason of infirmity, for to bee absent, and returne before the election be determined, may be admitted againe into the conclaue in the same state wherein they shall finde the election to stand.

Further and besides, the keepers of the conclaue should also be sworne to see all these premisses obserued and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors aboue the order here taken.

And if the king be there himselfe, sitting in his throne of estate, he should receiue the same oth of the cardinals.

Vpon this, such as should be electors beside the cardinals, were chosen.

Furthermore, for as much as the goods and substance of such as were elect, were accustomed to be giuen and granted vnto

These were wise cardinals as they would

not got into the conclaue, but they would be sure to haue their goods safe imported.

vnto such as could catch them: whereupon vnder the pretence of the same, many did inuade the goods of the cardinals, and others which were in the conclaue, falsly saining them to be elected which were not to be elected. To stop the greedy rauening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishoppes, bishoppes, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors entring into the conclaue vpon munday, on thursday after they had hatched out a pope, being Saint Martins euen, whereupon they named him Martin. This Martin thus being elected, was straightway brought in by the Emperor and the Councell into the church of Constance, and there inthronised for pope, not without great solemnity and triumph. The twenty one day of the said moneth, this foresaid Martin, according to their accustomed pompe, was honorably brought in to bee crowned with sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, vnto the monasterie of Saint Austin: the Emperor on foote, leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the Marquesse of Bradenburge prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand; the pope himselfe riding in the middest vpon his palfrey.

Pope Martin hatched.

The emperor leadeth the popes horse by the bridle on the right hand. The prince elector leadeth the popes horse on the left hand.

And thus being brought into the monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about againe from thence to the high church of Constance, was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this Councell more great then wise, did not end thus: for in the next session, which was the forty two, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the councell, discharging the bond of the emperor and the county Palatine, touching the safe custody of pope Iohn, who was by bond committed vnto them to be kept in safety.

42

In the 43. session, certaine other decrees and statutes were made by pope Martin in the said synod: annullating and reprouing all the acts and procedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schisme from the time of Gregory the eleuenth. As in matters concerning exemptions, vnions, fruits and profits of the church, benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes, and other burdens of the church. Also concerning the apparell of the clergy, and such other things.

43

Apparell of the clergy.

In the 44. session, the sage fathers of this councell were occupied about the determining in what place the next councell should be kept in. The forty fiue session brake vp and dissolued this synod.

44

Now to finish our tedious rehearsall of this synod: The cardinall Iordan by the commandement of the pope and the councell, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words, Dominii ite in pace; which is, Lords depart in peace: whereunto the standers by answered, Amen.

45

Thus the councell being dissolued, frier John bishoppe of Catthan, by the consent and commandement of the pope and the councell, went vp into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theame: Vos autem tristitiam habetis: iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrum: You are now in sadnesse, I will see you againe, and then your hearts shall reioyce. The which collation being ended, another cardinall named Anthony, was sent vp by the pope and the councell, with this proclamation. First, to dismisse the synod, and to giue euery man leaue to depart home. Also to declare the popes indulgence vnto them, who by the authority of God almighty, had granted to them all and euery one present at that councell, full absolution once in their life; so that euery one within two moneths after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in forme of writing. Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenary remission at the houre of death, and that was vnderstood as well of the houshold, as of the maisters themselues. But vnder this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole yeere euery friday, for the absolution in their life time. And for the absolution at the houre of death, to fast the same Friday another yeere, except they had some lawfull impediment to the contrary, so that after the second yeere, they should fast vnto their liues end, or else to doe some other good worke. The which being in this maner proclaimed, the synod brake vp, and euery man departed home.

50

60

70

Smell here reader, this made well for the popes purse.

Ex Paralipomeno Abbatis Vrsp.

The number of prelats in the councell of Constance.

The number of the forreners resorting to this councell both spirituall and temporall, was 60500. whereof the number of archbishops and bishops, was 346.

Abbats and doctors 564.

Secular men { Princes, Dukes, Earles, Knights, Esquires, } 16000.

Besides common women belonging to the same councell 450.

Common women in the councell of Constance.

Barbers 600. minstrels, cookes, and Iesters 320.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the towne of Constance betweene Easter and Whitsontide, were numbred to be 60500, strangers and forreners at that councell.

60500. strangers at the councell of Constance.

Here is to be noted that in this councell of Constance, nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this onely, that the popes authority is vnder the councell, and that the councell ought to iudge the pope.

The generall councell aboue the pope.

And as touching the communion in both kinds, although the councell did not denie, but that it was vsed by Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding by the same councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Communion in both kinds denied by this councell.

Hitherto we haue comprehended the order and discourse of this councell, with the acts and sessions concerning the same: which councell, although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the schisme betweene the three popes; yet notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for Iohn Hus, as appeared by their preparation before the councell. For before the councell began, the emperor Sigismund aforesaid, sent certaine gentlemen Bohemians, which were of his own houshold, giuing them in charge to bring Iohn Hus, bachelar of Diuinitie, vnto the said councell; and that vnder his safe-conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, that Iohn Hus should purge and cleere himselfe of the blame which they had laid against him: and for the more better assurance, the emperor did not onely promise him safe-conduct, that he might come freely vnto Constance, but also to returne againe into Boheme, without fraud or interruption: he promised also to receiue him vnder his protection, and vnder safegard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the emperor sent him afterwards the said safe-conducts double written, both in Latin and Almaine, the forme whereof doth hereafter ensue.

¶ Sigismund by the grace of God king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia, &c. To all princes as well ecclesiasticall as secular, dukes, marquesses, and earles, barons, captaines, borowmasters, iudges and gouernours, officers of townes, bourgages and villages, and vnto all rulers of the communalty, and generally to all the subiects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace, and all goodnesse.

The safe-conduct giuen to maister Iohn Hus.

We charge and command you all, that you haue respect vnto Iohn Hus, the which is departed out of Boheme, to come vnto the generall councell, the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the towne of Constance. The which Iohn Hus we haue receiued vnder our protection and safegard of the whole empire, desiring you that you will cheerfully receiue him when he shall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, shewing him fauor and good will, and shew him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardnesse, ease, and assurance of his iourney, as well by land as by water.

Moreouer, we will that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessaries, shall passe throughout all places, passages, ports, bridges, lands, gouernances, lordships, liberties, cities, townes, bourgages, castels and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or dane mony, peage, tribute, or any other manner of tolle whatsoeuer it be. We will also that you suffer him to passe, rest, tary, and to soiourne at liberty, without doing vnto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you doe prouide a faithfull company to conduct him withall, for the honor and reuerence which you owe vnto our Imperiall Maiesty. Yeuen at Spire the 18. of October, in the yeere of our Lord God 1414.

¶ By this it may appeare, that this safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the councell by the bishops, but before the councell by the emperor: who was or ought to bee the principall ordainer and director of the councell vnder God. Now whether the bishops in breaking and annulling this promise of the emperor, against the emperors mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth Ad materiam iuris, non facti, being a matter rather of law then of story, I will defer to reason this case with maister Cope, to such time as may be more conuenient to the full tractation thereof.

Ala. Copus. pag. 929.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and passe, let vs consider part of the reasons of the said Cope, how friuolous and false they be, and easie to be refelled. What (saith he) if he preached by the way comming vp? First, that it is false, vide infra page. What (saith he) if he stood obstinate in his heresie? What if hee sought to escape away after his comming vp? To this the lords of Boheme doe answere, that this safe-conduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not onely before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for an heretike, but also before hee was heard of the councell what he was. Vide infr. page.

Answere to Ala. Copus.

Further, where Cope saith, that the generall councell was aboue the emperor, and hath power in case of heresie to breake publike leagues and grants: to that I say, that this safe-conduct stood not only vpon the emperor, but also vpon the consent of the pope himselfe. Vide infr. page.

And admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make this decree, to breake promise with heretikes: yet this cannot bee denied, but that Iohn Hus was condemned and iudged

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iudged before that decree in the nineteenth session was made. Finally, when Cope hath proued by what scripture the councels haue power to defeat the authority of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe-conducts, and outward safety, then will I answere him more fully herein. But to the purpose againe of the story.

Iohn Hus taketh the emperors safe conduct.

Iohn Hus seeing so many faire promises, and the assurance which the emperor had giuen vnto him, sent answer vnto the emperor, that he would come vnto the councell. But before he departed out of the realme of Boheme, and specially out of the towne of Prage, hee did write certaine bils long enough afore, as well in Latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almaine, and caused them to be set and fastned vpon the gates of the cathedrall churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbies, signifying vnto them all, that he would goe to the generall councell at Constance; wherefore if any man haue any suspition of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the lord Conrade, or bishoppe of Prage, or if hee had rather, at the generall councell, for there hee would render and giue vp vnto euery one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The example of his letters and intimations set vp were these, the copie whereof heere followeth.

¶ The letters of Iohn Hus set vp in common places of the citie of Prage.

Letters of Iohn Hus set vp.

MAster Iohn Hus, Bachelar of Diuinity, will appeare before the most reuerend father the lord Conrade, archbishop of Prage, and legat of the apostolike seat, in the next conuocation of all the prelats and clergy of the kingdome of Boheme, being ready alwaies to satisfie all men which shall require him to giue a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth. And to heare and see all such as will lay vnto his charge either any stubbornnes of error or heresie, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by Gods law and mans. And if so be that they could not lawfully proue any stubbornnes of error or heresie against him, that then they should suffer the like punishments that he should haue had; vnto whom all together he wil answer at the next general councell at Constance, before the archbishop and the prelats, and according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, shew forth his innocency in the name of Christ. Dated the Sunday next after the feast of Saint Bartholomew.

The Intimations following, were drawne out of the Bohemian tongue.

Another intimation of Iohn Hus set vp for his going to Constance.

MAster Iohn Husinetz, doe signifie vnto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my lord the archbishop, and to answere to all things whereof I am falsly accused, in the next conuocation of Bachelars; and chiefly to this point, that in many places they doe report me an heretike, not hauing respect vnto iustice or to law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore, since that you which doe neuer cease to slander and backbite me with your words, doe vnderstand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord archbishop, and with an open mouth, declare and shew forth what false doctrine or other things ye haue heard me teach contrary to the catholike faith; and if that I shall be found faulty in neuer so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I doe chuse that or other things contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace, and suffer punishment as an heretike. And if there be no man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once againe I say vnto you, that I am ready to appeare at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the Diuines, euen before the face of the pope. Therefore whosoeuer knoweth any false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and shew it forth boldly, if he haue any thing to lay against me, and for my part I will not be slacke, if I may vnderstand or know it, to answere as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I haue receiued of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men therefore which loue the truth, say now whether by these my words I doe thinke or goe about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, bee it knowne and manifest vnto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault the same day.

The offer of Iohn Hus to his enemies.

❧ This Epistle which followeth, was set vpon the gates of the kings palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tongue.

A writing of Iohn Hus at the kings gates.

VNto the Kings maiesty; the Queene, and to all such as are of his counsell, and to all other rulers and magistrates, which now are in the kings court, I Iohn Hus doe signifie and publish, that I haue vnderstood, not by any vaine rumor or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the kings maiesty, the contents whereof is this; That the kings maiesty should bring to passe, that the heretikes which were now lately sprung vp in his kingdome and dominions, should not take any firme or strong root. For so much as without any desert, as I trust by Gods grace, the fame or noise is sprung and blowne abroad: it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the kings maiesty, neither the noble kingdome of Boheme, should be driuen to beare or suffer any reproch or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I haue sent my letters to and fro, which I haue with great labour and diligence, caused to be openly set vp, to this intent, that I might thereby cause the archbishoppe to be carefull and diligent about the matter, signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Boheme, which did know me to bee a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, that he should professe his name in the archbishoppe his court, and there to shew forth and declare what he thought. And forasmuch as there would none bee found or come forth, which would accuse me, the archbishop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the kings maiesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the Queene, and their counsellers, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would giue me a faithfull testimoniall of this matter. Forsomuch as I haue oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused me or troubled me: I doe it moreouer to be knowne vnto all Boheme, and to all nations, that I will bee present euen at the first time before the councell of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the pope, the pope being president: and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoeuer hath any suspition of me, that I haue either taught or defended any thing contrary vnto the faith of Christ, let him come thither also, let him declare there before or in the presence of the pope, and all the doctors of Diuinity, what erroneous or false doctrine I haue at any time followed or holden. More, if hee shall conuince me of any error, or proue that I haue taught any thing contrary vnto the christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoeuer punishment shall bee due for an heretike. But I hope and trust euen from the bottome of my heart, that God will not giue the victory to vnfaithfull and vnbeleeuing men, the which doe willingly kicke and spurne against the truth.

The same time Iohn Hus sent his procurers to the lord bishop of Nazareth, ordained by the Apostolike Sea Inquisitor of heresie of the citie and diocesse of Prage, requiring him, that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said bishoppe before the said procurer, and the publike Notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with Iohn Hus, and that he neuer knew any thing in him, but as becometh a godly and faithfull man; and this his testimony of Iohn Hus, hee approoued by his letters, the copie whereof is heere vnder written.

❧ The bishop of Nazareth his testimoniall.

The testimony of the good bishop of Nazareth.

WEe Nicolas by the grace of God Bishop of Nazareth, and Inquisitor, specially deputed by the Apostolike seat, for heresies both of the citie and diocesse of Prage, by these presents we doe it to be knowne vnto all men, that wee in times past haue often communed and talked with that honourable man, master Iohn Hus, Bachelar of Diuinity, of the famous Vniuersitie of Prage, and haue had diuers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and diuers other matters, and in all his sayings, doings, and behauiour, we haue proued and found him to bee a faithfull and a catholike man, finding no manner of euill, sinister, or by any meanes erroneous doings in him vnto this present. We doe witnesse and protest moreouer, how the said Iohn Hus, of late, in the cathedrall church of Prage, and in other both colleglate and parish churches, and in the Colledges of the Vniuersitie of Prage, and in the gates and porches of the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Wenceslaus king of Romans and of Boheme: also in the gates of the reuerend father the lord Conrade, archbishoppe of Prage, legat of the Apostilike see, and chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Prage, and of other princes and barons, then beeing in the citie of Prage, hath set vppe his letters written both in Latine, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the foresaid master Iohn Hus would appeare before the reuerend father the lord Conrade, the foresaid archbishoppe of Prage, and all the prelates and clergie of the kingdome of Boheme, that shall bee congregated and called together by the said archbishoppe, at the day appointed in the said citie of Prage, ready alwaies to satisfie euery man that shall desire and require him to shew a reason of his faith and hope that hee holdeth, and to see and heare all and euery one which could proue any obstinacie of error or heresie lawfully against him, vnder the paine to receiue the like punishment: vnto whom all together hee would by Gods help, answere in the councell of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord archbishoppe and vs, with all other prelats, and there in Christs name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy

The bishop of Nazareth witnesseth with Iohn Hus.

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holy fathers, to declare and shew forth his innocency. After the which letters, as is aforesaid, by the said master Iohn Hus openly set vp, there did no man appeare before vs, the which would accuse the said master Iohn Hus of any error, either of any heresie. For the euident witnes of all which things, we haue commanded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our seale. Dated in Prage xxx. of August, an. M.iiij.C.xiiij.

Upon which matter also, a publike instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seale of the publike Notary, named Michael Puthatietz. The copy of which instrument here vnder followeth.

¶ An Instrument of Recognition, or protestation of the Lord inquisitor of Heresies.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeere of his natiuity, 1414. the thirtith of August, in the fifth yeere of the bishopricke of the most holy Father in Christ, Iohn, by the grace of God Pope, the three and twentith of that name, in the vppermost parlor of the house of the famous man the Lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Znirglits, master of the mint, of the most famous prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Boheme, in the greater citie of Prage, about the abby of Saint Iames the Apostle, in the presence of me the publike Notary here vnder written, and certaine witnesses here within written, specially called for that purpose. There was personally present master Iohn Iessenitz, master of Art, procurer in the name of the honourable man, master Iohn Hus, Bachelar, formed in Diuinity of the Vniuersitie of Prage. Hee most humbly and earnestly required the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, Nicolas bishop of Nazareth, Inquisitor of Heresies for the citie and dioceese of Prage, specially appointed by the apostolike Sea, being there also present, saying: Reuerend father, doe you know any error or heresie in master Iohn Husnetz, otherwise called Hus? The which said Lord Nicolas, not compelled or constrained, but of his owne will and accord, freely and openly did there recognise, saying these or the like words in the Bohemian tongue:

I haue often and many times been conuersant with master Iohn Hus, and haue eaten and drunke with him: also I haue been often present at his sermons, and diuers of his collations which he hath made vpon diuers places of the scripture, and I neuer found or perceiued in him any error or heresie, but in all his words and deeds I haue found him alwaies a true and a catholike man, neither haue I found any thing that doth sauor of any error or heresie.

Againe, the said master Iohn his procurer, in the behalfe as aboue, required and asked the said lord Nicolas, Bishop and Inquisitor, whether any man haue accused the said master Iohn Hus of any heresie before him, being inquisitor for heresie, and hath conuicted him of heresie. He answered, that since the time he knew Iohn Hus, and that he was made inquisitor for heresie in the citie and dioceese of Prage (as is afore said) neuer any man accused, either conuinced the said master Iohn Hus of any heresie before him vnto this present time. Adding moreouer, that he the said master Iohn Hus did openly set vp his letters patents this present yeare aforesaid, in the said moneth of Aug. vpon the porches of the cathedrall church of Prage, and other collegiate and parish churches of the citie of Prage, and vpon the gates of our said lord, our lord the king, and the archbishop of Prage, containing in them this effect, how that he would appeare before Conrade archbishop of Prage, and all the prelats and clergy of the kingdome of Boheme, which should be congregated and called together at a certaine day of the month aforesaid, ready alwaies to satisfie all men as touching the faith and hope which he held, and to see and heare all or singuler that would lay any obstinacy of error or heresie vnto him, that they should determine themselues there, to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of Gods law and mans law, vnto whom altogether hee would answere in his owne right before the said archbishop of Prage, and the said lord Nicolas, bishop and inquisitor aforesaid, and the prelats, euen in the next generall councell of Constance, and there according vnto the canons and decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and shew foorth his vprightnesse and innocency, vpon all and singuler: which proceedings, master Iohn de Iesenitz procurer, and in the procurers name or behalfe as afore, required and desired, that he might haue one or many publike instruments made vnto him by me the publike Notary here vnder written. These things were done the yeere, indiction, day, moneth, houre, place, and bishopricke, as is afore said, in the presence of these noble & famous men, the L. William de Zwirgelitz, Baron of the kingdome of Boheme, Peter his sonne, the lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewise Baron, Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vnssone de Miekoniz, Burgraue of the castell of Liechetenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz Esquier, and William de Dupore, Knight of the said dioceese of Prage, with manie other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required vnto the premisses. And I Michael, sometimes the sonne of Nicolas de Prachatitz, of the dioceese of Prage, and by the imperiall authority, publike Notary, was present, with the witnesses aforenamed, at the affaires aforesaid, at the request, demand, answere, and petition, and all and singuler the doings within written, and did see and heare all these things to be done in the foresaid manner and forme. But being busied with other matters, I haue caused this to be faithfully drawne and written, and subscribing the same with mine owne hand, haue published and reduced it into this forme, and haue signed it with my seale and name, accustomed, being called and required to beare witnes of all and singuler the premisses.

After this, as all the barons of Boheme were assembled in the abby of Saint Iames, about the affaires of the realme, where as the archbishoppe of Prage was also present; there the said Iohn Hus presented Supplications: by the which hee most humbly desired the barons, that they would shew him this fauor towards the said archbishop, that if the said archbishoppe did suspect him of any error or heresie, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceiued no such thing in him, that hee would then giue him a testimoniall thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, hee might the more freely goe vnto Constance. The said archbishop confessed openly before all the assembly of Barons, that he knew not that the said Iohn Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence; and this was his onely counsell, that the said Iohn Hus should purge himselfe of the excommunication hee had incurred: this report, which the archbishoppe had giuen of Iohn Hus, doth appeare by the letters which the barons of Boheme sent vnto the emperor Sigismund by the said Hus, in the towne of Constance.

Conrade the archbishop cleareth Iohn Hus.

Finally, all the prelats and clergy assembled together in the towne of Prage, in the archbishoppe his court, where as appeared personally the worshipfull master Iohn Iesenitz, doctor of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honourable man master Iohn Hus, requiring that either the said master Iohn Hus, or that he in the name and behalfe of him, might be suffered to come into ẏ said archbishops court, to the presence of the archbishop, and the prelats which were there congregated together, for so much as master Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie all men which shall require him to shew any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and heare all and singuler which were there gathered together, that is to say, the lord archbishop and prelats, or any of them, which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresie vnto him, that they should there write in their names, and according both vnto Gods law and mans, and the canon law, prepare themselues to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully proue any obstinacy of error or heresie against him: vnto whom altogether he would, by Gods helpe, answere before the said archbishop and the prelats in the next generall councell holden at Constance, and stand vnto the law, and according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, shew forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ: Vnto the which master Iohn of Iesenitz doctor, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabenitz, Marshall of the said archbishoppe, comming forth of the said court, did vtterly deny vnto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingresse and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the archbishoppe aforesaid, and of the prelats there gathered together. Pretending that the archbishoppe, with the prelats aforesaid, were occupied about the kings affaires, requiring the said master doctor, that hee would tarie in some place without the said Court, that when the archbishoppe and the prelats had finished the kings affaires, hee might then returne, and haue liberty to come into the court there. The said master Iohn Hus, and the doctor of law tarried a while, intreating to be admitted into the archbishoppes court: but seeing hee could preuaile nothing, he made there a solemne protestation of his request, that both he, and also master Iohn Hus and his part, could not be suffered to come into the archbishops court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelats. Requiring of the foresaid Notary, publike instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

Iohn Hus requireth to giue testimony of his faith, and could not be admitted.

And these were the things which were done, before Iohn Hus tooke his iourney to the generall councell of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also anner somewhat, as touching his iourney thitherwards.

About the Ides of October, 1414. Iohn Hus being accompanied with two noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, Wencelat of Duba, and Iohn of Clum, he parted from Prage, and toke his iourny towards Constance. And in euery place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in euery good towne or citie of name, the tenor whereof ensueth.

Iohn his iourney to Constance.

¶ The

¶ The copy of the letters which Iohn Hus set vp in the common places of the cities which he passed thorow, going to the Councell.

The letters which Iohn Hus set vp in cities as he passed to Constance.

MAster Iohn Hus goeth now vnto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and euen at this present doth hold, and by Gods help will defend and keepe euen vnto death. Therfore euen as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdome of Boheme by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to haue satisfied and giuen an account of his faith vnto euery man, which should obiect or lay any thing against him in the generall conuocation holden in the archbishop of Prages court: So likewise he doth manifest and signifie, that if there be any man in this noble and imperiall citie, the which will impute or lay any error or heresie vnto him, that hee should prepare himselfe to come vnto the councell, for so much as the said master Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie euery man at the said councell, which shall lay any thing vnto his charge as touching his faith.

How Iohn Hus was receiued by the way, going vp to the councell.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was parted out of Boheme, and entred into Almaine, a great number of people did come vnto him, and he was very gently receiued and entertained of his hosts through all the townes of Germany, and specially of the citizens and burgesses, and oftentimes of the curats. Insomuch as the said Hus did confesse in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Boheme. And if it happened that there were any brute or noise before of his comming, the streets were alwaies full of people, which were desirous to see Iohn Hus and gratifie him:

Nurremburge.

and amongst all other, specially at Nurremberge, whereas certaine merchants which went before, certified the cittizens of his comming. In the same citie there were many curats which came vnto him, desiring that they might talke with him secretly apart: vnto whom hee answered, that he loued much rather to pronounce and shew forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, then in hugger mugger, for he would keepe nothing close nor hidden. So after dinner, vntill it was night, he spake before the priests and senators, and diuers other cittizens, insomuch that they all had him in great estimation and reuerence, one only doctor except, which was a Charterhouse monk,

A charter house monke against Iohn Hus.

and the curat of saint Sebauld, which did improue all that he had said.

John Husses hostelle named Faith.

The twentith day after that he departed out of the town of Prage, which was the third day of Nouember, he came vnto Constance, and lodged at an honest matrons house, being a widow named Faith, in Saint Galles streete.

The morrow after, the gentleman master Iohn de Clum, and master Henry Latzemboge, went to speake with the pope, and certified him that Iohn Hus was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the generall Councell, vnder the emperor his safe-conduct; desiring him also that hee on his part would grant the said Iohn Hus liberty to remaine in Constance, without any trouble, veration, or interruption. Vnto whom the pope answered; that albeit that Iohn Hus had killed his brother, yet would he goe about as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done vnto him during his abode in the towne of Constance.

The pope consenteth to the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

In this meane time, the greatest aduersarie that Iohn Hus had, named master Steuen Paletz, the which was also a Bohemian borne, was come vnto Constance. But his companion master Stanislaus Znoma, was not yet passed the borders of Boheme, when he was stricken with an impostume, whereof he died. As soone as the said Paletz was come to Constance, hee did associate vnto him one Michael de Causis, the which had before falsely accused and blamed the said Iohn Hus. And this may not bee forgotten, that the said Paletz had been familiarly conuersant and acquainted with the said Iohn Hus from his youth vpward; but after that, there was a bull brought vnto Prage from pope Iohn the 23. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said Iohn Hus withstood it openly, for so much as he saw that it was wicked and naught.

Stanislaus Znoma, Husses enemy, going to Constance, died by the way.

Steuen Paletz, and Michael de Causis, chiefe enemies to Hus.

A bull against Ladislaus king of Apulia.

And as touching the said Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certaine banquet in the presence of the said Iohn Hus, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right: yet notwithstanding forsomuch as he was obliged and bound vnto the pope, by meanes of certaine benefices receiued at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against Iohn Hus. And this was the cause of the discord and falling out betweén them.

Michael de Causis.

As for Michael de Causis, the companion of master Paletz, he was sometime the curat of new Prage: but he not being content therewith, but seéking after a further pray, dreamed and imagined out a new deuice how to attaine vnto it, for he made a semblance that he had found out a new inuention or meane, whereby the mines of gold in Gilory, which were perished and lost, might be renewed & set on worke againe. By this meanes he did so much with the king Winceslaus, that he did put a great sum of mony into his hands, to doe that withall which he had promised.

This honest man, after he had labored and trauelled certaine daies about it, and perceiuing that he brought nothing to passe, and that by that meanes he was vtterly in despaire of his purpose, he conueied himselfe priuily out of the realme of Boheme with the rest of the money, and withdrew himselfe as a worthy bird for such a nest into the court of Rome. Such a man of such conditions was easily corrupt with money, and that by the aduersaries of the said Hus, and promised them to doe what he could for them, the which he did shortly after. The two iolly roisters, Steuen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certaine articles against the said Hus, saying, that they had gathered them out of his owne writings, and specially out of his treatise which he had written of the Church. They trotted vp and downe, hither and thither, taking great paines to shew the said articles vnto the cardinals, bishops, monks, and such others of that sort, doing them also to vnderstand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said Iohn Hus had committed and done against the holy constitutions and other ordinances of the pope and the church: which if neede were, they said they would propound before the Councell. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals, and all the priests, that all they with one mind and consent, thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

The wicked life of Michael de Causis Hus ses enemy described.

The enemies of Hus practise against him.

The 26. day after the said Hus was come to Constance, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talke with his friends, the cardinals through the instigation and motion of Paletz and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the bishop of Augusta, and of Trident, and with them the Burrowmaster of the town of Constance, and a certaine knight, to the place where Iohn Hus lodged about dinner time, which should make report vnto him, that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to aduertise him that hee should come to render some knowledge or witnesse of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready for to heare him.

Vnto whom Iohn Hus answered: I am not come for no such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope and his cardinals, protesting that I neuer desired no such thing, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole assembly of the Councell, and there answer for my defence openly, without any feare or doubt, vnto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding, said he, forasmuch as you require me so to doe, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals. And if it happen that they euill intreat or handle me, yet neuertheless I trust in my Lord Iesus, that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for his glory sake, then to denie the veritie and truth which I haue learned by his holy Scriptures. Wherefore it came to passe, that the bishops being instant vpon him, and not shewing any outward semblance, that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, albeit they had priuily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses: Iohn Hus tooke his horse which he had at his lodging, and went vnto the court of the pope and the cardinals.

John Hus desired to plead his cause before the whole councell.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speake to him in this sort: We haue heard many reports of you, the which if they be true, are in no case to be suffered. For men say that you haue taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true church; and that you haue sowed your errors abroad through all the realme of Boheme, by a long space or time: wherefore wee haue caused you to be called hither before vs, that we might vnderstand and know how the matter standeth.

John Hus is come before the pope and the cardinals.

The words of the pope and the cardinals to Iohn Hus.

Vnto whom Iohn Hus answered in few words: Reuerend fathers, you shall vnderstand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I would rather chuse to die, then I should be found culpable of one only error, much lesse of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come vnto the generall Councell, which is here appointed, to shew my selfe ready euen with all my heart to receiue correction, if any man can proue any errors in me. The cardinals answered him againe, that his sayings pleased them very well, and vpon that they went their way, leauing the said Iohn Hus, with master Iohn de Clum, vnder the gard and keeping of the armed men.

The answer of Iohn Hus to the pope and the cardinals.

In the meane season, they did subborne and furnish out a certaine Diuine, a Frier Francisane, a subtill and crafcie man, and a malicious hypocrite, for to question with the said Iohn Hus, which was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing neere, in his monkish gesture, said: Reuerend master, I a simple and rude idiot am come vnto you for to learne, for I haue heard many strange and contrary things against the catholike faith, to be ascribed vnto you, the which doe diuersly moue my mind, being wholie inclined to the truth. Wherefore I doe desire you, euen for the loue which you beare vnto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach mee most simple and miserable man, some certaintie and truth. And first, men say that you hold opinion after the consecration and pronuntiation of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remaineth onely materiall bread. Iohn Hus answered: that it was falsly attributed and imputed vnto him. Then said he: I pray you, is not this your

Dolus malus Cardinalium.

A Frier Minor putteth two questions to Iohn Hus.

A friery Iudas.

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your opinione No verily, said John Hus, I doe not so thinke of it. When the monke asked this question the third time, master John de Clum being somewhat moued with him, said: Why art thou so importunate vpon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing vnto me but once, I would haue beleeued him. And thou, albeit he hath shewed thee his minde so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him. Then said the monke: Gentle master, I pray you pardon me a poore idiot and simple frier; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learne. This frier put forth another question vnto him, protesting his simplicitie and ignorance, what manner of vnitie of the Godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ? When John Hus had heard this question, he turning himselfe vnto master John de Clum, in the Bohemian language said: Truly this frier is not simple as he doth pretend, for hee hath propounded vnto me a very hard question. And afterward turning himselfe to the frier, hee said vnto him: Brother, you say that you are simple, but as I haue heard of you, I perceiue very well, that you are double and craftie, and not simple. It is not so verily, said the frier. Well, said John Hus, I will cause you well to vnderstand that it is so. For as touching the simplicitie of a man, it is required in things that concerne ciuilitie and manners, that the spirit, the vnderstanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together; and I doe not perceiue that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certaine semblance of simplicitie, the which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds shew plainly and euidently a great subtiltie and craft in you, with a great quicknesse and liuelinesse of wit, in that you haue proponed vnto me so hard and difficult a question.

Master John de Clum speaketh for John Hus.

A wolfe in a lambs skinne.

Notwithstanding I will not feare to shew you my mind in this question. And when he had made an end, the monke gaue him great thanks for his gentlenesse, and so departed. After that, the popes garrison which were about the said John Hus, told him, that this frier was called master Didace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtill Diuine in all Lumbardy. Oh, said Hus, that I had knowne that afore, I would haue handled him after another sort and fashion; but I would to God they were all such, then through the helpe and aid of the holy Scriptures, I would feare none of them. In this maner the said Hus, and master John de Clum, were left vnder the keeping of these men of armes, vntill foure of the clocke at after none. After which time, the cardinals assembled againe in the popes court, to deuise and take counsell what they should doe with John Hus. Then Stephan Paletz, and Michael de Causis, with diuers other of their adherents, made earnest sute that he should not be let goe at libertie againe, and hauing the fauor of the Iudges on their part, they bragged vp and downe in a manner, as they had bin mad men, and mocked the said John Hus, saying: Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art vnder our power and iurisdiction, and shalt not depart vntill such time as thou hast paid the vttermost farthing.

Didace a crafty frier.

Many a man begusled vnder the cloke of simplicity.

John Husses accusers triumph ouer him when he was taken.

A little afore night, they sent the Prouost of the Romane court vnto master John de Clum, to shew him that he might returne to his lodging: but as for John Hus, they had otherwise prouided for him. When master John de Clum heard these newes, he was wonderfully displeased, forsomuch as through their crafts, subtilties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares, whereupon he went vnto the pope, declaring vnto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made vnto him and master Henry Latzembog, and that he would not so lightly falsifie and breake his faith and promise. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandement, and said further to master Clum apart: What reason is it that you should impute this deed vnto mee, seeing that you know well enough that I my selfe am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops?

The pope breaketh promise.

In mine opinion, for so much as pope John feared that, which indeed did after follow, that he should be depriued of his dignity, he thought to win the fauor of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man vnto them. So the said master Clum returned very pensiuefull and sorie: he complained very sore both priuily and openly, of the iniury and outrage that the pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Hus was led by the officers to the chapter house of the great church of Constance, where hee was kept prisoner by the space of eight daies: from thence he was carried vnto the Iacobines, hard by the riuer of Rhine, and was shut vp in the prison of the abby, the which was hard by the Bogards.

The pope to please the councell, was against John Hus.

After he had been enclosed there a certaine time, he fell sore sicke of an ague, by meanes of the stench of the place, and became so weake, that they despaired of his life. And for feare lest this good man should die in prison, as others are wont to doe, the pope sent vnto him certaine of his Physitions for to cure and helpe him. In the midst of his sicknesse, his accusers made importunate sute to the principals of the councell, that the said John Hus might be condemned, and presented vnto the pope these articles hereunder written.

The imprisonment and sicknes of John Hus.

¶ Articles presented against Iohn Hus.

Articles against John Hus.

FIrst, hee doth erre about the sacraments of the church, and specially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, for so much as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministred openly vnto the people vnder both kindes, that is to say, the body and bloud. This article is euident, for so much as his disciples at this instant in Prage, doe minister the same in both kinds. Moreouer, it is affirmed by diuers, that he hath taught both in the schooles and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced vpon the altar, there remaineth still materiall bread in the sacrament. This article shall be knowne by his examination.

The supper of the Lord.

Secondly, hee doth erre as touching the ministers of the Church, for so much as hee saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortall sinne. This article shall likewise bee knowne by his examination. Notwithstanding all that which is here contained, may bee gathered by his writings De ecclesia; the which if hee denie, let there then bee some Diuines and others appointed, to peruse and looke ouer his said writings of the church. Moreouer, he saith, that other men beside priests may minister the sacraments. This article is euident, for so much as his disciples doe the same at Prage, the which of themselues doe violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselues, when the holy communion is denied vnto them. By this and other things also, it is sufficiently euident, that hee hath taught that euery man being without mortall sinne, hath the power of orders or priesthood, for so much as such one-lie as haue taken orders, ought to minister the sacraments vnto themselues. And because hee proceedeth from small matters vnto great and weightier, it doth consequently appeare and follow, that those which be in state of grace, can bind and loose.

Of the administration of the sacraments.

Thirdly, he doth erre as touching the church, and specially for that he doth not allow and admit that the church signifieth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy vnderneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawne out from the schoolemen, and in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest by his said treatise vpon the Church.

Of the church.

Moreouer, he doth erre concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to haue any temporall possessions. And that the temporall Lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is euident, for so much as through his doctrine and inticements, many churches in the kingdome of Boheme, and in the citie of Prage, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He saith also, that Constantinus and other secular princes erred by inriching and indouing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

Ecclesiasticall reuenewes.

Fourthly, he erreth as touching the church, in that he saith, that all priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth, that the reseruations of the popes casualities, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were inuented onelie for couetousnesse. This article doth somewhat appeare by those afore going, but by his examination shall be more euident.

The bishops power.

Fifthly, he erreth concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church being in sinne, hath no power of the keies, when as the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sinne; the which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appeare in his treatise vpon the Church, in his first error as touching the ministers of the church.

The power of the keies of the church.

Sixthly, hee erreth touching the church, for as much as through contempt he doth not feare excommunication. This doth notoriously appeare by his owne doings, that he did contemne and despise the Apostolike and ordinary censure, and in all the Apostolike excommunications and iniunctions, he hath borne himselfe vpon the diuine commandements, and in contempt of the keies, to the setting out of his hypocrisie, he hath said masse all the waies betweene this and the citie of Prage, and thereby hath prophanat the procesle and authority of the church.

Excommunication.

Seuenthly, hee erreth againe as touching the church, because he keepeth not the institutions and inuestitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that euery man hath authority to inuest and appoint any man to the cure of soules. This is euident by his owne doings, for so much as many in the kingdome of Boheme, by their defenders and fauorers, or rather by himselfe, were appointed and put into parish churches, the which they haue long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the Apostolike sea, neither yet by the ordinarie of the citie of Prage.

Inuestitures.

Eighthly, hee erreth as touching the church, in that hee holdeth opinion, that a man being once ordained a priest or a deacon, cannot bee forbidden or kept backe from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his owne doings, for so much as hee himselfe could neuer be letted from preaching,

The office of preaching.

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preaching, neither by the apostolike sée, neither yet by the archbishop of Prage.

Lupus agnum accusat quod turbarit fontem.

And to the intent that the said John Husse, who is clothed in sheepes clothing, and inwardly a rauening Wolfe, may be the better knowne by his fruits, for the better information of you most reuerend fathers; I say, that from the first time that he tooke in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, the which afterward he did indeed, hee vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe to bee withstanded and gainesaid, by the Germaines, which were in the Vniuersitie of Prage, forsomuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and he on his part had but one only voice: hee went about and brought to passe, and that by the secular power, that the Germaines should haue but one voice, and hee and his parts three voices: the which thing when the Germaines once perceiued, rather then they would lose or forsake any part of their right, which they had in voices, or bee in danger in their persons, the which would then haue ensued vpon it, to saue themselues, they wholly with one consent agreed together to depart out of Prage, and by this meanes this solemne and famous Vniuersitie of Prage was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in diuers sciences. Behold this his first fruits which diuided that so famous Vniuersitie, forsomuch as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neither figges of brambles.

A heaping together of many grieuous crimes.

The departure of the Germaines from the Vniuersity of Prage.

Moreouer, when there were questions moued amongst the diuines of the Vniuersitie of Prage vpon the 45. articles of John Wickliffe, and that they had called a conuocation, and all the diuines of Boheme (for the Germaines were already departed) they concluded that euery one of those articles were either hereticall, seditious, or else erroneous. Hee alone held the contrarie opinion, that none of those articles were either hereticall, seditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, hold, and teach in the common schooles of Prage, whereby it is euidently enough foreséene, that he doth affirme those articles of Wickliffe, the which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole church, because they were first inuented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

The 45. articles of Wicklife.

Moreouer, hee being complained of to the archbishop of Prage, that hee preached and set forth certaine articles which were hereticall, false and seditious, hee was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, and proceeded against him, according to the canonicall sanctions, the which processe is confirmed by the apostolike sée, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without: the which John Hus and his adherents haue diuers & manifold waies violated and prophanated. And whosoeuer did speake against him, they were depriued of their benefices, and others placed in, which haue ruled, and yet doe rule the said churches, and the flockes pertaining to the same, not hauing any cure or charge of the soules committed vnto them, neither by the apostolike sée, neither yet by the ordinarie of the place.

The office of preaching forbidden by the archbishop.

Also as many, as well priests as lay men in the citie of Prage and kingdome of Boheme, which haue spoken against the doctrine of Hus, and the prophanation of the processe aforesaid, or at the least not allowing the same, haue suffred most mortall hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day doe suffer. But ý at this present it is dissimuled vntill the end of the processe against John Hus. Therfore if he be now let goe againe, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realme of Boheme, house shall be against house, and this mischiefe will creepe, yea suddainely spring vp throughout all Germany, and innumerable soules shall be infected, so that there shall bee such persecution of the clergie and faithfull, as hath not beene since the time of the emperour Constantine to this present day: for hee ceaseth not to moue and stir vp the laity, against the clergie and faithfull christians. And when any of the clergie would draw him away, or call him from his heresie, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he doe not teach no heresies: then saith he, and teacheth that the clergie doth that of enuie and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults: that is to say, their simony and pride, and couetousnesse.

Insurrections feared in Boheme against the clergie.

Moreouer, hee stirreth vp the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and Vniuersities, and generally against the whole clergie. Going about by this meanes, he preacheth and teacheth that prelats and other men of the church ought not to haue any temporall goods or possessions, but onely to liue vpon almes. And by this meanes hee hath done alreadie very much hurt, and annoyed diuers and many prelates, clerkes and churches in the kingdome of Boheme, and citie of Prage, forsomuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, hee teacheth also that it is lawfull for the lay people without sin to withhold and keepe backe the tithes and oblations, or to giue the church goods to any other minister: all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but spectally the laity, who followeth euery man his owne will.

He hath generally to lay for himselfe all those heretickes which doe but very smally regard the ecclesiasticall censures, and hath the authority of the Romane church, yea doe vtterly detest and abhorre the same: the which thing will more and more encrease, except it be effectually and manfully withstood; and if he doe by any meanes escape from the councell, hee and his fauourers will say that his doctrine is iust and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the vniuersall sacred councell, and that all his aduersaries are wicked and naughty men, so that he would doe more mischiefe, then euer any heretiche did since the time of Constantinus Magnus.

Caiphas prophesied.

Wherefore most holy fathers, prouide and take heede to your selues, and to the whole flocke, amongst whom the holy Ghost hath placed you to rule the Church of Christ, the which hee hath purchased with his owne blood; and whilest the disease is new and fresh, helpe and remedie it, as well touching him which doth so infect and trouble the church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which hee hath presumed, and might doe the same, because the prelats doe abuse the ecclesiasticall censures, and as well the prelats as those that are vnder them doe not keepe and obserue the order of the church which is appointed them by God, whereby it commeth to passe, that whilest they themselues doe walke the broken and vnknowne paths, their flocke falleth headlong into the ditch.

Master Wallez lieth, for the holy Ghost had no leisure to come to that councell.

Wherfore let our soueraigne lord the pope, and this most sacred councell ordaine and depute Commissioners, the which may examine the said John Hus vpon all afore written, and other things, in the presence of them which know the matter. Let there be also certaine Doctors and Maisters appointed to reade ouer and peruse his bookes which hee hath written, whereof some are here present, that the church may be speedily purged and clensed from these errours.

Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three commissioners or iudges, that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Lybusse. The which prelats being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witnesse which was brought in by certaine babling priests of Prage, confirmed by their othes, and afterward recited the said accusation vnto the said Hus in the prison, at such time as his ague was feruent and extremely vpon him.

John Hus sicke of an ague in prison.

Vpon this, John Hus required to haue an aduocate to answere for him; the which was plainely and vtterly denied him. And the reason that the maisters and commissioners brought against it was this, that the plaine canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of his, which is suspect of any kind of heresie. The vanitie and follie of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not beene both the accusers and iudges themselues, there should haue néeded no distinct confutation. I would haue rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader could not haue read without great tediousnesse. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the processe of his iudgement.

John Hus debarred of his aduocate.

Afterward, when John Hus had recouered a little strength or health, by the commandement of the three commissioners, there were presented vnto him certaine articles, many in number, which they said they had gathered out of his bookes which he made of the church: of which articles some were forged and inuented by maister Wallez, and othersome were gathered only by halues, as shall be more plainely declared hereafter, when we come to speake of the iudgement pronounced and giuen against the said Hus.

Thus John Hus remained in the prison of the couent of the Franciscans, vntill the Wednesday before Palme Sunday, and certaine appointed to keepe him; and in the meane season to imploy and spend his time withall, he wrote certaine bookes, that is to say, of the ten commandements, of the loue and knowledge of God, of matrimonie, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

The bookes which John Hus wrote in prison.

The same day pope John 23. changed his apparell, and conueied himselfe secretly out of Constance, fearing the iudgement by the which afterward he was depriued of his papall dignitie, by meanes of most execrable and abominable forfaits and doings. This was the cause that John Hus was transported and caried vnto an other prison: for the popes seruants which had the charge and keeping of John Hus, vnderstanding that their maister was fled and gone, deliuered vp the keyes of the prison vnto the emperour Sigismund, and to the cardinals, and followed their maister the pope. Then by the whole consent of the councell, the said John Hus was put into the hands of the bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the riuer of Rhine, not verie farre from Constance, where he was shut vp in a Tower, with fetters on his legges, that he could scarse walke in the day time, and at night hee was fastned vp to a racke against the wall hard by his bed.

Pope Iohn fled out of Constance.

In the meane season, certaine noble men and gentlemen of Pole and Boheme, did all their endeauour to purchase his deliuerance, hauing respect to the good renoune of all the Realme, the which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certaine naughtie persons. The matter was growne vnto this point, that all they which were in the towne of Constance, that seemed to beare any fauour vnto John Hus,

Noble men of Boheme labor for John Hus.

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were made as mocking stockes, and derided of all men, yea euen of the slaues and base people. Wherefore they tooke counsell and concluded together to present their request in writting vnto the whole councell, or at the least vnto the foure nations of Almaine, Italy, France, and England: this request was presented the 14. day of May, An. 1415. the tenor here ensueth.

¶ The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Boheme deliuered vp to the councell for the deliuerance of Iohn Hus, the 14. day of May, Anno 1415.

MOst reuerend fathers and lords: The nobles and lords of Boheme and Pole here present, by this their present writings doe shew and declare vnto your fatherly reuerences, how that the most noble king and lord, the lord Sigismund, king of Romans, alwaies Augustus, king of Hungarie, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c: hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdome of Boheme, as heire, king and lord successor, willing and minding to foresee and prouide for his owne honour, he sent these noble men, master Wenceslate de Duba, and John de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure master John Hus vnder the king his name and safe-conduct. So that he would come to the sacred generall councell of Constance, vnder the safe-conduct of the said king, and the protection of the sacred Empire, openly giuen and granted vnto the said master John Hus, that he might purge himselfe and the kingdome of Boheme from the slander that was raised vpon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to euery man that would lay any thing to his charge. The which the said nobles with the forenamed master John Hus haue performed and done, according to the kings commandement.

The safe-conduct of the emperor challenged.

When as the said master John Hus, was freely of his owne accord come vnto Constance, vnder the said safe-conduct, and grieuously imprisoned before hee was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past at the councell holden at Paysan 1410. yeare of our Lord, the heretickes which were condemned, were suffered to remaine there at libertie, and to depart home freely: notwithstanding this master John Hasse, neither being conuicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, when as neither king or any prince elector, either any embassadour of any Vniuersitie was yet come or present. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe-conduct they would foresee and haue respect vnto his honour: And that the said master John Hus might bee openly heard, forsomuch as he would render and shew a reason of his faith: and if hee were found or conuicted obstinately to affirme or maintaine any thing against the truth or holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the councell: yet could hee neuer obtaine this. But the said master John Hasse, notwithstanding all this, is most grieuously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thinne and slender diet, that it is to bee feared lest that his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

The extremities John Hus suffered in prison.

And although the lords of Boheme here present are greatly slandered, because they seeing the said master John Hus so to be tormented and troubled, contrarie to the kings safe-conduct, haue not by their letters put the king in mind of his said safe-conduct, that the said lord and king should not any more suffer any such matters, forsomuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdome of Boheme, which from the first originall and beginning, since it receiued the catholike faith, it neuer departed or went away from the obedience of the holy church of Rome: yet notwithstanding they haue suffered and borne all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any meanes occasion of trouble or veration of this sacred councell might arise or spring thereof.

Wherefore most reuerend fathers and lords: The nobles and lords before named, doe wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reuerences here present, that both for the honour of the safe-conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preseruation and increase of the worthie fame and renowne both of the foresaid kingdome of Boheme, and your owne also, that you will make a short end about the affaires of master John Hus: forsomuch as by the meanes of his straite handling he is in great danger by any longer delay, euen as they do most specially trust vpon the most vpright consciences and iudgements of your fatherly reuerences. But forasmuch as most reuerend fathers and lords, it is now come to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the nobles and lords of Boheme here present, how that certaine backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdome of Boheme aforesaid, haue declared and told vnto your reuerences, how that the Sacrament of the most pretious blood of our Lord is caried vp and downe through Boheme in vessels not consecrate or hallowed, and that coblers do now heare confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord vnto others: The nobles therefore of Boheme here present require and desire you, that you will giue no credit vnto false promoters and tale tellers, for that as most wicked and naughtie slanderers and backbiters of that kingdome aforesaid, they do report and tell vntruthes: requiring also your reuerences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdome aforesaid, may be named and knowne. And the lord the king together with your reuerences, shal well perceiue and see that the lords of Boheme will goe about in such maner to resell and put away the false and friuolous slanders of those naughtie persons, that they shall be ashamed to appeare hereafter before the lord the king and your reuerences.

The confutation of certaine slanders.

As soone as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Luthonis rising vp, said: Most reuerend fathers, I well perceiue and vnderstand that the last part of this writting doth touch me, my kinsfolkes and friends, as though the kingdome of Boheme were slandered by vs. Wherefore I desire to haue time and space of deliberation, that I may purge my selfe from this crime that is laid against me. The principall of the councell appointed him the 17. day of May, at the which day the lords of Boheme should bee present againe, to heare both the answere of the councell, and also the excuse of the bishop of Luthonis; the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the 17. day of May, which was the fourth day before Whitsontide, they met there againe: where first of all a certaine bishop in the name of the whole councell answered by word to the nobles of Boheme the contents of whose answere may easily be known by the second supplication, which the Bohemians put vp to the councell. But first I haue here in these few words following shewed how the bishop of Luthonis defended himselfe against that which is before written.

The bishop of Luthonis.

❧ The answere of the Bishop of Luthonis, to the last part of the supplication, which the nobles of Boheme presented vnto the councell.

MOst reuerend fathers and nobles lords, as Peter de Mladoneywitz bacheler of art, in the name of certaine of the nobles of the kingdome of Boheme in his writings, amongst other things did propound how that certaine slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdome haue brought to the eares of your reuerences, that the most precious blood of Christ is caried vp and downe in Boheme in bottels, and that Coblers doe heare confessions, and minister the body of Christ vnto others; whereupon most reuerend fathers and lords, albeit that I together with the other prelats, doctors, masters, and other innumerable catholikes of the said kingdome, the which doe desire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Christ, haue laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wicklifites, which now (alas for sorow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdome, as it is well knowne: Notwithstanding, here in this my oration, not for any shame or reproofe, but for the honour of the kingdome aforesaid, I haue propounded, and declared a certaine new sect, which is now lately sprung vp in the said kingdome, the followers whereof doe minister and communicate the sacraments in many cities, townes and places of the said kingdome, vnder both kinds both of bread and wine, and doe constantly teach the common people both men and women that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergie which doe repugne or say nay vnto it, are to bee counted church robbers, as by the writings of their assertions being directed and presented hither shall openly appeare.

The answere and accusation of the bishop of Luthonis against John Hus.

Moreouer, by the report and fame which goeth here abrode, and by the writings which were sent ouer vnto me, I haue propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is caried about in vessels not consecrated, approuing the foresaid erroneous assertion of the Wicklenists, that affirme it necessarie for saluation, that the people should communicate vnder both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessarie, as the body of Christ is caried in the pire or bore, so the blood of Christ should be caried in bottles, or other necessarie vessels from place to place, and specially about the ministration of the sicke. Also I declared not of my selfe, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certaine woman a follower of that sect, the which taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priests hands, did communicate vnto her selfe, and affirmed that all men ought to doe so, if the priests should denie them the communion. And the same woman amongst many other errours, of the which shee was conuicted, did affirme that a good lay woman might better consecrate and giue absolution, then an euill priest: affirming that an euill priest can neither consecrate nor absolue. But I know that neither I, neither any of my allisance in this matter, haue brought this at any time vnto your eares, that Coblers in the said kingdome doe heare confession, or minister the Sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alledged by the said Peter, in the behalfe of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, wee did feare if meanes were not found to recounter or stoppe

the

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the offences before named, that this would immediately follow vpon it. Wherefore most reuerend fathers, lest that the kingdome might bee defamed any more by such pestiferous sects, and that the christian faith might happen to be indangered; with all reuerence and charity I doe desire you, euen by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ, that this most sacred councell would prouide some speedie remedie for this kingdome, as touching the premisses.

Moreouer, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enuiers of the kingdome of Boheme, the which do let the errours aforesaid, and many others more, which are sowen by the Wickleuists in the said kingdome, and also elsewhere, which also both do labour and haue laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of those errours out of the kingdome aforesaid, and as catholicke men, for the zeale of their faith haue manfully put forth themselues against the maintainers of the said errours, or such as doe maintaine, and defend the teachers of those errours: this answere I haue here presented before your reuerences, alwaies wholly submitting my selfe and assistance vnto your iudgement, and to the definition of this most sacred councell of Constance.

¶ The answere of the nobles of Boheme.

The bishop of Luthonius answere confuted.

THe day before Whitsontide, the nobles of Boheme did confute this their answere made two daies before in the councell to their former writing, as here followeth: Most reuerend fathers and lords, forsomuch as vpon thursday it was answered in the behalfe of your reuerences to the requests of the nobles and lords of Boheme, that the said lords were misinformed of diuers points contained in the declaration of their said bill: therefore the foresaid lords haue now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large vnto your reuerences, not minding hereby to argue or reproue your fatherly wisdomes and circumspections, but that your reuerences (their desires being partly on this behalfe fulfilled) might the more effectuously and distinctly discerne and iudge as touching this matter.

And first of all, whereas the lords alledged and said, how that master John Hus was come hither vnto Constance, freely of his owne good will, vnder the safe-conduct of the lord the king, and the protection of the sacred empire: it is answered on the behalfe of your reuerences, how that the said lords are misinformed, as touching the safe-conduct, and that you haue vnderstood by such as are worthie credit, that the friends and fauourers of the said master John Hus, did first procure and get his safe-conduct fifteene daies after his imprisonment.

The bishops do quarrell about the safe-conduct of John Hus.

The lords of Boheme, and specially the lord John de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answere, that not onely the fifteenth day after, but euen the very same day that John Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reuerend father the pope, in the presence of all his cardinals, demanded of master John de Clum, whether master John Hus had any safe-conduct from the king his son: he answered, Most holy father and cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe-conduct; and when he was asked the question againe the second time, he answered in like maner.

The safe-conduct of John Hus obteined and shewed before the imprisonment of John Hus.

Yet notwithstanding none of them required to haue the safe-conduct shewed vnto them: and againe the third day following, the lord John de Clum complained vnto our lord the pope, how notwithstanding the safe-conduct of our soueraigne lord the king, he detained and kept master John Hus as prisoner, shewing the said safe-conduct vnto many. And for a further truth herein, hee referreth himselfe vnto the testimonies and witnesses of diuers earles, bishops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the city of Constance, the which all together at this present did see the said safe-conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said John de Clum is readie to bind himselfe vnder what penaltie shall be required, euidently to proue and confirme that which he hath promised, whosoeuer say to the contrary.

Moreouer, the lords of Boheme refer themselues vnto the knowledge of certaine princes electors, and other princes, bishops, and many other noble men, which were present before the kings maiestie, where & when as the said safe-conduct was granted and giuen out by the speciall commandement of our said lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reuerences may vnderstand and perceiue that the said lords of Boheme, are not euill informed as touching the said safe-conduct: but rather they which by such reports haue falsly and vntruely informed your reuerences. And first of all they haue offended against the lord our king, and his chancellors. Secondarily, against the lords and nobles of Boheme, as though we had priuily and by stealth, purchased the said safe-conduct. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humblie require and desire your reuerences, that you will not so lightly beleeue such as be not worthie of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and discusse that the truth may the more euidently appeare.

The bishops of the councell falsly informed touching the safe-conduct of John Hus.

Secondly, whereas the lords aforesaid, alledging how master John Hus, comming vnto Constance, of his owne free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reuerences haue made answere thereunto, that hee the said master John Hus, in the time of Alexander the fifth, was infamed and slandered vpon certaine heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appeare in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his procurers.

John Hus imprisoned before he was either condemned or heard.

And forsomuch as hee refused obstinately to appeare, hee was excommunicated; in the which excommunication he continued (as you affirme) by the space of fiue yeares, for the which he was iudged, and counted not onely a simple and plaine hereticke, but an heresiarch, that is to say, an inuenter and sower of new and strange heresies, and that hee comming toward Constance, did preach by the way openly. To this the lords aforesaid doe answere, that as touching his slander and citation, they can affirme nothing, but by report. But as touching that hee did not personally appeare, they say they haue heard both himselfe and diuers other credible persons say, yea euen the most famous prince Wenceslaus king of Boheme, and almost all the whole nobility is witnesse, that hee would willingly haue appeared at Rome, or elsewhere, if hee might safely haue come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted: and moreouer, his procurers which hee sent vnto the court of Rome, alleaging reasonable causes for his non appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others were euill intreated.

Alexander the fifth.

The answere touching the citation of J. Hus to the court of Rome.

John Hus his procurers euill intreated at Rome.

As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they haue heard him often say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacie, or stubbornesse, but vnder euident appellation, and thereupon referreth himselfe vnto the acts of his causes, which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained, the which your reuerences may euidently perceiue and see in this our present publike transumpt, which we haue offered vnto you vpon certaine points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithall his enemies doe report and charge, that master John Hus did preach openly in the city of Constance: the lords aforesaid, and specially the lord John de Clum here present, doe answere, that he hath continually lodged with the said master John Hus here in Constance; and that whosoeuer they be, that haue beene so bold, or dare bee so bold to say and affirme that master John Hus had preached (as is premised;) or that which lesse is, since the time of his comming vnto this city, euen vnto the very day and time of his captiuitie and imprisonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, ỹ the said lord John de Clum, will and is content to bind himselfe with any such, as shall affirme the same, vnder what penalty soeuer it be, of money or otherwise, that which hee hath falsly reported vnto your reuerences, he shall neuer be able iustly and truely to affirme and proue.

John Hus falsly reported to preach openly at Constance.

John Hus falsly charged to preach comming to the councell.

Thirdly, whereas your reuerences do say, that you do not vnderstand or know, what the lords do meane, by the heretickes condemned, at the councell holden at Pisa, whether the mocking or deriding of the pope, whose ambassadors came thither for vnity or concord, the which were suffered and gently entreated, as their lords were most enclined vnto vnity and peace, or else that they did vnderstand or meane the particular heretickes, which were there condemned: adioyning thereunto, that the heretickes also comming vnto the councell, vnder the pretence of that vnity, should bee gently handled and entreated, &c. Reuerend fathers & lords, whether they bee counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said master John Hus may vse such libertie as they vsed, forsomuch as he came willingly vnto this most sacred councell, not for any other purpose, but onely publikely to recognise his faith. And in what point soeuer he shall seeme to varie from the word of God, and the vnion of the holy mother the church, that in that point he will willingly be vnited and reconciled againe thereunto, and not only himselfe, but also his fauourers and adherents hee would moue and prouoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdome of Boheme. Also hee is come hither, that he might purge and cleare the noble kingdome of Boheme, from the sinister and euill slander which was railed vpon it.

John Hus had many welwillers in Bohemia.

Last of all most reuerend fathers and lords, forsomuch as your reuerences haue most fauourablie answered vnto the principall request made by the lords aforesaid, that the processe of master John Hus through Gods helpe should bee determined and ended with all expedition and gentlenesse: the lords aforesaid do render most harty thankes vnto your reuerences, and whensoeuer their desire by Gods helpe shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only heare, but also before the whole kingdome of Boheme, and in all other places whersoeuer they come, render most immortall thankes vnto your reuerences for euer.

¶ This declaration of the nobles of Boheme aboue prefixed, may serue not only to the confutation of the bishop Luthonius this Bohemian, but also against the cauillations of Alanus Copus Anglus, Dial. 6. pag. 929. touching the safe-conduct of John Hus, whereof sufficiently before hath beene said: vide supra, pag. 548.

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When as the noble men of Boheme by long time could receiue no answere of those supplications which they had alreadie put vp, they determined the last date of May following by an other supplication being put vp vnto the principals of the councell, to entreat that Iohn Hus might be deliuered out of prison, and defend his owne cause openly: they also put vp the testimoniall of the bishop of Nazareth, as touching Iohn Hus. The copie whereof is expressed in the beginning of this historie, word by word.

Vide supra, pag. 549.

¶ Another supplication of the nobles of Boheme.

An other supplication of the Bohemians for Iohn Hus.

MOst reuerend Fathers and Lords in Christ, of late there was a supplication put vp vnto your reuerences on the behalfe of the Lords and Nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherein they most humblie desired your reuerences to consider how the informations which were put vp vnto your reuerences, by the enemies of M. Iohn Hus, were insufficient; and with reuerence be it spoken, in manie points vntrue, as in the safe-conduct graunted by the Kings maiestie, and also in other articles, as more plainelie appeareth in the Schedule, which was then offered vnto you: vpon the which said Schedule and other things at that present being put vp, they could not as yet receiue any answere. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid, most humblie require your fatherlie reuerences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to giue some answere to the Lords aforesaid thereupon, and specially hauing respect vnto the great iniuries and griefes which are done vnto the said M. Iohn Hus, the which may be vnderstood and knowne by the Schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifullie consider and foresee, that all those griefes and euils so farre different from all brotherlie loue and charitie are done vnto him by his enemies euen for very malice & hatred.

The Lords could haue no answere of their supplication.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and ouerthrowne, and the plaine and euident truth appeare, it may please your fatherly reuerences to vnderstand, that it is notified and knowne vnto the Barons, Nobles, Citizens, Clergie and Laitie of the kingdome of Boheme, that M. Iohn Hus in all his acts and doings as well Scholasticall as Ecclesiasticall, and specially in all his publike and open sermons, he hath made and hath accustomed to make these maner of protestations, the which without any thing to the contrarie, he hath alwaies endeuoured to haue them strong and firme, as by this his protestation here following, which he made about the determination of a certaine question, it may most euidentlie and plainelie appeare vnto euerie man which would behold and looke vpon the same: the forme and tenour whereof here followeth, and is such.

¶ The protestation of Iohn Hus.

The protestation of I. Hus.

FOr so much as aboue all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holie Church, and that I my selfe may be a faithfull member of our Lord Iesu Christ, which is the head and husband of the holie Church which he hath redeemed: therefore as heretofore oftentimes I haue done, euen so now againe I make this protestation, that I neuer obstinatlie said, or hereafter will say any thing that shall be contrarie vnto the truth and veritie: and moreouer, that I haue alwaies holden, do hold, and firmelie desire for to hold the verie true and infallible truth and veritie; so that before that I would defend and maintaine anie errour contrarie thereunto, I would rather choose by the hope and helpe of the Lord to suffer extreme punishment, euen vnto death: yea and through the helpe of God I am readie, euen to offer this my miserable life vnto death for the law of Christ, the which I doe beleeue euery part and parcell thereof to be giuen and promulgate for the saluation of mankind, by the counsell and determination of the most holie Trinitie, and the Saints of God, &c.

Vid. in prim. edit. pag. 207.

By the which his protestation, and also other protestations by the said M. Iohn Hus, being well obserued and noted, it may be easilie gathered and known that his whole intent & purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will haue spoken or written anie thing in his bookes, treatises, doctrines, or publike sermons, or else to haue affirmed anie articles, the which willinglie and wittinglie he did vnderstand or know to be erroneous, offensiue, seditious, hereticall, or offending the godlie eare; albeit that these and such like things are falselie imputed vnto him by his enemies. But it hath alwaies beene his chiefe intent and purpose, and so is, that euerie point, conclusion or article contained in his books or articles, to haue put & affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Gospell, the holie Doctors and writers vpon the holie Scriptures, and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in anie point he should be found to varie or go astraie, or that he were not well vnderstood of others, by like information to be informed, vnderstood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no meanes sustaine or defend any maner of article against the holie Church of Rome, or the Catholicke faith.

Wherefore most reuered fathers, the premisses notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreame hatred which they beare vnto him, haue picked and taken out by piece meale certaine articles out of the bookes of M. Iohn Hus, reiecting and not looking vpon the allegations and reasons, neither hauing anie relation vnto the distinction of their equiuocations, haue compounded and made thereof certaine false and fained articles against him, to this end, that all charitie and loue being set apart, they might the better ouerthrow him, and bring him vnto death, contrarie vnto the safe-conduct vpon good and iust occasion openly assigned, and giuen vnto the said master Iohn Hus, by the most noble Prince the Lord Sigismund, King of the Romanes and of Hungarie, for his iust defence, against all the friuolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not onelie of the said master Iohn Hus, but also of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumours rising and springing in the said kingdome of Boheme, or elsewhere: the auoiding of which most perilous vprores, the said King of Romans doth greatlie desire and wish, as the right heire and successour of the said kingdome.

Articles forged out of Husses bookes by his enemies.

VVhereupon the Barons and Nobles aforesaid, most humblie desire and require, the premisses being considered, and respect had vnto the great infamie and slander which may happen by the premisses vnto the said kingdome and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands, and take some order and meane, that master Iohn Hus may be distinctlie heard by some famous men, diuines alreadie deputed, or otherwise to be appointed vpon all and singuler such articles as shall be laid vnto him, to declare his owne minde and intent, and also the minde of the doctours alleaged for his purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equiuocations: in the which the drawers out of the most part of his articles haue also made equiuocations, that so according vnto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and haue a long time bene his mortall enemies, that at the friuolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserablie detained prisoner, that he should not be condemned vnheard. For so much as by the said declarations your fatherlie reuerences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himselfe is readie alwaies to submit himselfe vnder the determination of this most sacred Councell. For your reuerences, by the craftie and fained perswasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that master Iohn Hus hath bene vncurablie obstinate by a long time in most perilous articles, the which your reuerences may now plainelie perceiue to be vntrue: and for the more euidence herein to be shewed, there is presented vnto your reuerences an instrument of publike recognition of the most reuerend father in Christ the Lord Nicolas Bishop of Nazareth and Inquisitour of heresies, specially appointed by the Apostolike see in the dioces of Prage, the which by your reuerences is more diligentlie to be hearkened vnto.

The Councell euill informed against I. Hus.

VVherefore it may please your fatherlie reuerences to commaund the said M. Iohn Hus neither conuicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chaines, in the which he is now most grieuouslie deteined and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reuerend Lords Bishops, or Commissioners, appointed or to be appointed by this present Councell: that the said M. Iohn Hus may somewhat be relieued, and recouer againe his health, and be the more diligentlie and commodiouslie examined by the Commissioners: and for the more assurance, the Barons and Nobles aforesaid of the kingdome of Boheme, will prouide most sure & good sureties, the which will not breake their fidelitie and faith for anie thing in the world. VVhich also shall promise in his behalfe, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, vntill such time as the matter be fully determined by the said Commissioners. In the execution of the which premises, we haue determined to prouide and foresee vnto the fame and honour of the said kingdome of Boheme, & also to the safe-conduct of the most worthie Prince, the king of Romans, lest that the enemies and detractours of the honour and fame of the kingdome aforesaid, might not a little slander and reproue the said Lords, pretending and shewing forth hereafter, that they had made vnreasonable or vnlawfull requests: for the withstanding of which mischiefe we require your fathelie reuerences, that you wil decree, and most gratiouslie consent, that this our petition & supplication may be drawne out againe by your Notarie, and reduced into a publicke forme and order.

The nobles' required that Iohn Hus not being conuict nor condemned, should be deliuered out of prison.

A petition for master Iohn Husses deliuerance out of prison.

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the foure nations, the Patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all vnto euerie article of the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

First, as touching the protestation of Iohn Hus, whether it be true or false, it shalbe made euident in the processe of his cause. Moreouer, whereas they saie that the aduersaries of Iohn Hus haue peruerselie drawne certaine things out of his bookes, that also the matter it selfe shall declare in the end. Whereas if it shalbe found and decreed that Iohn Hus is vniustlie & vntruly accused, that then it shall come to passe that his aduersaries shall incurre perpetuall ignominie and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any meanes be, that the deputies of the Councell with a safe conscience may receiue or take them in this

The answere of the Councell to the supplication.

Iohn Hus in no case must be bailed.

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this mans cause, vnto whom there is no faith or credit to bee giuen. Howbeit thus much they will doe, vpon the fifth day of June next, John Hus shal be brought againe vnto Constance, and there haue free libertie to speake his mind before the councell, and that they would louingly and gently heare him: but the matter in the end fell out farre contrary to this promise.

No credit to be kept with an heretike.

Supplication to the emperor Sigismund.

The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication of this tenour vnto the Emperour: Vnto the most high and mightie prince, the lord Sigismund king of the Romanes, alwaies Augustus, king of Hungarie, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithfull and true seruice in all things, and at all times. Most noble prince, and gracious lord, we signifie vnto your worthinesse, that wee all together with one mind, consent and accord, haue deliuered vp vnto the reuerend fathers and Lords, the deputies of the foure nations, and to the whole sacred councell of Constance, this our supplication here vnder written, as reasonable, iust, and worthie of consideration, the tenour whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.

¶ The copie of the supplication, which was presented vnto the deputies of the councell, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

The barons supplication to the king for John Hus.

WHerefore wee most humblie require and desire your princely Maiestie, that both for the loue of iustice, and also of the fame and renoune of that most famous kingdome of Bohemie, whereof we acknowledge you vndoubtedly the true lord and heire successour, and also foreseeing vnto the libertie of your safe-conduct, that you will with your fauourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and iust supplications, which wee haue put vp to the Lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reuerend fathers and lords, that they will effectually heare vs, in this our most iust petition, which we haue offered vp to them, as is aforesaid: lest that the enemie of the renowne and honour of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and such as our slanderers also hereafter may detract and slander vs, that we should make vnreasonable and vnlawfull requests vnto the said reuerend fathers and lords; and therefore we required and desired of them that it would please them to decree by setting to their publike hand and seale to authorise our said publication. Likewise we doe most hartily require your highnesse, that you would vouchsafe in like maner to giue vs your testimony of the premises.

But what answere the emperor made hereunto, we could neuer vnderstand or know; but by the processe of the matter a man may easily iudge, that this good emperour was brought and led euen vnto this point, through the obstinate mischiefe of the cardinals and bishops, to breake and falsifie his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason whereby hee was driuen thereunto, that no defence could or might be giuen either by safe conduct, or by any other meane vnto him, which was suspected or iudged to bee an hereticke. But by the epistles and letters of John Hus, a man mey easilie iudge what the kings mind was. Now we will procéede in the historie.

The king forced by the importunity of the cardinals to breake promise.

The mischieuous councell of the popish band.

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, all that were almost in Constance, assembled to a great number, at the couent of the Franciscans in Constance, and there it was commanded, that before John Hus should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the witnesses and articles, which they had slanderously gathered out of his bookes: the which articles with John Husses answere, we will hereafter repeate. By chance there was then present a certaine Notary, named Peter Mladonowitz, the which bare great loue and amitie vnto the said Hus, who as soone as he perceiued that the bishops and cardinals were alreadie determined and appointed to condemne the said articles in the absence of John Hus, hee went with all speede vnto master Wencelate de Duba, and John of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the emperor. Who vnderstanding their intent, sent Lewes the county Palatine of Heydelberge, and the lord Fredericke, Burgraue of Nuremberge, to signifie vnto them, which ruled the councell, that nothing should be resolued or done in the case of John Hus, before that it were first heard with equitie, and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against the said Hus, which were either false or hereticall, and he would doe so much, that the said articles should bee examined, by good and learned men. Then according to the emperors will, the iudgement of the principals of the councell was suspended, vntill such time as John Hus were present.

The craftie counsell of the papists stopped by the emperor.

In the meane season these gentlemen, master of Dube and of Clum, did giue vnto the two princes which the Emperour had sent, certaine small treatises which the said Hus had made, out of the which they had drawne certaine articles to present vnto them which rule the councell, vnder this condition, that they would render them againe, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these barons was, that by this meanes the aduersaries of John Hus might the more easilie bee reproued, the which of a naughtie and corrupt conscience, had picked out corrupt sentences out of the said bookes of John Hus. The bookes were deliuered vnto the cardinals and bishops; and that done, John Hus was brought forth, and the princes which were sent by the emperour, departed backe againe. After they shewed the bookes vnto John Hus, and he confessed openly before the whole assemblie that he had made them, and that he was readie, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

Now hearken a little to the holy procéedings of these reuerend fathers, for here happened a strange and shamefull matter. With much adoe they had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses vpon the same against him, but as he was about to open his mouth to answere, all this mad heard or flocke began so to crie out vpon him, that he had not leisure to speake one onely word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well haue called it a brute or noise of wild beasts, and not of men, much lesse was it to be iudged a congregation of men gathered together, to iudge and determine so graue and waighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and crie did neuer so little cease, that he might answere any thing at all, out of the holy Scriptures or ecclesiasticall Doctors, by and by he should heare these goodly replies vpon him: That maketh nothing to the purpose.

John Hus forced to keepe silence by outrage of the bishops and priests.

The like practise in these latter daies was vsed at Oxford against the godly fathers.

An outragious councell.

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and othersome spitefully mocked him: so that hee seeing himselfe ouerwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speake, he determined finally with himselfe to hold his peace and keepe silence. From that time forward al the whole rout of his aduersaries thought that they had won the battell of him, and cried out all together, now he is dumbe, now he is dumbe: This is a certaine signe and token, that he doth consent and agree vnto these his errors. Finally, the matter came to this point, that certaine of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to procéede no further, but that all should be deferred and put off vntill an other time. Through their aduice, the prelats and others departed from the councell for that present, and appointed to meete there againe the morrow after to procéed in iudgement.

The next day, which was the seuenth of June, on which day the Sunne was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after about seuen of the clocke, this same flocke assembled againe in the cloister of the friers Minors, and by their appointment John Hus was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the gentlemen, Master of Duba, and Clum, and the Notarie named Peter, which were great friends of the said Hus, did follow to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Causis, they read these words following: John Hus hath taught the people diuers and many errours both in the chapell of Bethleem, and also in many other places of the citie of Prage, of the which errours some of them hee hath drawen out of Wickliffes bookes, and the rest hee hath forged and inuented of his owne head, and doth maintaine the same very obstinately and stiffely.

A great eclipse of the Sunne.

They went forth with swords and staues, as it had beene to take a theefe.

Peter & John follow Christ into the bishops house.

First, that after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth materiall bread; and this is proued by the witnesse of John Protiwate, parish Priest of saint Clements in Prage, John Pecklow preacher at saint Giles in Prage, Benile preacher in the castle of Prage, Andrew Brode, Chanon of Prage, and diuers other priests. Vnto this John Hus taking a solemne oth, answered, that he neuer spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prage forbad him to vse any more that terme or word bread, hee could not allow the bishops commandement: forsomuch as Christ in the 6. chapter of John doth oftentimes name himselfe the bread of angels, which came downe from heauen, to giue life vnto the whole world. But as touching materiall bread, hee neuer spake any thing at all. Then the cardinall of Cambray taking a certaine bill in his hand, which he said hee receiued the day before, said vnto John Hus, Wil you put any vniuersalities a parte rei. i. as touching the thing: When John Hus answered, that he would, because saint Anselme, and diuers others had so done, the cardinall did procéed to gather his argument in this maner.

Matter made against I. Hus.

False witnesse against I. Hus.

The answere of John Hus.

Mawing of bread forbid by the archbishop.

The cardinall sophisticateth with I. Hus.

It followeth then, said he, that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of materiall bread, and that I doe thus proue: that the consecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remaine the common substance of materiall bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remaine, then is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then doth it follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the vniuersall ceaseth any more to be. John Hus answered, truely it ceaseth to be in this singular materiall bread, by meanes of this transubstantiation, when as it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ: but notwithstanding in other singularities, it is made subiect.

Then a certaine Englishman by that argument would proue out of the first position, that there remained materiall bread. Then said John Hus, that is a childish argument, which

The disputation of the Englishmen.

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euery boy in the schooles knoweth, and thereupon gaue a solution. Then an other Englishman would proue, that there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilate. Unto whom John Hus answered: Although, said he, that the bread be not annihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to bee by meanes of the alteration of his substance into the bodie of Christ. Heere an other Englishman stepping forth, said: John Hus seemeth vnto mee to vse the same kind of craftie speech which Wickliffe vsed, for hee granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perswaded that materiall bread remained in the Sacrament after the consecration. The which when John Hus had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but onely sincerely and vprightly, according to his conscience, the Englishman proceeded to demand of him againe, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the Sacrament of the altar. Whereunto John Hus answered: verily, I do thinke that the body of Christ is really and totally in the Sacrament of the altar, the which was borne of the virgine Mary, suffered, died, and rose againe, and sitteth on the right hand of God the father almightie. When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching vniuersalities, the Englishman which before would proue that materiall bread remained in the Sacrament, because that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talke, said: to what purpose is this disputation vpon vniuersalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith: for as far as I can perceiue or heare, this man holdeth a good opinion, as touching the Sacrament of the altar.

An English man.

John Hus agreeth with that blind time in the Sacrament.

Then an other Englishman, named Stokes, said: I haue seene at Prage (said he) a certaine treatise, the which was ascribed vnto this man John Hus, wherein it was plainely set forth, that after the consecration, there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament. Verily, said John Hus, sauing your reuerence, that is not true.

Stokes an Englishman.

Then they returned againe vnto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a little before, who euery man for himselfe affirmed with an oth that which hee had said. Amongst whom John Protyway, parish priest of saint Clements in Prage, when he should come to confirme his testimony, added more, that John Hus should say, that saint Gregorie was but a rimer, when he did alledge his authoritie against him. Unto whom John Hus answered, that in this point they did him great iniurie, forsomuch as he allwaies esteemed and reputed saint Gregory, for a most holy Doctor of the church.

False witnesse.

John Hus falsly accused, for calling S. Gregorie a rimer.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinall of Florence turned himselfe toward John Hus, and said: Master, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all witnes is firme and stable: and here you see now almost twentie witnesses against you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongst the which some haue heard you teach these things themselues, the other by report & common brute or voice, do testifie of your doctrine, & all together generally bring firme reasons and proofes of their witnesse, vnto the which we are forced and constrained to giue credit, and for my part, I see not how you can maintaine and defend your cause against so many notable and well learned men. Unto whom John Hus answered in this maner: I take God and my conscience to witnesse, that I neuer taught any thing, neither was it euer in my mind or fantasie to teach in such sort or maner, as these men here haue not feared to witnesse against me that which they neuer heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more esteeme, yea and without comparison regard the witnesse of my Lord God, before the witnes and iudgement of all mine aduersaries vpon whom I do in no point stay my selfe. Then said the Cardinall againe vnto him, it is not lawfull for vs to iudge according to your conscience, for we cannot chuse, but that wee must needs stay our selues vpon the firme and euident witnesse of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred that these men do witnes this against you (as you do alledge:) for they alledge and bring forth such reasons of their witnesse, that there is no man that can perceiue any hatred in them, or that wee can in any case be in doubt thereof. And as touching master Steuen Paletz, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawen out certaine points or articles out of your bookes for to betray them afterward: it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine aduice he hath vsed and shewed a great fidelitie and amitie toward you, in that he hath alleuiated and moderated many of your articles much more then they are in your owne bookes. I vnderstand also that you haue like opinion of diuers other notable men, and specially you haue said, that you do suspect M. Chancellor of Paris, then whom there is no more excellent and christian man in all the whole world.

Twentie witnesses preuailed against John Hus, but the testimony of all Boheme would not serue on his part.

The cardinall of Florence.

The cardinall of Cambray.

He meaneth Gerson.

Then was there read a certaine article of accusation, in the which it was alledged that John Hus had taught, and obstinately defended certaine erroneous articles of Wickliffes in Boheme. Whereunto Hus answered, that he neuer taught any errours of John Wickliffes, or of any other mans. Wherefore if it be so that Wickliffe hath sowed any errours in England, let the Englishmen looke to that themselues. But to confirme their article, there was alledged that John Hus did withstand the condemnation of Wickliffes articles, the which was first condemned at Rome: and afterward also, when the archbishop Swinco, with other learned men, held a conuocation at Prage for the same matter, when as they should haue beene there condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the catholike faith or doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous, or offensiue: he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending his conscience, and specially for these articles, that Silluester the pope and Constantine did erre in bestowing those great gifts and rewards vpon the church. Also, that the pope or priest being in mortall sinne, cannot consecrate nor baptise. This article, said hee, I haue thus determined, as if I should say, that hee doth vnworthilie consecrate or baptise, when as he is in deadly sinne, and that he is an vnworthie minister of the Sacraments of God. Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the article of Wickliffe was written by the very same words in the treatise which John Hus made against Stephen Paletz. Verily, said John Hus, I feare not to submit my selfe, euen vnder the danger of death, if you shall not find it so as I haue said. When the booke was brought forth, they found it written as John Hus had said. Hee added also moreouer, that hee durst not agree vnto them which had condemned Wickliffes articles, for this article: the tenthes were pure almes.

Certaine articles of Wickliffe that John Hus stood in.

A treatise against Steuen Paletz.

Here the Cardinall of Florence obiected vnto him this argument, as touching the almes: it is required that it should be giuen freely without bond or dutie. But tenthes are not giuen freely without bond or dutie: therefore are they no almes. John Hus denying the Maior of this Syllogisme, brought this reason against him. Forsomuch as rich men are bounden vnder the paine of eternall damnation, vnto the fulfilling of the 6. workes of mercy, which Christ repeateth in the 25. chap. of Matthew, and these workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is also giuen by bond and duety. Then an archbishop of England stepping vp, said, if we all be bound vnto those 6. workes of mercy, it doth follow that poore men, which haue nothing at all to giue, should be damned. I answere, said Hus, vnto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those which had wherewithall to do those workes: they, I say, were bound to giue almes vnder paine of damnation.

Whether tenthes be pure almes.

Almes stand of dutie.

Hee answered moreouer vnto the Minor of the first argument, that tenthes were at first giuen freely, and afterward made a bond and duety: and when as hee would haue declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. Hee declared also diuers other causes, why he could not with safe conscience consent vnto the condemnation of Wickliffes articles. But howsoeuer the matter went, he did affirme and say, that hee did neuer obstinately confirme any articles of Wickliffes, but onely that he did not allow and consent that Wickliffes articles should bee condemned before that sufficient reasons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation: and of the same mind, saith John Hus, are a great many other Doctors & maisters of the Vniuersity of Prage. For when as Swinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole citie of Prage, and to bee brought vnto him, I my selfe brought also certaine bookes of Wickliffes, which I gaue vnto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any errour or heresie in them, that he would note and marke them, and I my selfe would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he shewed me no errour nor heresie in them, burned my bookes, together with those that were brought vnto him, notwithstanding that hee had no such commandement from pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithstanding by a certaine policie he obtained a bull from the said pope by meanes of Jarollaus bishop of Sarepte, of the order of Franciscans, that al Wickliffes bokes for the manifold errours contained in them (whereof there was none named) should be taken out of all mens hands.

John Hus his mind touching the condemnation of Wickliffes articles.

Wickliffes bookes burned in Prage, by the archbishop Swinco.

The archbishop vsing the authority of this bull, thought he should bring to passe that the king of Boheme and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliffes bookes; but therein he was deceiued. Yet neuertheless, hee calling together certaine diuines, gaue them in commission to sit vpon Wickliffes bookes, and to proceede against them by a definitiue sentence in the canon law. These men by a generall sentence iudged all those bookes worthie to be burned. The which when the Doctors, maisters and scholiers of the Vniuersitie heard report of, they all together with one consent and accord (none excepted but onely they, which before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in iudgement) determined to make supplication vnto the king to stay the matter. The king granting their request, sent by and by certaine vnto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that hee would decree any thing as touching Wickliffes bookes contrarie vnto the kings will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that hee had determined to burne them the next day after, yet for feare of the king, the matter was passed ouer.

A narration touching Wickliffes bookes.

The Vniuersitie of Prage maketh supplication to the king for sauing of Wickliffes bookes.

In the meane time pope Alexander the fifth being dead, the archbishop fearing lest the bull which hee had receiued

of

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Wickliffes bookes burned in Prage against the kings will.

A decree that no man should teach any more in chapels.

of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, pryullie calling vnto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being garded with a number of armed souldiers, he consumed and burned all Wickliffes bookes. Beside this great iniury, the archbishoppe by meanes of his bull aforesaid, committed another no lesse tollerable. For he gaue out commandement, that no man after that time vnder paine of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeale vnto the pope; who being dead,

John Hus appealed to the pope, and from the pope to Christ.

and the cause of my matter remaining vndetermined, I appealed likewise vnto his successor Iohn 23. Before whom, when as by the space of two yeres, I could not be admitted by my aduocates to defend my cause, I appealed vnto the high Iudge Christ. When Iohn Hus had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether he had receiued absolution of the pope or no? He answered, No. Then againe, whether it were lawful for him to appeale vnto Christ or no? Whereunto John Hus answered: Verily I doe affirme here afore you all, that there is no more iust or effectuall appeale, then that appeale which is made vnto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that

A question of the councell whether it be lawfull to appeale to Christ or no.

to appeale, is no other thing then in a cause of griefe or wrong done by an inferior Iudge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher Iudges hand. Who is then an higher Iudge then Christ? Who, I say, can know or iudge the matter more iustly, or with more equitie? when as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceiued: or who can better helpe the miserable and oppressed then he? While John Hus with a deuout and sober countenance was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole councell.

The popish church derideth Christ.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this maner: that John Hus for to confirme the heresie which hee had taught the common and simple people out of Wickliffes bookes, said openly these words: that at what time a great number of monks and friers, and other learned men were gathered together in England in a certaine church, to dispute against Iohn Wickliffe, and could by no meanes vanquish him, or giue him the foile, suddenly the church doore was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wickliffes enemies hardly escaped without hurt. He added moreouer, that he wished his soule to be in the same place where John Wickliffes soule was. Whereunto John Hus answered, that a dozen yeres before that any bookes of Diuinitie of John Wickliffes were in Boheme, hee did see certaine works of Philosophie of his, the which he said, did maruellously delight and please him. And when he vnderstood the good and godly life of the said Wickliffe, he spake these words: I trust, said he, that Wickliffe is saued: and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish, that my soule were in the same place where John Wickliffes is. Then againe did all the company iest and laugh at him.

Hus accused for trusting that Wickliffes soule is saued.

It is also in his accusation, that John Hus did counsell the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all such as did gainsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly in diuers places certaine intimations, that euery man being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly procede, and that brother should not spare brother, neither one neighbor an other. John Hus answered, that all these things were falslie laid vnto his charge by his aduersaries, for hee at all times when he preached, did diligently admonish and warne the people, that they should all arme themselues to defend the truth of the Gospell, according to the saying of the Apostle, with the helmet and sword of saluation, and that he neuer spake of any materiall sword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations or Moses sword, hee neuer had nothing to doe withall.

Sedition laid to his charge.

It is moreouer affirmed in his accusation and witnes, that many offences are sprung vp by the doctrine of Hus. For first of all, he sowed discord betweene the ecclesiasticall and the politike state: whereupon followed the persecution, spoiling and robbery of the clergy and bishops. And moreouer, that hee through his dissension, dissolued the Vniuersitie of Prage. Hereunto John Hus briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his meanes or default. For the first dissension that was betweene the ecclesiasticall & politike state, sprang and grew vpon this cause, that pope Gregory the 12. of that name, promised at his election, that at all times at the will & pleasure of the cardinals, he would depart from, and giue ouer his seat againe: for vnder that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against Wincesslaus king of Boheme, who was then also king of the Romans, made Lewes duke of Bauaria emperor.

Hus accused for mouing certaine tumults against the clergie and diuision in the Vniuersitie of Prage.

A story of popes.

A few yeres after it happened, that when as pope Gregorie would not refuse and giue ouer his seat and office at the request of the cardinals, that the whole colledge of cardinals sent letters to the king of Boheme, requiring him, that together with them, he would renounce and forsake his obedience vnto pope Gregory, and so it should come to passe, that by the authority of a new bishop, he should recouer againe his imperiall dignitie. For this cause the king consented to the will of the cardinals, as touching a neutralitie; that is to say, that hee would neither take part with pope Gregory, neither yet with Benedict the twelfth, bishop of Auinion, which was then named pope, as it doth appeare by chronicles. In this cause then, forsomuch as the archbishop Swinco with the clergy, were against the king, and abstaining from the diuine seruice many of them departed out of the citie, and the archbishop himselfe breaking downe the tombe of the lord Wintelate, contrary and against the kings will, did also take Wickliffes bookes and burned them: Thereupon the king without any gainsaying, suffered that certaine goods of theirs, which of their owne wils were fled away, should be spoiled, because they should not consent or accord with the bishop. Whereupon it is easie to be vnderstood and knowne, that John Hus was falsly accused for that matter. Howbeit a certaine man, one Nalo, rising vp, said; The clergy (said he) did not abstaine from the diuine seruice, because they would not sweare to consent vnto the king; but because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance. And the cardinall of Cambray, who was one of the Iudges, said: Here I must say somewhat which is come into my mind.

The cause why Swinco and other of the clergy did flie out of Prage.

This doctor Nalo was counseller to king Wenceslaus.

When as I came from Rome, the same yeere that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certaine prelats of Boheme. Whom when I demanded what newes they had brought out of Boheme, they answered, that there was happened a wonderfull cruell and hainous fact, for all the clergie were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill intreated and handled. Then John Hus alledging the same cause which he did before, went forward vnto the second part of the article which was obiected against him, denying also that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the Vniuersitie of Prage. But when as the king of Boheme, according to the foundation of Charles the fourth his father, granted three voices vnto the Bohemes, and the fourth vnto the Germans; whereat the Germans grudging, that they should be exempted from their voices, of their owne accord departed and went their waies; binding themselues with a great oth, and vnder a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should returne againe vnto Prage. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confesse, that I did approue and allow the doings of the king, vnto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my country. And because you shall not thinke that I haue spoken any vntruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, which was deacon of the faculties, who had sworne to depart with the rest of the Germans: he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily cleere me of this suspition.

A declaration how the Germans departed from the Vniuersitie of Prage.

The penaltie of money was 100. siluer pounds.

But when as Albert would haue spoken, hee could not be heard. But the foresaid Nalo, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leaue to speak, said; This matter do I vnderstand well enough, for I was in the kings court when these things were done in Boheme, when as I saw the maisters of the three nations of the Germans, Bauarians, Saxons, and Silesians, amongst whom the Polonians were also numbred, most humbly come vnto the king, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the king promised them, that he would foresee and prouide for their requests. But John Hus and Jerome of Prage, with diuers others, perswaded the king that hee should not so doe. Whereat the king at the first being not a little moued, gaue him a sore checke, that he and Hierome of Prage did so much intermeddle themselues, and moued such open controuersies, insomuch that he threatned them, that except they would forsee & take heed, he would bring it to passe that the matter should be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore most reuerend fathers, you shall vnderstand that the king of Boheme did neuer fauor with his heart these men, whose vnthankefulnesse is such, that they feared not euen of late, to intreat me euill, being so much in the kings fauor and credit. After him stepped forth Paletz, saying: Verily most reuerend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but also of Boheme it selfe, are through the counsell of John Hus and his adherents, banished out of Boheme; of the which number, some remaine yet in exile in Morauia. Hereunto John Hus answered: How can this be true, said he, sithence I was not at Prage at that time, when as these men you speake of departed and went away from thence? These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching John Hus.

The slander of the vnshamefast sycophant.

Paletz speaketh against John Hus.

This done, the said John Hus was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reigen, vnder whom Hierome of Prage was also prisoner. But before that he was led away, the cardinall of Cambray calling him backe againe in the presence of the emperor, said: John Hus, I haue heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your owne mind to come vnto Constance, neither the emperor himselfe, neither the king of Boheme could haue compelled you to doe it. Vnto whom John Hus answered: Vnder your licence most reuerend father, I neuer vsed any such kinde of talke or words. But this I did say, that there was in Boheme a great number of gentlemen and noble men, which did fauor and loue mee, the which also might easilie haue kept mee in some sure and secret place, that I should not haue beene constrained to come vnto this towne of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither

Hus committed to custodie.

Hierome of Prage.

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The Cardinall of Cambray.

neither of the king of Boheme. With that the cardinall of Cambray, euen for very anger began to change his colour, and despiteously said: Do you not see the vnshamefastnes of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whispering on

Iohn de Clum.

all parts, the lord Iohn de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which Iohn Hus had spoken, said; that Iohn Hus had spoken very well: for on my part, said he, which in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realme of Boheme, yet alwaies if I would haue taken it in hand, I could haue defended him easily by the space of one yeere, euen against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they haue done it which are of more force or puissance then I am? and haue stronger castels and places then I haue? After that the lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinall of Cambray said; Let vs leaue this talke. And I tell you Iohn Hus, and counsell you that you submit your selfe vnto the sentence and mind of the councell, as you did promise in the prison: and if you will doe so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honor.

The emperors exhortation to Iohn Hus.

And the emperor himselfe began to tell him the same tale, saying: Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of vs our letters of safe-conduct; notwithstanding I can well proue by the witnesse of many princes and noble men, that the said safe-conduct was obtained and gotten of vs by my lord de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prage, vnder whose gard we haue sent for you, to the end that none should doe you any outrage or hurt, but that you should haue full libertie to speake freely before all the Councell, and to answere as touching your faith and doctrine; and as you see, my lords the cardinals and bishops haue so dealt with you, that we doe very well perceiue their good will towards you, for the which wee haue great cause to thanke them. And forsomuch as diuers haue told vs, that we may not or ought not of right to defend any man which is an heretike, or suspect of heresie: therefore now wee giue you euen the same counsell which the cardinall of Cambray hath giuen you already, that you bee not obstinate to maintaine any opinion, but that you doe submit your selfe vnder such obedience as you owe vnto the authoritie of the holy Councell, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses. The which thing if you doe according to our counsell, we will giue order that for the loue of vs, of our brother and the whole realme of Boheme, the councell shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easie and tollerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you doe contrariwise refuse to doe, the presidents of the councell, shall haue sufficient wherewithall to proceed against you. And for our part be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our owne hands to burne you withall, then we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintaine or vse this sickenesse of opinions, which you haue hitherto maintained and vsed. Wherefore our aduice and counsell is, that you submit your selfe wholly vnto the iudgement of the councell.

The answer of Iohn Hus vnto the emperor.

Vnto whom Iohn Hus answered in this sort: O most noble emperor, I render vnto your highnesse most immortall thanks for your letters of safe-conduct. Vpon this, lord Iohn de Clum did breake him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did in no point excuse himselfe of the blame of obstinacie.

Then said Iohn Hus; O most gentle Lord, I doe take God to my witnesse, that I was neuer minded to maintaine any opinion euer obstinatly, and that for this same intent and purpose, I did come hither of mine owne good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine then mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had spoken and said these things, hee was sent away with Sergeants.

The morrow after, which was the eight day of June, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now againe at the Couent of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also Iohn Hus his friends, lord de Dube, and lord de Clum, and Peter the Notary. Thither was Iohn Hus also brought: and in his presence there were read about thirtie nine articles, the which they said, were drawne out of his bookes. Hus acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfetted and forged by his aduersaries, and specially by Steuen Paletz, the principall author of this mischiefe: for they could finde no such thing in the bookes out of the which they said they had drawne and gathered them; or at the least, if they were, they were corrupted by slanders, as a man may easilie perceiue by the number of articles.

39. Articles laid to Iohn Hus.

These be the same articles in a manner which were shewed before in the prison to Iohn Hus, and are rehearsed here in an other order. Howbeit there were more articles added vnto them, and other some corrected and inlarged. But now we will shew them one with another, and declare what the said Hus did answere both openly before them all, as also in the prison; for he left his answeres in the prison briefly written with his owne hand in these words.

I Iohn Hus, vnworthy minister of Iesus Christ, master of Art, and Bachelar of Diuinity, doe confesse that I haue written a certaine smal treatise intituled, Of the church, the copie whereof was shewed me by the notaries of the three presidents of the councell, that is to say, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castle, and the bishop of Libusse; the which deputies or presidents in respose of the said treatise, deliuered vnto me certaine articles, saying, that they were drawne out of the said treatise, and were written in the same.

The answer of Iohn Hus concerning his booke of the church.

The first article. There is but one holy vniuersall or catholike church, which is the vniuersall companie of all the predestinate. I doe confesse that this proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying of S. Augustine vpon S. Iohn.

The second article. S. Paul was neuer any member of the diuell, albeit that he committed, and did certaine acts like vnto the acts of the malignant church. And likewise S. Peter which fell into an horrible sin of periury and denial of his master, it was by the permission of God that he might the more firmely and stedfastly rise againe and be confirmed. I answer, according to S. Augustine; that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sinne and offend.

S. Paul was neuer any member of the diuell.

Hereby it appeareth, that there is two manner of separations from the holy church. The first is, not to perdition, as all the elect are diuided from the church. The second is to perdition, by the which certaine heretikes are through their deadly sinne, diuided from the church. Yet notwithstanding by the grace of God, they may returne againe vnto the flocke, and be of the fold of our Lord Iesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himselfe saying; I haue other sheepe which are not of this fold: Iohn 11.

Two maner of separations from the church.

The third article. No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, for so much as the charitie of predestination, which is the bond and chaine of the same, doth neuer fall. This proposition is thus placed in my booke: As the reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same, for so much as no part or member of the same doth finallie fall away, because that the charitie of predestination, which is the bond and chaine of the same, doth neuer fall away. This is proued by the 13. chapter of the first to the Corinthians, and to the Romans the 8. chapter, All things turne to good to them which loue God. Also I am certaine that neither death nor life can separate vs from the charity and loue of God, as it is more at large in the booke.

The members of the church neuer fall finally away.

The fourth article. The predestinate, although he be not in the state of grace, according to present iustice, yet is hee alwaies a member of the vniuersall church. This is an error, if it be vnderstood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the booke, about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that there be diuers maners and sorts of being in the church; for there are some in the church, according to a misshapen faith, and other some according to predestination, as christians predestinate now in sinne, but shall returne againe vnto grace.

The predestinate is alwaies a member of the vniuersall church, although not in present iustice.

The fifth article. There is no degree of honor or dignitie, neither any humane election, or any sensible signe, that can make any man a member of the vniuersall church. I answere, this article is after this maner in my booke: And such subtilties are vnderstood and knowne by considering what it is to be in the church, and what it is to be a part or member of the church, and that predestination doth make a man a member of the vniuersall church, the which is a preparation of grace for the present, & of glory to come: and not any degree of dignitie, neither election of man, neither any sensible signe. For the traitor Iudas Iscariot, notwithstanding Christs election, and the temporall graces which were giuen him for his office of Apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true Apostle of Iesus Christ, yet was he no true disciple, but a wolfe couered in a sheeps skinne, as S. Augustine saith.

To be in the church, and a member of the church.

Predestination.

The sixth article. A reprobate man is neuer no member of the holy church. I answere, it is in my booke with sufficient long probation out of the 26. Psalme, and out of the fifth chapter to the Ephesians, & also by S. Bernards saying, The church of Iesus Christ is more plainly and euidently his body, then the body which he deliuered for vs to death. I haue also written in the 5. chapter of my booke, that the holy church is the barne of the Lord, in the which are both good and euill, predestinate and reprobate; the good being as the good corne or graine, and the euill as the chaffe: and thereunto is added the exposition of S. Augustine.

Both good and bad in the church.

The seuenth article. Iudas was neuer no true Disciple of Iesus Christ. I answere, and I doe confesse the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed afore, and by S. Augustine in his booke of penance, where he doth expound the meaning of Saint Iohn, in his first Epistle and second chapter, where he said: They came out from amongst vs, but they were none of vs. He knew from the beginning all them which should beleeue, and him also which should betray him, and said: And therefore I say vnto you, that none commeth vnto me, except it be giuen him of my father. From that time many of the Disciples parted from him, and were not those also called Disciples, according to the words of the Gospell? And yet notwithstanding they were no true Disciples, because they did not

not remaine and continue in the word of the Sonne of God, according as it is said: If you remaine in my word, you be my disciples. Forsomuch then as they did not continue with Christ as his true disciples, so likewise are they not the true sonnes of God: although they seeme so, vnto him they are not so, vnto whom it is knowne what they shall be: that is to say, of good, euill. Thus much writeth S. Augustine: It is also euident that Judas could not be the true disciple of Christ, by meanes of his couetousnesse: for Christ himselfe said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose; Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Forsomuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lords will, and follow him, he was a theefe, as it is said John the 12. and as diuell, John the 6. whereby it is euident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true, but fained disciple. Whereupon S. Augustine writing vpon John, declaring how the sheep heare the voice of Christ, saith; What maner of hearers, thinke we, his sheepe were? Truly Judas heard him and was a wolfe, yet followed he the shepheard; but being clothed in a sheeps skinne, he lay in wait for the shepheard.

The eighth Article. The congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according vnto present iustice, is the holy vniuersall church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same church which hath neither wrinckle, neither spot in it, but is holy and vndefiled, the which the sonne of God doth call his owne. The answere: The words of the booke out of the which this Article was drawne, are these: Thirdly, the church is vnderstood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithfull, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present iustice or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which Saint Paul maketh mention in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians: Christ so loued his church, that he deliuered and offered himselfe for the same, &c. I pray you then, is there any faithfull man the which doth doubt that the church doth not signifie all the elect and predestinate, the which we ought to beleeue to be the vniuersall church, the glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmely to beleeue according to our Creed: I beleeue the holy catholike church; and of this church doth saint Augustine, saint Gregory, saint Jerome, and diuers other make mention.

The church is taken sometime for the congregation of the elect and faithfull, and so is the article taken in the Creed.

The ninth Article. Peter neuer was, neither is the head of the holy vniuersall church. The answer: This article was drawne out of these words of my booke: All men doe agree in this point, that Peter had receiued of the rocke of the church (which is Christ) humility, pouerty, stedfastnesse of faith, and consequently blessednesse. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Vpon this rocke I will build my church, that he would build euery militant church vpon the person of Peter, for Christ should build his church vpon the rocke which is Christ himselfe, from whence Peter receiued his stedfastnesse of faith, forsomuch as Jesus Christ is the onely head and foundation of euery church, and not Peter.

Peter neuer was head of the whole vniuersall church.

The tenth article. If he that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, doe follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar. But if so be it, he doe walke in contrary paths and waies, then is he the messenger of antichrist, and the enemy and aduersarie of Saint Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas Iscarioth. I answere: The words of my booke are these: If he which is called the vicar of saint Peter, walke in the waies of Christian vertues aforesaid, we doe beleeue verily that hee is the true vicar and true bishop of the church which he ruleth: but if he walke in contrary paths and waies, then is he the messenger of antichrist, contrary both to Saint Peter, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore Saint Bernard in his fourth booke did write in this sort vnto pope Eugenie: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancie, being gorgeously and sumptuously arraied, what fruit or profit doe thy flocke or sheepe receiue by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of diuels then of sheep. Saint Peter and S. Paul did not so: wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not saint Peter. These be the very words of S. Bernard. It followeth after in my book, that if the maner and fashion of his life and liuing, be contrary to that which S. Peter vsed, or that he be giuen to auarice and couetousnesse, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscarioth, which loued and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ. As soone as they had read the same, those which ruled and gouerned the councell, beheld one another, making mocks and mowes, they nodded their heads at him.

The vicar of Christ, how he is to be taken.

Bernard. ad Eugenium, lib. 4.

The eleuenth Article. All such as do vse simony, and priests liuing dissolutely and wantonly, doe hold an vntrue opinion of the seuen sacraments, as vnbeleeuing bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keies or censures, rites, and ceremonies, neither of the diuine seruice of the church, or of veneration or worshipping of relikes, neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I answere, that it is placed in this manner in my booke: This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as doe sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making faires and markets of the holy sacraments, and liuing in all kind of voluptuousnesse and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villanous kind of liuing: They doe pollute and defile the holy ecclesiasticall state. And albeit that they professe in words that they doe know God, yet do they deny it againe by their deeds, and consequently beleeue not in God: But as vnbeleeuing bastards they hold a contrary and vntrue opinion of the seuen sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most euidently, forsomuch as all such doe vtterly contemne and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi, the first chapter: Vnto you O priests, be it spoken, which do despise and contemne my name.

Prelats making merchandise of holy orders.

The twelfth Article. The papall dignity hath his originall from the emperors of Rome. I answere, and marke well what my words are: The preeminence and institution of the pope is sprung and come of the emperors power and authority. And this is proued by the 96. distinction: for Constantine granted this priuiledge vnto the bishop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus for the outward and temporall goods bestowed vpon the church, is counted alwaies the most high king aboue all others: so the bishop of Rome should be called the principall father aboue all other bishops. This notwithstanding the papall dignity hath his originall immediatly from Christ, as touching his spirituall administration and office, to rule the church. Then the cardinall of Cambray said: In the time of Constantine, there was a generall councell holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the highest rome and place in the church was giuen to the bishop of Rome, for honors cause, it is ascribed vnto the emperor: Wherefore then doe you not aswell affirme and say that the papall dignitie toke his originall rather from that councell, then by the emperors authority and power?

12 The pope taketh his originall from the emperor. 96. dist.

The thirteenth Article. No man would reasonably affirme (without relation) neither of himselfe nor of any other, that he is the head of any particular church. I answer: I confesse it to be written in my booke, and it followeth straight after: Albeit that through his good liuing, he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy vniuersall church, the spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and haue deserued grace and fauor, or hatred. And Luke the 17. When ye haue done all that ye can, say that you are vnprofitable seruants.

13 The pope is not the head of any particular church.

The fourteenth Article. It ought not to be beleeued that the pope, whatsoeuer he be, may be the head of any particular church, vnlesse he be predestinat or ordained of God. I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be mine, and this is easie to proue, forsomuch as it is necessary that the christian faith should be depraued, forsomuch as the church was deceiued by M. as it appeareth by S. Augustine.

14

The fifteenth Article. The popes power as Vicar, is but vaine and nothing worth, if he doe not confirme and addresse his life according to Jesus Christ, and not follow the manners of S. Peter. I answer, that it is thus in my booke; that it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained vicar, should addresse and frame himselfe in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And John Hus said moreouer before the whole councell: I vnderstand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward, which he should obtaine and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office. Then certaine others standing by, asked of him saying; Where is that glosse in your booke? John Hus answered, You shall finde it in my treatise against master Paletz: whereat all the assistance (looking one vpon another) began for to smile and laugh.

15 The popes power vaine.

Distinction of merit and of office.

The sixteenth Article. The pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the rome and place of S. Peter, but because he hath great reuenewes. I answer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written: He is not most holy because he is called the vicar of S. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions: but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentlenes, patience, labor and trauell, and in perfect loue and charity.

16 Holinesse commeth not by sitting, but by following.

The seuentéenth Article. The cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other Apostles of Jesus Christ, if they liue not according to the fashion of the Apostles, keeping the commandements and ordinances of the Lord Jesus. I answer, that it is thus written in my booke, and it proueth it self sufficiently: For if they enter in by another way then by the doore, which is the Lord Jesus, they be murtherers and theeues.

17 The cardinals doe count it heresie, that they should be compelled to be followers of the Apostles.

Then said the cardinall of Cambray: Behold both this and all other Articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his booke then is presented in his articles. Truly John Hus thou hast kept no order in thy sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to haue applied your sermons according to your audience? For to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you before the people to preach against the cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to haue told them their faults before them all, then before the laity. Then answered John Hus; Reuerend father,

father, for so much as I did see many priests and other learned men present at my sermons, for their sakes I spake those words. Then said the cardinall, thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talke thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the church.

18 John Hus condemneth the cruelty of the prelats in seeking the death of heretikes.

The eighteenth Article; An heretike ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient onely that he abide and suffer the ecclesiasticall censure. These are my words: That they might be ashamed of their cruell sentence and iudgement, specially forsomuch as Iesus Christ, bishop both of the old and new testament, would not iudge such as were disobedient by ciuill iudgement, neither condemne them to bodily death. As touching the first point; it may be euidently seene in the 12. chapter of S. Luke. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the eighth chapter of S. John. And it is said in the eighteenth chapter of S. Matthew: If thy brother haue offended thee, &c. Marke therefore what I doe say: That an heretike whatsoeuer he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with christian loue and gentlenes by the holy scriptures, and by the reasons drawne and taken out of the same, as S. Augustine and others haue done, disputing against the heretikes. But if there were any which after all these gentle and louing admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leaue off their stiffnesse of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporall or bodily punishment.

As soone as John Hus had spoken those things, the Iudges read in his booke a certaine clause, wherein he seemed greeuously to inueigh against them which deliuered an heretike vnto the secular power, not being confuted or conuicted of heresie, and compared them vnto the high Priests, Scribes and Pharisies, which said vnto Pilat; It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death, and deliuered Christ vnto him: and yet notwithstanding, according vnto Christs owne witnesse, they were greater murtherers then Pilat: For he, said Christ, which hath deliuered me vnto thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Hus, saying; Who are they that thou dost compare or assimule vnto the Pharisies? Then he said, all those which deliuered vp any innocent vnto the ciuill sword, as the Scribes and Pharisies deliuered Iesus Christ vnto Pilat. No, no, said they againe, for all that, you spake here of doctors. And the cardinall of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner said: Truly they which haue made and gathered these articles, haue vsed great lenity and gentlenesse, for his writings are much more detestable and horrible.

The betraying and condemning of innocents.

And how could this bishop of Cambray vnderstand the bookes of John Hus being written in Bohemian speech, which he vnderstood not?

19 The church militant standeth in three parts: 1. Ministers. 2. Nobles. 3. Commons.

The nineteenth Article. The nobles of the world ought to constraine and compell the ministers of the church to obserue and keepe the law of Iesus Christ. I answere, that it standeth thus word for word in my booke: Those which be on our part doe preach and affirme that the church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is diuided, and consisteth in these parts: That is to say: Ministers of the church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandements of the sonne of God, and the nobles of the world that should compell and driue them to keepe the commandements of Iesus Christ, and of the common people, seruing to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Iesus Christ.

20

The twentith Article. The ecclesiasticall obedience, is a kind of obedience, which the priests and monks haue inuented without any expresse authority of the holy scriptures. I answer and confesse, that those words are thus written in my booke: I say, that there be three kinds of obedience, spirituall, secular and ecclesiasticall. The spirituall obedience is that which is only due according to the law and ordinance of God, vnder the which the Apostles of Iesus Christ did liue, and all christians ought for to liue. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the ciuill lawes and ordinances. The ecclesiasticall obedience is such as the priests haue inuented, without any expresse authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth vtterly exclude from it all euill, as well on his part which giueth the commandement, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in the 24. chapter of Deut. Thou shalt doe all that which the priests of the kindred of Leuy shall teach and instruct thee, according as I haue commanded them.

Three kinds of obedience: 1. Spirituall. 2. Secular. 3. Ecclesiasticall.

True obedience ruled by Gods comandement. Deut. 24.

21

The twenty one Article. He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the iudgement of the pope, and the generall councell, and appealeth vnto Iesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answere, that I doe not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my booke, that they had both done me, & such as fauored me great wrong, and that they refuse to heare me in the popes court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeale to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeale from the pope to the councell, it were too long, and that were euen as much as if a man in trouble should seeke an vncertaine remedy. And therefore last of all I haue appealed to the head of the church my Lord Iesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better, then any pope, to discusse and determine matters and causes, forsomuch as he cannot erre, neither yet deny iustice to him that doth aske or require it in a iust cause, neither can he condemne the innocent. Then spake the cardinall of Cambray vnto him, and said; Wilt thou presume aboue Saint Paul, who appealed vnto the emperor, and not vnto Iesus Christ? John Hus answered: Forsomuch then as I am the first that doe it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an heretike? And yet notwithstanding, S. Paul did not appeale vnto the emperor of his owne motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake vnto him by reuelation and said: Be firme and constant, for thou must goe vnto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his appeale againe, they mocked him.

Appealing vnto Christ first taken by the cardinall of Cambray.

¶ Forsomuch as mention here is made of the appeale of the said Hus, it seemeth good here to shew the manner and forme thereof.

The copie and tenor of the appeale of Iohn Hus.

The appeale of John Hus from pope Iohn 23. vnto Christ.

FOrasmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chiefe and first, and also the last and vttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing iustice to such as bee wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call vpon him in verity and truth, vnbinding those that are bound: and fulfilling the desires of all those which honor and feare him; defending and keeping all those that loue him, and vtterly destroying and bringing to ruine the stiffenecked and vnpenitent sinner, and that the Lord Iesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish compassed in with the Priests, Scribes and Pharisies, wicked Iudges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeeme the chosen children of God, before the foundation of the world, from euerlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory vnto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can doe all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this maner:

The feruent complaint and prayer of Christ against wicked Iudges.

O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himselfe against me, and thou art my protector & defender. O Lord, thou hast giuen me vnderstanding, and I haue acknowledged thee: thou hast opened vnto me all their enterprises; & for mine owne part I haue been as a meeke lambe which is led vnto sacrifice, and haue not resisted against them. They haue wrought their enterprises vpon me, saying: Let vs put wood in his bread, and let vs banish him out of the land of the liuing, that his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hosts, which iudgest iustly and seest the deuices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance vpon them, for I haue manifested my cause vnto thee, forsomuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and haue counselled together, saying: The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him & catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliuer me from mine enemies, for thou art my God: doe not separate thy selfe far from me, forsomuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which wil succor me. My God my God looke downe vpon me, wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs haue compassed me in, and the company of the wicked haue besieged mee round about, for they haue spoken against mee with deceitfull tongues, and haue compassed me in with words full of despite, and haue enforced me without cause. In stead of loue towards me, they haue slandered me, and haue recompenced me with euill for good, and in place of charity they haue conceiued hatred against me.

After the example of Christ he maketh his prayer to God.

A godly prayer of John Hus.

Wherefore behold I staying my selfe vpon this most holy and fruitfull example of my Sauiour and redeemer, doe appeale before God for this my griefe and hard oppression from this most wicked sentence and iudgement, and the excommunication determined by the Bishops, Scribes, Pharisies, and Iudges, which sit in Moises seat, and resigne my cause wholly vnto him; so as the holy Patriarke of Constantinople Iohn Chrysostome, appealed twice from the councell of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew bishop of Prage, and Robert bishop of Lincoln, appealed vnto the soueraigne and most iust Iudge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can hee be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet bee deceiued by false witnesse. Also I desire greatly that all the faithfull seruants of Iesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all other which inhabit our country of Boheme, should vnderstand and know these things, and haue compassion vpon me, which am so greeuously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the canons of the cathedrall church of Prage, and giuen and granted out by Peter of Saint Angels, deane of the church of Rome, and cardinall, and also ordained Iudge by pope Iohn xxiij. who hath continued almost these two yeeres, and would giue no audience vnto my aduocates and procurators, which they ought not to deny: no not to a Iew or Pagan, or to any heretike what-

Chrysostome.

Andrew of Prage.

Robert bishop of Lincolne appealer from men to Christ.

John Hus complaineth of Michael de Causis his great enemy.

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whatsoeuer he were) neither yet would he receiue any reasonable excuse for that I did not appeare personally, neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole Vniuersity of Prage with the seale hanging at it, or the witnes of the sworne Notaries, and such as were called vnto witnesse. By this all men may euidently perceiue, that I haue not incurred any fault or crime of contumacie or disobedience, forsomuch as that I did not appeare in the court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

And moreouer, forsomuch as they had laid ambushments for mee on euery side by waies where I should passe, and also because the perils and dangers of others, haue made mee the more circumspect and aduised; and forsomuch as my procurers were willing and contented to binde themselues euen to abide the punishment of the fire, to answere to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the court of Rome; as also so because they did imprison my lawfull procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. For somuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient lawes, as well diuine of the old and new testament, as also of the canon lawes, is this, that the Iudges should resort vnto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to enquire of all such crimes as shall be obiected and laid against him which is accused, or slandered, and that of such men as by conuersation haue some knowledge or vnderstanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the euill willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered: but must bee men of an honest conuersation, no common quarrell pickers or accusers, but feruent louers of the law of God:) and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or perill, resort or come, and that the iudge and witnesses should not be enemies vnto him that is accused: And also forsomuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safegard of my life, I am excused before God from the friuolous pretended obstinacie and excommunication. Whereupon I Iohn Hus doe present and offer this my appeale vnto my Lord Iesu Christ, my iust Iudge, who knoweth and defendeth, and iustly iudgeth euery mans iust and true cause.

The procurator of Iohn Hus laid in prison at Rome.

The pope pronied to doe against his owne canon law.

22 A knot found in a rush.

The twenty two article. A vicious and naughty man liueth viciously and naughtily; but a vertuous and godly man liueth vertuously and godly. I answere: My words are these: That the diuision of all humane workes is in two parties, that is, that they be either vertuous, or vicious: forsomuch as it doth appeare, that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuously and godly. And contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby vnderstand deadly sinne, doth vniuersally infect or deprane all the acts and doings of the subiect, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise vertue and godlinesse doth quicken all the acts and doings of the vertuous and godly man: in somuch, that he being in the state of grace, is said to pray and do good workes euen sleeping, as it were by a certaine meanes working; as Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory, and diuers other affirme. And it appeareth in the firth chapter of Luke: If thine eye, that is to say, the mind or intention be simple, not depraued with the peruersnesse of any sinne or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings shall be clere and shining, that is, acceptable and gratefull vnto God. But if thine eye be euill, the whole body is darkened. And in the second to the Corinthians, 10. chapter: All things that you doe, doe them to the glory of God. And likewise in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and last chapter, it is said: Let all your doings be done with charity. Wherefore all kind of life and liuing according vnto charity, is vertuous and godly: and if it be without charity, it is vicious and euill. This saying may well be proued out of the 23. chapter of Deuteronomy, where God speaketh vnto the people, that he that keepeth his commandements, is blessed in the house and in the field, out going, and in comming, sleeping and waking: but he that doth not keepe his commandements, is accursed in the house and in the fields, in going out and in comming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is euident by S. Augustine vpon the Psal. where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lacke their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeale, be not without reward, and consequently be vertuous and good? And contrariwise it is vnderstood of him which is in deadly sinne, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whatsoeuer the vncleane man doth touch, is made vncleane.

The true, that is good, bringeth forth good fruit.

2. Cor. 10.

1. Cor. vlt.

Deut. 23.

To this end doth that also appertaine which is before repeated out of the first of Malachi. And Gregory in the first booke and first question, saith: We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when as wee come vnworthily to the table, and when we being defiled, doe drinke his bloud. And Saint Augustine vpon the 146. Psalme, saith: If thou doest exceed the due measure of nature, and doest not abstaine from gluttony, but gorge thy selfe vp with drunkennes, whatsoeuer laud or praise thy tongue doth speake of the grace and fauor of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same. When he had made an end of this article, the cardinall of Cambray said: The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And againe; If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and so we should alwaies liue in deadly sinne. John Hus answered: The Scripture speaketh in that place of veniall sinnes, the which doe not vtterly expell or put away the habit of vertue from a man, but doe associate themselues together. And a certaine Englishman whose name was M. said: But those sinnes doe not associate themselues with any act morally good. John Hus alledged against Saint Augustines place vpon 146. Psalme; the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said; What makes this to the purpose?

Cardinall of Cambray obiecteth.

John Hus answereth.

The twenty three article. The minister of Christ liuing according to his law, and hauing the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreouer, if the pope or any other ruler doe forbid any priest or minister so disposed, not to preach, that he ought not to obey him. I answere, that these are my words: That albeit the excommunication were either threatned or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to doe the commandements of Christ, it appeareth by the words of Saint Peter and the other Apostles, that we ought rather to obey God then man. Whereupon it followeth, that the minister of Christ liuing according vnto his law, &c. ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. For it is euident that it is commanded vnto the ministers of the church to preach the word of God, Acts 5. God hath commanded vs to preach and testifie vnto the people, as by diuers other places of the Scripture, and the holy fathers, rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appeare more at large. The second part of this article followeth in my treatise in this manner.

23 Forbidding to preach, whether it ought to be obeied.

Acts 5.

By this it appeareth, that for a minister to preach, and a rich man to giue almes, are not indifferent workes, but duties and commandements. Whereby it is further euident, that if the pope or any other ruler of the church doe command any minister disposed for to preach, not to preach, or a rich man disposed for to giue almes, not to giue, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreouer, to the intent that you may vnderstand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is vniustly disordered and giuen forth, contrary to the order of the law and Gods commandements. For the which the meete minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to feare damnation.

Preaching and almes giuing be not works indifferent, but duties and commandements. To forbid a minister to preach, and to forbid a rich man to giue almes, is both one.

Then they obiected vnto him, that he had said that such kind of excommunications were rather blessings. Verily, said Hus, euen so I do now say againe, that euery excommunication, by the which a man is vniustly excommunicat, is vnto him a blessing afore God; according to that saying of the Prophet: I will curse where as you blesse: and contrariwise, they shall curse, but thou O Lord shalt blesse. Then the cardinall of Florence, which had alwaies a Notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said: The law is, that euery excommunication, be it neuer so vniust, ought to be feared. It is true, said John Hus: for I doe remember eight causes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared. Then said the cardinall; Is there no more but eight? It may be, said John Hus, that there be more.

How the popes cursings are blessings.

The cardinall of Florence with his Notary.

Eight causes why excommunication ought to be feared.

The twenty foure article. Euery man which is admitted vnto the ministery of the church, receiueth also by speciall commandement, the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfill that commandement, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary. The answere: My words are these: For so much as it doth appeare by that which is afore said, that whosoeuer commeth, or is admitted vnto the ministery, receiueth also by especiall commandement, the office of preaching, he ought to fulfill that commandement, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also no Christian ought to doubt but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning, is more bound to counsell and instruct the ignorant, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are vnruly, and to remit and forgiue those that doe him iniury; then for to doe any other workes of mercy. Forsomuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bounden vnder the paine of damnation, to minister and giue corporall and bodily almes, as appeareth in the twenty fiue chapter of Matthew: how much more is he bound to doe spirituall almes?

24

A minister once admitted, is more bound to preach, then to doe any other worke of mercy; the popes prohibition notwithstanding.

The twenty fiue article. The ecclesiasticall censures are antichristian, such as the clergy haue inuented for their owne preferment, and for the bondage and seruitude of the common people. Whereby if the laity be not obedient vnto the clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their couetousnesse, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for antichrist. Whereby it is an euident signe and token, that such censures proceede from antichrist; the which censures in their processes they doe call Fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergie doth chiefely proceed against such as doe manifest and open the wickednesse of antichrist, which thrust themselues into the office of the clergie. These things are contained in the last chapter

25

Censures of the popes church, multiplieth the popes couetousnesse.

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chapter of his treatise of the Church. I answere, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23. chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they haue gathered certaine clauses most contrary thereunto. The which when they had read, the cardinall of Cambray renewed his old song, saying: Truely these are much more grieuous and offensiue, then the articles which are gathered.

The twenty sixth Article. There ought no interditement to be appointed vnto the people, for so much as Christ the high bishop, neither for Iohn Baptist, neither for any iniury that was done vnto him, did make any interditement. My words are these: When as I complained, that for one ministers sake, an interditement was giuen out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ the high bishoppe, notwithstanding that the Prophet was taken and kept in prison, then whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not giue out any curse or interditement, nor not when as Herod beheaded him, neither when hee himselfe was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the Souldiours, Scribes and Pharisies, he did not then curse them, but praied for them, and taught his Disciples to doe the same, as it appeareth in the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew. And Christs first vicar following the same doctrine and learning, saith in his first Epistle of Saint Peter, and the second chapter: Hereunto are ye called: For Christ hath suffered for vs, leauing vs an example that we should follow his footsteppes, who when hee was cursed and euill spoken of, did not curse againe. And Saint Paul following the same order and way in the twelfth chapter of the Romans, saith: Blesse them that persecute you. There were besides these many other places of scripture recited in that booke; but they being omitted, the se were only rehearsed, which did helpe or preuaile to stir vp or moue the Iudges mindes.

Christ interdicted none, but praied for all.

1. Pet. 2.

Rom. 12.

And these are the articles which are alledged out of Iohn Hus his booke intituled, Of the Church.

Other Articles moreouer out of other his bookes were collected, and forced against him, first out of his treatise written against Steuen Paletz, to the number of seuen articles. Also six other articles strained out of his treatise against Stanislaus Znoyma. Whereunto his answers likewise be adioyned, not vnfruitfull to be read.

¶ Heere follow seuen Articles, which are said to be drawne out of his Treatise which he wrote against Stephen Paletz.

1 Articles drawn out of the treatise written against Steuen Paletz.

1 The first article. If the pope, bishop, or prelat be in deadly sinne, he is then no pope, bishop, nor prelat. The answer: I grant thereunto, and I send you vnto Saint Augustine, Ierome, Chrysostome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; the which doe say moreouer, that whosoeuer is in deadly sinne, is no true christian, how much lesse then is he pope, or bishop? of whom it is spoken by the Prophet Amos in his eighth chapter: They haue raigned and ruled, and not through mee; they became princes, and I knew them not, &c. But afterward I doe grant that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an vnworthy minister of the sacrament, by whom God doth baptise, consecrate, or otherwise worke to the profit of his church; and this is largely handled in the text of the booke by the authorities of the holie doctors: for euen hee which is in deadly sinne, is not worthily a king before God, as it appeareth in the first booke of Kings, the fifteenth chapter. Where as God saith vnto Saul by the Prophet Samuel, saying: Forsomuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king. Whiles these things were thus intreating, the emperor loking out at a certaine window of the cloister, accompanied with the Countie Palatine, and the Burgraue of Norenberg, conferring and talking much of Iohn Hus: at length he said, that there was neuer a worse or more pernicious heretike then hee. In the meane while, when Iohn Hus had spoken these words, as touching the vnworthy king, by and by the emperour was called, and hee was commanded to repeate those words againe; which after that hee had done, his dutie therein being considered, the emperor answered: No man, saith hee, doth liue without fault. Then the cardinall of Cambray being in a great furie said: Is it not enough for thee that thou doest contemne and despise the ecclesiasticall state, and goest about by thy writings and doctrine to perturbe and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their state and dignity? Then Paletz beganne to alledge the lawes whereby he would proue that Saul was king, euen when those words were spoken by Samuel, and therefore that Dauid did forbid that Saul should not bee slaine, not for the holinesse of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holinesse of his annointing. And whereas Iohn Hus repeated out of Saint Cyprian, that hee did take vpon him the name of Christianitie in vaine, which did not follow Christ in his liuing; Paletz answered: Behold and see what a folly is in this man, which alledgeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true christian, is hee not therefore true pope, bishoppe, or king? Whereas these are names of office, and to be a christian is a name of merit and desert; and so may any man be a true pope, bishoppe, or king, although he be no true christian. Then said Iohn Hus; If pope Iohn the 23. were a true pope, wherefore haue yee deprined him of his office? The emperor answered: The lords of the Councell haue now lately agreed thereupon that he was true pope: but for his notorious and manifest euill doings, wherewithall he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did spoile and bring to ruine the power thereof, he is reiected and cast out of his office.

Thē emperors iudgement of Iohn Hus.

The cardinall of Cambray.

2 The second article. The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the church, and euery part and member thereof is firmely knit and ioyned vnto the head. The answere: I acknowledge this article to bee mine, and it is proued in the text out of the eighth chapter to the Romans; Who shall separate vs from the charity and loue of Christ? &c. And in the tenth chapter of John: My sheepe heare my voice, and I know them, and they follow mee, and I giue them eternall life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands. This is the knot of the body of the church, and of our spirituall head Christ, vnderstanding the church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

3 The third article. If the pope bee a wicked man, and specially a reprobate, then euen as Iudas the Apostle, hee is a Diuell, a Theefe, and the Sonne of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, for so much as hee is no part or member thereof. The answere: My words are thus: If the pope bee an euill or wicked man, and specially if hee bee a reprobate; then euen as Iudas, so is hee a diuell, a theefe, and the sonne of perdition. How then is hee the head of the holy militant church? Whereas he is not truely no member or part thereof: for if he were a member of the holy church, then should hee be also a member of Christ; and if hee were a member of Christ, then should hee cleaue and sticke vnto Christ by the grace of Predestination and present iustice, and should bee one spirit with God, as the Apostle saith in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter: Know yee not that your bodies are the members of Christ?

4 The fourth article. An euill pope or prelat, or reprobate is no true pastor, but a theefe and a robber. The answere: The text of my booke is thus: If he be euill or wicked, then is he an hireling, of whom Christ speaketh; he is no shepheard, neither are the sheepe his owne. Therefore when he seeth the wolfe comming, he runneth away, and forsaketh the sheepe: and so finally doth euery wicked and reprobate man. Therefore euery such reprobate, or wicked pope or prelat, is no true pastor; but a very theefe and a robber, as is more at large proued in my booke. Then said Iohn Hus: I doe so limit all things, that such as touching their desert, are not truly and worthily popes and shepheards before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, pastors, and priests.

Then a certaine man rising vp behind Iohn Hus clothed all in silke, said: My lords, take heede lest that Iohn Hus deceiue both you, and himselfe with these his glosses, and loke whether these things bee in his booke or not; for of late I had disputation with him vpon these articles, in the which I said, that a wicked pope, &c. was no pope, as touching merit and desert, but as touching his office he was truly pope. Whereupon he vsed these glosses which hee had heard of me, and did not take them out of his booke. Then Iohn Hus turning himselfe vnto him, said: Did you not heare that it was so read out of my booke? and this did easily appeare in Iohn the twenty three, whether he were true pope, or a very theefe and robber. Then the bishoppes and cardinals loking one vpon another, said: that he was a true pope, and laughed Iohn Hus to scorne.

5 The fifth. The pope is not, neither ought to be called according vnto his office, most holy: for then the king ought also to be called most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors, and diuels, ought also to be called holy. The answere: My words are otherwise placed in this manner; So ought a faithfull say, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily obserue and keepe his fatherhoode: and if he be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keepe the same. Likewise, if the bishop be most holie, then is hee also most good; and whenas he saith that he is pope, it is the name of his office.

Whereupon it followeth, that the man which is pope, being an euill and reprobat man, is a most holy man: and consequently by that his office, he is most good. And forsomuch as no man can be good by his office, except he doe exercise and vse the same his office very well; it followeth that if the pope be an euill and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or vse his office well. Forsomuch as he cannot vse the office wel, except he be morally good: Mat. 12. How can you speak good things, when you your selues are euil? And immediatly after it followeth: If the pope by reason of

of his office be called most holy, wherefore should not the king of Romans be called most holy, by reason of his office and dignitie? Whenas the king according vnto Saint Augustines mind, representeth the Deitie and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanitie. Wherefore also should not Iudges, yea euen tormenters be called holie, for so much as they haue their office by ministring vnto the church of Christ? These things are more at large discoursed in my booke; but I cannot find or know, saith John Hus, anie foundation whereby I should call the pope most holy, when as this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy: Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope most holy?

6 The sixth article: If the pope liue contrarie vnto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonicallie elect and chosen, according to humane election, yet doth he ascend and come in anothe way then by Christ. The answere: The text is thus; If the pope liue contrarie vnto Christ in pride and auarice, how then doth he not ascend and come another way into the sheepefold, then by the lowlie and meeke doore our Lord Jesus Christ? But admit as you say, that he did ascend by lawfull election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according vnto the common and vulgar constitution and ordinances of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proued that he should ascend and come in another way; for Judas Iscariot was truely and lawfullie chosen of the Lord Jesus Christ vnto his bishoprike, as Christ saith in the sixth of John, and yet hee came in another way into the sheepefold, and was a theefe and a Diuell, and the sonne of perdition. Did he not come in another way? when as our Sauiour spake thus of him, he that eateth bread with me, shall lift vp his heele against me.

The same also is proued by Saint Bernard vnto pope Eugenius. Then said Palletz: Behold the furie and madnesse of this man; for what more furious or madde thing can there be then to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding hee did ascend another way, and not by Christ? John Hus answered, verilie both parts are true, that hee was elect and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend, and came in another way, for he was a theefe, a Diuell, and the sonne of perdition. Then said Palletz, cannot a man be truelie and lawfullie chosen pope or bishop, and afterward liue contrarie vnto Christ? And that notwithstanding, hee doth not ascend anie other wayes. But I, said John Hus, doe say that whosoeuer doth enter into any bishoprike or like office by simonie, not to the intent to labour and trauell in the church of God, but rather to liue delicately, voluptuously and vnrighteously, and to the intent to aduance himselfe with all kind of pride, euery such man ascendeth and commeth vp by another way, and according vnto the Gospell, he is a theefe and a robber.

7 The seuenth article: The condemnation of the fortie fiue articles of John Wickliffe made by the doctours is vnreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alleaged is fained and vntrue: That is to say, that none of those articles are catholike, but that euerie of them be either hereticall, erroneous or offensiue. The answere: I haue written it thus in my Treatise: The fortie and fiue articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those fortie and fiue, is a catholike article, but each of them is either hereticall, erroneous or offensiue.

The cardinall of Cambray. O maister Doctour, where is your proofe? you faine a cause which you do not proue, &c. As it appeareth more at large in my treatise. Then said the cardinall of Cambray, John Hus, thou diddest say that thou wouldest not defend anie errour of John Wickliffes. And now it appeareth in your bookes, that you haue openly defended his articles. John Hus answered: Reuerend Father, euen as I said before, so do I now say againe, that I will not defend any errours of John Wickliffes, neither of anie other mans: but for so much as it seemed vnto mee to bee against conscience, simplie to consent vnto the condemnation of them, no Scripture being alleaged or brought contrarie and against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree vnto the condemnation of them: And for so much as the reason which is copulatiue cannot bee verified in euerie point, according to euerie part thereof.

Articles drawn out of his treatise written against Stanislaus de Znoyma. Now there remaine fiue articles of thirtie nine: These are said to be drawne out of another treatise which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

1 The first article: No man is lawfully elect or chosen, in that the Electours or the greater part of them haue consented with a liuely voice according to the custome of men to elect and chuse any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successour of Christ, or vicar of Peter in the Ecclesiasticall office, but in that that any man doth most abundantlie worke meritoriouslie to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power giuen him of God thereunto. The answere: These things which follow are also written in my booke. It standeth in the power and hands of wicked Electours to chuse a woman into the Ecclesiasticall office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called John, who held and occupied the popes place and dignity by the space of two yéeres and more.

It may also be that they do chuse a theefe, a murderer or a diuell, and consequently they may also elect and chuse Antichrist.

It may also be, that for loue, couetousnesse, or hatred, they doe chuse some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen: In so much as the Electours or the greater part of them haue consented and agréed together, according to the custome of men vpon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successour or vicar of Peter the Apostle, or any other in the Ecclesiasticall office.

Therefore they which must accordingly vnto the Scripture do elect ans chuse, reuelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason vpon him they do elect and chuse, whereupon whether the Electours do so chuse good or euill, we ought to giue credit vnto the workes of him that is chosen; for in that point that any man doth most abundantly worke meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power giuen him of God thereunto. And hereupon saith Christ in the tenth of John, giue credit vnto workes.

2 The second article: The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God. The answere: I wrote it thus in my treatise, that I would willingly receiue a probable and effectuall reason of the Doctor, how this question is contrarie vnto the faith, to say, that if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold the truth cannot decay or faile in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Pharisies, Matthew the twelfth, Yée stocke and offspring of vipers, how can yee speake good things, when you your selues are wicked and euill? And behold, I demand of the Scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stocke of vipers, how is hée the head of the holy Church of God, that the Scribes and Pharisies, which were in the councell house of Prage make answere hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speake good things, for so much as hée may bée in state of grace according vnto present iustice, then to be the head of the holy church of God.

Also in the fifth of John, our Sauiour complaineth vpon the Iewes, saying: How can you beléeue which do séeke for glorie amongst your selues, and do not séeke for the glorie that commeth only of God? And I likewise doe complaine, how that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the church of God, which receiueth his glorie of the world, and séeketh not for the glorie of God? For it is more possible that the pope being a reprobate should beléeue, then that he should be the head of the church of God: For so much as he taketh his glorie of the world.

3 The third article: There is no sparke of apparance, that there ought to be one head in the spiritualtie, to rule the church, the which should bee alwaies conuersant with the militant church. The answere: I do grant it. For what consequent is is this, The king of Boheme is head of the kingdome of Boheme: Ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Christ is the head of the spiritualtie, ruling and gouerning the militant church by much more and greater necessitie then Cesar ought to rule the temporaltie. For so much as Christ which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth necessarilie rule the militant church as head. And there is no sparke of apparance that there should be one head in the spiritualtie ruling the church, that should alwaies be conuersant with the militant church, except some infidell would heretically affirme, that the militant church should haue héere a permanent and continuall citie or dwelling place, and not to enquire and séeke after that which is to come. It is also further euident in my booke, how vnconsequent the proportion of the similitude is for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdome of Boheme.

4 The fourth article: Christ would better rule his church by his true Apostles dispersed throughout the whole world without such monstrous heads. I answere, that it is in my booke, as héere followeth, that albeit that the Doctour doth say, that the bodie of the militant church, is oftentimes without a head; yet notwithstanding we do verily beléeue that Christ Jesus is the head ouer euery church, ruling the same without lacke or default, powring vpon the same a continual motion and sense, euen vnto the latter day: neither can the Doctor giue a reason why the church in the time of Agnes, by the space of two yéers and fiue monethes, liuing according to many members of Christ in grace and fauour, but that by the same reason, the church might be without a head, by the space of many yéeres. For so much as Christ should better rule his church by his true Disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads. Then said they all together, Behold now hee prophesieth. And John Hus againe further prosecuting

his former talke said, but I say that the church in the time of the Apostles was far better ruled and gouerned then now it is. And what doth let and hinder that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true Disciples without such monstrous heads, as haue been now a late? For behold euen at this present we haue no such head, and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his church. When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

5 The fifth article: Peter was no vniuersall pastor or shepheard of the shéepe of Christ, much lesse is the bishop of Rome. The answere: These words are not in my booke, but those which do follow. Secondly, it appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit vnto Peter for his iurisdiction, the whole world, no not one only prouince. So likewise neither vnto any other of the apostles. Notwithstanding certaine of them walked through many regions, and othersome fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdome of God, as Paul which laboured and trauelled more then all the rest, did corporally visit and conuert most prouinces, whereby it is lawfull for any apostle or his vicar to conuert and confirme as much people, or as manie prouinces in the faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their libertie or iurisdiction: but only by disabilitie or insufficiencie.

6 The sixth article: The Apostles and other faithfull priests of the Lord haue stoutly ruled the church in all things necessarie vnto saluation before the office of the pope was brought into the church, and so would they verie possiblie doe still, if there were no pope euen vnto the latter day. Then they all cried out againe and said; Behold the prophet. But Iohn Hus said, verilie it is true that the apostles did rule the church stoutly, before the office of the pope was brought into the church. And certainlie a great deale better then it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithfull men which do follow their steps do the same, for as now we haue no pope, and so peraduenture it may continue and endure a yéere or more. Besides this were brought against him other nineteene articles, obiected vnto him being in prison, which with his answeres to the same héere likewise follow. Of the which articles, the first is this:

The first article. Paul how he was both a blasphemer and also a member of Christ.

The first article: Paul according vnto present iustice was a blasphemer and none of the church, and therewithall was in grace, according vnto predestination of life euerlasting. The answere: This proposition is not in the booke, but this which followeth: Whereby it doth séeme probable, that as Paul was both a blasphemer according to present iustice, and therewithall also was a faithfull child of our holy mother the church, and in grace according to predestination of life euerlasting: So Iscariot was both in grace according vnto present iustice, and was neuer of our holy mother the church, according to the predestination of life euerlasting, for so much as he lacked that predestination. And so Iscariot albeit he was an apostle, and a bishop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was he neuer no part of the vniuersall church.

The second article. Predestination.

The second article: Christ doth more loue a predestinate man being sinfull, then any reprobate is what grace possible soeuer he be. The answere: My words are in the fourth chapter of my booke intituled of the church, and it is euident that God doth more loue any predestinate being sinfull, then anie reprobate, in what grace soeuer he be for the time: for so much as he will, that the predestinate shall haue perpetuall blessednesse, and the reprobate to haue eternall fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely louing them both as his creatures, yet he doth more loue the predestinate because he giueth him greater grace, or a greater gift: that is to say, life euerlasting, which is greater and more excellent then only grace, according vnto present iustice. And the third article of those articles before, soundeth much néere vnto this, that the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they haue a certaine radicall grace rooted in them, although they be depriued of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.

The third article. Whoso committeth deadly sin swarueth from the faith.

The third article. All the sinfull according vnto present iustice, are not faithfull, but do swarue from the true catholike faith, for so much as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sinne but in that point, that he doth swarue from the faith. The answere: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did thinke vpon the punishment which is to be laid vpon sinners, and did fully beléeue, and had the faith of the diuine knowledge and vnderstanding, &c. then vndoubtedly they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the prophet Esay; Thy rulers are vnfaithfull, misbeléeuers, fellowes and companions of théeues, they all loue bribes, and follow after rewards. Behold the prophet calleth the rulers of ꝟ church infidels for their offences, for all such as do not kéepe their faith inuiolate vnto their principall Lord, are vnfaithfull seruants, and they also are vnfaithfull children which kéepe not their obedience, feare, and loue vnto God their father.

Item, this proposition is verified, by the saying of the apostle, the first chapter to Titus: They doe confesse that they know God, but by their workes they do denie him. And for so much as they which are sinfull, doe swarue away from the meritorious work of blessednes, therefore they do swarue from the true faith grounded vpon charitie, for so much as faith without workes is dead. To this end doth also pertaine that which the Lord speaketh, Matth. 23. of the faithfull and vnfaithfull seruant.

Titus chap. 1.

The fourth article: These words of Iohn in his two and twentith chapter, Receiue the holy Ghost: and, Whatsoeuer you shall bind vpon earth, &c. And Matthew the sixteenth and eightéenth chapter, for lacke of vnderstanding shall terrifie many christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceiued by them, presuming vpon the fulnesse of their power and authoritie. The answere: This sentence I do approue and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is first of all to be supposed that the saying of our Sauiour is necessarie, as touching the vertue of the word, for as much as it is not possible for a priest to bind and lose, except that binding and losing be in heauen. But for the lacke of the true vnderstanding of those words, many simple christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselues that whether they be iust or vniust, the priests may at their pleasures, whensoeuer they will, bind them. And the ignorant priests doe also presume and do take vpon them to haue power to bind and lose when soeuer they will. For manie foolish and ignorant priests do say that they haue power and authoritie to absolue euerie man confessing himselfe, of what sinne or offence soeuer it be, not knowing that in many sinnes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hypocrite do confesse himselfe, or such one as is not contrite for his sinne, whereof proofe hath oftentimes béen found, and it is euident, for so much as the letter doth kill, but the spirit doth quicken.

The fourth article.

The words of Christ for binding and loosing, vnlesse they be well vnderstood, minister too much feare or presumption.

The fifth article: The binding and losing of God, is simplie and plainly the chiefe and principall. The answere: This is euident, for so much as it were blasphemous presumption to affirme, that a man may remit and forgiue an euill fact or offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himselfe not approuing or allowing the same. For by the vniuersall power of the Lord, it is necessarie that he do first absolue and forgiue, before that his vicar doe the same; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or knowne vnto vs, then that it should be impossible for any man of the militant church to absolue or bind, except in such case as it be conformable vnto the head of the church Iesu Christ. Wherefore euerie faithfull christian ought to take héed of that saying: if the pope or any other pretend by any manner of signe to bind or lose, that he is thereby bound or loosed; for he that doth grant or confesse that, must also consequently grant and confesse that the pope is without sinne, and so that he is a God, for otherwise he must néeds erre, and do contrarie vnto the keyes of Christ. This saying proueth the fact of the pope, who alwaies in his absolution presupposeth contrition and confession. Yea moreouer, if any letter of absolution be giuen vnto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby euident, that manie priests doe not absolue those which are confessed, because that either through shamefastnesse they do cloake or hide greater offences, or else that they haue not due contrition or repentance, for vnto true absolution there is first required contrition. Secondly, a purpose and intent to sinne no more. Thirdly, true confession. And fourthly stedfast hope of forgiuenesse. The first appeareth by Ezechiel, If the wiked do repent him, &c. The second in the fifth and eighth of Iohn, Do thou not sinne any more. The third part by this place of Luke: Shew your selues vnto the priests. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ: My sonne beléeue, and thy sinnes are forgiuen thée. I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Ierome, and the master of the sentences.

The fifth article. Binding and loosing chiefly and principally belong to Christ.

To true absolution foure things are required.

The sixth article: The priests do gather and heape vp out of the Scriptures those things which serue for the belly, but such as pertaine to the true imitation and following of Christ, that they reiect and refuse as impertinent vnto saluation. The answere: This Saint Gregorie doth sufficiently proue in his seuenteenth Homilie, alleaging the saying of Christ: The haruest is great, the workemen are few; speaking also that which we cannot say without griefe or sorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willinglie heare good things, yet there lacke such as should declare the same vnto them; for behold the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarsitie of workemen in the haruest of the Lord. Wée take vpon vs willinglie priesthood, but we do not fulfill and do the workes and office of priesthood. And immediatlie after he saith, Wée are fallen vnto outward affaires and businesse, for wée take vpon vs one office for honor sake, and wee doe exhibite and giue another to ease our selues of labour. We leaue preaching, and as farre as I can perceiue wee are called bishops to our paine, which doe retaine the name of honor, but not the deritie.

The sixth article.

Ex Gregorio.

Priests more giuen to their owne lucre and bellie, then to the seruice of Christ.

And immediatlie after he saith, Wée take no care for our flocke, we daily call vpon for our stipend and wages, we couet and desire earthly things with a greedie mind, we gape after worldly

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worldly glorie, we leaue the cause of God vndone, and make haste about our worldly affaires and businesse, we take vpon vs the place of sanctitie and holinesse, and we are wholly wrapped in worldlie cares and troubles, &c. This writeth Saint Gregorie, with manie other things more in the same place. Also in his Pastorall, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also Saint Bernard as in manie other places, so likewise in his 33. sermon vpon the Canticles, he saith, All friends, and all enemies; all kinsfolkes and aduersaries, all of one houshold, and no peace-makers: they are the Ministers of Christ, and serue Antichrist: they go honorablie honored with the gods of the lord, and yet they do honor, &c.

The seuenth article: The power of the pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared. The answere: It is not so in my treatise, but contrariwise, that the subiects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and also those which are wicked and euill. But notwithstanding, if the pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the lords the cardinals, as I suppose, did not feare the power of Gregorie the twelfth before his deposition, when as they resisted him, saying that he did abuse his power contrarie vnto his owne oth.

The eighth article: An euill and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas. The answere: I wrote thus in my treatise: If the pope be humble and meeke, neglecting and despising the honors and lucre of the world: if he be a shepheard, taking his name by the feeding of the flocke of God (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying: Feed my sheepe) if he feed the sheepe with the word, and with vertuous example, and that he become euen like his flocke with his whole heart and mind: if he doe diligently and carefullie labour and trauell for the church; then is he without doubt the true vicar of Christ. But if hee walke contrarie vnto these vertues, for so much as there is no societie betweene Christ and Belial: and Christ himselfe saith, He that is not with me, is against me: how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of Antichrist? Christ called Peter himselfe Sathanas, when he did contrarie him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, euen him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed ouer his church: Why should not any other then, being more contrarie vnto Christ, be truelie called Sathanas, and consequently Antichrist, or at least the chiefe and principall minister or vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Bernard, Gregorie, Remigius, and Ambrose, &c.

The ninth article: The pope is the same beast of whom it is spoken in the Apocalyps, power is giuen vnto him to make warre vpon the Saints. The answere: I denie this article to be in my booke.

The tenth article: It is lawfull to preach, notwithstanding the popes inhibition. The answere: The article is euident, for so much as the Apostles did preach contrarie to the commandement of the bishops of Jerusalem. And saint Hilarie did the like, contrarie to the commandement of the pope which was an Arrian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, which contrarie vnto the commandement of pope Gregorie the twelfth, sent throughout all realmes such as should preach against him. It is also lawfull to preach vnder appeale, contrarie vnto the popes commandement. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandement of God, whereunto he ought chiefely to obey.

The eleuenth article: If the popes commandement be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the Gospell or the Apostles, it is not to be obeyed. The answere: I haue thus written in my booke: The faithfull disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider whether the popes commandement be expresse and plainly the commandement of Christ or any of his Apostles, or whether it haue any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no: and that being once knowne or vnderstood, he ought reuerentlie and humblie to obey the same. But if he doe certainly know that the popes commandement is contrarie and against the holy Scripture, and hurtfull vnto the church; then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto. This I haue handled at large in my treatise, and haue confirmed it by the authorities of Saint Augustine, Hierome, Gregorie, Chrysostome, Bernard, and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and canons, the which for breuities cause I do heere passe ouer. I will only rehearse the saying of Saint Isidore, who writeth thus: He which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrarie and besides the will of God, or that which is euidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honored as a false witnesse of God, and a church-robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no prelat, but in such case as he do command or take counsell of the counsels and commandements of Christ.

Likewise Saint Augustine vpon this saying: vpon the chaire of Moses, &c. saith: Secondly, they teach in the chaire of Moses the law of God: Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their owne inuentions, do not giue eare vnto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ, He that heareth you heareth me, all lawfull and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christs saying: It is not you which do speake, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Let therefore my aduersaries and slanderers learne that there be not only twelue counsels in the Gospell, in the which subiects ought to obey Christ and his appointed ministers, but that there are so many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawfull and honest things ioyned with precepts and commandements of God, binding vs thereunto, vnder the paine of deadlie sinne, for euerie such thing doth the Lord command vs to fulfill in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their Minister.

Consilia, præcepta.

The twelfth article: It is lawfull for the clergie and lattie, by their power and iurisdiction to iudge and determine of all things pertaining vnto saluation, and also of the workes of the prelats. The answere: I haue thus written in my booke, that it is lawfull for the clergie and lattie to iudge and determine of the workes of their heads and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the secret counsels of God, in the court of conscience is one thing, and the iudgement of the authoritie and power in the church is another. Wherefore subiects first ought principally to iudge and examine themselues, 1. Corinthians the eleuenth chapter. Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertaine vnto their saluation, for a spirituall man iudgeth and examineth all things. And this is alleaged as touching the first iudgement, and not the second, as the enemie doth impute it vnto me. Whereupon in the same place I doe say, that the lay man ought to iudge and examine the workes of his prelat, like as Paul doth iudge the doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly, to auoid them according to this saying: Beware of false prophets, &c. Thirdly, to rule ouer the Ministerie: For the subiect ought by reason to iudge and examine the workes of the prelats. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and reioyce: But if they be euill, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorie for them, but not to doe the like, lest they be damned with them: according to this saying: If the blind leade the blind, both fall into the ditch.

The twelfth article. The clergie and lattie may iudge of the workes of their prelats.

Judgement double.

Secret in the court of conscience. Open in the court of authoritie.

The thirteenth article: God doth suspend of himselfe, euerie wicked prelat from his ministerie, while he is actually in sinne, for by that meanes that he is in deadly sinne, he doth offend and sinne what soeuer he doe: and consequently is forbidden so to doe; therefore also is he suspended from his ministerie. The answere: This is proued as touching suspension from dignitie, by Osee the fourth chapter, and Esay, and Malachie the first. And Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the eleuenth chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinfull, or in any grieuous crime or offence, from the eating of the bodie of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood, and consequently suspendeth all sinfull prelats from the ministration of the reuerend Sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinfull from the declaration of his righteousnesse, Psalme 49. For so much then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibite the ministerie or anie other good thing for the offence sake, or as the new lawes do terme or call it, to interdict or forbid; it is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinfull, being in sinne to exercise or vse their ministerie or office, which by Gods commandement ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by Esay the prophet: Yee that carrie the vessels of the Lord, be ye clensed and made cleane. And to the Corinthians it is said; Let all things be done with loue and charitie, &c. The same thing also is commanded by diuers and sundrie Canons, the which I haue alleaged in my treatise.

The thirteenth article. To Godward all wicked ministers be suspended.

The fourteenth article: The answere which he made to the fiue and twentith article in prison sufficeth for this, that is to say, that the clergie for their owne preferment and exaltation, doth supplant and vndermine the lay people, doth increase and multiplie their couetousnesse, cloketh and defendeth their malice and wickednesse, and prepareth a way for Antichrist.

The first part he proueth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himselfe Benedict, by the example of Angelus Corrarius, which named himselfe Gregorie the twelfth, and also by the example of John the three and twentith. Likewise by the thirteenth and twentie fourth of Ezechiel, and out of Gregorie, which saith, What shall become of the flocke, when the shepheards themselues, are become Wolues, &c. Also out of Osee, Miche, and other of the Prophets, and many places of Saint Bernard.

The second part is proued by the eighth chapter of Jeremie, Gregorie in his seuenteenth Homilie, and Saint Bernard vpon the Canticles.

The third part of this article is also proued by experience: for who defendeth the wickednesse of any schisme but only the clergie, alleaging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therefore: Who excuseth simonie, but only the clergie: likewise couetousnesse in heaping together many benefices, luxuriousnesse and fornication: For how many of the clergie are there now a daies which do say it is no deadly sinne, alleaging (albeit disorderlie) the saying of Genesis, Increase and multiplie?

The fourteenth article. The lay people supplanted by the clergie.

Hereby also is the 4. part of the article easily verified. For

The seuenth article.

The popes power doing vngodly is not to be feared.

The eighth article.

The pope doing contrarie to Christ, is not the vicar of Christ but Antichrist.

The ninth article. John Hus need not proue this article, the pope will proue it himselfe.

The tenth article. To preach against the popes commandement.

The eleuenth article.

How far prelats are to be obeyed.

Isidorus.

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the way of Antichrist is wickednesse and sinne: of the which the Apostle speaketh to the Thessalonians: Gregorie in his Register, Pascrasall and Morals: also Saint Bernard vpon the Canticles plainely saith; Wicked and euill priests prepare the way for Antichrist.

The fifteenth article. The dishonestie of such as gathered false accusations against Iohn Hus.

The fifteenth article: John Hus doth openly teach and affirme that these conclusions aforesaid are true. The answere is manifest by that which I haue afore written. For some of these propositions I did write and publish, other some mine enemie did faine, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole proposition vnto me: the which thing the commissioners themselues did confesse before me. Whom I desired for the false inuention and fayning of those articles, that they would punish those, whom they themselues knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

The sixteenth article.

The sixteenth article: Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they haue affirmed in the article following: that is to say, that all the aforesaid conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as doe weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the church, inuented contrarie to the holy scriptures and the church. But if there be any such, I am readie most humblie to reuoke and recant the same.

The seuentéenth article.

The seuentéenth article: There was also an obiection made against me as touching the treatises which I wrote against Paletz and Stanislaus de Znoyma. The which I desired for Gods sake, they might be openly read in the audience of the whole councell, and said, that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit my selfe to the iudgement of the whole councell.

The eightéenth article.

The eightéenth article: There was also another article obiected against me in this forme. Item, John Hus said and preached that he should go to Constance, and if so be that for anie maner of cause he should be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithstanding he neuer purposed to doe it with his mind: for so much as whatsoeuer he had before taught, was pure and true, and the sound doctrine of Christ. The answere: This article is full of lies, to the inuenter whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus: All the day long thou hast imagined mischiefe and wickednesse, and with thy tongue as with a sharpe rasour, thou hast wrought deceit. Thou hast delighted and loued rather to talke of wickednesse and mischiefe then of equitie and iustice. Verily I doe grant, that I left behind me a certaine epistle to be read vnto the people, the which did containe that all such as did weigh and consider my carefull labors and trauels, should pray for me, and stedfastly perseuere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Iesu Christ, knowing for a certaintie that I neuer taught them any such errors as mine enemies doe impute or ascribe vnto me; and if it should happen that I were ouercome by false witnesse, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but stedfastly continue in the truth.

The nineteenth article.

The nineteenth article: Last it was obiected against me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write vnto the kingdome of Boheme, that the pope and the emperor receiued me honorablie, and sent vnto me two bishops to make agreement betweene me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirme and establish me and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Boheme. This article is falsely alleaged euen from the beginning. For how manifestly false should I haue written that the pope and the emperour did honor me, whenas otherwise I had written before, that as yet we knew not where the emperour was: and before the emperor himselfe came vnto Constance, I was by the space of three weekes in prison. And to write that I was honored by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdome of Boheme would repute the honor as no great renowne and glorie vnto me. Howbeit my enemies may in derision say vnto me, that according to their wils and pleasures, I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this article is wholly throughout false and vntrue.

Nineteene articles drawne out by the Parisians against John Hus. Iohn Gerson chancellour of Paris.

Vnto these articles aboue prefixed, were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawne out against master John Hus, to the number of nineteene. The chiefe author whereof, was John Gerson chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Paris, a great setter on of the pope against good men. Of these articles John Hus doth often complaine in his epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answere vnto them. Which articles being falsly collected and wrongfully depraued, although John Hus had no time to answere vnto, yet I thought not vnfit heere to set downe for the reader to see and iudge.

Articles formally contained or picked out of the Treatise of Iohn Hus of Prage, which he intituled of *the church, following in this part or behalfe the errours, as they tearme them, of Iohn Wickliffe.*

1 The first article: No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelat. The error is in the faith, and behauiour and maners, being both of late and manie times before condemned, as well against the poore men of Lions, as also against the Waldenses and Pikardes. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offensiue and pernitious, and tending to the subuersion of all humane policie and gouernance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthie of loue or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made vncertaine and vnstable, if it should be founded vpon predestination and charitie: neither should the commandement of Peter haue been good, which willeth all seruants to be obedient vnto their maisters and lords, although they be wicked.

2 The second article: That no man being in deadly sinne, wherby he is no member of Christ, but of the diuell, is true pope, prelat, or lord. The error of this is like vnto the first.

3 The third article: No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the apostolike seate of Peter, neither hath any apostolicall power ouer the christian people. This error is also like vnto the first.

4 The fourth article: No reprobates are of the church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ. This error is against the common vnderstanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

5 The fifth article: They only are of the church, and sit in Peters seat, and haue apostolike power which follow Christ and his Apostles in their life and liuing. The errour hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogancie and rashnesse.

6 The sixth article: That euerie man which liueth vprightlie according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea although he be forbidden or excommunicate by any prelat or bishop, euen as he might and ought to giue almes: for his good life in liuing together with his learning doth sufficiently send him.

This is a rash and temerarious error, offensiue and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiasticall hierarchie.

7 The seuenth article: That the pope of Rome being contrarie vnto Christ, is not the vniuersall bishop, neither hath the church of Rome any supremacie ouer other churches, except peraduenture it be giuen vnto him of Cesar, and not of Christ. An error lately and plainly reproued.

8 The eighth article: That the pope ought not to be called most holy, neither that his feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed. This error is temerarious, vnreuerently and offensiuely published.

9 The ninth article: That according vnto the doctrine of Christ, heretikes, be they neuer so obstinate or stubborne, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated. This is the error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence affirmed against the lawes of the Ecclesiasticall discipline, as S. Augustine doth proue.

10 The tenth article: That subiects and the common people may and ought publikely and openly to detect and reproue the vices of their superiours and rulers, as hauing power giuen them of Christ, and example of Saint Paul so to do. This errour is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Cham.

11 The eleuenth article: That Christ only is head of the church and not the pope. It is an error according vnto the common vnderstanding of the doctors, if all the reason of the supremacie, and of being head be secluded and taken away from the pope.

12 The twelfth article: That the only church which comprehendeth the predestinate and good liuers, is the vniuersall church, whereunto subiects do owe obedience. And this is consequent vnto the former article. The error is contained as in the former articles.

13 The thirteenth article: That tithes and oblations giuen vnto the church are publike and common almes. This error is offensiue, and contrarie to the determination of the apostle, 1. Corinth. 9. chapter.

14 The fourteenth article: That the clergie liuing wickedlie, ought to be reproued and corrected by the lay people, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporall profits. A most pernicious errour and offensiue, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacriledge, subuerting the ecclesiasticall libertie.

15 The fifteenth article: That the blessings of such as are reprobate or euill liuers of the clergie are maledictions and cursings before God according to the saying: I will curse your blessings. This error was lately reproued of S. Augustine, against S. Cyprian and his followers, neither is the matter of the sentences allowed of the masters in that point that he seemeth to fauour this article.

16 The sixteenth article: That in these daies and in long time before, there hath been no true pope, no true church, or faith, which is called the Romish church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the synagogue of Antichrist and Satan. The error in this article is in this point, that it is deriued, and taketh his foundation vpon the former articles.

17 The seuentéenth article: That al gift of money giuen vnto the ministers of the church, for the ministration of any spiritual matter, it doth make such ministers in y case vsers of simonie.

This

This error is seditious and temerarious, for so much as some thing may be giuen vnto the clergie, vnder the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying in of any spirituall thing.

18 The eighteenth article: That whosoeuer is excommunicate of the pope, if he appeale vnto Christ, he is preserued that he need not feare the excommunication, but vtterly to contemne and despise the same. This errour is temerarious and full of arrogancie.

19 The nineteenth article: That euery deed done without charitie is sin. This errour was reproued and reuoked before this time at Paris, specially if it be vnderstood of deadly sinne, for it is not necessarie that he which lacketh grace should continuallie sinne and offend anew: Albeit he be continually in sinne.

¶ This following, the maisters of Paris by their whole voice and consent did adde and adioyne vnto these nineteene articles, for their reason and determination.

WE affirme that these articles aforesaid are notoriouslie hereticall, and that they are iudicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they do infect other. For albeit they seeme to haue a zeale against the vices of the prelats and the clergie, the which (the more is the pitie and griefe) doe but too much abound, yet is it not according vnto learning: for a sober and discreet zeale, suffereth and lamenteth those sinnes and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, for so much as Diuels are not cast out through Belsebub, but by the power of God which is the holy Ghost, who willeth that in correction the measure and meane of prudence be alwaies kept, according to the saying: Marke, who, what, where and why, by what meanes and when, prelats and bishops are bound vnder grieuous and perpetuall penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to beare themselues against the foresaid errors and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it alwaies be well vnderstood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of priuie affinitie or societie of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischiefe.

These things are entermedled by the way vnder correction, as by way of doctrine.

Iohn Gerson Chancellour of Paris, vnworthilie.

THese things thus declared, a man may easily vnderstand, that John Hus was not accused for holding any opinion contrarie to the articles of our faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdome of Antichrist for the glorie of Christ, and the reforming of the church.

The words of the cardinall of Cambray vnto John Hus after his accusation.

Now to returne vnto the storie: when as the first thirtie nine articles, which I haue before rehearsed, were all read ouer together with their testimonies, the cardinall of Cambray calling vnto John Hus, said; Thou hast heard what grieuous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them there are: and now it is thy part to deuise with thy selfe what thou wilt doe. Two waies are proponed and set before thee of the councell, whereof the one of them thou must of force and necessitie enter into.

A double inconuenience for John Hus to fall into.

First, that thou do humblie and meekely submit thy selfe vnto the iudgement and sentence of the councell, that whatsoeuer shall bee there determined by their common voice and iudgement, thou wilt patiently beare and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part both for the honor of the most gentle emperour heere present, and also for the honor of his brother the king of Boheme, and for thy owne safegard and preseruation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue and gentlenesse, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we haue proponnded vnto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not denie thee power and licence thereunto: but this thou shalt well vnderstand, that heere are such maner of men, so cleare in vnderstanding and knowledge, and hauing so firme and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I feare it will be to thy great hurt, detriment, and perill, if thou shouldest any longer will or desire to defend the same.

This do I speake and say vnto thee to counsell and admonish thee, and not as in maner of a Iudge.

John Hus answereth.

This Oration of the cardinals many other prosecuting, euery man for himselfe, did exhort and perswade John Hus to the like: vnto whom with a lowlie countenance he answered: Most reuerend fathers, I haue often said that I came hither of mine owne free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend anie thing, but if that in any thing I should seeme to haue conceiued a peruerse or euill opinion, that I would meekely and patientlie be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may haue yet further libertie to declare my mind. Whereof except I shall alleage most firme and strong reasons, I will willingly submit my selfe (as you require) vnto your information.

Then there start vp one which with a loud voice said; Behold how craftily this man speaketh: He termeth it information and not correction or determination. Verily, said John Hus, euen as you will terme it, information, correction, or determination: for I take God to my witnesse, that I speake nothing but with my heart and mind.

The cardinall of Cambray appointeth John Hus certaine conditions whereby he may be deliuered.

Then said the cardinall of Cambray: for so much then as thou doest submit thy selfe vnto the information and grace of this councell, this is decreed almost by three score doctours, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose rome and place the Parisians are succeeded; and also it is approued by the whole councell, not one man speaking the contrarie thereunto:

First of all, that thou shalt humblie and meekelie confesse thy selfe to haue erred in these articles, which are alleaged and brought against thee.

Moreouer, that thou shalt promise by an oth, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold or maintaine any of these articles. And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles.

The answere of John Hus.

Vpon the which sentence: when as many others had spoken their minds, at the length John Hus said; I once againe do say, that I am readie to submit my selfe to the information of the councell: but this I most humblie require and desire you all, euen for his sake, which is the God of vs all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing, which my conscience doth repugne or striue against, or the which I cannot doe without danger of eternall damnation: that is, that I should make reuocation by oth to all the articles which are alleaged against me. For I remember that I haue read in the booke of the vniuersalities, that to abiure is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And for so much as many of these articles are said to be mine, which were neuer in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oth: But as touching those articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwise vnto them, I will willingly performe that which you desire.

The emperour exhorteth John Hus to recant.

Then said the emperour, why maiest not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou saiest are falsly alleaged against thee by the witnesses: For I verily would nothing at al doubt to abiure al errors, neither doth it follow that therfore by and by I haue professed any error. To whom John Hus answered: Most noble emperor, this word to abiure, doth signifie much otherwise then your maiestie doth heere vse it. Then said the cardinall of Florence: John Hus, you shal haue a forme of abiuration, which shall be gentle and tollerable enough, written and deliuered vnto you, and then you will easlie and soone determine with your selfe, whether you will do it or no. Then the emperor repeating againe the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said: thou hast heard that there are two waies laid before thee. First, that thou shouldest openly renounce those thy errors, which are now condemned, and subscribe vnto the iudgement of the councell, whereby thou shouldest trie and find their grace and fauour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the councell shall haue sufficient, whereby according to their lawes and ordinances, they may decree and determine vpon thee. To whom John Hus answered: I refuse nothing (most noble emperor) whatsoeuer the councell shall decree or determine vpon me. This only one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I haue professed those errors which was neuer in my mind or thought for to profesle. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answere as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are obiected against me, and specially concerning ecclesiasticall offices, and the state of the ministerie.

The emperour rehearseth the cardinall of Cambrayes words.

The force of false witnesse.

The emperour to John Hus.

But when as other men began to speake, the emperour himselfe began to sing the same song which he had sung before. Thou art of lawfull age, said the emperour, thou mightest haue easlie vnderstood what I said vnto thee yesterday and this day: for we are forced to giue credit vnto these witnesses which are worthie of credit: for so much as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all truth is tried: how much more then by so many witnesses of such worthie men:

Wherefore if thou be wise, receiue penance at the hands of the councell, with a contrite heart, and renounce the manifest errors, and promise by an oth that from henceforth thou wilt neuer more teach or preach against them. The which if thou refusest to do, there are lawes and ordinances, whereby thou shalt be iudged of the councell.

An old bishop of Pole.

Heere a certaine verie old bishop of Pole put to his verdict. He said the lawes are euident as touching heretiques, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But John Hus constantly answered as before: in so much that they said he was obstinate and stubborne. Then a certaine well fed priest and gaylie apparelled, cried out vnto the Presidents of the councell, saying: he ought by no meanes to bee admitted to recantation: for he hath written vnto his friends, that although he do sweare with his tongue, yet he will keepe his

Obiection of a priest better fed then taught.

mind vnswo2ne without oth: wherefo2e he is not to be trusted. Vnto this slander John Hus answered as is said in the last article, affirming that he was not guiltie of any erro2.

Pallets against John Hus.

Then said Pallets, to what end is this p2otestation, fo2 so much as thou saiest that thou wilt defend no erro2, neither yet Wickliffe, and yet doest defend him? When he had spoken these wo2ds, he b2ought fo2th fo2 witnesse nine articles of John Wickliffes, and read them openly: and afterward he said; When as I and maister Stanislaus in the p2esence of Ernestus of Austrich duke of Pr2age, p2eached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermons, but also by his bookes which he set fo2th. The which except you do heere exhibite, we will cause them to be exhibited. So said the emperor also. Vnto whom John Hus answered, I am verie well contented that not only those, but also al other my bookes be b2ought fo2th and shewed.

A new heape of slanders.

In the meane time there was exhibited vnto the councell a certaine article, wherein John Hus was accused, that hee had slanderously interpreted a certaine sentence of the popes: the which he denied that he did, saying, that he neuer saw it but in prison, when as the article was shewed him by the commissioners. And when he was demanded who was the autho2 therof, he answered that he knew not, but that he heard say that maister Jessenitz was the autho2 thereof.

What (said they) then doe you think o2 iudge of the interpretation thereof? Then answered John Hus, what should I say thereunto, when as I said I neuer saw it, but as I haue heard it of you. Thus they were all so grieuous and troublesome vnto him, that he waxed faint and wearie, fo2 he had passed all the night befo2e without sleepe, through the paine of his teeth.

John Hus waxeth faint and wearie.

Another quarrell against John Hus, touching these three men beheaded at Prage. *Vide supra, pag. 543.*

Then was there another article read, in the which was contained that three men were beheaded at Prage, because that through Wickliffes doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and slanderous against the popes letters: and that they were by the same Hus, with the whole pompe of the scholars, and with a publike conuocation o2 congregation carried out to be buried, and by a publike sermon placed amongst the number of Saints. And the same doctor Palo, of whom you haue heard certaine testimonies alreadie recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himselfe was p2esent, when as the king of Boheme commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

John Hus b2ieth.

Then said John Hus: both those parts are false, that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the coarses were by me conueyed with anie such pompe vnto their sepulture o2 buriall: wherefo2e you doe both iniurie vnto me and the king. Then Pallets confirmed the affirmation of doctour Palo his fellow, with this argument (fo2 they both laboured to one end and purpose:) That it was p2ouided by the kings commandement, that no man should once speake against the popes Buls: And these three spake against the popes Buls: Ergo, by vertue of the kings commandement they were beheaded. And what John Hus his opinion and mind was as touching these men, it is euident enough by his booke entituled Of the church, wherein he writeth thus: I beléeue they haue read Daniel the p2ophet, where as is said: And they shall p2rish with swo2d and fire, and with captiuitie, and many shall fraudulently and craftilie associate themselues vnto them. And afterward he saith: how is this fulfilled in these two lay men, who not consenting, but speaking against the fained lies of Antich2ist, haue offered their liues therefo2e, and manie other were readie to do the same, and many were fraudulentlie associate vnto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antich2ist, are fled, and haue turned their backes, &c.

Ex puris affirmatiuis non consiftit argum. in 2. figura.

When these things were read, one loking vpon another, as though they had been all in a maruellous strange study, they held their peace fo2 a certaine space. Fo2 this Pallets, and the fo2esaid doctor Palo had also added that John Hus in an open sermon had inflamed and stirred vp the people against the magistrates, in so much that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselues against the magistrates: and by that meanes was it, that he said those three were readie to suffer death fo2 the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit, o2 helpe that the king could do. Then the English men exhibited the copie of a certain epistle, which they said was falsly conueyed vnto Pr2age, vnder the title of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and that John Hus did reade the same out of the pulpit vnto the people, that he might commend and p2aise John Wickliffe vnto the citizens of Pr2age. When they had read the same befo2e the councell, the Englishmen demanded of John Hus, whether he had read the same openly o2 no. Which when he had confessed, because it was b2ought thither by two scholars vnder the seale of the Vniuersitie: they also inquired of him what scholars they were. He answered: this my friend (meaning Stephen Pallets) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Another quarrell picked by English men against John Hus.

The testimonials of Oxford, fo2 Wickliffe b2ought to Prage.

Then they first enquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. John Hus answered: I heard say (said he) that in his returne into England, he died by the way. As touching the first, Pallets said, that he was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that he b2ought out of England a certaine small piece of the stone of Wickliffes sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this p2esent, do reuerence and wo2ship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth fo2 what intent all these things were done, and that John Hus was the autho2 of them all.

A piece of the stone of Wickliffes sepulchre b2ought fo2 a relike to Prage.

Then the English men exhibited another epistle, contrarie to the first, vnder the seale of the Vniuersitie, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the Vniuersitie, not without great so2row and griefe hath experimented and found, that the erro2s of Wickliffe are scattred and spread out of that Vniuersitie throughout all England. And to the intent that through their helpe and labour, meanes may be found to remedie this mischiefe, they haue appointed fo2 that purpose twelue doctours, men of singular learning, and other masters, which should sit in iudgement vpon the bookes of Wickliffe.

These men haue noted out aboue the number of two hund2ed articles, the which the whole Vniuersitie haue iudged wo2thie to be burnt: but fo2 the reuerence of the said sacred councell, the said Vniuersitie hath sent them vnto Constance, referring and remitting the whole autho2itie of the iudgement vnto this councell.

Heere was great silence kept fo2 a while. Then Pallets rising vp, as though he had finished now his accusation, said: I take God to my witnes befo2e the emperours maiestie heere p2esent, and the most reuerend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of John Hus, I haue not bred any hatred o2 euil will: but that I might satisfie the oth which I toke, when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruell and sharpe enemie of all maner of erro2s, fo2 the p2osit and commoditie of the holy catholike church. Michael de Causis did also the like. And I, said John Hus, do commit all these things vnto the heauenly Iudge, which shall iustly iudge the cause o2 quarrels of both parties. Then said the cardinall of Cambray, I cannot a little commend and p2aise the humanitie and gentlenesse of maister Pallets, which he hath vsed in drawing out the articles against maister John Hus. Fo2 as we haue heard, there are many things contained in his booke, much wo2se and detestable.

The oth of Pallets.

The oth of Michael de Causis.

John Hus witnesseth the Lord.

When he had spoken these wo2ds, the bishop of Rygen vnto whom John Hus was committed, commanded that the said John Hus should be carried againe safely vnto prison. Then John de Clum following him, did not a little incourage and comfo2t him. No tongue can exp2esse what courage and stomacke he receiued by the short talke which he had with him: when as in so great a b2oile and grieuous hatred, he saw himselfe in a maner fo2saken of all men. After that John Hus was carried away, the emperour began to exho2t the p2esidents of the councell in this maner, saying:

John de Clum doth comfo2t John Hus.

The emperours oration to the p2esidents of the councell.

YOu haue heard the manifold and grieuous crimes which are laid against Iohn Hus, which are not only proued by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him: of the which euery one of them by my iudgement and aduice haue deserued, and are worthie of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I iudge and thinke meete that he be punished with fire: and albeit he doe that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithstanding I do counsell you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he returne no more into the kingdome of Boheme. For if he be admitted againe to teach and preach, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, he will not obserue and keepe that which he is commanded, but hoping vpon the fauour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautours there, he wil returne again vnto his former purpose and intent, and then besides these errours, he will also sow new errors amongst the people, so the last error shall be worse then the first.

Moreouer, I iudge and think it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent vnto my brother the king of Boheme, and afterward into Pole and other prouinces, where as mens minds are repleniished with his doctrine; with this commandement, that whosoeuer do proceed to hold or keepe the same, they should by the common aid both of the ecclesiasticall and ciuill power, be punished. So at the length shall remedie be found for this mischiefe, if the boughes together with the root, be vtterly rooted and pulled vp: and if the bishops and other prelats, which heere in this place haue laboured and trauelled for the extirpating of this heresie, be commended by the whole voices of the councell vnto the kings and princes, vnder whose dominion they are. Last of al, if there be any found heere at Constance, which are familiars vnto Iohn Hus, they also ought to be punished with such seueritie and punishment as is due vnto them, and specially his scholar Ierome of Prage. Then said the rest, when the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle.

That which God planteth man shall neuer root vp.

Ierome of Prage mentioned and p2omoted by the emperour.

After they had spoken these wo2ds, they departed out of the Cloyster, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day befo2e his condemnation, which was the sixth of Iulie, the emperour Sigismund sent vnto him foure bishops, accom-

Foure bishops sent to John Hus.

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accomplished with maister Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they should learne and vnderstand of him what he did intend to doe. When as hee was brought out of prison vnto them, John de Clum began first to speake vnto him, saying.

The pitifull and louing oration of John de Clum vnto John Hus.

MAster Iohn Hus, I am a man vnlearned, neither am I able to counsell or aduertise you, being a man of learning and vnderstanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know your selfe guilty of any of those errors, which are obiected and laid against you before the Councell, that you will not bee ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the Councell: if contrariwise, I will be no author vnto you, that you should doe any thing contrarie, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and indure any kind of punishment, then to denie that which you haue knowne to bee the truth. Vnto whom, Iohn Hus turning himselfe, with lamentable teares, said: Verily as before I haue oftentimes done, I do take the most high God for my witnesse, that I am readie with my whole heart and mind, if the Councell can instruct or teach me any better by the holy scripture: I will bee readie with all my heart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the bishops which sate by, said vnto him, that he would neuer bee so arrogant or proud, that hee would preferre his owne mind or opinion before the iudgement of the whole Councell. To whom Iohn Hus answered, neither doe I otherwise mind or intend. For if he which is the meanest, or least in all this Councell, can conuict me of error, I will with an humble heart and mind performe, and doe whatsoeuer the Councell shall require of me. Marke, said the bishops, how obstinately hee doth perseuere in his errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carrie him againe vnto prison, and so they returned againe vnto the Emperour with their commission.

The maruellous constancie of John Hus.

That is no right modestie that more regardeth to obey man, then manifest veritie. Iohn Hus answereth.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of Iulie, there was a generall Session holden of the Princes and lords, both of the ecclesiasticall and temporall estates in the head Church of the city of Constance, the emperour Sigismund being president in his impertall robes and habit: in the midst whereof, there was made a certaine high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a deske of wood, vpon the which the garments and vestiments pertaining vnto priesthood were laid, for this cause, that before Iohn Hus should be deliuered ouer vnto the ciuill power, he should bee openly depriued and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When Iohn Hus was brought thither, he fell downe vpon his knees before that same high place, and prayed a long time. In the meane while the bishop of Londy went vp into the pulpit, and made this sermon following.

The Sermon of the bishop of Londy, before the sentence was giuen vpon Iohn Hus.

The sermon before the sentence

IN the name of the Father, the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. Trusting by humble inuocation vpon the diuine helpe and aid, most noble prince, and most Christian emperour, and you most excellent fathers, and reuerend lords, bishops, and prelats, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble dukes, and high countes, honourable nobles, and barons, and all other men worthie of remembrance: that the intent and purpose of my mind may the more plainely and euidently appeare vnto this most sacred congregation, I am first of all determined to intreat or speake of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixth chapter to the Romans: That is to say: Let the bodie of sinne be destroyed, &c.

The theame. His theame confirmed by Aristotle.

It appeareth by the authoritie of Aristotle, in his booke intituled *De cœlo & mundo*, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand peruerse and wicked beginnings. For he saith, that a small errour in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to haue erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthie doctor Saint Ierome, in his booke vpon the exposition of the Catholike faith, teacheth how necessarie a thing it is, that heretikes and heresies should be suppressed, euen at the first beginning of them, saying thus: The rotten and dead flesh is to bee cut off from the bodie, lest that the whole bodie do perish and putrifie. For a scabbed sheepe is to bee put out of the fold, lest that the whole flocke bee infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned. Arrius was first a sparke in Alexandria, who because hee was not at the first quenched, hee presumed and went about with his wicked and peruerse imaginations, and phantasticall inuentions, to spot and defile the Catholike faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many Martyrs, and illuminate and set foorth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must bee resisted: such heretikes of necessitie must bee suppressed and condemned.

Wherefore I haue truely propounded, as touching the punishment of euerie such obstinate heretike, that the bodie of sinne is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered according vnto the holy traditions of the Fathers, that some sins are aduerse and contrary vnto another. Othersome are annexed or conioined together: othersome are, as it were, branches and members of others: and some are as it were the rootes and head of others. Amongst all which, those are to bee counted the most detestable, out of the which the most and worst, haue their originall and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sinnes and offences are to be abhorred of vs: yet those are specially to bee eschued, which are the head and roote of the rest. For by how much the peruersenesse of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection, ought they to bee rooted out and extinguished, with apt preseruatiues and remedies. Forsomuch then as amongst all sinnes none doth more appeare to be inueterate, then the mischiefe of of this most execrable schisme, therefore haue I right well propounded, that the bodie of sinne should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schisme, great and most cruell destruction is sprung vp amongst the faithfull, and hath long continued: abominable diuisions of heresies are growne: threatnings are increased and multiplied: the confusion of the whole clergie is growne thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the Christian people are abundantly sprung vp and increased. And truly it is no maruell, for so much as that most detestable and execrable schisme, is, as it were, a bodie and heape of dissolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, where as such a pestiferous schisme hath raigned so long a time? For as saint Bernard saith, Like as in the vnitie and concord of the faithfull, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, so likewise in the schisme and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the diuell. Is not schisme and diuision the originall of all subuersion, the denne of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of vnitie and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Couetousnesse is vttered in othes for lucres sake, lust and will is set at liberty, and all meanes opened vnto slaughter. All right and equitie is banished, the ecclesiasticall power is iniuried, and the calamitie of this schisme bringeth in all kind of bondage, sword and violence doth rule, the laitie haue the dominion, concord and vnitie are banished, and all prescript rules of religion vtterlie contemned and set at naught.

They cannot abide the laitie to rule in any case.

Consider most gentle lords, how that during this most pestiferous schisme, how many heresies haue appeared and shewed themselues, how many heretiks haue scaped vnpunished, how many Churches haue been spoiled and pulled downe, how many cities haue been oppressed, and regions brought to ruine, what confusion hath there hapned in the clergie? What and how great destruction hath been amongst the Christian people I pray you marke how the Church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithfull, is contemned and despised. For who doth reuerence the keies of the Church, who feareth the censures or lawes, or who is it, that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it, that doth not offend the same, or who doth not inuade it, or else what is hee that dare not violently lay hands vpon the patrimonie or heritage of Iesus Christ? The goods of the clergie, and of the poore, and the releefe of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the bloud of our Sauiour, and of many martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold the abomination of the desolation brought vpon the Church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruine of the Lords flocke or fold, and all the whole companie of our most holy Sauiour and Redeemer. This losse is more great or grieuous then any which could happen vnto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruell then the persecution of any tyrants, for they did but onely punish the bodies, but in this schisme and diuision the soules are tormented. There the bloud of men was only shed, but in this case the true faith is subuerted and ouerthrowne. That persecution was saluation vnto many: but this schisme is destruction vnto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase: but by this diuision it is vtterly decaied. During their crueltie and madnesse, the primitiue Church increased, but through this schisme it is confounded and ouerthrowne. Tyrants did ignorantly offend: but in this schisme, many doe wittingly and willingly euen of obstinacie offend. There came in heretikes, vsers of simonie, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the Church: vnder those tyrants, the merits of the iust were increased.

All the popish religion lieth in lands, lordships and liberties.

Note here the popes diuinitie, how the bloud of Christ serueth to purchase their patrimonie.

But during this schisme, mischiefe and wickednes are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable diuision, truth is made an enemie to all Christians, faith is not regarded, loue and charitie hated, hope is lost, iustice ouerthrowne, no kind of courage, or valiantnesse, but onely vnto mischiefe: modestie and temperance cloked, wisdome turned into deceit, humilitie fained, equitie and truth falsified, patience vtterlie fled, conscience small, all wickednesse intended, deuotion counted follie, gentlenesse abiect and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reprochfull and abominable. With how great and grieuous sorrowes is the Church of God repleniished and filled, whilest that tyrants doe oppresse it, heretikes inuade it, vsers of simonie doe spoile and

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This schisme continued 40. yeeres.

and rob it, and schismatikes goe about vtterly to subuert it? O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now by the space of fortie yeeres, with such indurate and continuall schisme, they haue tormented, and almost brought to ruine! O the little barke and ship of Christ, which hath so long time wandred and strayed now in the middest of the whirlepooles, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grieuous and tempestuous stormes! O miserable and wretched boate of Peter, if the most holy father would suffer thee to sincke or drowne, into what dangers and perils haue the wicked pirats brought thee? amongst what rocks haue they placed thee? O most godly and louing Christians, what faithful deuout man is there, which beholding and seeing the great ruine and decay of the Church, would not bee prouoked vnto teares? what good conscience is there, that can refraine weeping? because that contention and strife is powred vpon the ecclesiasticall rulers, which haue made vs to erre in the way: because they haue not found, or rather would not find the way of vnitie and concord: Whereupon so many heresies, and so great confusion is sprung vp, and growne in the flocke of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

He stirreth vp the emperour Sigismund.

Many princes, kings and prelates, haue greatly laboured and trauelled for the rooting out hereof, but yet could they neuer bring to passe, or finish that most wholesome and necessary worke. Wherefore most Christian king, this most glorious and triumphant victorie hath tarried only for thee, the crowne and glorie thereof shall be thine for euer, and this most happy victorie shall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored againe the Church which was so spoiled, thou hast remooued and put away all inueterate and ouergrowne schismes and diuisions, thou hast trodden downe vsers of simonie, and rooted out all heretikes. Doest thou not behold and see how great, perpetuall and famous renowne and glorie it will be vnto thee? For what can bee more iust, what more holy, what more better, what more to bee desired, or finally, what can be more acceptable, then to root out this wicked and abominable schisme, to restore the Church againe vnto her ancient libertie, to extinguish and put away all simonie, and to condemne and destroy all errours and heresies from amongst the flock of the faithfull? Nothing truely can bee better, nothing more holie, nothing more profitable for the whole world, and finally, nothing more acceptable vnto God. For the performance of which most holy and godly worke, thou wast elect and chosen of God, thou wast first deputed and chosen in heauen, before thou wast elect and chosen vpon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestiall and heauenlie prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the imperial force and power, thou shouldest condemne and destroy those errors and heresies, which we haue presently in hand to bee condemned and subuerted. To the performance of this most holy worke, God hath giuen vnto thee the knowledge and vnderstanding of his diuine truth and veritie, power of princely maiestie, and the iust iudgement of equitie and righteousnes, as the most highest himselfe doth say; I haue giuen thee vnderstanding and wisedome, to speake and vtter my words, and haue set thee to rule ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou shouldest helpe the people, plucke downe and destroy iniquity, and by exercising of iustice, thou shouldest, I say, destroy all errours and heresies, and speciallie this obstinate hereticke heere present, through whose wickednesse and mischiefe, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and hereticall poison, and by his meanes and occasion, almost vtterly subuerted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble prince, was reserued only for thee, vpon thee it doth onely lie, vnto whom the whole rule and ministration of iustice is giuen. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renowne, euen by the mouthes of infants and sucking babes, for thy praises shall bee celebrate for euermore, that thou hast destroyed and ouerthrowne such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou maist prosperously and happilie performe and bring to passe, our Lord Iesus may vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and helpe, who is blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

Loripidem rectus derideat, æthiopus album.

Note the vile flatterie of these papists when they would haue any thing of the emperour for their purpose.

The proctor of the Councell calleth for the sentence.

¶ When this Sermon was thus ended, the procurer of the Councell rising vp, named Henricus de Piro, required that the processe of the cause against John Hus might bee continued, and proceed vnto the definitiue sentence. Then a certaine bishop, which was appointed one of the Iudges, declared the processe of the cause, which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome and elsewhere, betweene John Hus and the prelates of Prage.

The Cardinall of Cambray commanded John Hus, to keepe silence.

At the last he repeated those articles which wee haue before remembred, amongst the which hee rehearsed also one article, that John Hus should teach the twa natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. John Hus went about brieflie with a word or two to answere vnto euery one of them; but as often as he was about to speake, the cardinall of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying: hereafter you shall answer to all together, if you will. Then said John Hus, how can I at once answer vnto all those things which are alleaged against mee, when as I cannot remember them all? Then said the cardinall of Florence, we haue heard thee sufficiently. But when as John Hus for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the officers which should force him thereunto. Then began he to intreate, pray, and beseech them, that they would heare him, that such as were present, might not credit or beleeue those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing preuaile, he kneeling downe vpon his knees, committed the whole matter vnto God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, for at their hands hee beleeued easily to obtaine that which he desired.

John Hus could not be heard in the councell.

John Hus committeth his cause to the Lord Christ.

When the articles abouesaid were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemie, which they all imputed to John Hus. That is, that hee said there should be a fourth person in diuinitie, and that a certaine doctor did heare him speake of the same. When John Hus desired that the doctor might bee named, the bishop which had alleaged the article, said, that it was not needfull to name him. Then said John Hus, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare such blasphemie and slander.

Marke the vnshamefastnesse of them to faine what they list. John Hus againe slandered.

Afterward the article was repeated, how he appealed vnto Christ, and that by name, was called hereticall. Whereunto John Hus answered; O Lord Iesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this councell, vnto thee againe I doe appeale: which when thou was euill intreated of thine enemies, diddest appeale vnto God thy father, committing thy cause vnto a most iust Iudge, that by thy example, wee also being oppressed with manifest wrongs and iniuries, should flee vnto thee. Last of all, the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John Hus. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was excused by his aduocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appeare when he was cited: and also that it may be proued by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified: and finally, to the intent he might cleare himself of obstinacie, he was for that cause come vnto Constance, vnder the emperors safe-conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them which was appointed Iudge, read the definitiue sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

The Councell doth call it hereticall to appeale to Christ.

Contempt of the popes excommunication laid to John Hus.

The sentence or iudgement of the Councell of Constance giuen against Iohn Hus.

The sentence read against John Hus.

THe most holy and sacred generall Councell of Constance, being congregate and gathered together, representing the Catholike Church for a perpetuall memorie of the thing, as the veritie and truth doth witnes, an euill tree bringeth forth euill fruit: hereupon it commeth, that the man of most damnable memorie John Wickliffe, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Iesus Christ by the gospell, as the holy fathers in times past, haue begotten faithfull children, but contrarie vnto the wholesome faith of Iesus Christ, as a most venemous rote, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom hee hath left behind him, successors and followers of his peruerse and wicked doctrine, against whom this sacred Synode of Constance is forced to rise vp, as against bastards and vnlawfull children, and with diligent care, with the sharpe knife of the ecclesiasticall authoritie, to cut vp their errours out of the Lords field, as most hurtfull brambles and briers, lest they should growe to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forsomuch then as in the holy generall Councell latelie celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed, that the doctrine of John Wickliffe of most damnable memorie, should be condemned, and that his bookes which contained the same doctrine, should be burned as hereticall, and this decree was approued and confirmed by the sacred authoritie of the whole Councell: neuertheless one John Hus here personallie present in this sacred Councell, not the disciple of Christ, but of John Wickliffe, an archheretike, after, and contrarie, or against the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached and affirmed the articles of Wickliffe, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times past by certaine most reuerend fathers in Christ, lords, archbishops and bishops, of diuers kingdomes and realmes, maisters of diuinitie of diuers Vniuersities: especiallie resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and complices in the schooles, the condemnation of the said articles of Wickliffes, oftentimes published in the said Vniuersitie of Prage, and hath declared him the said Wickliffe, for the fauour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergie and people, to bee a Catholicke man, and a true Euangelicall doctor. He hath also published and affirmed, certaine and many of his articles worthilie condemned, to bee catholicke, the which are notoriouslie contained in the bookes of the said John Hus.

They shall bring you before their councels, they shall persecute you, and call you in

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had vpon the premisses by the reuerend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy Church of Rome, cardinals, patriarks, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of diuinitie, and of both lawes in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holie Councell of Constance declareth and determineth the articles abouesaid (the which

pysion and bring you before kings and presidents for my name, &c. Luk. 21.

which after due conference had, are found in his bookes written with his owne hand, the which also the said John Hus in open audience, before this holy Councell, hath confessed to be in his bookes) not to be catholike, neither worthie to bee taught, but ỹ many of them are erroneous, some of them to be wicked, other some to be offensiue vnto godly eares, many of them to be temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them to be notoriously hereticall, and euen now of late by the holy fathers and generall councels, reprooued and condemned. And forsomuch as the said articles are expressely contained in the bookes of the said John Hus, therefore this said * sacred Councell, doth condemne and reprooue all those bookes which he wrote in what forme or phrase soeuer they be, or whether they be translated by others; and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnlie and openlie burned in the presence of the clergie and people of the citie of Constance, and elsewhere: adding moreouer for the premisses, that all his doctrine is worthie to be despised and eschewed of all faithfull Christians. And to the intent this most pernitious and wicked doctrine, may be vtterlie excluded and shut out of the Church, this sacred Synode doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the ecclesiasticall censure, for such treatises and works, and that such as are found, be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemne or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred Synode ordaineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against euery such person as suspect of heresie.

*The said *concilium malignantium.*

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Hus, and full information had by the comissaries and doctors of both lawes, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthie of credit, and many other things openlie read before the said John Hus, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred Councell (by the which allegations of the witnesses it appeareth that the said John Hus hath taught many euill and offensiue, seditious, and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time) this most sacred and holy Synode lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, the name of Christ being inuocate and called vpon, by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that John Hus was and is a true and manifest hereticke, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the Church of God, and many other seditious, temerarious, and offensiue things to no small offence of the diuine maiestie, and of the vniuersall Church, and detriment of the catholike faith and church, neglecting and despising the keies of the Church, and ecclesiasticall censures. In the which his errors he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardned by the space of many yeeres, much offending the faithfull Christians by his obstinacie and stubburnesse, whereas he made his appeale vnto the Lord Iesus Christ, as the most high iudge, omitting and leauing all ecclesiasticall meanes. In the which his appeale hee alleaged many false, iniurious, and offensiue matters, in contempt of the Apostolike see and the ecclesiasticall censures and keies.

Many shall come in my name and shall deceiue many: Marke 13.

To appeale to Christ is derogatorie to the popes holinesse.

Whereupon both for the premisses and many other things, the said Synode pronounceth John Hus to be an heretick, and iudgeth him by these presents to be condemned and iudged as an heretike; and reprooueth the said appeale as iniurious, offensiue, and done in derision vnto the ecclesiastical iurisdiction, and iudgeth the said Hus, not only to haue seduced the Christian people by his writings and preachings, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, neither to haue been a true preacher of the Gospell of Christ vnto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors: but also to haue been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such a one as doth not desire to returne againe to the lap of our holy mother the Church, neither to abiure the errors and heresies which hee hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred Councell decreeth and declareth, that the said John Hus, shall be famously depосed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignitie, &c.

Mertie condemned for heresie.

¶ Whilest these things were thus read, John Hus, albeit he were forbidden to speake, notwithstanding he did often interrupt them, and specially when he was reprooued of obstinacie, he said with a loud voice: I was neuer obstinat, but as alwaies heretofore, euen so now againe I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I doe professe my selfe to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one onelie word subuert the errors of all heretikes, I would not refuse to enter into what perill or danger soeuer it were. When his bookes were condemned, he said: Wherefore haue you condemned those bookes, whenas you haue not proued by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or articles of faith? And moreouer, what iniurie is this that you do to me, that you haue condemned these books written in the Bohemian tongue, which they neuer read.

John Hus cleareth himselfe of obstinacie.

They condemne the bookes written in the Bohemian tongue, which they neuer read.

Hus prayeth for his enemies.

When the sentence and iudgement was ended, kneeling downe vpon his knees, hee said: Lord Iesus Christ, forgiue mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsly accused, and that they haue vsed false witnesse and slanders against me; forgiue them I say, for thy great mercies sake. This his prayer and oration the greater part, and specially the chiefe of the priests, did deride and mocke.

John Hus commanded to put on the priests garments.

At the last, the seuen bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining vnto priesthood, which thing when hee had done, vntill hee came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture which Herode put vpon Iesus Christ to mock him withall. So likewise in all other things he did comfort himselfe by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that hee should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and prouide for his honour and safegard. Then he (according as the manner of the ceremonie is) going vp to the top of the scaffold, being full of teares, hee spake vnto the people in this sort.

John Hus his oration vnto the people.

These lords and bishops doe exhort and counsell me, that I should here confesse before you all that I haue erred: the which thing to doe, if it were such as might be done with the infamie and reproch of any man, they might peraduenture easily perswade me thereunto: but now truely I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominie, and grudge of mine owne conscience, I can by no meanes doe that which they require of me. For I doe well know, that I neuer taught any of those things which they haue falslie alleaged against me, but I haue alwaies preached, taught, written and thought contrarie thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heauens? with what face should I looke vpon them, whom I haue taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to passe that those things which they haue hitherto knowne to bee most certaine and sure, should now be made vncertaine? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many soules, so many consciences, indued with the most firme and certaine knowledge of the Scriptures, and Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will neuer doe it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seeme more to esteeme this vile carcase appointed vnto death, then their health and saluation. At this most godly word hee was forced againe to heare by the consent of the bishops, that hee did obstinately and maliciously perseuere in his pernitious and wicked errors.

The degrading of John Hus.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his iudgement, and in his comming downe, one of the seuen bishops afore rehearsed, first tooke away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying: O cursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the counsell and waies of peace, and hast counselled with the Iewes? we take away from thee this chalice of thy saluation. But John Hus receiued this curse in this manner: but I trust vnto God the father omnipotent, and my Lord Iesus Christ, for whose sake I doe suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but haue a stedfast and firme hope that this day I shall drinke thereof in his kingdome. Then followed the other bishops in order, which euery one of them toke away the vestiments from him, which they had put on, ech one of them giuing him their curse. Whereunto John Hus answered, that he did willingly embrace and beare those blasphemies for the name of the Lord Iesus Christ. At the last they came to the rasing of his shauen crowne. But before the bishops would goe in hand with it, there was a great contention betweene them, with what instrument it should bee done, with a rasor, or with a paire of sheares.

The words of John Hus vnto the Emperour.

In the meane season John Hus turning himselfe towards the emperour, said: I maruell, that forsomuch as they bee all of like cruell mind and stomacke, yet they cannot agree vpon their kind of crueltie. Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut off the skinne of the crowne of his head with a paire of sheares. And when they had done that, they added these words: Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and priuiledges from him. Now there resteth nothing elle, but that he be deliuered ouer vnto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knacke of reproch. For they caused to be made a certaine crowne of paper, almost a cubit deepe, in the which were painted three diuels of wonderfull vgly shape, and this title set ouer their heads, Heresiarcha. The which when hee saw, hee said: My Lord Iesus Christ for my sake did weare a crowne of thorne: why should not I then for his sake againe weare this light crowne, bee it neuer so ignominious? Truly I will doe it, and that willinglie. When it was set vpon his head, the bishops said: now wee commit thy soule vnto the diuell. But I, said John Hus (lifting his eies vp towards the heauens) doe commit my spirit into thy hands: O Lord Iesus Christ, vnto thee I commend my spirit which thou hast redeemed. These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops turning themselues towards the Emperour, said: This most sacred Synode of Constance, leaueth now John Hus, which hath no more any office, or to doe in the Church of God, vnto the ciuill

The crowne of John Hus pared away with sheares.

The marueilous constancie and courage of the blessed martyr.

The paper with the inscription set vpon Husses head.

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ciuill iudgement and power. Then the emperor commanded Lodouicus duke of Bauaria, which stood before him in his robes, holding the golden appell with the crosse in his hand, that he should receiue John Hus of the bishops, and deliuer him vnto them which should doe the execution. By whom, as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doores hee saw his bookes burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that he passed by, hee exhorted, not to thinke that he should die for any errour or heresie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his aduersaries, which had charged him with most false and vniust crimes. All the whole citie in a manner being in armor, followed him.

The protestation of John Hus as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution, was before the gate Gotlebian, betweene the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When as John Hus was come thither, kneeling downe vpon his knees, and lifting his eies vp vnto heauen, he prayed, and said certaine Psalmes, and specially the 50. 31. Psalmes. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merrie and chearefull countenance repeate this verse: Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, &c. Which thing when the lay people beheld which stood nert vnto him, they said: what he hath done afore, we know not, but now we see and heare that hee doth speake and pray very deuoutly and godlie. Othersome wished that hee had a confessor. There was a certaine priest by, sitting on horsebacke in a greene gowne drawne about with red silke, which said, hee ought not to bee heard, because he is an hereticke. Yet notwithstanding, whilest he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolued by a certaine doctour, a monke, as Hus himselfe doth witnesse in a certaine Epistle which hee wrote vnto his friends out of prison. Thus Christ raigneth vnknowne vnto the world, euen in the midst of his enemies. In the meane time whilest hee prayed, as hee bowed his necke backward to looke vpward vnto heauen, the crowne of paper fell off from his head vpon the ground. Then one of the souldiers taking it vp againe, said: let vs put it againe vpon his head, that he may be burned with his makers the diuels whom he hath serued.

Ex. Epist. Ioan. Hus. 31.

The paper with diuels fell from his head.

At the prayer of John Hus the paper with the diuels fell downe.

The prayers of John Hus well liked of the people.

When as by the commandement of the tormentors, he was risen vp from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said: Lord Iesus Christ assist and helpe me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gratious helpe, I may beare and suffer this cruell and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy Gospell and word. Then as before, he declared the cause of his death vnto the people. In the meane season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his backe, tied him fast vnto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And where as by chance he was turned towards the East, certaine cried out that hee should not looke towards the East, for hee was an heretike: so he was turned towards the West. Then was his necke tied with a chaine vnto the stake, the which chaine when he beheld, smiling he said, that he would willingly receiue the same chaine for Iesus Christs sake, whom hee knew was bound with a farre worse chaine. Vnder his feete they set two fagots, admixing straw withall, and so likewise from the feet vp to the chin, hee was inclosed in round about

John Hus fastened to the stake.

John Hus turned towards the West.

The description of the burning of Iohn Hus, contrarie to the safe-conduct granted vnto him.

with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Lodouicus duke of Bauaria, with another gentleman with him, which was the sonne of Clement, came and exhorted John Hus, that hee would yet be mindfull of his safegard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, what errour should I renounce, when as I know my selfe guiltie of none? For, as for those things which are falsly alleaged against me, I know that I neuer did so much as once thinke them, much lesse preach them. For this was the principall end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remission of sinnes, according to the veritie of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and the exposition of the holie doctors: wherefore with a chearefull mind and courage I am here readie to suffer death. When hee had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together they departed.

Pardon offered againe to John Hus.

The last confession of John Hus.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Hus began to sing with a loud voice, Iesus Christ the son of the liuing God haue mercie vpon me. And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind droue the flame so vpon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moued a while after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lords prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the vpper part of the body was left hanging in the chaine, the which they threw downe stake and all, and making a new fire burned it, the head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner bee consumed vnto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staues and clubs, was at last pricked vpon a sharpe sticke, and rosted at a fire apart vntill it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the riuer of Rhene, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not bee left vpon the earth, whose memorie notwithstanding cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godlie, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

The martyrdome of blessed John Hus.

Petitions in the sight of God is the death of his saints.

The heart of John Hus beaten with staues, and consumed with fire.

The ashes of John Hus cast into the riuer of Rheine.

¶ I know very well that these things are very slenderlie written of me as touching the labors of this most holie martyr John Hus, with whom the labors of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters: but this our Hercules with a most stout and valiant courage hath subdued euen the world it selfe, the mother of all monsters and cruell beasts. This storie were worthie some other kind of more curious handling; but forsomuch as I cannot otherwise performe it my selfe, I haue endeuoured according

The author and witnes of this storie.

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cording to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same vnto all godly minds: neither haue I heard it reported by others, but I my selfe was present at the doing of all these things, and as I was able I haue put them in writting, that by this my labour and endeuour howsoeuer it were, I might preserue the memorie of this holy man and excellent doctor of the Euangelicall truth.

What was the name of this author which wrote this storie, it is not here expressed. Cochleus in his 2. booke contra Hussitas, supposeth his name to be Ioannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of J. Hus at Prage, at last is thought to relent to the papists.

M. Iohn Pizibram is thought to be his name. *Ex Cochleo lib. 2 de Hist. Hussit.*

This godly seruant and martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruell councell, and burned at Constance, an. 1415. about the moneth of Iulie.

How grieuously this death of J. Hus was taken among the nobles of Boheme and of Moraula, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare by their letters which they sent vnto the Councell, and by the letters of Sigismund the king of Romanes, written vnto them. Wherein hee laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuse himselfe, of Hulles death. Albeit hee was not altogether free from that cruell fact, and innocent from that bloud: yet notwithstanding he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest vpon the bloudie prelates of that councell, as the words of the king doe purport in forme as followeth.

Ex Cochleo de hist. Huss. lib. 4.

The Emperour excuseth himselfe of the death of Iohn Hus.

INterea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, peruenit ad Constantiam, &c. i. In the meane time as we were about the coasts of Rhene, Iohn Hus went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you vnknowne. Who if he had first resorted vnto vs, and had gone with vs vp to the Councel, perhaps it had been otherwise with him. And God knoweth, what griefe and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can beare vs witnes, seeing and beholding how carefull and sollicitous we were in labouring for him: Insomuch that we many times with anger and furie departed out of the councel: and not only out of the councell, but also went out of the citie of Constance taking his part, vnto such time as the rulers of the Councell sending vnto vs, said: That if we would not permit them to prosecute that, which right required in the Councell, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with our selues, that here was nothing esse for vs more to doe, nor yet to speake in this case, forasmuch the whole Councell otherwise had been dissolued. Where is to bee noted moreouer, that in Constance the same time there was not one clerke, or two, but there were ambassadours for all kings and princes in Christendome, especially since the time that (Petrus de Luna giuing ouer) all those kings and princes which tooke his part, came to vs: so that whatsoeuer good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present councel, &c. Ex Epist. Imper. Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.

¶ By this it may appeare that the Emperour as partly ashamed and sorie of that which was done, would gladly haue cleared himselfe thereof, and haue washed his hands with Pilate: yet he could not so cleare himselfe, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension: as may both appeare by his last words spoken in the Councell to John Hus, whereof John Hus in his Epistles complaineth, writing to certaine of his friends in Bohemia in his 33. Epistle, as by his words may appeare here following.

Ex Epist. Ioh. Hus 33.

The emperour vncourteous to Iohn Hus.

IDesire you yet againe for the loue of God, that the lords of Boheme ioyning together, will desire the king for a finall audience to be giuen me. Forsomuch as he alone said to me in the Councell, that they should giue me audience shortly, and that I should answere for my selfe briefly in writing: it will bee to his great confusion, if he shall not performe that which he hath spoken. But I feare that word of his will be as firme and sure, as the other was concerning my safe-conduct granted by him. Certaine there were in Bohemia, which willed mee to beware of his safe-conduct. And other said: hee will surely giue you to your enemies. And the Lord Mikest Dwekie told mee before M. Iessenitz, saying: Master, know it for certaine you shall be condemned. And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that hee had been well affected toward the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceiue that he is not greatly skilfull nor so prudentlie circumspect in himselfe. Hee condemned me before mine enemies did. Who, if it had pleased him, might haue kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, which said: I find no cause in this man: or at least if he had said but thus: Behold, I haue giuen him his safe-conduct safely to returne. And if he will not abide the decision of the Councel, I wil send him home to the king of Bohemia, with your sentence and attestations, that hee with his Clergy may iudge him. But now I heare by the relatiō of Henry Lessl, and of other, that he will ordaine for me sufficient audience: And if I will not submit my selfe to the iudgement of the Councell, he will send me safe, the contrary way, &c.

Pilate more moderate to Christ, then this emperour to Iohn Hus.

This John Hus being in prison, wrote diuers treatises, as of the commandements, of the Lords prayer, of mortall sin, of matrimonie, of the knowledge and loue of God, of three enemies of mankind, the world, the flesh, and the diuell, of penance, of the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of the Lord: of the sufficiencie of the law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also diuers Epistles and letters to the lords, and to his friends of Boheme: And in his writtings did foretell many things before to come, touching the reformation of the church: and seemeth in the prison to haue had diuers prophetical reuelations shewed to him of God. Certaine of which his letters, and predications, I thought here vnderneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will ouercharge the volume too much: nor yet in reciting of none, I will be so briefe, but that the reader may haue some taste, and take some profit of the Christian writtings and doings of this blessed man: First, beginning with the letter of the lord Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of John Hus.

A letter of the lord Iohn de Clum, concerning *the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.*

TO all and singuler that shall see and heare these presents, I Iohn de Clum doe it to vnderstand, how master Iohn Hus bachelar of diuinitie, vnder the safe-conduct and protection of the renouned prince and lord Sigismund of Romans semper Augustus, and king of Hungarie, &c. my gratious lord, and vnder the protection, defence, and safegard of the holie Empire of Rome, hauing the letters patent of the said my lord king of Romans, &c. came vnto Constance to render a full count of his faith in publike audience to all that would require the same. This the said M. Iohn Hus, in this imperiall citie of Constance, vnder the safe-conduct of the said my lord king of Romans, hath bin and yet is detained. And although the pope with the cardinals haue bin seriously required, by solemne Ambassadors of the said my lord king of Romans, &c. in the kings name and behalfe, that the said M. Iohn Hus should bee set at libertie, and bee restored vnto mee, yet notwithstanding, they haue and yet doe refuse hitherto to set him at libertie, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe-conduct of the king, and of the safegard and protection of the Empire, or emperiall maiestie. Wherefore I Iohn aforesaid in the name of the king, doe here publish and make it knowne, that the apprehending and detaining of the said M. Iohn Hus, was done wholly against the will of the forenamed king of Romans my lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe-conduct of his subiects, and of the protection of the empire, because that the said my lord was then absent farre from Constance, and if hee had been there present, would neuer haue permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he for this great iniurie, and contempt of this safe-conduct done to him and to the empire, will grieuously be molested for the same. Giuen at Constance, in the day of the natiuitie of the Lord, 1414.

¶ In this instrument aboue prefixed note (gentle Reader) three things.

First, the godnesse of this gentle lord Iohn de Clum, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of Iohn Hus, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, the safe-conduct granted vnto the said Iohn Hus, vnder the faith and protection of the Emperour, and of the empire.

Thirdly, here is to be seene the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates in disobeying the authoritie of their high Magistrate, who contrarie to his safe-conduct giuen, and the mind of the emperour, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the comming of the said emperour, and before that Iohn Hus was heard. Let vs now, as we haue promised, adioyne some of the epistles of this godly man.

An Epistle of Iohn Hus, vnto the people of Prage *in his owne vulgar speech.*

A letter of John Hus to the people of Prage.

GRace and peace from our Lord Iesus Christ, that you being deliuered from sinne, may walke in his grace, and may grow in all modestie and vertue, and after this may enioy eternall life.

Dearely beloued, I beseech you which walk after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the saluation of your soules, when as you hearing the word of God, are premonished wisely to vnderstand that you be not deceiued by false Apostles: which doe not reprehend the sinnes of men, but rather ther doe extenuate and diminish them, which flatter the priests, and do not shew to the people their offences: which magnifie themselues, boast their owne workes, and maruellously extoll their owne worthinesse, but follow not Christ in his humilitie, in pouertie, in the crosse and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our mercifull sauiour did premonish vs before, saying: False Christs and false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceiue many. And when he had forewarned his welbeloued disciples, he said vnto them: Beware and take heed of false prophets, which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening

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uening wolues: yee shall know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithfull of Christ haue much neede diligently to beware and take heed vnto themselues. For as our Sauiour himselfe doth say: the elect also, if it were possible, shal be brought into error. Wherefore my welbeloued, be circumspect and watchfull, that ye be not circumuented with the craftie traines of the diuell. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last iudgement is neere at hand: death shall swallow vp many, but to the elect children of God, the kingdom of God draweth neere, because for them hee gaue his owne bodie. Feare not death, loue together one another, perseuere in vnderstanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of iudgement bee alwaies before your eies, that you sinne not: and also the ioy of eternall life, whereunto you must endeuour. Furthermore, let the passion of our Sauiour be neuer out of your minds; that you may beare with him and for him gladly, whatsoeuer shall be laid vpon you. For if you shall consider well in your minds his crosse and afflictions, nothing shall be grieuous vnto you, and patientlie you shall giue place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and prisonment, and shall not doubt to giue your liues moreouer for his holy truth, if need require. Know yee welbeloued, that antichrist being stirred vp against you, deuiseth diuers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least haire of their heads, as by mine owne example I can testifie, although hee hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers to make intercession for mee to the Lord, to giue me intelligence, sufferance, patience and constancie, that I neuer swarue from his diuine veritie. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my iournie openly and manifestly, I haue not feared to vtter my name as becommeth the seruant of God. In no placke I kept my selfe secret, nor vsed any dissimulation. But neuer did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies then at Constance. Which enemies neither should I haue had there, had it not been for certaine of our owne Bohemians, hypocrites and deceiuers, who for benefits receiued and stirred vp with couetousnesse, with boasting and bragging haue perswaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercie of our God, and by your praiers, I shal persist strongly in the immutable veritie of God, vnto the last breath. Finally, I would not haue you ignorant, that whereas euery one here is put in his office, I onely as an outcast am neglected, &c. I commend you to the mercifull Lord Iesus Christ, our true God, & the son of the immaculate virgin Mary, which hath redeemed vs by his most bitter death, without all our merits, from eternall paines, from the thraldome of the diuell, and from sinne. From Constance the yeere of our Lord, 1415.

Another letter of Iohn Hus to his benefactors.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MY gratious benefactors and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Iesus Christ, that now ye setting aside the vanities of this present world, will giue your seruice to the eternall king, Christ the Lord. Trust not in princes, nor in the sonnes of men, in whom there is no health. For the sons of men are dissemblers and deceitfull. To day they are, to morrow they perish, but God remaineth for euer. Who hath his seruants, not for any neede he hath of them, but for their owne profit: vnto whom he performeth that which hee promiseth, and fulfilleth that which he purposeth to giue. He casteth off no faithfull seruant from him; for he saith: Where I am, there also shall my seruant be. And that Lord that maketh euery seruant of his to be the Lord of all his possession, giuing himselfe vnto him, and with himselfe, all things: that without all tediousnesse, feare, and without all defect, he may possesse al things, reioycing with all Saints in ioy infinite. O happie is that seruant, whom, when the Lord shall come, hee shall find watching. Happie is the seruant which shal receiue that king of glorie with ioy. Wherefore, welbeloued Lords, and benefactors, serue you that king in feare: which shall bring you, as I trust, now to Boheme at this present, by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternall life of glorie. Fare you well: For I thinke that this is the last letter that I shall write to you: who to morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Iesus Christ, through bitter death, from my sinnes. The things that happened to me this night, I am not able to write. Sigismund hath done al things with me deceitfully: God forgiue him and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against mee. I pray you haue no suspition of faithfull Vitus.

Another letter to the lord Iohn de Clum.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MOst gratious benefactor in Christ Iesus, dearelie beloued, yet I reioyce not a little, that by the grace of God I may write vnto your honour. By you letter, which I receiued yesterday, I vnderstand, first how the iniquitie of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalyps) is detected, and shal be more detected. With the which strumpet, the kings of the earth doe commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ, and as is there said, sliding backe from the truth, and consenting to the lies of antichrist, through his seduction and through feare, or through hope of confederacie, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceiued by your letter, how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceiued the feruent constancy of your charity, wherwith you professe the truth boldly. Fourthly, with ioy I perceiued ỹ you mind now to giue ouer the vanitie and painfull seruice of this present world, and to serue the Lord Iesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serue is to raigne, as Gregorie saith. Whom he that serueth faithfullie, hath Iesus Christ himselfe in the kingdome of heauen to minister vnto him, as hee himselfe saith: Blessed is that seruant, whom when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verely I say vnto you, that he rising, shall gird himselfe, and shall minister to him. This doe not the kings of the world to their seruants: whom only they doe loue so long as they are profitable and necessarie for their commodities, &c.

Another Epistle of Iohn Hus, wherein he declareth why God suffreth not his to perish, bringing diuers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirme both himselfe and other.

THe Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, welbeloued in God my deare friends, which moued me to thinke that those letters were the last, which before I sent vnto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now vnderstanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort vnto me, that I haue some leisure more to talke with you by letters: and therefore I write againe to you, to declare and testifie at least, my gratitude and mindeful dutie toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me and to my welbeloued brother M. Ierom, who I trust will die holily and without blame: and do know also that he doth, and suffereth now more valiantly, then I my selfe a wretched sinner. God hath giuen vs a long time, that we might call to memorie our sinnes the better, and repent for the same more feruentlie. He hath granted vs time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grieuous sinnes, and bring the more consolation. He hath giuen vs time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful king and Lord Iesus, and should ponder his cruell death, and so more patiently might learne to beare our afflictions. And moreouer that wee might keepe in remembrance, how that the ioyes of the life to come, are not giuen after the ioyes of this world immediatly, but through many tribulations the saints haue entred into the kingdom of heauen. For some of them haue bin cut and chopt all to peeces, some their eies bored through, some sod, some rosted, some slaine aliue, some buried quicke, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt milstones, drawne and haled hither and thither vnto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torne in peeces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite al the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered vnder the old and new Testament for the veritie of God: namely those which haue at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or haue preached against their wickednesse? And it will be a maruell if any man now also shall escape vnpunished, whosoeuer dare boldly resist the wickednesse and peruersitie, especiallie of those priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to reade my bookes, in the which their malice is somewhat described: and I know they haue read the same more exactly and diligently, then the holy Gospell, seeking therein to find out errors. Giuen at Constance vpon Thursday, the 28. day of Iune, An. 1415.

The torments of the martyrs vnder the old and new testament.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he rehearseth what iniuries he receiued of the councell, and of the deputies.

IF my letter be not sent yet to Boheme, keepe it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

He meaneth by Iohn that he should moue the king in those matters contained in this Epistle.

Item, if the king doe aske, who ought to be my iudge, since that the Councell neither did call me, nor did cite mee, neither was I euer accused before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath imprisoned mee, and hath appointed their proctor against me.

Item, I desire you right noble and gratious Lord Iohn, if audience shall be giuen me, that the king will be there present himselfe, and that I may haue a place appointed neere vnto him, that he may heare me well and vnderstand what I say: and that you also with the Lord Henrie, and with Lord Wencelaus and other mo, if you may, will be present, and heare what the Lord Iesus Christ my procurator and aduocate, and most gratious iudge, will put in my mouth to speake, that whether I liue or die, you may bee true and vpright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shal say hereafter that I swarued away from the truth which I haue preached.

Item, know you that before witnesses and notaries in the prison, I desired the commissioners that they would depute vnto me a proctor and an aduocate, who promised so to do, and afterward would not performe it. Wherefore I haue committed my selfe to the Lord Iesus Christ that hee will bee my procurator and aduocate and iudge of my cause.

Item, know you, that they haue as I suppose no other quarel against me, but only this, that I stood against the popes bull, which

vide supra pag. 551.

which pope Iohn sent downe to Boheme, to sanctifie war with the signe of the crosse and full remission of sinnes, to all them which would take the holy crosse to fight for the patrimonie of the Romish church against Ladislaus king of Naples, and they haue mine owne writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secõdly, they haue also against me, that I haue continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take vpon me to minister in the church and say Masse. Thirdly, they haue against me, because I did appeale from the pope to Christ. For they read my appeale before mee, the which with a willing mind, smiling I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certaine letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethleem, the which letter my aduersaries haue verie euil fauouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out without a safe-conduct. Whereunto you your selues can say and beare me record, that I in my going out, had no safe-conduct of the pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me when I wrote that letter.

Item, if audience may be giuen to me, and that after the same audience the king would suffer me not to be returned againe into prison, but that I may haue your counsels and others my friends: and if it may please God that I may say some thing to my soueraigne lord the king, for the behalfe of christianity, and for his owne profit, &c.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickednesse of that Councell.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Hus in hope the seruant of God, to all the faithful in Boheme, which loue the Lord, greeting through the grace of God. It commeth in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you, that be the faithfull and beloued of the Lord, how that the councell of Constance being full of pride, auarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my bookes written in the Boheme tongue, for hereticall, which bookes they neuer saw, nor euer heard them read: And if they had heard them, yet they could not vnderstand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britaines, some Spaniards, Germaines, with other people of other nations moe: vnlesse peraduenture Iohn bishop of Litomish vnderstood them, which was present in that councell, and certaine other Bohemians, and priests which are against me, and labour all they may how to depraue both the verity of God, and the honestie of our countrie of Boheme: Which I iudge in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right wel giuen to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth so greatly desire the word of God, and honest maners. And if you were heere at Constance, ye should see the grieuous abomination of this councell, which they call so holy, and such as cannot erre. Of the which councel I haue heard it by the Swechers reported, that the citie of Constance is not able in thirty yeeres to be purged of those wicked abominations in that councell committed. And all be offended almost with that councell, being sore grieued to behold such execrable things perpetrate in the same.

The councell condemne bookes which they vnderstand not.

Praise of Boheme.

The abomination of the councell of Constance described.

When I stood first to answere before mine aduersaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outragiously crying out, I said plainly vnto them, that I looked for more honest behauiour, and better order and discipline, in that councell. Then the chiefe cardinall answered, Saiest thou so? but in the tower thou spakest more modestly. To whom, said I: In the tower no man cried out against me, where as now all do rage against me. My faithfull and beloued in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my bookes. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as Spiderwebs. They went about to shake my constancie from the veritie of Christ: but they could not ouercome the vertue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scriptures against me, as diuers honorable lords can witnes with me, which being readie to suffer contumelie for the truth of God, tooke my part stoutly: namely lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord Iohn de Clum: for they were let in by king Sigismund into the councel. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed, if I did in any thing erre, then they heard the chiefe cardinall answere againe: Because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedie, but that thou must first reuoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fiftie Bachelers of Diuinitie appointed. O high instruction.

John Hus seemeth heere to prophecie of the councell, as it came to passe.

The councell afraid to be tried by the scriptures.

This cardinall was cardinall Cambrensis.

After like maner S. Katharine also should haue denied and reuoked the veritie of God and faith in Christ, because the 50. masters likewise did withstand her: which notwithstanding, that good virgin would neuer doe, standing in her faith vnto death: But she did win those her masters vnto Christ, when as I cannot win these my masters by any meanes. These things I thought good to write vnto you, that you might know how they haue ouercome me, with no grounded Scripture nor with any reason: but only did assay with terrors and deceits to perswade mee to reuoke and to abiure. But our mercifull God, whose law I haue magnified, was and is with me, and I trust, so will continue, and will keepe me in his grace vnto death. Written at Constance after the feast of Iohn Baptist, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; although for the secret iudgements of God, I dare not say whether this be my last Epistle: for now also almightie God is able to deliuer me.

Saint Katharine disputed with fiftie doctors, conuerted them; but Iohn Hus could not conuert his fiftie doctors.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he comforteth his friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his bookes: and also declareth the wickednesse of the Clergie.

MAster Iohn Hus, in hope the seruant of God, to al the faithfull which loue him and his statutes, wisheth the truth and grace of God.

Beloued, I thought it needful to warne you that you should not feare or be discouraged because the aduersaries haue decreed that my bookes shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the prophet Ieremy, and yet they could not auoid the things that were prophecied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecie againe, and that larger; which was also done. For Ieremie sitting in prison spake, and Baruch which was readie at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the 35. or 45. chapter of the vision of Ieremie. It is also written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked did burne the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Againe, vnder the new Testament, they burned the Saints, with the bookes of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certaine of S. Gregories bookes, and had burnt them all if they had not bin preserued of God by the meanes of Peter, Gregories minister. Hauing these things before your eyes, take heed lest through feare, you omit to reade my boookes, and deliuer them to the aduersaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our mercifull Sauiour, by which he forwarneth vs, Matth. 24. There shall be (saith he) before the day of iudgement, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning, vntill this day, neither shall be afterwards: So that euen the elect of God should be deceiued, if it were possible. But for their sakes, those daies shall be shortned. When you remember these things (beloued) be not afraid, for I trust in God that that schoole of Antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither shall the councell of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I thinke, that many of them, which are of the councel, shal die before they shal get from you my books. And they shal depart from the councel and be scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world, like storkes, and then they shall know when winter commeth, what they did in sommer. Consider that they haue iudged their head the P. worthie of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; Answere to this you preachers, which preach that the pope is the god of the earth, that he may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things: that he is the head of the whole holy church in verity well gouerning the same: that he is the heart of the church in quickning the same spiritually: that he is the wel-spring from which floweth al vertue and goodnes: that he is the sunne of the holy church: that he is the safe refuge to which euery Christian man ought to flie for succour. Behold now that head is cut off with the sword, now the god of the earth is bound, now his sins are declared openly, now that welspring is dried vp, that sun darkened, that heart is plucked out and throwne away, lest that any man should seeke succor thereat. The councel hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, because he took money for indulgences, bishopricks and other such like. But they condemned him by order of iudgment which were themselues the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present Iohn bishop of Lytomissia, who went twice about to buy the bishoptike of Prage, but others preuented him. O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beame out of their own eyes? These men haue accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselues, which were the buyers and consenters to the bargaine, are without danger. What shall I say that they do vse in this manner of buying and selling at home in their owne countries? For at Constance there is one bishop that bought, and another which sold, and the pope for allowing of both their facts, took bribes of both sides. It came so to passe in Bohemia also as you know. I would that in that councell God had said, He that amongst you is without sin, let him giue the sentence against pope Iohn: Then surely they had gone all out of the councell house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him alwaies, before this his fall, kisse his feete, and call him the most holy father, seeing they saw apparantly before, that he was an heretike, that he was a man killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they haue found in him? Why did the cardinals chuse him to be P. knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedome? for to this end they are his counsellers, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselues as guiltie of these faults as he? seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselues? why durst no man lay ought to his charge, before he had fled from Constance, but as soone as the secular power, by the sufferance of God laid hold vpon him, then, and neuer afore, they conspired al together that he should not liue any longer? Surely, euen at this day is the malice, the abomination

Good bookes of good men haue been burned of old time.

Good men with their bookes to be burned; no newes.

Iohn Hus seemeth to prophecie of the councell of Constance.

The blasphemous opinion of Lawyers and papists, touching the soueraigntie of the pope.

One Simonist condemneth another.

The bishops of the councell noted of Simonie.

Pope Iohn made a pope being knowne to be a murderer.

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and filthinesse of Antichrist reuealed in the pope and others of this councell.

Antichrist now first beginneth to be reuealed in the poye.

Now the faithfull seruants of God may vnderstand what our Sauiour Christ meant by this saying: When you shal see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel, &c. who so can vnderstand it, &c. Surely these be great abominations, pride, couetousnesse, simonie, sitting in a solitarie place, that is to say, in a dignitie void of goodnesse, of humilitie, and other vertues: as we do now clearely see in those that are constituted in any office and dignitie. O how acceptable a thing should it be (if time would suffer me) to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparant, that the faithfull seruants of God might know them? I trust in God that he will send after me, those that shall be more valiant: and there are aliue at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of Antichrist, and shall giue their liues to the death, for the truth of our Lord Iesus Christ: who shall giue both to you and me the ioyes of life euerlasting. This epistle was written vpon S. Iohn Baptists day in prison and in cold irons; I hauing this meditation with my selfe, that Iohn was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.

A prophecie of Iohn Hus.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Hus in hope the seruant of God, to all the faithfull at Boheme, which loue the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attaine vnto eternall life.

Ye that bare rule ouer other and be rich, and ye also that be poore, welbeloued and faithfull in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient vnto God, make much of his word, and gladly hearing the same, wil humblie performe that which yee heare. I beseech you sticke fast to the veritie of Gods word, which I haue written and preached vnto you out of his law, and the sermons of his Saints. Also I desire you if any man either in publike sermon or in priuate talke heard of me any thing, or haue read any thing written by mee which is against the veritie of God; that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not find my conscience guiltie that I euer haue spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you moreouer if any man at any time haue noted any leuity either in my talke or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same: but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightnes. I pray you that ye will loue your priests and ministers, which be of honest behauiour, to prefer and honor them before others: namely such priests as trauel in the word of God. I pray you take heed to your selues and beware of malitious and deceitfull men, and especially of these wicked priests of whom our Sauiour doth speake, that they are vnder sheepes clothing, and inwardly are rauening wolues. I pray such as be rulers and superiours, to behaue themselues gently towards their poore inferiours, and to rule them iustly. I beseech the citizens that they will walke euery man in his degree, and vocation with an vpright conscience. The Artificers also I beseech, that they wil exercise their occupations diligently, and vse them with the feare of God. I beseech the seruants, that they wil serue their masters faithfully. And likewise the schoolemasters I beseech that they liuing honestly, will bring vp their scholars vertuously, and to teach them faithfullie. First to learne to feare God: then for the glorie of God and the publike vtilitie of the common wealth, and their owne health, and not for auarice or for worldly honor, to employ their minds to honest Arts. I beseech the Students of the Vniuersitie and all schooles, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence, they will studie to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glorie of God, and to the soules health as wel of themselues as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yeeld most hartie thankes to the right honorable lords, the lord Wencelaus de Duba, lord Iohn de Clum, lord Henrie Lumlouio, lord Vilem Zagecio, lord Nicolas and other lords of Boheme, of Morauia and Polony: that their diligence towards me, may be gratefull to all good men: because that they like valiant champions of Gods truth, haue oftentimes set themselues against the whole councell for my deliuerance, contending and standing against the same to the vttermost of their power: but especially lord Wencelaus de Duba, and lord Iohn de Clum. Whatsoeuer they shall report vnto you, giue credit vnto them; for they were in the councell when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that councell cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you also that yee will pray for the king of Romans, and for your king, and for his wife your queene, that God of his mercie would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in euerlasting life, Amen.

I note for all noble men to marke and to follow.

This Epistle I haue written to you out of prison and in bands, looking the next day after the writing hereof, for the sentence of the councell vpon my death; hauing a full trust that he will not leaue me, neither suffer me to denie his truth and to reuoke the errours, which false witnesses malitiously haue deuised against me. How mercifullie the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in maruellous temptations, ye shall know when as hereafter by the helpe of Christ, we shall all meete together in the ioy of the world to come. As concerning M. Ierome my dearely beloued brother and fellow, I heare no other but that he is remaining in strait bands, looking for death as I do: and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruell enemies of Boheme haue giuen vs into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for them.

Moreouer, I beseech you, namely you of Prage, that ye will loue the temple of Bethleem, and prouide so long as God shall permit, that the word of God may bee preached in the same. For, because of that place, the diuell is angrie and against the same place he hath stirred vp priests and canons, perceiuing that in that place his kingdome should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keepe that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall giue greater encrease of his word by other, then he hath done by me a weake vessell. I beseech you also that ye will loue together, and withholding no man from the hearing of Gods word, ye will prouide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the yeare of our Lord, 1415.

¶ Another right godly letter of Iohn Hus, to a certaine priest admonishing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithfull: worthie to be read of all Ministers.

THe peace of our Lord Iesus Christ, &c. My deare brother be diligent in preaching the Gospell, and do the worke of a good Euangelist: neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed souldier of Christ. First, liue godly and holily. Secondlie, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to other in wel doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings: correct vice and set forth vertue. To euill liuers threaten eternall punishment; but to those that be faithfull and godly, set forth the comforts of eternall ioy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitful, prudently vnderstanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Neuer affirme or maintaine those things that be vncertaine and doubtfull, lest that your aduersaries take hold vpon you, which reioyce in deprauing their brethren, whereby they may bring the Ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the bodie and blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warne you that you enter into no tauernes with guests, and bee not a common company keeper. For the more a preacher keepeth him from the companie of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, denie not yet your helpe and diligence, whersoeuer you may profit other. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that euer you can: For that is the raging beast, which deuoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore my heartily beloued, I beseech you to flie fornication: for whereas a man would most profit and do good, there this vice vseth most to lurke. In any case flie the companie of yong women, and beleeue not their deuotion: For S. Austin saith, the more deuout she is, the more procliue to wantonnes, and vnder the pretence of religion, the snare and venome of fornication lurketh. And this know my welbeloued, that the conuersation with them, subuerteth manie, whom the conuersation of this world could neuer blemish nor beguile. Admit no women into your house, for what cause soeuer it be, and haue not much talke with them otherwise, for auoiding of offence. Finally, howsoeuer you do, feare God and keep his precepts: so shall you walke wisely, and shall not perish: so shall you subdue the flesh, contemne the world, and ouercome the diuell: so shall you put on God, find life, and confirme other, and shall crowne your selfe with the crowne of glorie, the which the iust Iudge shall giue you. Amen.

A worthy lesson for all ministers and prelats.

Saint Augustine meaneth not heere of all but of the common sort of light persons.

✻ This letter of Iohn Hus containeth a confession of the infirmitie of mans flesh: how weake it is, and repugnant against the spirit. Wherin he also exhorteth to perseuere constantly in the truth.

HEalth be to you from Iesus Christ, &c. My deare friend, know that Paletz came to me to perswade me that I should not feare the shame of abiuration, but to consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater then to abiure: and why should I feare then that shame? But I pray you tell me plainly your mind; Presuppose ỹ such articles were laid to you, which you knew your selfe not to be true: what would you do in that case? would you abiure? Who answered: The case is sore, and began to weepe. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis was sometimes before in the prison with the deputies. And when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speake vnto the keepers: We by the grace of God wil burne this heretike shortly: for whose cause I haue spent many Florences. But yet vnderstand that I write not this to the intent to reuenge mee of him, for that I haue committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

This Paletz was the chiefest enemie of Iohn Hus, and procurer of his death.

Michael de Causis another bitter enemie of Iohn Hus.

Iohn Hus prayeth for his enemies.

Yee

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A prophecie of Iohn Hus.

Yet I exhort you againe, to be circumspect about our letters: For Michael hath taken such order that none shall be suffered to come into the prison: no nor yet the keepers wiues are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth Antichrist extend his power and cruelty? But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquitie shal be detected more and more amongst the faithfull people.

Almightie God shall confirme the hearts of his faithfull, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receiue the eternall crowne of glory. And let Antichrist rage as much as he will, yet he shall not preuaile against Christ, which shal destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the Apostle saith: and then shall the creature be deliuered out of seruitude of corruption, into the libertie of the glorie of the sons of God, as saith the Apostle in the words following: We also within our selues do grone, waiting for the adoption of the sonnes of God, the redemption of our bodie.

I am greatly comforted in those words of our Sauiour: Happie be you when men shal hate you, and shal separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the son of man. Reioyce and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heauen, Luke 6. O worthie, yea O most worthie consolation, which not to vnderstand, but to practise in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson.

This rule Saint Iames with the other Apostles, did well vnderstand, which saith; Count it exceeding ioy my brethren, when ye shall fall into diuers tentations, knowing that the probation of your faith worketh patience: let patience haue her perfect worke. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to reioyce in trouble, and to take it for ioy to be in diuers temptations. A light matter it is to speak it and to expound it: but a great matter to fulfill it: For why? our most patient and most valiant champion himselfe, knowing that he should arise againe the third day, ouercomming his enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his elect after his last supper, was troubled in spirit and said, My soule is heauie vnto death. Of whom also the Gospell saith, that he began to feare, to be sad and heauie. Who being then in an agonie, was confirmed of the Angell, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling vpon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his disciples; Let not your hearts be troubled, neither feare the crueltie of them that persecute you: for you shall haue mee with you alwaies, that you may ouercome the tyrannie of your persecutours. Whereupon those his souldiers, looking vpon the Prince and King of glorie, sustained great conflicts. They passed thorow fire and water, and were saued, and receiued the crowne of the Lord God, of the which Saint Iames in his canonicall epistle, saith; Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proued, he shall receiue the crowne of life, which God hath promised to them that loue him. Of this crowne I trust stedfastly the Lord will make me partaker also with you, which be the feruent sealers of the truth, and with all them which stedfastly and constantly doe loue the Lord Iesus Christ, which suffered for vs, leauing to vs example that wee should follow his steps. It behooued him to suffer, as he saith: and vs also it behooued to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the head. For he saith: If any man will come after me, let him denie himselfe and take vp his crosse and follow me.

The example of Christ.

The prayer of Iohn Hus to Christ.

O most mercifull Christ, draw vs weake creatures after thee, for except thou shouldest draw vs, we are not able to follow thee. Giue vs a strong spirit, that it may be readie, and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace go before vs, go with vs, & follow vs: for without thee we can do nothing, and much lesse enter into the cruell death for thy sake. Giue vs that prompt and readie spirit, a bold heart, an vpright faith, a firme hope and perfect charitie, that we may giue our liues patientlie and ioyfully for thy names sake, Amen. Written in prison and in bonds in the Vigill of holy Saint Iohn the Baptist, who being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickednes, was beheaded.

¶ Among diuers other letters of Iohn Hus, which hee wrote to the great consolation of others: I thought also heere to intermixe another certaine godly letter written out of England, by a faithfull scholar of Wickliffe, as appeareth, vnto Iohn Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not vnworthie to be read.

A letter to Iohn Hus, and to the Bohemians, from London.

A zealous letter to Iohn Hus from London.

GReeting, and whatsoeuer can be deuised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Iesu. My dearely beloued in the Lord, whom I loue in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that haue the knowledge of the truth, which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the grace of God for euermore: I reioyced aboue measure, when our beloued brethren came and gaue testimonie vnto vs of your truth, and how you walked in the truth. I haue heard brethren, how sharpely Antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithfull seruants of Christ with diuers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no maruell, if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world ouer) the law of Christ be too too grieuously impugned, and that red Dragon hauing so many heads (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalyps) haue now vomited out of his mouth that great floud, by which he goeth about to swallow vp the woman: but the most gratious God will deliuer for euer his only and most faithfull spouse. Let vs therefore comfort our selues in the Lord our God, and in his vnmeasurable goodnesse, hoping strongly in him which will not suffer those that loue him, to be vnmercifullie defrauded of any their purpose, if we according to our dutie, shal loue him with all our heart: for aduersitie should by no meanes preuaile ouer vs, if there were no iniquitie raigning in vs. Let therfore no tribulation or sorrow for Christs cause, discourage vs; knowing this for a suretie, that whomsoeuer the Lord vouchsafeth to receiue to be his children, those he scourgeth: for so the mercifull father will haue them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwards he may spare them. For the gold that this high artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it vp in his pure treasurie. For we see that the time which we shall abide heere, is short and transitorie: the life which we hope for after this, is blessed and euerlasting. Therefore whilest we haue time, let vs take paine, that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this brickle life, then sorow, heauines and sadnes, and that which is most grieuous of all to the faithfull, too much abusing and contempt of the law of the Lord? Let vs therefore endeuour our selues as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternall and abiding, despising in our minds all transitorie and fraile things. Let vs consider the holy fellowship of our fathers that haue gone before vs. Let vs consider the Saints of the old and new Testament. Did they not passe through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in pieces, other some stoned, and other of them killed with the sword? some others of them went about in pelts and goats skins, as the Apostle to the Hebrewes witnesseth. Surely they all walked strait waies, following the steps of Christ, which said, He that ministreth vnto me, let him follow me, whersoeuer I go, &c. Therefore let vs also, which haue so noble examples giuen vs of the Saints that went before vs, laying away as much as in vs lieth, the heauie burden and the yoke of sin which compasseth vs about, runne forward through patience, to the battell that is set before vs, fixing our eyes vpon the author of faith, and Iesus the finisher of the same: who seeing the ioy that was set before him, suffered the paines of the crosse, despising death. Let vs call vpon him, which suffered such reproch against himselfe of sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartily pray for helpe of the Lord, and may fight against his aduersarie Antichrist: that we may loue his law, and not be deceitfull laborers, but that we may deale faithfully in al things, according to that, that God hath vouchsafed to giue vs, and that we may labour diligently in the Lords cause vnder hope of an euerlasting reward. Behold therfore brother Hus, most dearly beloued in Christ, although in face vnknowne to me, yet not in faith and loue (for distance of places cannot separate those whom the loue of Christ doth effectually knit together) bee comforted in the grace which is giuen vnto thee, labour like a good souldier of Christ Iesus, preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst, to the way of truth: for the truth of the Gospell is not to be kept in silence, because of the friuolous censures and thunderbolts of Antichrist. And therfore to the vttermost of thy power strengthen thou and confirme the members of Christ, which are weakened by the diuel: and if the Lord will vouchsafe it, Antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly reioyce, that in your realme and in other places, God hath stirred vp the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment and death.

Examples of the old martyrs.

Further, beloued, I know not what to write vnto you, but I confesse, that I could wish to powre out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Also I salute from the bottome of my heart, all the faithfull louers of the law of the Lord, and specially Iacobellus your coadiutor in the Gospell, requiring that he wil pray vnto the Lord for me in the vniuersall church of Iesus Christ. And the God of peace which hath raised from the dead the shepheard of the sheep, the mightie Lord Iesus Christ, make you apt in all goodnesse, to do his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your friends salute you which haue heard of your constancie. I would desire also to see your letters written backe to vs, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort vs.

At London by your seruant, desiring to be fellow with you in your labors
Ricus Wichewitze, **priest vnworthy.**

Another letter of Iohn Hus to his friends of Boheme.

THe Lord God be with you. I loue the counsell of the Lord aboue gold and precious stone. Wherfore I trust in the mercie of Iesus Christ, that he will giue me his spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, for the spirit is readie and the flesh is weake. The Lord almightie bee the eternall reward vnto my Lords, which constantlie, firmelie and faithfullie do stand for

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righteousnesse: to whom the Lord God shall giue in the kingdome of Boheme, to know the truth. For the following of which truth, necessarie it is that they returne againe into Boheme, setting apart all vaine-glorie, and following not a mortall and miserable king, but the king of glorie which giueth eternall life.

O how comfortable was the giuing of the hand of lord Iohn de Clum vnto me, which was not ashamed to reach forth his hand to me a wretch, and such an abiect heretike, lying in fetters of iron, and cried out vpon all men! Now peraduenture I shall not speake much hereafter with you: Therefore salute in time as you shall see them, all the faithfull of Boheme.

Wicked Palletz.

Palletz came to me into prison. His salutation in my vehement infirmitie, was this before the commissaries, that there hath not risen a more perillous heretike since Christ was borne, then was Wickliffe and I. Also he said, that all such as came to heare my talke, were infected with this heresie, to thinke that the substance of bread remained in the Sacrament of the altar. To whom I answered and said: O master, what a grieuous salutation haue you giuen me, and how greatly do you sinne? Behold I shall die, or peraduenture to morrow shall be burnt: And what reward shall be recompenced to you in Boheme for your labour?

This thing peraduenture I should not haue written, lest I might seeme to hate him. I haue alwaies had this in my heart, Trust not in princes, &c. And againe, Cursed be the man which trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arme. For Gods sake be you circumspect how you stand and how you returne. Carry no letters with you. Direct your bookes not all by one, but diuerslie by diuers friends.

The visions of Iohn Hus by dreames.

Know this for certaine, that I haue had great conflicts by dreames, in such sort as I had much a do to refraine from crying out. For I dreamed of the popes escape before he went. And after the lord Iohn had told me thereof, immediatly in the night it was told me that the P. should returne to you againe. And afterward also I dreamed of the apprehending of master Ierome, although not in full maner as it was done. All the prisonmets, whither and how I am caried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the same forme and circumstance. Many serpents oftentimes appeared vnto me, hauing heads also in their taile: but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

A prophecie of master Ierome of Prage.

These things I write, not esteeming my selfe as a Prophet, or that I extoll my selfe, but only to signifie vnto you what temptations I had in bodie and also in mind, and what great feare I had, lest I should transgresse the commandement of the Lord Iesus Christ. Now I remember with my selfe the words of master Ierome, which said, that if I should come to the councell, he thought I should neuer returne home againe. In

This tailors name was Andrew a Polonian.

like maner there was a good and godly man, a tailour, which taking his leaue of me at Prage, spake to me in these words: God be with you (said he) for I thinke verily, my deare and good master Iohn, that you shall not returne againe to vs with your life. The king, not of Hungarie, but of heauen, reward you with all goodnesse, for the faithfull doctrine which I at your hands haue receiued, &c.

¶ And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also vnto them another prophetical vision of his to be expounded touching the reformation of the church, written in his 44. epistle: the contents whereof be these.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, sent to the Lord *Iohn de Clum.*

I Pray you expound to me the dreame of this night: I saw how that in my church of Bethleem, they came to race & put out all the images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after I arose and saw many painters, which painted and made more fairer Images and many more then I had done before: which images I was very glad and ioyfull to behold. And the painters with much people about thē, said, Let the bishops and priests come now, and put vs out these pictures. Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethleem to reioyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith, felt my selfe to laugh, &c.

Prophetia.

¶ This vision lord Iohn de Clum, and Iohn Hus himselfe in his book of epistles in the 45. epistle seemeth to expound, and applieth these images of Christ vnto the preaching of Christ and of his life. The which preaching and doctrine of Christ, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he foresee and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same doctrine should be reuiued againe by others, so plentiously, that the pope with all his power, should not be able to preuaile against it. Thus much as concerning this vision of I. Hus. Whereunto doth well accord the prophecie of Ierome of Prage, printed in the coine called Moneta Hussi: of the which coine I haue my selfe one of the plates hauing this superscription following printed about it; Centum reuolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi. That is, After an hundred yeres come and gone, you shall giue a count to God and to me. Whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Furthermore, in the 48. epistle the said Iohn Hus seeming to speake with the like spirit of prophetie, hath these words following: Sed spero, quod quæ dixi sub tecto, prædicabuntur super tecta: That is, but I trust that those things which I haue spoken within the house, hereafter shall be preached vpon the top of the house. Prophetia.

And because we are heere in hand with the prophecies of Iohn Hus, it shal serue well in place, heere moreouer to record his words in a certaine treatise by him written, De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium Abominatione; wherein the said Iohn Hus speaking prophetically of the reformation of the church, hath these words following: Ex istis vlterius aduerte incidentaliter, quod Dei ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci, &c. That is in English:

Moreouer, hereupon note and marke by the way, that the church of God, cannot be reduced to his former dignitie, or be reformed, before all things first be made new: The truth whereof is plaine by the temple of Salomon. Like as the clergy and priests, so also the people and laitie: Or else vnlesse all such as now be addict to auarice, from the least to the most, be first conuerted and reclaimed, as well the people as clergie and priests. Albeit as my mind now giueth me, I beleeue rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new clerkes and priests shall come, and be taken: which all shall hate couetousnesse, and glorie of this life, hasting to an heauenly conuersation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to passe, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will do for his owne goodnesse and mercie, and for the riches of his great longanimitie and patience, giuing time and space of repentance to them that haue long lien in their sins, to amend, and flie from the face of the Lords furie, while that in like maner the carnall people, and carnall priests successiuely and in time, shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth, &c. Prophetia.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MAster Martin my deare brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord, that you feare God, keepe his commandements, and flee the companie of women, and beware of hearing their confession, lest by the hypocrisie of women, Satan deceiue you; trust not their deuotion. You know how I haue detested the auarice and the inordinate life of the clergie, wherefore through the grace of God I suffer now persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me, neither do I feare to haue my hart powred out for the name of Christ Iesus; I desire you heartily be not greedie in seeking after benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any cure in the countrie, let the honor of God, the saluation of soules, and the trauell thereof moue you thereunto, and not the hauing of the liuing or the commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such benefice, beware you haue no yong woman for your cooke or seruant, lest yeu edifie and increase more your house, then your soule. See that you be a builder of your spirituall house, being gentle to the poore, and humble of mind, and waste not your goods in great fare. I feare also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous apparel, lest you shal be grieuously chastised, as I also wretched man shall be punished, which haue vsed the like, being seduced by custome of euill men and worldly glorie, whereby I haue been wounded against God with the spirit of pride. And becausse you haue notably knowne both my preaching and outward conuersation euen from my youth, I haue no need to write many things vnto you, but to desire you for the mercie of Iesus Christ, that you do not follow me in any such leuitie and lightnes, which you haue seene in me. You knew how before my priesthood (which grieueth me now) I haue delighted to play oftentimes at chesse, and haue neglected my time, and thereby haue vnhappily prouoked both my selfe and other to anger many times by that play. Wherfore, besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to inuocate the mercie of the Lord, that he wil pardon me, and so direct my life, that hauing ouercome the wickednes of this present life, the flesh, the world and the diuell, I may find place in the heauenly countrie, at the least in the day of iudgement. Fare ye well in Christ Iesus, with all them which keepe his law. My gray coate, if you will, keepe to your selfe for my remembrance, but I thinke you are ashamed to weare that gray colour: therefore you may giue it to whom you shall think good. My white coat you shal giue the Minister N. my scholar. To George or else to Zuzikon 60. groats, or else my gray coat: for he hath faithfully serued me.

Note that then priests were not maried, and therefore he willeth him to auoid all companie of women.

He repenteth his gay garments.

He repenteth his playing at the chesse.

Iohn Hus from his gay garments commeth to his white coate.

¶ *The superscription.*

I pray you that you do not open this letter, before you be sure and certaine of my death.

The consolation of master Ierome to *master Hus.*

MY master, in those things which you haue both written hitherto, and also preached after the law of God against the pride, auarice, and other inordinate vices of the priests, go forward, bee constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of

of mine owne accord, I will follow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

By the life, acts and letters of John Hus hitherto rehearsed, it is euident and plaine, that he was condemned not for anie error of doctrine, which they could well proue in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authoritie of the church of Rome, if it were well gouerned, nor yet the seuen Sacraments, and also said masse himselfe, and almost in all their popish opinions was a papist with them: but only of euill will was accused of his malicious aduersaries, because he spake against the pompe, pride and auarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals and prelats of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and liuings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope to be Antichristi like. For this cause he procured so manie enemies and false witnesses against him. Who straining and picking matter out of his bookes and writings, hauing no one iust article of doctrine to lay vnto him, yet they made him an heretike, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charitie of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charitie (good Reader) may easily vnderstand, in perusing the whole course of his storie: I beseech thee then, what cause had John Cochleus to write his twelue bookes against John Hus and Hussites? In which bookes how bitterly and intemperatly he misuseth his pen, by these few words in his second booke thou maiest take a little taste: which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all English men may iudge thereby, with what spirit and truth these catholikes be caried. His words be these; Lib. 2. Hist. Dico igitur Ioan. Hus neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius, &c. That is, I say therefore John Hus is neither to be counted holie nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; in so much that in the day of iudgement, it shall be more easie, not only with the infidel Pagans, Turks, Tartarians and Iews, but also with the most sinfull Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, which most filthily do lie with their daughters, sisters or mothers, yea and also with most impious Cain, killer of his owne brother, with Thiestes, killer of his owne mother, and the Lestrygones and other Anthropophagi, which deuoure mans flesh; yea more easie with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharao and Herod, then with him, &c. These be the words of Cochleus. Whose railing bookes although they deserue neither to be read, nor answered, yet if it please God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir vp some towardlie yong man, that hath so much leasure to defend the simplicitie of this John Hus, which cannot now answere for himselfe. In the meane time, something to satisfie or stay the readers mind against this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Hus to speake and to cleare himselfe against this slander: whose words in his booke De sacerdotum & monachorum abominatione desolationis, pag. 84. &c. I beseech the reader to note. Nam & ista scribens fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Iesu crucifixi, &c. That is, For in writing these things, I confesse nothing else to haue moued me hereunto, but only the loue of our Lord Iesus crucified, whose prints and stripes (according to the measure of my weaknesse and vilenesse) I couet to beare in my selfe, beseeching him so to giue me grace, that I neuer seeke to glorie in my selfe or in any thing else, but only in his crosse, & in the inestimable ignominie of his passion which he suffered for me. And therefore I write and speake these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as vnfainedly do loue the Lord Christ crucified: and contrarie will mislike not a little all such as be of Antichrist. Also againe, I confesse before the most merciful Lord Iesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I haue written before, neither I could haue written, nor knew how, nor durst so haue written, vnlesse he by his inward vnction had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authoritie, to get me fame and name: For as Saint Augustine and Ierome do say, that is only to be giuen to the Scriptures and writings of the Apostles, Euangelists and Prophets, and to the canonicall Scriptures, which do abound in the fulnesse of the Spirit of Iesus. And whatsoeuer is there said, is full of veritie and wholesome vtilitie, &c. And heere place also would require something to say to Aeneas Siluius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falsly impute articles to him, which he neuer maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the storie of master Ierome of Prage.

John Hus condemned for no erroneous doctrine wherein he was culpable.

Cochleus raileth against John Hus without cause.

Ex Cochle. lib. 2. hist. Hussitarum, pag. 88.

❧ The tragicall and lamentable historie of the famous learned man and godly martyr of Christ, master Ierome of Prage, burned at Constance for like cause and quarrell, as master John Hus was, 1416.

The storie of Ierome of Prage.

These things hitherto being discoursed touching the life, acts and constant martyrdome of master John Hus, with part also of his letters adioyned to the same, whose death was on the 6 of Julie, an. 1416. now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedie and cruell handling of his christian companion and fellow in bands master Ierome of Prage. Who grieuously sorrowing the slanderous reproch and diffamation of his countrie of Boheme, and also hearing tel of the manifest iniuries done vnto that man of worthie memorie master John Hus: freely and of his owne accord came vnto Constance the fourth day of Aprill, an. 1415. Who there perceiuing that John Hus was denied to be heard, and that watch and waite was laid for him on euery side, he departed to Iberling a citie of the empire, vntill the next day; the which citie was a mile off from Constance, and from thence he wrote his letters by me vnto Sigismund king of Hungarie and his barons, and also vnto the councell, most earnestly requiring that the king and the councell would giue him a safe-conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answere vnto euery man, if there were any of the councell that would lay any crime vnto him, as by the tenor of his intimation, shall more at large appeare.

Ierome commeth to Constance.

The safe-conduct was required but in vaine of the emperor.

When as the said king of Hungarie was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinall of Cambray, he denied to giue master Ierome any safe-conduct, excusing himselfe for the euill speed he had with the safe-conduct of John Hus before, and alleaging also certaine other causes. The deputies also of the foure nations of the councell being moued thereunto by the lords of the kingdome of Boheme, answered: we (say they) will giue him a safe-conduct to come, but not to depart. Whose answeres, when they were reported vnto master Ierome, he the next day after wrote certaine intimations according to the tenor heere vnder written, which he sent vnto Constance to be set vpon the gates of the citie, and vpon the gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelats. The tenour whereof heere followeth word for word in this maner.

The intimations of Ierome of Prage, set vp in diuers places of the towne of Constance.

Vnto the most noble prince and lord, the lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, alwaies Augustus, and of Hungarie, &c. I Ierome of Prage master of Art of the generall Vniuersities of Paris, Collen, Heidelberg and Prage, by these my present letters do notifie vnto the king together with the whole reuerend councell, and as much as in me lieth, do all men to vnderstand and know, that because of the craftie slanderers, backbiters and accusers, I am readie freely and of mine owne will, to come vnto Constance, there to declare openly before the councell the puritie and sinceritie of my true faith and mine innocencie, and not secretly in corners before any priuate or particular person. Wherefore if there be anie of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soeuer they be; which will obiect against me any crime of error or heresie: let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole councell, and in their owne names obiect against me, and I will be readie, as I haue written, to answere openly and publikely before the whole councel, of mine innocencie, and to declare the puritie and sinceritie of my true faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in error or heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be méete and worthie for an erroneous person, or an heretike.

Wherefore I most humblie beseech my lord the king and the whole sacred councell, that I may haue to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure accesse. And if it happen that I offering such equitie and right as I do, before anie fault be proued against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or haue anie violence done vnto me; that then it may be manifest vnto the whole world, that this generall councell doth not proceed according to equitie and iustice, if they would by any meanes put me backe from this profound and strait iustice, being come hither freely of mine owne mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be farre from so sacred and holy councell of wise men.

When as yet he through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and Germaine tongue, being set vp as is aforesaid, could not get any safe-conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights spirituall of the Bohemian nation present in Constance, gaue vnto master Ierome their letters patents, confirmed with their seales for a testimonie and witnesse of the premisses. With the which letters the said master Ierome returned againe vnto Boheme; but by the treason and conspiracie of his enemies was taken in Hirlaw by the officers of duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought backe againe to the presence of the duke. In the meane time such as were the setters forward of the councell against master John Hus, and master Ierome, that is to say, Michael de Causis and master Palletz and other their accomplices, required that the said master Ierome should be cited by reason of his intimations, and certaine daies after the citation heere vnder written, was set vpon the gates and porches of the citie, and churches, which followeth heere in this maner:

Safe-conduct denied to Ierome.

Ierome returneth toward Boheme, with the testimonies of the lords of Boheme.

Ierome apprehended in the way by duke John.

Michael de Causis, and Palletz enemies to Ierome.

¶ This most sacred and holy Synode and generall councell of Constance, faithfully congregated & gathered together in the holy Ghost, representing the vniuersall militant church, vnto Ierome of Prage, which writeth himselfe to be a master of Art of so manie Vniuersities, and pretendeth these things

Ierome of Prage cited by the councell, when he was taken.

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which are only pertaining vnto sobrietie and modestie, and that he knoweth no more then he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certaine writing come vnto our vnderstanding and knowledge, the which was set vp as it were by thine owne person vpon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, vpon the Sunday, when there was sung in the church of God; Quasi modo geniti. Wherein thou doest affirme, that thou wilt openlie answere vnto thy accusers and slanderers which shall obiect anie crime, error or heresie against thee, whereof thou art mervellously infamed and accused before vs, and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliffe, and other doctrines contrarie vnto the catholike faith, so that thou mightest haue granted vnto thee a safe conduct to come. But for so much as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and loke vnto these craftie Fores which go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenor of these presents, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the terme of fiftéene daies to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof fiue daies are appointed for the first terme, fiue for the second, and other fiue for the third, we doe ordaine and appoint by canonicall admonition and warning, that thou do appeare in the publike Session of the sacred councell, if there be any holden the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when as any session shal be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answere to those things, which any person or persons shall obiect or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receiue and haue, as iustice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in vs lieth, and as catholike faith shall require, we offer and assigne to thee by the tenour hereof, our safe-conduct from all violence (iustice alwaies being saued) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appeare or not, the said terme or time appointed notwithstanding, processe shall go forward against thee by the said sacred councell, or by their commissarie or commissaries, for the time aforesaid not obserued and kept, thy contumacie or stubburnesse in any thing notwithstanding. Giuen in the sixth Session of the generall Councell, the seuentéenth day of Aprill, vnder the seale of the presidents of the foure nations.

¶ Grumpert Faber Notarie of the Germaines.

This Duke John in histories is commonly called the son of Clement.

After that Sigismund king of Hungarie with the rest of the councell, vnderstood by the foresaid duke John that master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that master Jerome should be brought before them vnto the councell. The which duke John, after he had receiued letters of the king and the councell, brought master Jerome bound vnto Constance, whom his brother duke Ludouicus led thorow the citie to the cloister of the friers Minors in Constance, where as the chiefe priests and elders of the people, Scribes and Pharisies, were gathered together, attending and waiting for his comming. Hée the said master Jerome caried a great handbolt of iron with a long chaine in his hand, and as hee passed the chaine made a great rattling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chaine after Duke Ludouicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the chaine a great way from him: with the which chaine they also kept him bound in the Cloister. When he was brought into the Cloister, they read before him the letter of Duke John, which was sent with the said master Jerome vnto the Councell, containing in effect, how that the said duke John had sent master Jerome vnto the councell, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an euill report of him, that he was suspected of the heresies of Wicklise; that the councell might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did erre and stray from the truth, besides manie other flattering tales which were written in the said letter for the praise of the councell. After this they read the citation which was giuen out by the councell against master Jerome, whereof we haue spoken before. Then certaine of the bishops said vnto him; Jerome, why diddest thou flie and runne away, and diddest not appeare when thou wast cited? He answered, because I could not haue any safe-conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by these letters patents of the barons, which you haue, neither by mine open intimations could I obtaine any safe-conduct.

Jerome is brought bound vnto Constance by duke John.

The councell neither would giue him libertie safely to come, nor freely to go.

Wherefore I perceiuing many of my grieuous and heauie friends to be heere present in the councell, would not my selfe be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had knowne or had any vnderstanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had béen in Boheme, I would haue returned againe. Then all the whole rabble rising vp, alleaged diuers and sundrie accusations and testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake master Gerson the Chancellor of Paris: Jerome when thou wast at Paris, thou thoughtest thy selfe by meanes of thy eloquence to be an Angell, and diddest trouble the whole Vniuersitie, alleaging openly in the schooles many erroneous conclusions with their correlaria, and especially in the question de vniuersalibus & de Idæis, with many other verie offensiue questions. Vnto whom master Jerome answered: I answere to you master Gerson: Those matters which I did put forth there in the schooles at Paris, in the which also I answered to the arguments of the maisters, I did put them forth philosophically and as a Philosopher, and master of the Vniuersitie: and if I haue put forth any questions which I ought not to haue put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humblie be informed, and amend the same.

Master Jerome is accused by master Gerson, with commendation of his eloquence.

Gerson rennieth old matters.

Whiles he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the Master of the Vniuersity of Collen vpon the riuer of Rheine) rising vp said: When thou wast also at Collen in thy position which thou diddest there determine, thou diddest propound many erroneous matters. Then said master Jerome vnto him, shew me first one errour which I propounded. Wherewithal he being in a manner astonished, said, I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be obiected against you.

The master of the Vniuersitie of Collen. This man would accuse, but he lacked matter.

And by and by the third man rising vp, said: when that you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinitie, and there painted out a certaine shield or scutchine, comparing the Trinitie of persons in diuinitie vnto water, snow and ice, and such like. Vnto whom master Jerome answered: Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speake, write and paint heere; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humblie reuoke and recant the same.

The master of the Vniuersitie of Heidelberg.

Then certaine cried out, let him be burned. Let him be burned. Vnto whom he answered: If my death do delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so.

Crucifige, crucifige eum.

Then said the archbishop of Salisburg; not so master Jerome, for so much as it is written: I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outragiously witnesse against him, they deliuered the said master Jerome being bound, vnto the officers of the citie of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night: and so euerie one of them returned to their lodgings.

Jerome is comforted by the Notarie.

In the meane time, one of the friends of master John Hus, loking out at a window of the Cloister, said vnto him, master Jerome; Then said he, you are welcome my deare brother. Then said Peter vnto him: Be constant and feare not to suffer death for the truth sake, of the which when you were in times past at libertie, you did preach so much godnesse. Vnto whom Jerome answered, truly brother I do not feare death, and for so much as we know that we haue spoken much thereof in times past; let vs now sée what may be knowne or done in effect. By and by his keepers comming to the window, threatning him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the Cloister.

Et tu de illis es. Luc. 22.

Then came there one Vitus vnto master Jerome and said, master how do you? Vnto whom he answered; truely brother, I do very well. Then his keepers comming about him, laid hold of the said Vitus, saying, this is also one of the number, and kept him. When it drew towards euening, the archbishop of Rigen, sent certaine of his seruants which led away master Jerome, being strongly bound with chaines, both by the hands and by the necke, and kept him so for certaine houres. When night drew on, they caried him vnto a certaine tower of the citie in Saint Pauls churchyard, where as they tying him fast vnto a great blocke, and his fét in the stockes: his hands also being made fast vpon them, they left him: whereas the blocke was so high, that he could by no meanes sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downeward. They caried also the said Vitus vnto the archbishop of Rigen, who demanded of him, why he durst be so bold to talke with such a man being a reprobate of all men, and an heretike: and when as he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was master John de Clums friend (taking an oth and promise of him that he should not go about to endamage the councell, by reason of that imprisonment and captiuitie) so dismissed him and sent him away.

Vitus the companion of John de Clum.

Jerome straitly bound hand and foot.

Vitus had to the archbishop of Rigen.

Vitus bound by oth.

Master Jerome, vnknowne vnto vs whither he was caried, lay in the said tower two daies and two nights, relieued only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers comming vnto master Peter, declared vnto him how that master Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chaines, and how he was fed. Then master Peter desired that he might haue leaue giuen him to giue him meat, because he would procure the same vnto him. The keeper of the prison granting his request, caried meat vnto him. Within eleuen daies after, so hanging by the héeles; he vsed so small repast, that he fell sore sick euen vnto the death. Whenas he liuing then in that captiuitie and prison, desired to haue a Confessor, they of the councell denied that he should haue any, vntill such time as by great importunitie he obtained to haue one: his friends being then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one yéere lacking but seuen daies.

Jerome hanging in the stocks was fed with bread and water.

Peter bringeth meat to Jerome

Jerome in great sickenesse calleth for a Confessor.

Master Jerome was kept in irons in prison the space of one yeere.

After they had put John Hus to death, then about the feast of the nattuitie of Marie the virgin, they brought forth master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chaines, vnto the church of Saint Paul: and threatning him with death, being instant vpon him, they forced him to abiure and recant, and consent vnto

vnto the death of maister Iohn Hus, that he was iustly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for feare of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenour which was exhibited vnto him, did make abiuration, and that in the cathedrall Church and open Session, the draught whereof penned to him by the papists, here ensueth.

¶ The abiuration of maister Hierome of Prage.

The forced abiuration of Hierome.

I Hierome of Prage, maister of Art, acknowledging the catholike Church, and the apostolike faith, do accurse and renounce all heresies, and specially that, wherof I haue hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past Iohn Hus and Iohn Wickliffe haue holden and taught in their works, treatises and sermons, made vnto the people and clergie: for the which cause the said Wickliffe and Hus, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this Synode of Constance as heretikes, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especiallie in certaine articles expressed in the sentences and iudgements giuen against them by this sacred Councell.

Also I doe accord and agree vnto the holie Church of Rome, the Apostolicke seat in this sacred Councell, and with my mouth and heart doe professe in all things, and touching all things, and specially as touching the keies, sacraments, orders and offices, and Ecclesiasticall censures, of pardons, reliques of Saints, Ecclesiasticall libertie, also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining vnto Christian religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apostolicke see, and this sacred Councell doe professe: and specially that many of the said articles are notoriously hereticall, and lately reprooued by the holie fathers, some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous: some offensiue vnto godly eares, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were counted the articles lately condemned by the sacred Councell, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singuler Catholicke men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintaine any of the said articles, vnder paine of being accursed.

And I the said Hierome, forsomuch as I haue laboured by Scholasticall arts, to perswade the opinion, De Vniuersalibus realibus, and that one substance of the common kind should signifie many things subiect vnder the same, and euery one of them, as S. Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine doe affirme, and likewise others. For the teaching hereof by a plaine example I described as it were a certaine triangle, forme or figure, the which I called the shield of faith.

Therefore vtterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked vnderstanding thereof, the which peraduenture some men may gather thereby, I doe say, affirme, and declare, that I neuer made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith to that intent or purpose, that I would extoll or preferre the opinion of vniuersalities aboue or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof, the catholike faith could not be defended or maintained, when as I my selfe would not obstinatelie sticke thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of the triangle or forme, that one diuine essence consisted in three subiects or persons in themselues distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The article of the which Trinitie, is the chiefe shield of faith, and foundation of the catholicke truth.

Furthermore, that it may be euident vnto all men what the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to sticke to, and fauour sometime Iohn Hus: I signifie vnto all men by these presents, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his sermons, and also in the Schooles, I beleeued that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainesay the traditions of our holy mother the Church, or holy doctors: insomuch as when I was latelie in this Citie, and the articles which I affirmed were shewed vnto mee, which were also condemned by the sacred Councell, at the first sight of them I did not beleeue that they were his, at the least not in that forme. But when as I had further vnderstood by certaine famous doctors and maisters of diuinitie, that they were his articles, required for my further information and satisfaction, to haue the bookes of his owne handwritting shewed vnto me, wherein it was said, those articles were contained. The which bookes, when they were shewed vnto mee written with his owne hand, which I did know as well as mine owne, I found all, and euery one of those articles therein written in like forme as they are condemned. Wherefore I doe worthilie iudge and thinke him and his doctrine with his adherents, to be condemned and reprooued by this sacred Councell, as hereticall and without reason. All which the premisses with a pure minde and conscience, I do here pronounce and speake, being now fullie and sufficientlie informed of the foresaid sentences and iudgements giuen by the sacred Councell against the doctrines of the said Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Hus, and against their owne persons:

Hierome is made here to say not his own mind, but what pleased them.

vnto the which iudgement, as a deuout catholike in all things, I doe must humblie consent and agree.

Also I the foresaid Hierome, which before the reuerend fathers, the lords, cardinals, and reuerend lords, prelates and doctors, and other worshipfull persons of this sacred Councell in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpose, amongst other things speaking of the Church, did diuide the same into three parts. And as I did perceiue afterward, it was vnderstood by some that I would affirme, that in the triumphant Church, there was faith. Whereas I doe firmelie beleeue that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all darke vnderstanding and knowledge. And now also I do say, affirme and declare, that it was neuer my intent and purpose, to proue that there should be faith, speaking of faith, as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge farre exceeding faith. And generallie whatsoeuer I said, either there, or at any time before, I doe referre, and most humblie submit my selfe vnto the determination of this sacred Councell of Constance.

Moreouer, I doe sweare both by the holy Trinitie, and also by the most holy Gospell, that I will for euermore remaine and perseuere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholike Church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching, shall impugne this faith, I iudge them worthie together with their doctrines of eternall curse. And if I my selfe at any time (which God forbid I should) doe presume to preach or teach contrarie thereunto, I will submit my selfe vnto the seueritie of the Canons, and bee bound vnto eternall paine and punishment. Whereupon I doe deliuer by this my confession and tenor of my profession willingly before this sacred generall Councell, and haue subscribed and written all these things with mine owne hand.

Hierome after his abiuration returned into prison.

After all this, they caused him to bee caried againe vnto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before: notwithstanding kept euery day with souldiers and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemies which were appointed against him, as Michael de Caulis, and wicked Pallets, with other their companions in these affaires, vnderstood and knew by the words and talke of maister Hierome and by other certaine tokens, that hee made the same abiuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to scape their hands, they together with certaine friers of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then comming in, put vp new accusations against the said maister Hierome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forsomuch as his iudges, and certaine cardinals, as the cardinall of Cambray, the cardinall de Vrsinis, the cardinall of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of maister Hierome, did see the great iniurie that was done vnto him, they laboured before the whole Councell for his deliuerie.

Hierome accused anew by Caulis, Pallets, and the Carmelites.

The cardinall of Cambray with certaine other cardinals labour for the deliuery of Hierome.

It happened vpon a certaine day, as they were labouring in the Councell for the deliuerie of the said maister Hierome, that the Germaines and Bohemians his enemies, with all force and power resisted against it, crying out, that hee should in no case bee dismissed. Then start vp one called doctor Palo, which said vnto the cardinals; we maruell much of you most reuerend fathers, that your reuerences wil make intercession for such a wicked hereticke, for whose sake we in Boheme with the whole clergy, haue suffered much trouble and mischiefe, and peraduenture your fatherhods shall suffer: and I greatly feare, lest that you haue receiued some rewards, either of the king of Boheme, or of these heretikes. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselues of maister Hierons cause and matter.

Si dimittis hunc, non es amicus Cæsaris.

The patriarch of Constantinople gaue sentence of death both against M. Hus, and M. Hierome of Prage.

Then his enemies aforesaid, obtained to haue other iudges appointed, as the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a Germaine doctor, forsomuch as they did know that the patriarch was a grieuous enemie vnto maister Hierome, because he being before appointed iudge by the Councell, had condemned Iohn Hus vnto death.

But M. Hierome would not answer them in prison, requiring to haue open audience, because he would there finally declare vnto them his mind, neither would hee by any meanes consent vnto those priuat iudges. Whereupon the presidents of the Councell thinking that the said M. Jerome would renue his recantation, before the said audience, and confirme the same, did grant him open audience.

In the yere of our Lord 1416. the 25. day of May, which was the Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, the said maister Jerome was brought vnto open audience before the whole councell, to the great cathedrall Church of Constance, where as by the commissioners of the Councell, in the behalfe of his foresaid enemies, there was laid against him of a new a hundred and seuen articles, to the intent that hee should not scape the snare of death, which they prouided and laid for him: in so much as the iudges had before declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was alreadie concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning, vntill none, he answered vnto more then 40. articles, most subtilly obiected against him: denying that he held or maintained any such articles

Anno 1416

Hierome brought againe before the Councell.

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False witnesse against Jerom.

cles as were either hurtfull or false, affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsly and slanderously, as his most cruell and mortall enemies. In the same Session they had not yet proceeded vnto death, because that the nowne time drew so fast on, that hee could not answer vnto the articles. Wherfore for lack of time sufficient to answer vnto the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the third day after the foresaid Saturday, before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time againe earely in the morning, hee was brought vnto the said Cathedrall Church to answer vnto all the residue of the articles.

The dexteritie of Hierome in confuting his aduersaries.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered vnto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly, refelling his aduersaries (who had no cause, but onely of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselues astonied at his oration, and refutation of their testimonies brought against him, and with shame enough were put to silence: As when one of them had demanded of him, what hee thought by the Sacrament of the altar, he answered; Before consecration (said he) it is bread and wine: after the consecration it is the true bodie and blood of Christ; adding withall moe words according to their catholike faith. Then another rising vp; Hierome, said he, there goeth a great rumor of thee, that thou shouldest hold, bread to remaine vpon the altar. To whom hee pleasantlie answered, saying: that hee beleeued bread to bee at the bakers. At which words being spoken, one of the Dominicke friers sumthing tooke on, and said; What? doest thou denie that no man doubteth of? Whose peeuish saulinesse, Hierome with these words did well represse: Hold thy peace (said he) thou monke, thou hypocrite: and thus the monke being nipped in the head, sat downe dumbe. After whom, started vp another, who with a loud voice cried out: I sweare (said he) by my conscience, that to bee true, that thou doest denie. To whom said Hierome againe, speaking in Latine: *Heus, inquit, sic iurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est:* That is, thus to sweare by your conscience, is the next way to deceiue. Another there was, a spitefull and a bitter enemie of his, whom he called by no other name then dogge, or asse. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all driuen to keepe silence.

False witnesses.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who comming in presence, gaue testimonie vnto the articles before produced. By reason whereof, the innocent cause of Hierome was oppressed, and began in the councell to be concluded. Then Hierome rising vp, began to speake: Forsomuch (saith he) as you haue heard mine aduersaries so diligently hitherto, conuenient it is, that you should also now heare me to speake for my selfe.

Audience hardly giuen to Hierome to speake for himselfe.

Whereupon with much difficultie, at last audience was giuen in the Councell for him to say his mind. Which being granted, he from morning to nowne continuing, intreated of diuers and sundrie matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to giue him spirit, abilitie, and vtterance, which might most tend to the profit and saluation of his owne soule. And so entring into his Oration:

The oration of Hierome had before the Councell.

I know, saith he, reuerend lords, that there haue been many excellent men, which haue suffered much otherwise then they haue deserued, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong iudgements. And so beginning with

Socrates.

Socrates, he declared how he was vniustly condemned of his countrimen, neither would he escape when he might: taking from vs the feare of two things, which séeme most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment, and death. Then he inferred the captiuitie of

Plato.

Plato, the banishment of

Anaxagoras.

Anaxagoras, and the

Zeno.

torments of Zeno. Moreouer, he brought in the wrongfull condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of

Rupilius.

Rupilius, reciting also the vnworthie death of

Boetius.

Boetius, and of others, whom Boetius himselfe doth write of.

Moyses.

From thence, hée came to the examples of the Hebrewes, and first began with Moyses the deliuerer of the people, and the law giuer, how hee was oftentimes slandered of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people.

Ioseph.

Ioseph also, saith he, for enuie, was sold of his brethren, and for false suspition of whoredome, was cast into bands. Besides these, hee reciteth

Esayas.

Esaias,

Daniel.

Daniel, and almost all the

The Prophets.

Prophets; who as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongfull condemnation. From thence,

Susanna.

he proceeded to the iudgement of Susanna, and of diuers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they vniustly cast away with wrongfull sentence. At the length hee

Iohn Baptist.

came to John Baptist, and so in long processe hee descended

Christ.

vnto our Sauiour, declaring how it was euident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist, were con-

The Apostles.

demned. Moreouer, how Stephen was slaine by the Colledge of the priests, and how all the Apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers vp of the people, and contemners of the Gods, and euill doers. It is vniust, saith he, vniustlie to bee condemned one priest of an other, and yet he proued that the same hath so happened most vniustly in that Councell of priests. These things did hee discourse at large, with maruellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

The false witnesses of Jerom refelled.

And forasmuch as all the whole summe of the cause did rest onely in the witnesses, by many reasons he proued that no credit was to be giuen vnto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but onely of hatred, malice, and enuie. And so prosecuting the matter, so liuely and expresselie hee opened vnto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost perswaded them. So liuely and likelie their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was giuen to their testimonies, saue onely for the cause and quarrell wherein they stood touching the popes doctrine. All mens minds here were moued and bending to mercie towards him: For he told them how that hee of his owne accord came vp to the Councell, and to purge himselfe he did open vnto them all his life and doings, being full of vertue and godlinesse. This was (saith he) the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy Elders, that in matters of faith they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the veritie. So did Augustine and Jerome dissent, not only being diuers, but also contrarie one from the other, and yet without all suspition of heresie.

All this while the popes holie Councell did watt still, when he would begin to excuse himselfe, and to retract those things which were obiected against him, and to craue pardon of the Councell. But he persisting still in his constant oration, did acknowledge no errour, nor gaue any signification of retractation.

Hierome commendeth the life, and bewaileth the death of John Hus.

At last, entring into the praise and commendation of master John Hus, he affirmed that he was a good, iust, and holie man, and much vnworthie that death which hee did suffer. Whom hee did know from his youth vpward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any euill or vitious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a iust and true preacher of the holie Gospell: and whatsoeuer things master John Hus and Wickliffe had holden or written speciallie against the abuse and pomp of the clergie, he would affirme euen vnto the death, that they were holie and blessed men, and that in all points of the catholick faith, he doth beléeue as the holy catholick Church doth hold or beléeue. And finallie he did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliffe and Joh. Hus had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder of the prelats, he would firmely and stedfastly, without recantation, hold and defend euen vnto the death. And last of all he added, that al the sinnes that euer he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that onely sinne, which hee had committed in that most pitifferous fact, when as in his recantation, he had vniustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine, and specially in consenting vnto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did vtterlie reuoke and denie that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakenesse of heart and feare of death: And moreouer, that whatsoeuer thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lied vpon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart, that euer he did it.

Hierome repenteth his speaking against John Hus.

And at the hearing hereof, the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorie. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saued, if otherwise their blind superstition would haue suffered it. But he continued stil in his prefixed sentence, séeming to desire rather death then life. And persisting in the praise of John Husse, he added moreouer, that he neuer maintained any doctrine against the state of the Church, but onely spake against the abuses of the clergie, against the pride, pompe, and excesse of the prelates. Forsomuch as the patrimonies of the Churches were first giuen for the poore, then for hospitalitie, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches: it was a griefe to that good man (said he) to see the same misspent and cast away vpon harlots, great feastings, and kéeping of horses and dogs, vpon gorgeous apparell, and such other things vnséeming Christian religion. And herein he shewed himselfe maruellous eloquent: yea, neuer more.

Hus neuer maintained any doctrine against the Church of Rome: but onely spake against their naughtie life.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by diuers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of al those that interrupted him which escaped vnblanckt, but he brought them al to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speake, and after began againe, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to giue him leaue a while to speake, whom they hereafter should heare no more: neither yet was his mind euer dashed at all these noises and tumults.

Hierome did put them to silence.

Hierome in prison 340. daies. The excellent memorie in M. Hierome.

And this was marueilous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison 340. daies, hauing neither booke, nor almost light to read by: yet how admirable his memorie serued him: Declaring how all those paines of his strait handling, did not so much grieue him, as he did wonder rather to see their vnkind humanitie towards him.

When hee had spoken these and many other things as touching the praise of John Wickliffe, and John Hus, they which sat in the Councell, whispered together, saying: by these

these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself. Then was he againe carried into prison, and grieuously fettered by the hands, armes and feet, with great chaines and fetters of yron.

M. Hierome brought againe before the Councell.

The Saturday next before the Ascension day, earlie in the morning hee was brought with a great number of armed men vnto the Cathedrall Church before the open congregation, to haue his iudgement giuen him. There they exhorted him, that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid touching the praise and commendation of master Iohn Wickliffe, and master Iohn Hus, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same: but he maruellous stoutly without all feare, spake against them, and amongst other things said vnto them: I take God to my witnesse, and I protest here before you all, that I do beleeue and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy Catholike Church doth hold and beleeue the same: but for this cause shall I now bee condemned, for that I will not consent with you vnto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you haue most wickedlie condemned for certaine articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life. Then hee confessed there before them all his beleefe, and vttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, in so much, that all men there present, could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no meanes could they induce or perswade him to recant.

M. Hierome holdeth all the articles of the Catholike Church.

The eloquence of M. Hierome.

Then a certaine bishop named the bishop of Londy, made a certaine sermon exhortatiue against master Hierome, perswading to his condemnation.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, master Hierome said againe vnto them: You shall condemne me wickedly and vniustly. But I after my death will leaue a remorse in your conscience, and a naile in your hearts; *Et cito vos omnes, vt respondeatis mihi coram altissimo & iustissimo iudice post centum annos:* That is: And here I cite you to answere vnto me before the most high and iust Iudge, within a hundred yeeres.

The prophecy of M. Hierome.

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and Philosophically had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same, wherefore I haue but only touched here the superficiall matter of his talke, partly, and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no meanes he might bee perswaded to recant the premisses, immediatly euen in his presence, the sentence and iudgement of his condemnation was giuen against him, and read before him.

The sentence read against M. Hierome.

IN the name of God Amen. Christ our God, and our Sauiour being the true vine, whose father is the husbandman, taught his Disciples, and all other faithfull men, saying: If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry, &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent doctor and master, this most sacred Synode of Constance, executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretiks, being moued by this said sacred Synode, through report, publike fame, and open infamation: procedeth against Hierome of Prage, master of Art, lay man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said master Hierome hath holden, maintained, and taught diuers articles hereticall and erroneous, lately reproued and condemned by the holy Fathers, some being very blasphemous, other some offending godlie eares, and many temerarious and seditious, which haue been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory Iohn Wickliffe, and Iohn Hus, the which are also written in diuers of their works and bookes. Which articles of doctrine and bookes of the said Iohn Hus and Wickliffe, together with their memory, and the person of the said Iohn Hus, were by the said sacred Synode condemned of heresie. The which sentence of condemnation this Hierome afterward during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred Synode, and approued the true Catholike and Apostolike faith thereunto consenting, accursing all heresie, specially that whereof hee was infamed, and confessed himselfe to bee infamed, and that which in times past Iohn Hus and Iohn Wickliffe maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and bookes: for the which the said Wickliffe and Hus, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred Synode as heretically condemned. The condemnations of all which the premisses, hee did openly professe and allow, and did sweare that he would persuere and continue in the veritie of that faith. And if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrarie thereunto, that hee would submit himselfe to the triall and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetuall punishment. And this his profession written with his owne hand, he deliuered vp vnto the holie Councell. Many daies after his said profession and abiuration, as a dog returning vnto his vomit, to the intent hee might openly vomit vp the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and layen hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Councell. The which being granted vnto him, hee affirmed, said and professed before the whole Synode, being publikely gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and iudgement of the condemnation of the said Wickliffe and Hus, and that he had most shamefully lied in approuing and allowing the said sentence, neither was hee ashamed to confesse that hee had lied: yea, hee did also reuoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made vpon their condemnation, affirming that hee neuer at any time had read any errors or heresie in the bookes and treatises of the said Wickliffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is euidently proued, that he did diligently studie, reade, and preach their bookes, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said master Hierome did professe as touching the Sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the bodie of Christ, that he doth hold and beleeue as the Church doth hold and beleeue, saying also that he doth giue more credit vnto S. Augustine, and the other doctors of the Church, then vnto Wickliffe and Hus. It appeareth moreouer by the premisses, that the said Hierome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliffe and Hus, and their errors, and both is, and hath been a fauourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synode determineth the said master Hierome as a rotten and withered branch not growing vpon the vine, to be cut off, and cast out. The said Synode also pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an heretike and drowned in all kind of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leauing him vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the secular iudge, to receiue iust and due punishment, according to the qualitie of so great an offence: The said sacred Synode notwithstanding intreating that the said iudge would moderate his sentence of iudgement without perill of death.

M. Hierome giuen to the secular power.

The which sentence so giuen before his face, and ended, a great and long miter of paper was brought vnto him, painted about with red diuels, the which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood vpon the ground amongst the prelates, hee tooke the miter, and put it vpon his head: saying, Our Lord Iesu Christ, when as he should suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did weare a crowne of thorne vpon his head: and I for his sake in stead of that crowne, will willingly weare this miter and cap. Afterward hee was laid hold of by the secular power.

A paper with red diuels put vpon the head of M. Hierome by diuellish papists.

M. Hierome committed to the secular power.

After that he was led out of the said Church to the place of execution: when he was going out of the Church with a cheerefull countenance and a loud voice lifting his eies vp into heauen, hee began to sing, Credo in vnum Deum, as it is accustomed to be sung in the Church. Afterward as he passed along, hee did sing some Canticles of the Church: the which being ended, in the entring out of the gate of the citie, as men goe vnto Gothlehem, hee did sing this hymne, Felix namque. And that respond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where as master Iohn Hus before had suffered death innocently, kneeling downe before an image which was like vnto the picture of master Iohn Hus, which was there prepared to burne master Hierome, hee made a certaine deuout prayer.

M. Hierome went singing vnto his martyrdome.

M. Hierome prayeth.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors tooke him vp, and lifting him vp from the ground, spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterward girded him about the loynes with a linnen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chaines of iron to the said Image, which was made fast vnto the earth: and so standing vpon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he sung Salue festa dies. And when the hymne was ended, he sung againe with a loud voice, Credo in vnum Deum, vnto the end. That being ended, he said vnto the people in the Germaine tongue in effect as followeth. Dearely beloued children, euen as I haue now sung, so do I beleeue and none otherwise. And this Creed is my whole faith: notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the Councell, and with them affirme and hold that master Iohn Hus was by them holily and iustly condemned: for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the Gospell of Iesu Christ.

M. Hierome tied to an image like to Iohn Hus.

M. Hierome singeth at his burning.

The words of Hierome to the people.

M. Hierome giueth testimonie of Iohn Hus.

After that hee was compassed in with the wood vp to the crowne of the head, they cast all his garments vpon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice: In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began vehementlie to burne, hee said in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: O Lord God father almightie, haue mercy vpon mee, and be mercifull vnto mine offenes, for thou knowest how that sincerely I haue loued thy truth. Then his voice by the vehemencie of the fire was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but hee moued continually his mouth and lips, as though hee had still prayed or spoken within himselfe.

The last words of M. Hierome.

When as in a manner his whole bodie with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning vpon his bodie certaine great bladders, as big as an egge, yet hee continuallie very strongly and stoutly moued,

The cruelty of his death.

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moued, and shaked his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an houre. So burning in the fire, he liued with great paine and martyrdome, whilest one might easilie haue gone from S. Clements ouer the bridge, vnto our Ladie

The burning of master Ierome of Prage.

Church: he was of such a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his strawbed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a Cart, and cast them into the Riuer of Rheine, which ran hard by the Citie.

The ashes of M. Hierome cast into the riuer of Rheine.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which testified vnto vs the acts and doings about the condemnation of master Hierome, and sent the same vnto vs to Prage in writting, doth thus conclude: All these things (saith hee) I did behold, see, and heare to bee done, in this forme and manner. And if any man doe tell you the contrarie, doe not credit him; for all those things which happened vnto him, when hee came toward Constance, and also at his first comming vnto Constance of his owne free will, and afterward when he was brought bound vnto Constance, as is aforesaid, I my selfe did see and perfectly behold, and for a perpetuall memorie thereof to be had for euer, I haue directed the same vnto you, not lying, or falsifying any point thereof, as he which is the searcher of all mens hearts can beare mee witnesse, willing rather to sustaine the note of ignorance and rudenesse of skile, to beare witnesse vnto the truth, then I would by any meanes be compelled by tickling, or flattering the eares of the hearers with fained and cloked speech, to swarue or goe aside from the truth.

The witnes of the Writer.

The truth of this storie.

Thus end the tragicall histories of master John Hus, and master Hierome of Prage, faithfully gathered and collected by a certaine Bohemian, being a present witnesse and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latine, and so sent by the said Bohemian into his country of Boheme, and againe translated out of the Latine with like fidelitie, into our English tongue.

In the meane time while master Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Councell, the nobles and lords of Boheme and of Morauia (but not a little agrieued thereat) directed their letters vnto this barbarous Councell of popish murderers, in tenour and forme of words as followeth.

The letter of the 54. Nobles of Morauia written vnto the Councell of Constance in the defence of master Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

To the right reuerend fathers and lords in Christ, the lords, cardinals, patriarks, primates, archbishops, bishops, ambassadours, doctors, and masters, and to the whole Councell of Constance: Wee the Nobles, lords, knights and esquires, of the famous Marquesdome of Morauia, with the desire of all goodnes, and the obseruation of the commandements of our Lord Iesus Christ.

FOrasmuch as euery man both by the law of nature, and also by Gods law, is commanded to do that vnto another man, which he would haue done vnto himselfe, and is forbidden to doe that thing vnto another, which hee would not haue done vnto himselfe, as our Sauiour saith: All things whatsoeuer you will that men should do vnto you, the same do you vnto them, for this is the law & the Prophets: yea, the law is fulfilled in this one point, Thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy self. We therfore (God being our author) hauing respect as much as in vs lieth vnto the said law of God, and the loue of our neighbour, before did send our letters vnto Constance for our dearely beloued friend of good memorie, master Iohn Husse bacheler of diuinitie, and preacher of the Gospell. Whom of late in the Councell of Constance (we know not with what spirit being led) you haue condemned as an obstinate heretike: neither hauing confessed any thing, neither being lawfully conuict as were expedient: hauing no errours or heresies declared or laid against him, but onely at the sinister, false and importune accusations, suggestions and instigations of his mortall enemies, and the traitors of our Kingdome and Marquesdome of Morauia. And being thus vnmercifully condemned, you haue slaine him with most shamefull and cruell death, to the perpetuall shame and infamie of our most Christian Kingdome of Boheme, and the famous Marquesdome of Morauia (as we haue written vnto Constance, vnto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund king of Romans, and of Hungary, the heire and successor of our kingdom) the which was also read & published in your congregations, which we wil here also haue enrolled; and haue burned him, as it is reported, in the reproch and contempt of vs.

Matth.7.

Rom.13.

Wherefore we haue thought good, euen now to direct our letters patents to your reuerences now present, in the behalfe of master Iohn Hus, openlie professing and protesting both with heart and mouth, that he the said master Iohn Hus, was a iust, good, and catholicke man, and a long season worthilie commended and allowed in our kingdome, for his life and conuersation. Hee also preached and taught vs and our subiects the law of the Gospell, and of the holie Prophets, and the bookes of the old and new Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approoued by the Church, and left many Monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continuallie admonishing both vs and all faithfull Christians to doe the like, diligently exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings and trauell, vnto quietnesse and concord: so that vsing all the diligence that we might, we neuer heard or could vnderstand, that master Iohn Hus had preached, taught, or by any meanes affirmed any errour or heresie in his Sermons, or that

The cause of Iohn Hus cleared by the testimonie of the nobles of Bohemia.

that by any manner of meanes he had offended vs, or our subiects, either by word or deed, but that hee alwaies led a quiet and a godlie life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to obserue and keepe the law of the Gospell, and the institutions of the holie fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the Church, and to the edifying of mens soules. Neither did these premisses, which you had so perpetrated to the reproch both of vs and our kingdome and marquesdome, suffice and content you, but that also without all mercie and pitie, you haue apprehended, imprisoned and condemned, and euen now peraduenture, like as you did master Iohn Hus, you haue most cruelly murdered the worshipfull man master Hierome of Prage, a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seuen liberall artes, and a famous philosopher, not being seene, heard, examined, neither conuict, but onely at the sinister and false accusation of his and our accusers and betraiers.

All that will liue godly in Christ. 2. Tim. 3.

Defence of M. Hierome of Prage.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and vnderstanding (which wee doe not without great griefe rehearse) as wee may also euidentlie gather by your writings, how that certaine detractors, odible both to God and men, priuie enuiers and betraiers, haue wickedly and grieuously, albeit falslie and traiterouslie, accused vs, our kingdome and marquesdome aforesaid, before you in youf councell, that in the said kingdome of Boheme, and marquesdome of Morauia, diuers errours are sprung vp, which haue grieuouslie and manifoldlie infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithfull men: in so much, that without a speedie stop or stay of correction, the said kingdome and marquesdome, together with the faithfull Christians therein, should incur an irrecuperable losse and ruine of their soules.

These cruell and pernitious iniuries which are laid vnto vs, and to our said kingdome and marquesdome, albeit most falslie and slanderouslie, how may we suffer? for so much as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other kingdomes of the world haue oftentimes wauered, making Schismes and Antipapes) our most Christian kingdome of Boheme, and most noble marquesdome of Morauia, since the time they did receiue the catholike faith of our Lord Iesus Christ, as a most perfect * quadrant, haue alwaies without reprofe stuck vnto the church of Rome, and haue sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges and great trauell, with what worship and due reuerence they haue reuerenced the holy mother the Church and her pastors, by their princes and faithfull subiects, it is more manifest then the day light vnto the whole world; and your selues, if you will confesse the truth, can witnesse the same also.

He meaneth the long schisme spoken of before, where three popes were striuing one against another.

* A quadrant being foure square pyonerbially, signifieth a man that is constant and immutable. Rom. 12.

Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the Apostle, may procure honest and good things, not onelie before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renowme of the kingdome and marquesdome, wee bee found cruell toward our neighbours; hauing a stedfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certaine true faith in Christ Iesu our Lord, by the tenour of these we signifie and declare vnto your fatherhoods, and to all faithfull Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoeuer man, of what estate, preheminence, dignitie, condition, degree, or religion so euer he be, which hath said, or affirmed, either doth say or affirme, that in the said kingdome of Boheme, and marquesdome of Morauia, heresies haue sprung vp which haue infected vs and other faithfull Christians, as is aforesaid (the onelie person of our most noble Prince and Lord, Sigismund king of Romans and of Hungarie, &c. our Lord and heire successor, being set apart, whom we trust and beleeue, not to be guiltie in the premisses) all and euery such man (as is aforesaid) doth lie falslie vpon his head, as a wicked and naughtie traitour and betraier of the said kingdome and marquesdome, and most traiterous vnto vs, and most pernitious heretike, the sonne of all malice and wickednesse, yea, and of the diuell himselfe, who is a liar and the father of all lies.

Iohn 8. Deut. 38. Psalm. 30.

Notwithstanding, we for this present committing the foresaid iniuries vnto God, vnto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquitie, will prosecute them more amplie before him, whom God shall appoint in the Apostolike see, to gouerne his holy Church, as the onely and vndoubted pastor. Vnto whom God willing, we exhibiting our due reuerence and obedience as faithfull children, in those things which are lawfull, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, will make our request and petition, that speedie remedie may bee prouided for vs, our said kingdome and marquesdome, vpon the premisses, according to the law of our Lord Iesus Christ; and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premisses notwithstanding we setting apart all feare and mens ordinances prouided to the contrarie, will maintaine and defend the law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the deuout, humble and constant preachers thereof, euen to the shedding of our bloud.

These noble men offered their obedience to the pope, no further then was lawfull, honest and agreeable to reason and the law of God. Marke this and learne you noble men.

Dated at Sternberg, in the yeere of our Lord, 1415. vpon S. Wenceslaus day, martyr of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Round about the said letters there were 54. seales hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seales they were. The names of which noble men, I thought it good here to anner withall, partly for the more credit of that hath been said, partly also for examples sake, to the intent that our noble men and gentlemen in this our Realme of England, now liuing in this cleare light of the Gospell, may by their example vnderstand, that if they ioyne themselues with the Gospell of Iesus, zealously, and as they should doe, yet are they neither the first, nor the most that so haue done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remaine in the storie to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthie gentlemen within the small kingdome of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so darke daies, and among so many enemies 200. yeeres agoe, to take part with Christ: And yet our gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeale to them to bee compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these nobles, whose names they may see and reade here following.

1	Alssokabat de Wiscowitz.		did accompanie Hus, and with certain horsemen conduct him to Constance.
2	Vlricus de Lhota.		
3	Ioan. de Kfimicz.		
4	Iosslko de Sczitowicz.		
5	Pærdus Zwiranowicz.	32	Henr. de Zrenowicz.
6	Ioan. de Ziwla.	33	Baczko de Cõuald.
7	Ioan. de Reychenberg.	34	Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.
8	Wildo Skitzyny.	35	Czẽko de Mossinow.
9	Drliko de Biela.	36	N.
10	Kos de Doloylatz.	37	Zibilutz de Clezã.
11	Ioan. de Simusin.	38	Ioan. de Paterswald.
12	Dobessimus de Tissa.	39	Parsifal de Namyescz.
13	Drazko de Aradeck.	40	Zodoni de Zwietzick.
14	Steph. de Hmodorkat.	41	Raczeck Zawskalp.
15	Ioan. Dern de Gabonecx.	42	Ion de Tossawicz.
16	Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.	43	Diwa de Spissnia.
17	Ioan Hinrsdorfar.	44	Steffko de Draczdw.
18	Psateska de Wilklek.	45	Issko de Draczdw.
19	Petrus Mog de Sczitowicy.	46	Odich de Hlud.
20	N. Studenica.	47	Wosfart de Paulowicz.
21	N. Brischell.	48	Pirebbor de Tirezenicz.
22	N. de Cromassona.	49	Rynard de Tyrczewicz.
23	Arannisick Donant de Polonia.	50	Bohunko de Wratisdow.
24	Ioan. Donant de Polonia.	51	Vlricus de Racdraw.
25	Ioan. de Cziczow.	52	Dessaw de Nali.
26	Wenceslaus de N.	53	Bonesb de Frabeniez.
27	N. de N.	54	Eybl de Roissowan.
28	N. N.		
29	Iosseck de N.		
30	Henricus de N.		
31	Waczlals de kuck.		
	This noble man		

After these things thus declared and discoursed concerning the history of John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, the order of place and countrie next would require, consequentlie to inferre and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations, which happened after and vpon the death of these men in the countrie of Boheme: but the order of time calleth mee backe, first to other matters heere of our owne countrie, which passed in the meane time with vs in England. Which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward returne to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside pertaining to the latter end of the Councell of Constance, and chosing of pope Martin, as the order of yeeres and time shall require.

Ye heard before pag. 541. how after the death of Thomas Arundell archb. of Cant. succeeded Henrie Chichelley, anno 1414. and sate 25. yeeres. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England: of whom many were compelled to abiure, some were burned, diuers were driuen to exile. Whereof partly now to intreate, as wee find them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon Cotiar of London, and Richard Turming; whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirme to be burned in the yeere wherein sir Roger Acton and M. Browne suffered; who indeede suffered not before the second yeere of Henrie Chichelley being archbishop of Canturbury, which was an. 1413. The history of which John Claydon, in the Registers is thus declared:

Vide supra. pag. 541. Henry Chichesley archbishop of Canturbury.

The

The storie of Iohn Claydon Coriar, and of Richard Turning Baker.

The history of Iohn Claydon Skinner of London, and of Richard Turning Baker.

Ex regist. Cant.

Iohn Claydon examined.

THe 17. of August 1415. did personally appeare Iohn Claydon Coriar of London (arrested by the maior of the said citie for the suspition of heresie) before Henry archbishop of Canturburie, in Saint Pauls Church: which Iohn (being obiected to him by the archbishop, that in the city of London and other places of the prouince of Canturbury, he was suspected by diuers godly and learned men for heresie, and to be contrary to the catholicke faith, and determination of the Church) did openly confesse and denied not, but that he had been for the space of 11. yéeres, suspected both about the citie of London, and also in the Prouince of Canturburie, and speciallie of the common sort, for Lollardie and heresie, and to be contrarie to the catholicke faith and determination of the Church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

Iohn Claydon first imprisoned by Robert Braybrooke bishop of London.

In somuch, that in the time of master Robert Braybrooke bishop of London deceased, he was for the space of two yéeres committed to the prison of Conwey, for the foresaid defamation and suspition, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fléete for three yéeres. Out of which prison he (in the raigne of king Hen. the fourth) was brought before lord Iohn Scarle then Chancellor to the king, and there did abiure all heresie and errour. And the said Iohn Claydon being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abiure the heresie of which he was suspect, before any other: did confesse, that in a Conuocation at London in Pauls Church before Thomas Arundell late archbishop deceased, hee did abiure all such doctrine which they called heresie and error contrarie to the catholicke faith and determination of the Church, and that he had not onely left such articles and opinions, wherein hee was defamed, but also did abstains from all companie that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither giue aid, helpe, counsell, nor fauor vnto them.

Iohn Claydon before abiured.

English bookes.

And moreouer, the said John was asked by the said archbishop, whether hee euer had in his house since his abiuration, in his keeping, any bookes written in English. Whereunto hee confessed, that hee would not denie, but that hee had in his house, and in his keeping many English bookes: for hee was arrested by the maior of the citie of London, for such books as hee had, which bookes (as hee thought) were in the maiors keeping. Vpon the which, the maior did openlie confesse, that hee had such bookes in his keeping, which in his iudgement were the worst, and the most peruerse that euer he did reade or see, and one booke that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand: and among the other bookes found with the said Iohn Claydon, the maior gaue vp the said booke before the archbishop. Whereupon the said Iohn Claydon, being asked of the archbishop if he knew that booke, did openlie confesse that he knew it very well, because he caused it to bee written of his owne costs and charges, for hee spent much monie thereupon since his abiuration. Then was hee asked who wrote it. He did answer, one called Iohn Grime.

The iudgement of the maior of London.

Claydon bestowed much monie vpon English books.

And further, being required what the said Iohn Grime was, hee answered, hee could not tell. Againe, being demanded whether hee did euer reade the same booke, he did confesse that he could not reade, but hee had heard the fourth part thereof read of one Iohn Fullar. And being asked whether hee thought the contents of that booke to be catholike, profitable, good, and true: Hee answered, that many things which he had heard in the same booke, were both profitable, good and healthfull to his soule: and as hee said, hee had great affection to the said booke, for a Sermon preached at Horsaldowne, that was written in the said booke. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abiuration, hee did commune with one Richard Baker, of the citie aforesaid; hee did answere, yea: for the said Richard Baker did come often vnto his house to haue communication with him. And being asked, whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of heresie, hee did answere againe, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the citie of London, as one whom they thought to be an heretike.

Iohn Claydon could not reade.

Richard Turming Baker.

This Turming belike, was then in prison.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said bookes to bee deliuered to master Robert Gilbert, doctour of diuinitie, to William Lindewood doctor of both lawes, and other Clerkes, to bee examined, and in the meane time Dauid Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthasar Mero, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to bee examined to master Iohn Escourt, generall examiner of Canturburie. This done, the archbishop continued his Session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the 11. of the said moneth, the said master Escourt openlie and publikelie exhibited the witnesses, being openlie read before the archbishop, and other bishops: which being read, then after that were read diuers tractations, found in the house of the said Iohn Claydon: out of the which, being examined, diuers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and specially out of the booke aforesaid: which booke the said Iohn Claydon confessed by his owne costs to bee written and bound, which booke was intituled, The Lanterne of light. In the which and in the other examined, were these Articles vnder written contained.

William Lindwood, doctor of both lawes.

An English book intituled, The Lanterne of light.

1. First, vpon the text of the Gospell, how the enemie did sow the tares, there is said thus: that wicked antichrist the pope hath sowed among the lawes of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authoritie, strength, nor valure.

2. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seates of the beast antichrist, when hee sitteth in them and raigneth aboue other people in the darke caues of errors and heresies.

3. That the bishops licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast. i. antichrist; and therefore simple and faithfull priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that antichrist, and without licence.

The heads and taile of antichrist.

4. That the court of Rome is the chiefe head of antichrist, and the bishops bee the bodie: and the new sects, that is, the monks, canons, and friers, brought in not by Christ, but dannablie by the pope, be the venemous and pestiferous taile of antichrist.

This is true, speaking of the inuisible Church.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church, but onelie such as bee elected and predestinate to saluation: seeing the Church is no other thing but the congregation of faithfull soules, which doe and will keepe their faith constantly, as well indeed as in word.

6. That Christ did neuer plant priuate religions in the Church, but whilest hee liued in this world hee did rote them out. By which it appeareth that priuate religions bee vnprofitable branches in the Church, and to be roted out.

7. That the materiall Churches should not be decked with gold, siluer, and pretious stone sumptuouslie, but the followers of the humilitie of Iesus Christ, ought to worship their Lord God humblie in meane and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now a daies.

Two causes of persecution noted.

8. That there be two chiefe causes of the persecution of the Christians: one is, the priests vnlawfull keeping of temporall and superfluous goods: the other is, the vnsatiable begging of the friers, with their hie buildings.

Foure conditions in giuing almes.

9. That almes is not giuen vertuouslie nor lawfully except it bee giuen with these foure conditions: first, vnlesse it bee giuen to the honour of God: secondlie, vnlesse it be giuen of goods iustly gotten: thirdlie, vnlesse it be giuen to such a person as the giuer thereof knoweth to be in charitie: and fourthlie, vnlesse it bee giuen to such as haue need, and doe not dissemble.

10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the scripture, and therefore it is not lawfull for priests to occupie themselues with singing in the Church, but with the studie of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

That bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

11. That Iudas did receiue the bodie of Christ in bread, and his bloud in wine. In the which it doth plainelie appeare that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before, doth truly remaine on the altar.

12. That all ecclesiasticall suffrages doe profit all vertuous and godly persons indifferentlie.

13. That the popes and the bishops indulgences be vnprofitable, neither can they profit them, to whom they bee giuen by any meanes.

14. That the laitie is not bound to obey the prelats whatsoeuer they command, vnlesse the prelates doe watch to giue God a iust account of the soules of them.

15. That images are not to bee sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawfull for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kisse them, nor to giue them any maner of reuerence.

The bookes of Iohn Claydon burned.

For the which articles, the archbishop with other bishops, and diuers learned communing together, first condemned the books as hereticall, and burned them in fire: and then because they thought the said Iohn Claydon to be forsworne and fallen into heresie, the archbishop did proceed to his definitiue sentence against the said Iohn personally appearing before him in iudgement (his confessions being read and deposed against him) after this manner.

The sentence and condemnation of Iohn Claydon.

IN the name of God, Amen. We Henrie by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolike sea, in a certaine cause of hereticall prauitie and of relapse into the same, whereupon Iohn Claydon lay man of the prouince of Canturbury, was detected, accused, and denounced, and in the said our prouince of Canturburie publikely defamed (as by publike fame and common report notoriously to vs hath been knowne) first, sitting in iudgement seat and obseruing all things lawfullie required in this behalfe, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitiue in forme as followeth. The name of Christ being inuocated and only set before our eies, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, producted, exhibited and confessed before vs, also by diuers signes and euidences we haue found the said Iohn Claydon to haue bin, and to be publikly and notoriously relapsed againe into his former heresie, heretofore by him abiured: according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of vs diligently searched, waighed & pondered before, to the intent that

that the said Iohn Claidon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reuerend brethren Richard bishop of London, Iohn bishop of Couentrie and Liechfield, and Steuen bishop of saint Dauids, and of other doctors as well of Diuinitie as of both lawes, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting vs in this behalfe, doe iudge, pronounce, and declare the said Iohn Claidon, to be relapsed againe into his heresie, which hee before did abiure, finally and definitiuely appointing him to be left vnto the secular iudgement, and so doe leaue him by these presents.

John Claidon committed to the secular power.

The law *de comburendo*, insufficient.

Thus John Claidon receiuing his iudgement and condemnation of the archbishop was committed to the secular power, and by them vniustly and vnlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporall magistrate had no such law sufficient for them, to burne any such man for religion condemned of the prelats, as is aboue sufficiently proued and declared, pag. 539. But to be short, Quo iure quaque iniuria, John Claidon notwithstanding by the temporall magistrates, not long after was had to Smithfield, where meekely hee was made a burnt offering vnto the Lord, An. 1415.

The death and martyrdome of John Claidon.

The burning of Iohn Claidon, and Richard Turning.

John Claidon, Richard Turning, martyrs.

Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which follow him, adde also that Richard Turming Baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of John Claidon, was likewise the same time burned with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the Register I find no sentence of condemnation giuen against the said Turming, neither yet in the storie of saint Albons is there any such mention of his burning made, but onely of the burning of John Claidon aforesaid: wherefore the iudgement hereof I leaue free to the Reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming this is certaine, that hee was accused vnto the bishops, and no doubt was in their hands, and bands. What afterward was done with him, I referre it vnto the authors.

Anno 1416

The next yeer after the burning of these two aforesaid and also of Iohn Hus being burnt at Constance, which was An. 1416. the prelats of England seeing the daily encrease of the Gospell, and fearing the ruine of their papall kingdome, were busilie occupied with all their counsell and diligence, to maintaine the same. Wherefore to make their state and kingdome sure, by statutes, lawes, constitutions, and terrour of punishment, as Thomas Arundell, and other prelats had done before, so the forenamed Henry Chichelley archbishop of Canturburie, in his conuocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough beene made before) against the poore Lollards: the copie and tenour whereof he sendeth abrode, to the bishop of London, and to other his Suffraganes, by them to be put in strait execution, containing in words as followeth.

Ex Regist. Chicheley. 217.

HEnry by the grace of God archbishop of Canturbury, primate of all England, and legate of the chiefe seate: to our reuerend brother in the Lord Richard, by the grace of God bishop of London, health and brotherly loue, with continuall increase. Lately in our last conuocation in saint Pauls church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergie of our prouince, we doe remember to haue made this order vnder written by your consents: When as among manie other our cares this ought to bee chiefe, that by some meanes wee take those heretickes, which like foxes lurke and hide themselues in the Lords vineyard: and that the dust of

You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your

negligence may be vtterly shaken from our feete and from the feete of our fellow brethren: in this the said conuocation of the prelats and clergie, wee haue ordained, that our fellow brethren, our Suffragans and archdeacons of our prouince of Canturburie, by themselues, their Officials or Commissaries in their iurisdictions, and euery of their charges in their countrey, twice euery yeare at the least, doe diligently inquire of such persons as are suspect of heresie: and that in euery such their archdeaconries in euery parish, wherein is reported any heretickes to inhabite, they cause three or more of the honestest men and best reported of, to take their oth vpon the holy Euangelist, that if they shall know or vnderstand any frequenting either in priuile conuenticles, or else differing in life or maners from the common conuersation of other catholike men, or else that hold any, either heresies or errours, or else that haue any suspected bookes in the English tongue, or that doe receiue any such persons suspect of heresies and errours into their houses, or that be fauourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conuersant with them, or else haue any recourse vnto them: they make certificates of those persons in writting, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspect, vnto the said our suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soone, and with as much speede as possible they can: And that the said archdeacon and euery of their Commissaries aforesaid, doe declare the names of all such persons denounced together with all the circumstances of them, the dioces, and places, and secretly vnder their seales doe send ouer vnto vs the same: And that the same diocesans effectually direct forth lawfull processe against them, as the qualitie of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discerne, define and execute the same.

Twice euery yeer to enquire for Lollards.

Against priuie conuenticles.

To differ from the common sort in life and maners, against the popes law.

Against English bookes.

And if perhaps they leaue not such persons conuict vnto the secular court, yet notwithstanding let them commit them vnto the perpetuall or temporall prisons, as the qualitie of the cause shall require, vntill the nexte conuocation of the prelats and clergie of our prouince of Canturburie, there personally to remaine: and that in the same prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth: And that of all and singuler the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they haue made, and what they haue found, and how in the processe they haue behaued themselues, and what persons so conuict they haue caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commissaries aforesaid, with all and all maner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and specially of the abiurations, if in the meane time they shall chance to abiure any heresies: that then in the nexte conuocation of the prelates and clergie vnder the forme aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and apertly to be certified to vs and our successors: And that they deliuer effectually to the official of our court, the same processe to remaine with them, or else in the register of our court of Canturburie; so that euery one, to whom such things appertaine for the further execution of the same processe, may haue recourse vnto the same official, with all effect.

We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought vnto your citie and diocesan, you cause the same in conuenient place and time to bee published, and that in all points you both obserue the same your selues and cause it also of others to bee diligently obserued: Commanding furthermore, all and singuler our fellow brethren and Suffragans, that they in likewise cause the same to bee published throughout all their cities and dioces, and both diligently obserue the same themselues, and also cause all others to do the same: and what thing soeuer you shall doe in the premises, that you certifie vs betwixt this and the feast of saint Peter ad vincula, nexte comming, that you duely certifie vs of these things, by your letters patents, containing the same effect, sealed with your seales. Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, Anno 1416.

The trouble of Iohn Barton, and Robert Chapell in cause of religion.

This Philip seemeth to be Philip Repington afore mentioned in the storie of Wicklife.

During the time of this conuocation in the yeere aboue said, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and defamed for heretickes: one named John Barton, vnto whom it was obiected by Philip bishop of Lincolne, that he had bene excommunicated about fiue or seuen yeeres before, vpon articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appeare being cited, nor would seeke to bee reconciled againe vnto the church. Which things being so proued against him, he was committed to the custodie of the foresaid Philip bishop of Lincolne, and so to be holden in prison, till hee should heare further what should be done.

The other was Robert Chapell, otherwise named Holbech, chaplaine sometime to the lord Cobham: vnto whom likewise it was obiected, that hee being vnder the sentence of excommunication about three or foure yeares, yet notwithstanding to the contempt of the keyes, did continue saying masse, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; Chapell denying that he did know any such excommunication giuen out against him. Then was the copie of his excommunication first made by the bishop of Roff, afterward denounced by the bishop of London at Paulscrosse, brought readd before him: and so that done, that Session brake vp for that time, which was about the latter end of May, An. 1416.

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The 17. day of the moneth of July next following, the said Chapell appeared againe before the archbishop and the prelats. To whom when it was obiected as before, how hee had preached without the bishops licence, in diuers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne; at length hee confessing and submitting himselfe, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted vnto him, yet at the last the bishop of Roff. putting in his hands the decree of the canon law; 1.q.7.cap. Quoties, &c. and causing him to reade the same, made him to abiure all his former articles and opinions as hereticall and schismaticall, neuer to hold the same againe, according to the contents of the foresaid canon. Whereupon the said Robert being absolued by the authoritie of the archbishop, (saue only that hee should not intermeddle with saying masse before he had beene dispensed from the pope himselfe for irregularitie) was iniopned by the archbishop himselfe for his penance, standing at Pauls to publish these articles following vnto the people, in stead of his confession giuen him to bee read.

R. Chapel abiureth.

Articles obtruded to R. Chapel to confesse.

In primis, I confesse that bishops, priests, and other ecclesiasticall persons, hauing no other profession to the contrarie, may lawfully haue, receiue, and retaine lands and possessions temporall, to dispense and dispose the same and the rents thereof, to the behoofe of themselues, or of their church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

2 Item, I confesse that it were very vnlawfull, yea rather vniust, that temporall men vpon any occasion, whatsoeuer it be, should take away temporall lands and possessions from the church either vniuersall or particular, to whom they are giuen, the consideration of the abuse of mortall prelats, priests, or other ministers in the church conuersant (which are mixt together good with bad) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Marke well this catholike doctrine of the popes church, concerning remission of sins.

3 Item, I confesse that peregrinations to the reliques of saints and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any catholike, but are auaileable to remission of sins, and approued of holy fathers, and worthie to be commended.

Marke how this doctrine agreeth with Gods commandement, and with his word.

4 Item, I confesse that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saints, being set vp in the church, or in any other place, is not forbidden: neither is any cause inductiue of Idolatrie, being so vsed as the holy fathers doe will them to bee worshipped: But rather such images doe profit much to the health of christians, because they doe put vs in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth moue and stir vp the people to prayers and deuotion.

Ergo, by this doctrine the iust man liueth not by his faith, but by his confession auricular.

5 Item, I confesse that auricular confession vsed in the church is necessary for a sinner to the saluation of his soule, and necessarie to bee done of such a priest, as is ordained by the church, to heare the confession of the sinner, and to enioyne him penance for the same: without which confession (if it may be had,) there is no remission of sinnes, to him that is in sinne mortall.

6 Item, I confesse and firmely doe hold, that although the priest be in mortall sinne, yet may he make the body of Christ, and minister other Sacraments and Sacramentals: which neuertheless are profitable to all the faithfull, whosoeuer receiueth them in faith and in deuotion of the church.

How can these priests be seruants of Christ which be makers of Christ?

7 Item, I confesse that bishops in their owne dioces, may forbid, decree, or ordaine vpon reasonable causes, that priests should not preach, without their speciall licence, the word of God, and that those that do against the same, should suffer the ecclesiasticall censures.

Priuate religions profitable, if we could tell wherefore.

8 Item, I confesse that priuate religions as well of monks, canons and other, as also of the begging friers, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the vniuersall church, and in no meanes contrarie to Gods law, but rather founded and authorised thereon.

9 Item, I promise and sweare vpon these holy Euangelies, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth neuer hold, affirme, nor by any meanes teach any thing contrarie vnto the premisses either openly or priuately.

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid in the daies of the abouenamed Henry Chichesley archbishop of Canturburie, great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men whose hearts began to bee wonne to the Gospell, were brought to much veration and caused outwardly to abiure.

Strait inquisition in England.

Christ had the hearts of men: they had their bodies.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men: yet the catholicke Antichrist would needs possesse their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abiure, besides the other aforesaid, was also John Taylor of the parish of S. Michaels at Quern. William James maister of art and physition, who had long remained in prison, and at length after abiuration, was licenced with his keeper, to practise his physicke.

A briefe sum of such as abiured, vnder Henry Chichesse.
I. Taylor.
M James.
John Dwarke.

Also I. Dwark, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the duke of Bedford to the foresaid Chichesse and other bishops to be examined before them in the conuocation: there hee at length reuolting from his doctrine recanted & did penance.

I. Iourdelay.

In like maner John Iourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincolne for a certaine booke, which he contrarie to the former decree of the bishops did conceale and did not exhibite vnto them, was therefore enforced to abiure. After whom was brought likewise before the bishops, one Katharin Dertford a Spinster, who being accused and examined vpon these 3. articles concerning the sacrament of the popes altar, adoration of Images, and of pilgrimage, answered that she was not able, being vnlearned, to answere to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but onely her Creed and x. commandements: and so was shee committed to the vicar generall of the B. of Wint. (for that she was of the same dioces) to be kept and further to be examined of the same. Ex regist. H. Chichesley.

I. Iourdelay abiureth.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the parson of Yeggely in Lincolnshire, named M. Rob. who being long kept in the Tower, at length by the kings writ was brought & examined the same time vpon the like articles, to wit: touching the sacrament of their altar, peregrination, adoration of Images, and whether it was lawfull for spirituall men to enioy temporall lordships, &c. To the which articles he answered (saith the Register) doublie and mockingly, saue only in the sacrament he seemed something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherfore being committed to the custodie and examination of Richard bishop of Lincolne, in the end he was also induced to submit himselfe.

Robert parson of Yeggeley examined.

The same likewise did M. Henry of Tenterden, being suspected and arrested for companie keeping with them, whom the bishops called Lollards, and for hauing suspected bookes.

M. henry of Tenterden examined.

Besides these, diuers other there were also which in the same conuocation were conuented, and reuoked their opinions, as I. Galle a priest of London, for hauing a booke in English, intituled: A booke of the new law. Item, Richard Wonke, vicar of Chesham in Lincolneshire, who submitted himselfe likewise. In this race and number followed moreouer, Bartholomew Cornmonger, Nic. Hoper seruant to the lord Cobham, Tho. Granter with other mo, mentioned in the foresaid Register.

A booke of the new law: I. Galle: Rob. Wonke. Bart. Cornmonger: N. Hopert Tho. Granter, troubled for their doctrine.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Radulph Mungin priest, who for the same doctrine was arrested and sent vp by the lord Chancellor of England, to the foresaid archbishop, and by him committed to Dauid Price, vicar generall to the bishop of London: Where after he had endured foure monethes in prison, hee was by the said Dauid presented to the conuocation, against whom diuers articles were obiected.

But for the better explaning of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this conuocation prouinciall, pope Martin had sent downe to the clergie of England, for a subsidie to be gathered of the church, to maintaine the popes warre against the Lollards (so the papists did terme them) of Bohemia. Also another subsidie was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerke maister of Art of Oxford, who flying out of England, was at the councell of Basill, disputing on the Bohemians side. And thirdly, another subsidie was also required to persecute M. Russell, Warden of the gray friers in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to maintaine his opinion before the pope, and there escaped out of prison, &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreate. In the meane time marke here the pretie shifts of the pope to hooke in the English money by all maner of pretences possible.

A subsidie gathered by the pope to fight against the faithfull of Bohemia.

Romish sleights to get the English money.

Thus Rafe Mungin, the foresaide examinate, appearing before the bishops in the conuocation, it was articulated against him, first that he should affirme and hold, not to be lawfull for any christian to fight and make warre against the heretickes of Bohemia.

Articles obiected against Rafe Mungin.

Item, it was to him obiected, that he did hold and say, not to be lawful for any man to haue propriety of goods, but the same to be common: which he expresslie denied that euer he so said or affirmed. Whereby we haue to obserue, how the craftie malice of these aduersaries vseth falslie to collect and surmise of men, what they neuer spake, wherby to oppresse them wrongfully, whom by plaine truth they cannot expugne.

Moreouer, they obiected against him, that he should keepe companie with maister Clerke aforesaid, and also that hee dispersed in the citie of London, certaine bookes of John Wickliffe and of Peter Clerke, namely, the booke Trialogus, and the gospels of John Wickliffe, &c. He was charged moreouer to haue spoken against the popes indulgences, for that the pope had no more power to giue indulgences then hee had.

Trialogus. The Gospels translated by I. Wickliffe.

Upon these and other such articles obiected, the said Mungin being asked if he would reuoke, answered that it seemed to him not iust or meete so to doe, which did not know himselfe guiltie of any heresie. Thus he being respited for the time, was committed to prison till the next sitting; who then being called diuers and sundrie times afterward before the bishops, after long inquisition and straite examination made, also depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, hee notwithstanding still denied as before, to recant. Wherefore the foresaid Henrie the archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitiue, condemned him to perpetuall prison.

Radulfe Mungin condemned to perpetuall prison.

After

Thomas Granter. Richard Monke.

After whole condemnation, the Sunday next following, the recantation of Thomas Granter, and of Richard monke priests aboue mentioned, were openly read at Pauls Crosse, the bishop of Rochester the same time preached at ỹ said Crosse. The tenour of whose recantation, with his articles in the same expressed, here vnder followeth.

The recantation of Thomas Granter. Note the doctrine and opinions in those daies, where the Gospell tooke place.

IN the name of God. Before you my lord of Canturbirie, and all you my lords here being present, and afore you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter priest vnworthie, dwelling in the citie of London, feeling and vnderstanding, that afore this time I affirmed open errors and heresies, saying, beleeuing, and affirming within this citie, that he that christian men callen pope, is not very pope, ner Gods vicarie in earth, but I said he was Antichrist. Also I said, beleeued, and affirmed, that after the sacramentall words said by a priest in the masse, there remaineth materiall bread and wine, and is not turned into Christs body and his blood. Also I said and affirmed that it was not for to doe in no wise, to goe on pilgrimage, but it was better I said to abide at home and beate the stooles with their heeles; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they soughten. Also I said and affirmed that I held no Scripture catholike ner holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the Legends and liues of saints, I held hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I held vntrue. Because of which errours and heresies I was tofore M. Dauie Price, vicar generall of my lord of London, and since tofore you my lord of Canturburie and your brethren in your councell prouinciall, and by you fully informed, which so said, mine affirming, beleeuing and teaching, bene open errours and heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the church of Rome. Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the doctrine of holy church, and depart fro all maner errours and heresie, and turne with good will and heart to the one head of the church, considering that holy church shitteth ner closeth not her bosome to him that will turne againe, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather he ben turned and liue: with a pure heart I confesse, detest, and despise my said errours and heresies, and the said opinions I confesse as heresies and errours, to the faith of the church of Rome, and to all vniuersally holy church repugnant. And therefore these said opinions in speciall, and all other errours and heresies, doctrines and opinions, ayen the faith of the church, and the determinations of the church of Rome, I abiure and forsweare, here tofore you all, and sweare by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall neuer hold, teach, ne preach errour, errours, heresie, ne heresies, nor false doctrine against the faith of holy church, and determinatton of the church of Rome, ner none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such maner things by me or any other person, openly or priuily I shall defend. I shall neuer after this time bee receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defendor of heretickes, or of any person suspect of heresie, ner I shall trow to him, ner wittingly fellaship with him, ner yeue him counsell, fauour, yiftes, ne comfort. And if I know any heretickes, or of heresie, or of such false opinions, any person suspect, or any man or woman making or holding priuie conuenticles, or assemblies, or any diuers or singular opinions from the common doctrine of the church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellers, or defenders, or any that haue suspect bookes or quiers of such errours and heresies: I shall let you my lord of Canturburie, or your officers in your absence, or the Diocesans and Ordinaries of such men, haue soone and ready knowing, so helpe me God and holydome, and these holy Euangelies by me bodily touched.

One head, that is, the vnitie of the church.

Wentlely to the church of Rome.

¶ After this recantation at the crosse thus published, and his submission made, the said Granter then was by the aduice of the prelats, put to seuen yeeres prisonment, vnder the custodie and charge of the bishop of London.

After this, followed in like maner the recantation of Richard Monke. Also of Edmund Frith, which was before Butler to sir John Oldcastle.

The affliction and trouble in Kent, vnder Chichesley.

Besides these aboue remembred, many and diuers there be in the said register recorded, who likewise for their faith and religion were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the dioces of Kent, in the townes of Romney, Tenterden, Woodchurche Cranbroke, Stophelherst, Benenden, Halden, Roluenyden and others, where as whole households, both man and wife, were driuen to forsake their houses and townes for danger of persecution: as sufficiently appeareth in the processe of the archbishop Chichelsie against the said persons, and in the certificate of Burbath his officiall, wherein are named these persons following.

Persons persecuted in Kent.

1. W. White priest.	9. W. Chiueling.
2. Tho. Grenested priest.	10. John Tame.
3. Bartho. Cronmonger.	11. John Fowlin.
4. John Wadnon.	12. William Somer.
5. Ioan his wife.	13. Marian his wife.
6. Tho. Euerden.	14. John Abraham.
7. William Euerden.	15. Robert Munden.
8. Steuen Robin.	16. Laurence Coke.

These being cited vp together by the bishop would not appeare. Whereupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to flie their houses and townes, and shift for themselues as couertly as they might. When Burbath and other officers had sent word to the archb. that they could not be found, then he directed downe order that Citations should bee set vp for them on euery church doze through all townes where they did inhabite, appointing them a day and terme when to appeare. But notwithstanding, when as they yet could not bee taken, neither would appeare, the archbishop sitting in his tribunall seate, proceedeth to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them, in the register doth not appeare: but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselues.

The seconde apprehension of the lord Cobham.

¶ Concerning sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension, with his whole storie and life, sufficiently hath beene expressed before, pag. 515. how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned fallie of heresie, escaped afterward out of the Tower & was in Wales about the space of foure yeares. In the which meane time, a great summe of money was proclaimed by the king, to him that could take the said sir John Oldcastle, either quicke or dead. About the end of which foure yeares being expired, the lord Powes, whether for loue and greedinesse of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all maner of waies how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloodie purpose, and brought the lord Cobham bound vp to London: which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1417. and about the moneth of December. At which time, there was a parliament assembled at London, for the releefe of money the same time to be sent to ỹ king, whom the bishops had sent out (as yee heard before) to fight in France. The records of which parliament doe thus say: that on tuesday the xiij. day of December, and the xxix. day of the said parliament, sir John Oldcastle of Cowling, in the countie of Kent, knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the kings bench, and excommunicated before by the archbishop of Canturburie for heresie, was brought before the lords, and hauing heard his said conuictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and processe, it was adiudged that hee should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realme: that he should be carted to the tower of London, and from thence drawen through London vnto the new gallowes in Saint Giles without Temple barre, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

The L. Powes playeth Judas.

Treason falsly surmised.

As touching the pretensed treason of this lord Cobham fallie ascribed vnto him in his inditement, rising vpon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggrauated by rigour of words, rather then vpon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath beene discoursed before in my defence of the said lord Cobham, against Alanus Copus pag. 523. Where againe is to be noted, as I said before, how by this appeareth, that the lord Cobham was neuer executed by force of the inditement or outlawrie, because if he had, he should then haue beene brought to the barre in the kings bench, and there the iudges should haue demanded of him, what he could haue said, why he should not haue died: and then not shewing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the iudges should haue awarded and giuen the iudgement of treason: which being not so, it is cleare he was not executed vpon the inditement. Besides, to proue that he was not executed vpon the inditement, and the outlawrie, the maner of the execution proueth it, because it was neither the execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the Judge, as by due order of law was requisite.

Vide supra, pag. 523.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeate againe, that albeit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the Act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons assented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in such sort (as if indeede hee were no traitor) that any man may not by search of the truth, vtter and set forth sincerely and iustly, the very true and certaine cause, whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth by all circumstance and firme arguments, to rise principally of his religion, which first brought him in hatred of the bishops: the bishops brought him in hatred of the king: the hatred of the king brought him to his death and martyrdome. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthie seruant of Christ the lord Cobham.

Judas seeketh for his reward.

Moreouer, in the records aboue mentioned it followeth, how in the said parliament, after the martyrdome of this valiant knight, motion then was made, that the lord Powes might be thanked and rewarded, according to the proclamation made, for his great trauell taken in the apprehension of sir John Oldcastle knight, hereticke. Thus stand the words of the record. Where two things are to bee noted: first, how sir John here in the record is called not traitor, but hereticke onely. Secondly, marke how this brother of Judas here craueth his reward, for betraying the innocent blood. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and quid vultis mihi dare in this world, will haue an heauie reward hereafter in the world to come, vnlesse hee repented, &c.

The description of the cruell Martyrdome of sir Iohn Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.

An. 5. Henr. 5. Act. 17.

Furthermore, in the said Parliament, Act. 17. it was enacted that the church and all estates should enioy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the common law: meaning belike, the excluding of the iurisdiction of the popes forreine power, which hath alwaies by the common law bene excluded out of this realme.

An. 5. Hen. 5. Act. 7.

In the same parliament also a grieuous complaint was made (by the bishops no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, heretickes, and traitors, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Wherunto answer was made, that the statutes therefore made should bee executed, &c.

All the blame laid to the Lollards.

Thus the clergie Tanquam leones rugientes, ceased not to roare after christian blood: and whosoeuer was else in fault, still the clergie cried: crucifie Christ, and deliuer vs Barrabas: For then all horrible facts and mischiefes, if any were done, were imputed to the poore Lollards.

And now from our English matters, to returne againe to the storie of the Bohemians, from whence wee haue a little digressed: when as the newes of the barbarous crueltie exercised at Constance against Iohn Hus, and Hierom of Prage, were noised in Boheme, the nobles and gentlemen of Morauia and Boheme, such as fauoured the cause of Iohn Hus, gathering themselues together in the zeale of Christ: first sent their letter vnto the councell, expostulating with them, for the iniurie done to those godly men, as is before expressed, page 554. For the which letter they were all cited vp to the councell. Vnto this letter Sigismund the emperour maketh answere againe in the name of the whole councell: first, excusing himselfe of Iohn Hus his death, which he said was against his safe conduct, and against his will: Insomuch that hee rose in anger from the councell, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembred. Secondly, hee requireth them to bee quiet, and to conforme themselues peaceably vnto the order of the catholike church of Rome, &c.

Also the councell hearing or fearing some stirre to rise among the Bohemians, did make lawes and articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of xxiiij.

Articles decreed in the councell of Constance against the Bohemians.

FIrst, that the king of Bohemia shall be sworne to giue obedience and to defend the liberties of the church of Rome.

That all masters, Doctors and priests, shall be sworne to abiure the doctrine of Wickliffe, and Hus, in that councell condemned.

That all they which being cited, would not appeare, should also be sworne to abiure: and they which would not appeare, contemning the censure of the keies, should haue processe against them, and be punished.

That all such lay men as had defended the causes of Iohn Wicliffe and Iohn Hus, should sweare to defend them no more, and to approue the doings of that councell, and the condemnation of Iohn Hus.

That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy should be sworne to restitution.

That priests being expelled from their benefices, should be restored againe.

That all prophaners of churches should be punished after the canonicall sanctions.

That such as had beene promoters in the councell against Iohn Hus, should be permitted safely to returne into Boheme againe, and to enioy their benefices.

That the reliques and treasure taken out of the church of Prage, should be restored fully againe.

That the Vniuersitie of Prage should be restored againe and reformed, and that they which had beene the disturbers therof, should be really punished.

That the principall heretickes and doctors of that sect, should be sent vp to ỹ see apostolique, namely, Ioánes Iessenetz, Iacobellus de Misna, Simon de Tysna, Simon de Rochinzano, Christianus de Brachatitz, Ioannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de Loben, The pronoste of Alhallowes, Zaisaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

The fauourers of Iohn Hus in Boheme.

That all Secular men, which communicated vnder both kinds, should abiure that heresie, and sweare to stop the same hereafter.

That they which were ordained Priests by the suffragane of the archbishop of Prage, taken by the lord Zenko, should not be dispensed with, but sent vp to the see apostolicke.

This suffragan was a good man and held with I. Hus.

That the treatises of Iohn Wickliffe, translated into the Bohemian tongue by Iohn Hus, and Iacobellus, should bee brought to the Ordinarie.

Wickliffes bookes translated by I. Hus and Iacobellus into the Bohemian speech.

That the treatises of Iohn Hus condemned in the councell, should also be brought to the Ordinarie

That all the tractations of Iocobellus De vtraque specie, de Antichristo (wherein he calleth the pope Antichrist) Et de remanentia panis post consecrationē, should likewise be brought and burned.

That all songs and ballets made to the preiudice of the councell, and of the catholicke persons of both states, should be forbid to be sung in cities, townes and villages, vnder great and extreme punishment.

That none should preach the word without the licence of the Ordinarie, or of the parson of that place.

That ordinaries and prelats, hauing iurisdiction, should not be stopped in their iurisdiction, by the secular power, vnder paine of excommunication.

That all and singuler persons shall be commanded to obedience, vnder paine of excommunication: and that whosoeuer knoweth any person to fauour any Wickleuistes or their doctrine, or that keepeth companie with suspect persons, he shall present the same to his Dioceſans or his Officials.

That

That the confederacie of the seculars made betweene themselues, or any of the spiritualty, to the preiudice of the foresaid councell, and of the apostolike see and Church of Rome, in the fauour of John Husse, Hierome of Prage, and other in the said councell condemned, shall bee dissolued.

That the rites and ceremonies of christian religion, touching Gods seruice, images, and worshipping of reliques, shall bee obserued, and transgressours of the same bee punished.

Concilium magnanimum.

That all and singuler, either spirituall or secular that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintaine the opinions and articles of John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome, in this councell condemned, and conuict of the same, shall be holden for heretickes, and falling in relapse, shall be burned.

That all secular persons being monished and charged by the Ordinaries, shal be bound to giue their aid and furtherance vnto them, touching the premisses.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruell articles, contemning the vaine deuices of these prelats and fathers of the councell, ceased not to proceede in their league and purpose begunne, ioyning themselues more strongly together.

Deposing of pope John 23. Ex hist. Albani.

In this meane time it happened, that during this councell of Constance, after the deposing of pope John, and spoiling of his goods, which came to 75. thousand pounds of gold and siluer, as is reported in the storie of Saint Albans, pope Martine vpon the day of Saint Martine, was elected. Concerning whose election, great preparation was made before of the councell, so that beside the cardinals, fiue other bishops of euery nation should enter into the conclaue, who there together should be kept with thinne diet, till they had founded a pope. At last, when they were together, they agreed vpon this man, and not tarrying for opening the doore, like mad men, for hast, brast open an hole in the wall, crying out, habemus papam, Martinum, wee haue a Martine pope. The emperour hearing thereof, with the like hast, came apace, and falling downe kissed the new popes feet. Then went they all to the church together, and sang, Te Deum.

The election of pope Martine. The emperor kisseth the popes feet.

The next day following, this Martine was made priest (which before was but a cardinall deacon) and the next day after was consecrate bishop, and sang his first masse, whereat was present 140. mitred bishops. After this the next morow, the new holy pope ordained a generall procession, where a certaine clerke was appointed to stand with flare, and fire, who setting the flare on fire, thus said: Ecce pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi. i. Behold holy father, thus vadeth ỹ transitorie glory of this world. Which done, the same day the holy father was brought vp vnto an high scaffold (saith the story) I will not say to an high mountaine, where was offered to him all the glorie of the world, &c. there to bee crowned for a triple king. This done, the same day after dinner, the new crowned pope was with great triumph brought through the middest of the citie of Constance, where all the bishops and abbats followed with their miters. The popes horse was all trapt with red skarlet downe to the ground. The Cardinals horses were all in white silke, the emperour on the right side, and prince elector on the left, playing both the popes footemen, went on foote, leading the popes horse by the bridle.

Pope Martine.

The coronation of pope Martine. Meretrix equitans super bestium: Apocalyp.

The pope on horsebacke, the emperour on foote.

As this Pageant thus with the great giant procéded, and came to the market place, there the Iewes (according to the maner) offered to him their law and ceremonies. Which the pope receiuing, cast behind him, saying: Recedant vetera, noua sunt omnia. i. Let old things passe, all things bee made new, &c. Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Vrsperg. This was Anno 1417.

Why then doth the pope keepe still the old Iewes ceremonies, if al things be made new? Anno 1417

Thus the pope beeing now confirmed in his kingdome, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherein partly he moueth them to catholike obedience, partly hee dissembleth with them, fayning, that if it were not for the emperours requeſt, he would enter processe against them. Thirdly and finally hee threatneth to attempt the vttermost against them, and with all force to inuade them, as well with the apostolicall, as also with the secular arme, if they did still persist, as they began.

Albeit these new threats of the new bishop, did nothing moue the constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeale of Christs word had before inflamed.

And although it had beene to be wished, such bloodshed and warres not to haue followed: yet to say the truth, how could these Rabines greatly blame them herein, whom their bloodie tyrannie had before prouoked so vniustly, if now with their glosing letters they could not so easilie appease them againe?

Wherefore these foresaid Bohemians, partly for the loue of John Hus and Hierome their countrimen, partly for the hatred of their malignant papistrie, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemne memoriall of the death of John Hus and Hierome, decréeing the same to bee holden and celebrate yearely. And afterward, by meanes of their friends, they obtained certaine churches of the king, wherin they might freely preach and minister the Sacraments vnto the congregation. This done, they suppressed diuers monasteries, phasicall temples, and idolatrous phanes, beginning first with the great monasterie of the blacke friers, eight miles from Prage, and driuing away the wicked and vicious priests and monks out of them, or compelling them vnto a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing vnder the conduct of a certaine noble man named Nicolas, they went againe vnto the king, requiring to haue more and ampler churches granted vnto them. The king seemed at the first willingly and gently to giue eare vnto the said Nicolas intreating for the people, and commanded them to come againe the next day.

A yerely memoriall of John Hus and Hie-

rome kept among the Bohemians.

When the people were departed, the king turning himselfe to the noble man Nicolas, which taried still behind, said: Thou hast begun a web to put me out of my kingdome, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithall I will hang thée. Whereupon he immediately departed out of the kings presence, and the king himselfe went into the castle of Villegrade: within a while after, into a new castle, which hee himselfe had builded fiue stones casts from thence, sending embassadors to his brother to require aid.

K. Wincelaus threatneth Nicolas.

These protestants being assembled in the towne of Prage, holding their conuentions: the king sent forth his chamberlaine with three hundred horsmen, to runne vpon them: but he hauing respect vnto his life, fled. When newes thereof was brought vnto the king, all that were about him being amazed, vtterly detested the fact: but the kings cupbearer standing by, said: I knew before that these things would thus come to passe. Whom the king in a rage taking hold of, threw him downe before his feet, and with his dagger would haue slaine him: but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado, he pardoned him his life. Immediately ỹ king being taken with a palsie, fell sicke, and within eightéene daies after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to bee put to death, incessantly calling for aide of his brother, and other his friends, hee departed this life before the princes which hee had sent vnto, were come with aide, when hee had reigned 55. yeares, and was about the age of 57. yeeres.

The death of king Wincelaus.

The marueilous worke of Gods iudgement to be noted, in defending his people.

The storie of Zisca.

Out of Eneas Siluius.

IMmediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certaine noble man named Zisca, borne at Troſnouia, which from his youth vpward, was brought vp in the kings court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battell, where as he had valiantly borne himselfe. This man being sore grieued for the death of John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, minding to reuenge the iniuries which the councell had done, greatly to the dishonour of the kingdome of Boheme, vpon their complices and adherents: he gathered together a number of men of warre, and subuerted the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling downe, and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driuing away the priests and monks, which he said were kept vp in their cloisters, like swine in their sties to bee fatted. After this his armie being increased, hauing gathered together about fortie thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Villegrade, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca vnder the conduct of Coranda, went speedily vnto Pelzina, where as he knew he had many friends of his faction, and tooke the towne into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those which taried behind, tooke the castle of Villegrade.

Zisca getteth Pelzina.

Then the queene Sophia being very careful, sent letters and messengers vnto the emperour Sigismund, and other nobles adioyning vnto her, requiring aide and helpe: but the emperour made preparation against the Turke, which had then lately wonne certaine castles of him. Whereupon the queene seeing all aide so farre off, together with Zenko Warterberge, gathered an host with the kings treasure, and fortified the castle of Prage, and the lesser citie which ioyneth vnto the castle, making gates and towers of wood vpon the bridge ouer the riuer Multane, to stoppe that the protestants should haue no passage that way. Then it happened that at the Ile of S. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equall or indifferent battell with them.

The queene sendeth for Sigismund the emperour.

In the meane time the number of the protestants being increased in Prage, they fought for the bridge. In which battell many were slaine on both parts, but at the length the Husstes wan the bridge, and the nether part of lesser Prage, the queenes part fleeing into the vpper part thereof: where as they turning againe fiercely renued the battell, and fought continually day and night by the space of fiue daies. Many were slaine on both parts, and goodly buildings were raced, and the councell house, which was in a low place, was vtterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate, the embassadors of the emperour Sigismund were come: which taking vpon them the rule and gouernance of the realme, made a truce

The emperors embassadors agree with the citizens of Prage.

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or leagus with the citie of Prage vnder this condition, that the castle of Wisgrade being rendred, it should bee lawfull for them to send emballadours to the emperour Sigismund to intreat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render Pelzina and Piesta with the other forts which hee had taken. These conditions thus agreed vpon and receiued, all the forreine protestants departed out of the citie, and the Senate of the citie began to gouerne againe according to their accustomed maner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the papists which were gone out of the towne, durst not returne againe: but still looked for the emperour, by whose presence they thought they should haue bene safe. But this their hope was frustrate by meanes of certaine letters which were sent from the emperour, wherein it was written that hee would shortly come and rule the kingdome, euen after the same order and maner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereby the protestants vnderstood that their sect and religion should be vtterly banished, which was not begun during the reigne of the said Charles.

About Christmas, the emperour Sigismund came to Brunna a citie of Morauia, and there hee pardoned the citizens of Prage, vnder condition that they would let downe the chaines and barres of the citie, and receiue his rulers and Magistrates. Whereunto the whole citie obeyed, and the magistrates thereof lifting vp their hands vnto heauen, reioyced at the comming of the new king. But the emperour turned another way, and went vnto Uratislauia, the head citie of Slesia, where as a little before, the communaltie of the citie had slaine in an insurrection, the magistrates, which his brother Wencellaus had set in authoritie: the principals whereof he beheaded. The nelves whereof when they were reported at Prage, the citizens being feared by the examples of the Uratislauians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and hauing obtained Cencho on their part, which had the gouernment of the Castle of Prage, they sent letters into all the realme, that no man should suffer the emperour to enter, which was an enemie vnto Boheme, and sought nothing else, but to destroy the kingdome: which also bound the ancient citie of the Pzutenians, vnder order by pledges, and put the Marquesse of Brandenburge from the Bohemian crowne: and had not onely suffered Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage to be burned at the councell of Canstance, but also procured the same, and with all his indeauour did impugne the doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whilest these things were thus done, Zisca hauing giuen ouer Pelzina by composition, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through policie hee was alwaies victor. The places where they fought, were rough and vnknowne, his enemies were on horsebacke, and all his souldiers on foote, neither could there bee any battell fought, but on foote. Whereupon, when his enemies were allighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women which customablie followed the host, to cast their kerchieffes vpon the ground, wherein the horsemen being intangled by their spurres, were slaine before they could vnloose their feet.

The citie of Prage fell from the emperour.

The complaint of the citie of Prage against Sigismund.

The policie of Zisca.

After this, he went vnto Ausca, a towne situate vpon the riuer Lusinitius, out of which towne Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren papists, had cast out many protestants. This towne Zisca tooke by force of armes the first night of Lent, raced it, and set it on fire. He also tooke the castle of Litius, which was a mile off, whither as Ulricius was fled, and put Ulricius and all his familie to the sword, sauing one onely.

Then, forsomuch as hee had no walled or fensed towne to inhabite, hee chose out a certaine place vpon the same riuer, which was fensed by nature, about eight miles from the citie of Ausca. This place hee compassed in with walles, and commanded euery man to build them houses, where they had pitched their tents, and named this citie Thabor, and the inhabitants his companions Thaborites, because their citie by all like, was builded vpon the top of some hill or mount. This citie, albeit that it was fensed with high rockes and cleaues, yet was it compassed with a wall and baumure, and the riuer of Lucinitius fenseth a great part of the towne; the rest is compassed in with a great brooke, the which running straight into the riuer Lusinitius, is stopped by a great rocke, and driuen backe towards the right hand, all the length of the citie, and at the further end it ioyneth with the great riuer. The way vntoit by land is scarce thirtie foote brode, for it is almost an Iland. In this place there was a deepe ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thicknesse, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and forts set in their conuenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the castle, and those that came after him, fortified it, euery man according to his owne deuice. At that time the Thaborites had no horsemen amongst them, vntill such time as Nicolas, master of the mint (whom the emperour had sent into Bohemia with a M. horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Thaborites lodging all night in a village named Nogize) was surprised by Zisca comming vpon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire vpon the village. Then Zisca taught his Souldiers to mount on horsebacke, to leape, to runne, to turne, to cast in a ring, so that after this hee neuer led armie without his wings of horsemen.

The citie of Thabor builded.

In this meane time Sigismundus the emperour gathering together the nobles of Slesia, entred into Boheme, and went vnto Grecium, and from thence with a great armie vnto Cuthna, alluring Cencho with many great and large promises, to render vp the castle of Prage vnto him, and there placed himselfe to annoy the towne. Thus Cencho infamed with double treason, returned home. The Citizens of Prage sent for Zisca, who speeding himselfe thither with the Thaborites, receiued the citie vnder his gouernance. In the Bohemians host there was but onely two Barons, Yulco Crussina of Lituburge, and Yulco of Waldestene, with a few other nobles. All the residue were of the common people. They went about first to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fensed, and could not be wonne by any other meanes then with famine: whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be caried in. But the Emperour opened the passages by dint of sword, and when he had giuen vnto them which were besieged, all things necessarie, hauing sent for aid out of the empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the citie. There were in the emperours campe the dukes of Saron, the marquesse of Brandenburge, and his sonne in law Albert of Austrich. The citie was assaulted by the space of fiue weekes. The emperour Sigismund was crowned in the Metropolitane house in the castle, Conradus the archbishop solemnising the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In ỹ meane time the captaines Rosenses and Chragerie, which had taken the tents of the Thaborites, being ouercome in battell by Nicolas Hus, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power for that purpose, were driuen out of their tents, and Grecium the queenes citie was also taken.

Sigismund getteth the castle of Prage.

Zisca getteth the citie of Prage.

Prage besieged of Sigismund.

There is also aboue the towne of Prage a high hill, which is called Widechon. On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possesse it, with whom the Marquesse of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his souldiers. For when as the Misnians had gotten the toppe of the hill, being driuen backe into a corner, which was broken and steepe, and fiercely set vpon, when as they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slaine, and some falling headlong from the hill, were destroyed. Whereupon the emperour Sigismund raising his siege, departed vnto Cuthna, and Zisca with his companie departed vnto Thabor, and subdued many places: amongst which hee subuerted a towne pertaining to the captaine of Wisgrade. During this time the castle of Wisgrade was strongly besieged, where as, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eate horse flesh. Last of all, except the emperour did aide them by a certaine day, they promised to yeeld it vp, but vnder this condition, that if the Emperour did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The Marques of Misnia ouercome in the skirmish.

Sigismund the emperor raiseth his siege.

The emperour was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entring into a straite vnderneath the castle, was suddenly set vpon by the souldiers of Prage, where he had a great ouerthrow, and so leauing his purpose vnperformed, returned backe againe. There were slaine in that conflict fiftie noble men of the Morauians, and of the Hungarians, and other a great number. The castle was deliuered vp vnto them. Whilest these things were in doing, Zisca tooke Bollaus a captaine, which was surnamed Cigneus, by force, in a very strong towne of his, and brought him vnto his religion. Who a few yeares after, leading the protestants host in Austria, was wounded before Rhetium, and died. There were in the territorie of Pelzina many Monasteries, of the which Zisca subuerted and burned fiue. And forsomuch as the Monasterie of saint Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himselfe.

The emperour fighting against Zisca had the ouerthrow.

The abbeies of Pelzina subuerted.

Thither also came the emperour with his armie: but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, hee most cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed and left Boheme. Then Zisca went with his armie vnto Pelzina; but forasmuch as he saw the citie so fensed, that hee was in doubt of winning the same, hee went from thence to Commitauia a famous citie, the which hee tooke by force, burning all the priests therein.

Zisca putteth the emperor to flight.

Afterward, when as he lay before the towne of Raby, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, hauing but that one before to see withall. From thence, he was caried to Prage to physitions, where as hee being cured of his wound, and his life saued, yet hee lost his sight, and for all that, hee would not forsake his armie, but still tooke the charge of them.

Zisca loseth his other eie in battell.

Zisca, albeit he lost his eyes, yet would not forsake his armie.

After this, the garrisons of Prage went vnto Warona, where as there was a great garrison of the emperors, and tooke it by force, many being slaine of either part. They also tooke the towne of Broda in Germanie, and slue the garrison, and afterward tooke Cuthna and many other cities by composition. Further, when as they led their armie vnto a towne called Pons, which is inhabited by the Misnians, the Saxons meeting

Zisca taketh diuers townes.

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The Saxons retire.

mocking them by the way, because they durst not ioyne battell, they returned backe. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes electors a day, that at Bartholmewtide, they should with their army inuade the West part of Boheme, and hee with an host of Hungarians would enter on the East part. There came vnto his aid the archbishoppe of Mentz, the countie Palatine of Rheine, the dukes of Saxon, the marquesse of Brandenburge, and many other bishops out of Almaine: all the rest lent their aides. They encamped before the towne of Sozius, a strong and well fenced place, which they could by no meanes subdue. The country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued vntill the feast of Saint Galle. Then it was broken vp, because the emperor was not come at his day appointed: but hee hauing gathered togethet a great army of the Hungarians, and well Moranians, about Christmas entred into Boheme, and toke certaine townes by force, and Cuthna was yelded vnto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him, and set vpon him, he being afraid, and many of his nobles slaine, fled. But first hee burned Cuthna, which the Taborits, by meanes of the siluer mines, called the powch of Antichrist. Zisca pursuing the emperor a daies iourny, got great and rich spoile, and taking the towne of Broda by force, set it on fire: the which afterward almost by the space of fourteen yeares, remained vninhabitted. The emperor passed by a bridge ouer the riuer of Iglaria. And Pilo a Florentine, which had brought fifteene thousand horsemen out of Hungary to these warres, passed ouer the yce, the which by the multitude and number of his horsemen being broke, deuoured and destroied a great number. Zisca hauing obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idoll to be in the churches, neither thought it to be borne withall, that priests should minister with copes or vestiments: for the which cause hee was much the more enuied amongst the states of Boheme. And the consuls of Prage being agreeued at the insolencie of John Premonstratensis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the councell house, as though they would conferre with them as touching the commonwealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home euery man to his owne house, thinking the citie had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their seruants being not circumspect enough, washing downe the court yard, washed out also the bloud of those that were slaine, through the sinks or chanels: the which being once seene, the people vnderstood what was done. By and by there was a great tumult: the councell house was straight way ouerthrowne, and eleuen of the principall citizens, which were thought to be the authors thereof, were slaine, and diuers houses spoiled.

The emperor with his power entreth againe into Boheme.

The emperor afraid of Zisca, flieth.

The powch of antichrist.

A noble victory of Zisca.

Zisca destroieth images and idols in churches.

Ioannes Premonstratensis.

The martyrdome of certain godly Bohemians falsly circumuented and killed with the sword.

Privy murther at length commeth out.

About the same time, the castell of Purgell, wherein the emperor had left a small garrison (whither as also many papists with their wiues & children were fled) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire, went vnto Pelsina. After this, diuers of the Bohemian captaines, and the senat of Prage, sent ambassadors to Vitold Duke of Lituania, and made him their king. This did Zisca and his adherents gainsay. This Vitold sent Sigismund Coributus, with two thousand horsemen into Boheme, who was honorably receiued of the inhabitants of Prage. At his comming, they determined to lay siege vnto a castell situate vpon a hill, which was called Charles stone.

Here Sigismundus had left for a garrison foure centurions of souldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six moneths, and the assault neuer ceased day and night. Fiue great slings threw continually great stones ouer the walles, and about two thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcases and other excrements, were cast in amongst those which were besieged: which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out, or were all lose. Notwithstanding they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight vntill the winter, hauing privily receiued medicine out of Prage, to fasten their teeth againe.

Stench very hurtfull for the teeth.

In the meane time Fredericke the elder, prince of Brandenburge, entring into Boheme with a great power, caused them of Prage to raise the siege. And Vitoldus at the request of Uladillaus king of Pole, which had talked with the emperor in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his vncle, with his whole army out of Boheme. Whereupon the emperor supposed that the protestants being destitute of forren aid, would the sooner doe his commandement: but hee was farre deceiued therein; for they leading their armies out of Boheme, subdued the borderers thereupon adioyning. It is also reported, that Zisca went into Austrich, and when as the husbandmen of the countrey had carried away a great number of their cattell by water into an Isle of the riuer called Danubius, and by chance had left certaine calues and swine in their villages behind them: Zisca draue them vnto the riuers side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roare out and cry, vntill that the cattell feeding in the Iland, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattell on the other side the water, for the desire of their like, did swim ouer the riuer: by the meanes whereof, he got and draue away a great booty.

Another warlike policie of Zisca. Stratagema.

About the same time, the emperor Sigismundus gaue vnto his sonne in law Albert duke of Austrich, the country of Moraiia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time also Ericius king of Denmarke, and Peter Infant, brother to the king of Portingall and father of James, cardinall of Saint Eustachius, came vnto the emperor, being both very expert men in the affaies of warre, which did augment the emperors host with their aid and power. Whereupon, they straightway pitched their campe before Lutemperge, a towne of Moraiia, and continued the siege by the space of three moneths. There was at that time a certaine knight at Prage surnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authority. This man, forsomuch as he had no child of his owne, adopted vnto him his sisters sonne, named Procopius: whom when he was of meane nature & age, he carried with him into France, Spaine, and Italy, and vnto Jerusalem, and at his returne caused him to be made priest. This man when the Gospell began to flourish in Boheme, toke part with Zisca; and forsomuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painfull, he was greatly esteemed.

This Procopius for his valiant acts, was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed vnto him the whole charge of the prouince of Moraiia, and the defence of the Lutemperges, who receiuing a great power by force (maugre all the whole power which lay in the siege) carried victuals into the towne which was besieged, and so did frustrate the emperors siege. The emperor before this had deliuered vnto the marquesses of Misnia, the bridge and towne of Aulca, vpon the riuer of Albis, that they should fortifie them with their garrisons. Whereupon Zisca besieged Aulca, and Frederike the marquesse of Misnia, with his brother the Lantzgraue of Turing, gathering together a great army out of Saronia, Turing, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, determined to rescue and aid those which were besieged.

Procopius Magnus.

The valiant courage of Procopius.

There was a great battell fought before the city, and the victory depended long vncertaine, but at last it fell on the protestants part. There were slaine in that battell, the Burgraues of Misnia or Chrzpogenses, the barons of Gychen, and many other nobles, beside nine thousand common souldiers, and the towne of Aulca was taken and vtterly raced.

The victory of protestants.

At the last, dissension rising betweene Zisca and them of Prage, they of Prage prepared an army against him, wherewith he perceiuing himselfe ouermatched, fled vnto the riuer of Albis, and was almost taken, but that hee had passage thorow the towne of Poggiebras; but they of Prage pursuing the taile of the battell, slew many of his Taborites. At the length they came vnto certaine hils, where as Zisca going into the valley, knowing the straits of the place, that his enemies could not spread their army, he commanded his standard to stand stil, and exhorting and encouraging his souldiers hee gaue them battell.

The battell between the citie of Prage and Zisca.

This battell was very fierce and cruell: but Zisca hauing the vpper hand, slew three thousand of them of Prage, and put the rest to flight, and straightwaies toke the citie of Cuthna by force (which they of Prage had repaired) and set it on fire: then with all speed he went with his army to besiege Prage, and incamped within a bow shot of the towne. There were many both in the citie, and also in his host which grudged sore at that siege: some accusing Zisca, other some them of Prage. There were great tumults in the campe, the souldiers saying that it was not reasonable, that the city should be suppressed, which was both the head of the kingdome, and did not dissent from them in opinion, saying; that the Bohemians power would soone decay, if their enemies should know that they were diuided within themselues: also that they had sufficient wars against the emperor, and that it was but a foolish deuice to moue wars amongst themselues. This talke came vnto the eare of Zisca, who calling together his army, standing vpon a place to bee heard, spake in these words.

The noble victory of Zisca.

BRethren, be ye not agreeued against me, neither accuse him which hath sought your health and safegard. The victories which yee haue obtained vnder my conduct, are yet fresh in memory, neither haue I brought you at any time vnto any place, from whence you haue not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your sake haue lost my sight, and dwell in darknesse. Nothing haue I gotten by all these fortunate battels, but onely a vaine name. For you haue I fought, and for you haue I vanquished; neither doe I repent me of my trauels, neither is my blindnesse greeuous vnto me, but onely that I cannot prouide for you, according to my accustomed manner; neither doe I persecute them of Prage for mine owne cause, for it is your bloud that they thirst and seeke for, and not for mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, being now an old man and blinde; it is your valiantnesse and stout stomaches which they feare. Either must you or they perish: who whilest they seeme to lie in wait for me, doe seeke after your liues. You must rather feare ciuill wars then forren, and ciuill sedition ought first to be auoided. Wee will subdue Prage, and banish the seditious citizens before the

Zisca besiegeth Prage.

A notable oration of Zisca to his souldiers.

emperor

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emperor ſhal haue any newes of this ſedition. And then hauing but a few of his faction left, we may with the leſſe feare looke for it: better then if theſe doubtfull citizens of Prage were ſtill in our campe. But becauſe ye ſhall accuſe me no more, I giue you free libertie to doe what you will. If it pleaſe you to ſuffer them of Prage to liue in quietneſſe, I will not be againſt it, ſo that there be no treaſon wrought. If you determin to haue war, I am alſo ready. Looke which part you will decline vnto, Ziſca will be your aid and helper.

The hearts of the ſouldiers altered by the oration of Ziſca.

When hee had ſpoken theſe words, the ſouldiers mindes were changed, and wholly determined to make warres, ſo that the yran by and by to take vp their armor and weapons, to run vnto the walles to prouoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the citie. Ziſca in the meane time prepared all things ready for the aſſault. There is a little from Pelſina, a certaine village named Rochezana. In this place there was a child borne of poore and baſe parentage, whoſe name was John: he came vnto Prage, and got his liuing there by begging, and learned Grammar and Logicke. When he came to mans ſtate, he became the ſchoolemaſter of a noble mans child: and for ſo much as he was of an excellent wit and ready tongue, he was receiued into the colledge of the poore: and laſt of all, being made prieſt, hee began to preach the word of God to the citizens of Prage, and was named Ioannes de Rochezana, by the name of the towne where he was borne. This man grew to be of great name and authority in the towne of Prage. Whereupon when as Ziſca beſieged Prage, he by the conſent of the citizens, went out into the campe, and reconciled Ziſca againe vnto the citie.

Peace betweene Ziſca & Prage, by the meanes of Iohn de Rochezana.

When as the emperor perceiued that all things came to paſſe according vnto Ziſca his will and mind, and that vpon him alone the whole ſtate of Boheme did depend, he ſought priuie meanes to reconcile and get Ziſca into his fauor, promiſing him the gouernance of the whole kingdome, the guiding of all his hoſtes and armies, and great yeerly reuenewes if he would proclaime him king, and cauſe the cities to be ſworne vnto him. Upon which conditions, when as Ziſca for the performance of the couenants went vnto the emperor, being in his iourny at the caſtell of Pziſcouia, he was ſtricken with ſickneſſe and died.

The emperor glad to be reconciled with Ziſca.

The death of Ziſca.

The words of Ziſca at his death.

It is reported, that when he was demanded being ſicke, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the ſkinne to be pulled off from his dead carcaſe, and the fleſh to be caſt vnto the fowles and beaſts, and that a drum ſhould be made of his ſkin, which they ſhould vſe in their battels; affirming, that as ſone as their enemies ſhould heare the ſound of that drum, they would no abide but take their flight. The Thaborites deſpiſing all other images, yet ſet vp the picture of Ziſca ouer the gates of the citie.

The Epitaph of Iohn Ziſca, the valiant captaine of the Bohemians.

The epitaph of Ziſca.

IOhn Ziſca, not inferior to an emperor or captaine in warlike policie, a ſeuere puniſher of the pride and auarice of the clergy, and a defender of my country, doe lie here. That which Appius Claudius by giuing good counſell, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantneſſe did for the Romans; the ſame, I being blinde, haue done for my Bohemians. I neuer lacked opportunity of battell, neither did fortune at any time faile me. I being blind, did foreſee all opportunity of well ordering or doing my buſineſſe. Eleuen times in ioyning battell, I went victor out of the field. I ſeemed to haue worthily defended the cauſe of the miſerable and hungry, againſt the delicate, fat, and gluttonous prieſts, and for that cauſe to haue receiued helpe at the hands of God. If their enuie had not let it, without doubt I had deſerued to be numbred amongſt the moſt famous men. Notwithſtanding my bones lie here in this hallowed place, euen in deſpite of the pope.

Ziſca eleuen times victor in the field.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ Βοημὸς τῶν ἀσεβοκαπήλων ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἱερεῦσι φίλος.

¶ Iohn Ziſca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and couetous prieſts, but with a godly zeale.

And thus haue you the acts and doings of this worthy Ziſca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credit we haue drawne out of Aeneas Syluius, onely his railing termes excepted, which we haue here ſuppreſſed.

All this while the emperor with the whole power of the Germans, were not ſo buſie on the one ſide, but Martin the pope was as much occupied on the other ſide: who about the ſame time directed downe a terrible bull, full of all poiſon, to all biſhops and archbiſhops, againſt all ſuch as tooke any part or ſide with Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, Ierome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copie of which bull, which I found in an old written monument, I wiſh the reader throughly to peruſe, wherein he ſhall ſee the pope to powre out at once all his poiſon.

The bull of pope Martin directed forth againſt the followers of Iohn Wickliffe of England, of *Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Ierome of Prage.*

Pope Martins bloudy bull to all biſhops and archbiſhops.

MArtin, biſhoop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to our reuerend brethren the archbiſhops of Salzeburgen. Gueznen. and Pzagen. and to the biſhops of Olumcen. Luthomuſlen. Bambergen. Piſnen. Patauien. Uratiſlauien. Ratiſponen. Cracouien. Poznamen. and Nitrien. and alſo to our beloued children the Inquiſitors appointed of the prelats aboue recited, or where elſe ſoeuer, vnto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting, and Apoſtolicall benediction. Amongſt all other paſtorall cares wherewith wee are oppreſſed, this chiefly and ſpecially doth inforce vs, that heretikes with their falſe doctrine and errors, being vtterly expulſed from amongſt the company of chriſtian men, and roted out (ſo farre forth as God will make vs able to doe) the right and catholike faith may remaine ſound and vndefiled: and that all chriſtian people, immoueable and inuiolate, may ſtand and abide in the ſincerities of the ſame faith, the whole vaile of obſcuritie being remoued. But lately in diuers places of the world, but ſpecially in Bohemia, and the dukedome of Morauia, and in the ſtraits adioyning thereunto, certaine archheretikes haue riſen and ſprung vp, not againſt one onely, but againſt diuers and ſundry documents of the catholike faith, being landlopers, ſchiſmatikes, and ſeditious perſons, fraught with diuelliſh pride and wolviſh madneſſe, deceiued by the ſubtilty of ſatan, and from one euill vanity brought to a worſe. Who although they roſe vp and ſprang in diuers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, hauing their tailes as it were knit together: to wit, John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Ierome of Prage of damnable memory, who drew with them no ſmall number to miſerable ruine and infidelity. For when as thoſe and ſuch like peſtiferous perſons did in the beginning of their poiſoned doctrine, obſtinately ſow and ſpread abroad peruerſe and falſe opinions, that prelats who had the regiment and execution of the iudicial power, like dumbe dogs, not able to bark, neither yet reuenging ſpeedily with the Apoſtle, all ſuch diſobedience, nor regarding corporally to caſt out of the lords houſe (as they were inioined by the canons) thoſe ſubtill and peſtilent archheretikes, and their woluiſh fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but ſuffering their falſe and pernitious doctrine negligently, by their ouerlong delaies, to grow and wax ſtrong: a great multitude of people in ſtead of true doctrine receiued thoſe things, which they did long falſly, pernitiouſly and damnably ſow among them, and giuing credit vnto them, fell from the right faith, and are intangled (the more pitie) in the foule errors of Paganiſme.

All theſe errors and hereſies be, for that they ſpeake againſt the priuiledges of prelats and their exceſſiue dignities.

Inſomuch, that thoſe archheretikes, and ſuch as ſpring of them, haue infected the catholike flocke of Chriſt in diuers climats of the world, and parts bordering vpon the ſame, and haue cauſed them to putrifie in the filthy dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the generall ſynod of Conſtance, was compelled with Saint Auguſtine to exclaime againſt ſo great and ruinous a plague of faithfull men, and of the ſound and true faith it ſelf, ſaying: What ſhall the ſoueraigne medicine of the church doe, with motherly loue ſeeking the health of her ſheepe, chaſing as it were, amongſt a company of men frantike, and hauing the diſeaſe of the Lethargy? what? ſhall ſhee deſiſt and leaue off her good purpoſe? No not ſo. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be ſharpe to both theſe ſorts, which are the grieuous enemies of her wombe. For the phyſition is ſharpe vnto the man diſtraught and raging in his frenſie, and yet hee is a father to his owne rude and vnmannerly ſonne, in binding the one, in beating the other, by ſhewing therein his great loue vnto them both. But if they be negligent, and ſuffer them to periſh (ſaith Auguſtine) this manſuetude is rather to be ſuppoſed falſe cruelty.

All the Pagans with the pope, that like not his ſuperſtitious and idolatrous traditions.

A great difference betweene a louing mother, and the frantike whore of Babylon.

And therefore the foreſaid ſynod, to the glory of almighty God, and preſeruation of his catholike faith, and augmenting of chriſtian religion, and for the ſaluation of mens ſoules, hath corporally reiected and caſt forth of the houſhold of God, the foreſaid John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Ierome; who amongſt other things, did beleeue, preach, teach, and maintaine of the ſacrament of the altar, and other ſacraments of the church and articles of the faith, contrary to that the holy church of Rome beleeueth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, and haue preſumed obſtinatly to preach, teach, hold, and beleeue many other moe, to the damnation of themſelues and of others: and the ſaid ſynod hath ſeparated the ſame, as obſtinate and malapert heretikes from the communion of the faithfull people, and haue declared them to be ſpiritually throwne forth. And many other things both wholſome and profitable hath the ſame councell as touching the premiſſes, ſtabliſhed and decreed, whereby they, which by the meanes of thoſe archheretikes, and by their falſe doctrine, haue ſpiritually departed from the Lords houſe, may by the canonicall rules be reduced to the ſtraight path of truth and verity.

And moreouer (as we to our great griefe doe heare) not onelie in the kingdome of Bohemia, and dukedome of Morauia and other places aboue recited, but alſo in certaine parts and prouinces neere adioyning and bordering vpon the ſame; there bee many other of the ſectaries and followers of the foreſaid archheretikes and hereticall opinions, caſting behinde their backes as well the feare of God, as the ſhame of the world, neither receiuing fruit of conuerſion and repentance by

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The foolish thought their life to be madnes, and their end without honour. Sapientes.

by the miserable destruction of the foresaid John Hus and Jerome, but as men drowned in the dungeon of their sinnes, cease not to blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vaine (whose mindes the father of lies hath damnably blinded) and doe reade and study the foresaid bookes or workes, containing heresies and errors, being lately by the foresaid Synod condemned to bee burned: also to the perill of themselues and many other simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and ordinances in the Synod aforesaid, and the canonicall sanctions, doe presume to preach and teach the same, to the great perill of soules, the derogation of the Catholike faith, and slander of many other besides. Wee therefore considering that error, where it is not resisted, seemeth to bee allowed and liked; and having a desire to resist such euill and pernicious errors, and vtterly rote them out from amongst the company of faithfull christians, especially from the afore recited places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other straits and Ilands ioyning and bordering vpon the same, lest they should stretch out and enlarge their limits: wee will and command your discretions by our letters apostolicall, the holy councell of Constance approuing and allowing the same, that you that are archbishops, bishoppes, and other of the clergy, and euery one of you by himselfe, or by any other or others, being graue and fit persons to haue spirituall iurisdiction; doe see that all and singuler persons, of what dignitie, office, preeminence, state, or condition soeuer they bee, and by what name soeuer they are knowne, which shall presume otherwise to teach, preach, or obserue, touching the most high and excellent, the most wholsome and superadmirable sacrament of the bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, or else of the sacrament of Baptisme, confession of sinnes, penance for sinnes, and extreme vnction, or else of any other sacraments of the church, and the articles of the faith, then that, which the right, holy & vniuersall church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, and obserue: or else that shal presume obstinately by any waies or meanes, priuily or apertly, to hold, beleeue and teach the articles, bookes, or doctrine of the foresaid archheretikes, John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hieronymus of Prage, being by the foresaid Synod of Constance with their authors (as is said) damned and condemned, or dare presume publikely or priuily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said archheretikes, or of any other their receiuers, aiders, and fauourers in the fauour or supportation of the foresaid errors, as also their beleeuers and adherents: that then as before, you see and cause them, and euery of them, to bee most seuerely punished, and that you iudge and giue sentence vpon them as heretikes, and that as arrant heretikes you leaue them to the secular court or power. Let the receiuers also and fauourers and defenders of such most pestiferous persons, notwithstanding they neither beleeue, fauor, nor haue deuotion towards their errors, but happily shall receiue or entertaine such pestiferous persons, because of carnall affection, or friendly loue, besides the punishment due vnto them by both lawes, ouer and aboue the same punishment by competent Judges bee so afflicted, and for so hainous acts of theirs, with so seuere paine and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other in like case offending, an example of terror: that at the least, those whom the feare of God by no meanes may reuoke from such euill doing, yet the seuerity of this our discipline may force and constraine.

Et os eius sicut os Leonis. And his mouth is like the mouth of a lion. Apoc. 13.

Draconis hæc sanguine scripta. The popes religion hath left all sense of humanity.

As touching the third sort, which shall bee any manner of waies infected with this damnable sect, and shall after competent admonition repent and amend themselues of such errors and sects aforesaid, and will returne againe into the lap and vnitie of our holy mother the church, and fully acknowledge and confesse the catholike faith: towards them let the seuerity of iustice, as the quality of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

* *Et vidi bestiam & reges terræ & exercitus eorum pugnantes cum illo qui sedebat in equo, & exercitu eius.* Apoc. 13. *Et data est illi potestas in omnem tribum, & populum & linguam & gentem.* 1. And power is giuen him ouer all tribes, and people, and tongues, and nations, &c. Apoc. 13.

✠ And furthermore wee will and command, that by this our authority Apostolicall, ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the Catholike faith, as Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Knights, and other Magistrates, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls, Shires, Countries and Vniuersities of the kingdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, castels, villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporall iurisdiction, according to the forme and exigence of the law, that they expell out of their kingdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, castels, villages and lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretikes, according to the effect and tenor of the Councell of Lateran, beginning, Sicut ait ecclesia, &c. that those whom publikelie and manifestly by the euidence of their deeds, shall be knowne to be such as like sicke and scabbed sheepe infect the Lords flocke, they expell and banish till such time as from vs, or you, or else other ecclesiasticall Judges or Inquisitors holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of Rome, they shall receiue other order and countermand: and that they suffer no such within their shires and circuits, to preach or to keepe either house or family, either yet to vse any handy craft or occupations or other trades of merchandise, or else to solace themselues any waies, or frequent the company of christian men.

And furthermore, if such publike and knowne heretikes shall chance to die, (although not so denounced by the church) yet in this so great a crime, let him and them want christian buriall, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor receiued. His goods and substance also from the time of his death, according to the canonical sanctions being confiscat, let no such enioy them to whom they appertaine, till that by the ecclesiasticall Judges, hauing power and authority in this behalfe, sentence vpon that his or their crime of heresie, be declared, and promulgate: and let such owners as be found suspect or noted with any such suspition of heresie, before a competent and ecclesiasticall Judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspition, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a Judge, shew and declare his proper and owne innocency with deuotion, as beseemeth in that behafe. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he doe faile, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his oth by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him bee condemned as an heretike. But such as through negligence or through slothfulnesse, shall omit to shew their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be excommunicat, and so long put out from the company of christian men, till that they shall make condigne satisfaction: so that if by the space of one whole yeere, they shall remaine in such excommunication, then let them as heretikes be condemned.

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the foresaid pestiferous doctrine of the archheretikes aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well disposed; let them yet be punished according to the canons. If only through infamy and suspicion of the foresaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspect, and in his purgation canonicall for this thing being interdicted, shall faile: let him be accounted as a man conuict, and as a conuict person by the canons let him be punished.

Note the tenderes of this louing mother the church of Rome.

And furthermore, we inuocating and putting in execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, pope Boniface the eighth, which beginneth thus: Vt inquisitionis negocium, &c. Inexhorting wise require, and also command all temporall potentates, Lords and Judges afore recited, by what soeuer dignities, offices, & names they are knowne: that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithfull members and children of the church, and doe reioyce in the name of Christ: so in likewise for defence of the same faith, they will obey, intend, giue their aid and fauorable helpe to you that are archbishops, bishoppes, and ecclesiasticall men, inquisitors of all hereticall prauitie, and other Judges and ecclesiasticall persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretikes, their beleeuers, their fauorers, their receiuers, and their defenders, whensoeuer they shall be thereunto of them required.

Et faciet omnes pusillos, & magnos, & diuites, & pauperes, & seruos, &c. & dare eis characterem in manu sua dextra. 1. And he shall make both little and great, rich and poore, free and bond to take his character in their right hand, &c. Apoc. 13.

And that they bring and cause to be brought (all delay set apart) the foresaid pestiferous persons so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe keeping and prisons, as by you the archbishoppes, bishoppes, clergy and inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed, or else vnto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their dominions, gouernments and rectories, where they by catholike men, that is, by you the archbishoppes, bishoppes, the clergy and inquisitors, or any other that shall bee by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may bee holden and kept in safe keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of yron vnder most strait custody for escaping away, till such time as all that businesse which belongeth vnto them, be by the iudgement of the church finished and determined, and that of such heresie, by a competent ecclesiasticall Judge (which firmely holdeth the faith and communion of the aforesaid holy Church of Rome) they be condemned.

Satan rattleth his chaines.

The residue let the foresaid temporall lords, rectors, Judges, or other their officers & purseuants, take amongst them, with condigne deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing lest to the preiudice and slander of the foresaid catholike faith and religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumuented, or that any subtill and crafty men should vnder the vaile of friuolous excuse, cloke and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the conuincing or apprehending of the foresaid heretikes, their receiuers and defenders, fauorers, beleeuers, and adherents, and also of such as are suspect of heresie, and with such like peruerse doctrine in any wise spotted, wee might giue more perfect instruction; Therefore as well to the kingdome of Bohemia, and parts néere adioyning to the same, as all other where this superstitious doctrine first began to spread, we haue thought it good to send the articles hereunder written concerning the sect of those archheretikes, for the better direction of the foresaid catholike faith.

Touching which articles, by vertue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishoppes and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that euery

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of them within the dioceſſe and limits of their iuriſdiction, and alſo in the foreſaid kingdome, and dukedome, and places neere adioyning, although the ſame places be beyond the ſame their iuriſdiction: in the fauor of the catholike faith, doe giue moſt diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of thoſe errors, archhereſies, and moſt peſtiferous ſect aforeſaid: and alſo that they compel all defamed perſons and ſuſpect of ſo peſtiferous a contagion, whether it be vnder the penalty of the crime confeſſed, or excommunication, ſuſpenſion or interdict, or any other formidable paine canonicall or legall, when and whereſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an oth corporally taken either vpon the holy Euangeliſts, or vpon the reliques of ſaints, or vpon the image of the crucifix, according to the obſeruances of certains places, and according to the interrogatories, to make conuenient anſwer to euery article within written. For we intend againſt all and ſinguler archbiſhops, biſhops, eccleſiaſticall perſons, or inquiſitors, which ſhall ſhew themſelues negligent and remiſſe in the extirpation of the leauen of this hereticall prauitie, and purging their territories, dioceſſe, and places to them appointed, of ſuch euil and wicked men: to proceed and to cauſe to be proceeded, vnto the depriuation and depoſition of their pontificall dignities, and ſhall ſubſtitute ſuch other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the ſaid hereticall prauity, and procéede to further paines againſt ſuch by the lawes limited, and to other yet more greeuous (if néede require) we our ſelues will proceed and cauſe to be proceeded, according as the party his fact, and filthineſſe of his crime committed, ſhall deſerue. The tenor of thoſe articles whereof we haue made mention in this our own writting are in words as follow.

The old maner of the popiſh oth.

¶ The Articles of Iohn Hus to be inquired vpon.

1 There is one only vniuerſall church, which is the vniuerſitie of the predeſtinate, as ſhall after be declared.

2 The vniuerſall church is only one: as there is one vniuerſitie of thoſe that are predeſtinate.

3 Paul was neuer a member of the diuell, although hee did certaine acts like vnto the acts of the church malignant.

Speaking of the inuiſible church, the article is true.

4 The reprobate are not parts of the church, for that no part of the ſame finally falleth from her, becauſe that the charity of predeſtination which bindeth the ſame church together, neuer faileth.

5 The two natures (that is) the Diuinity, and the humanity, be one Chriſt.

This article ſeemeth to be wreſted out of the words of Ierome of Prage.

6 The reprobate, although hee be ſometime in grace, according to preſent iuſtice, yet is he neuer a part of the holy church: and the predeſtinate is euer a member of the church, although ſometime he fall from grace aduentitia, but not from grace of predeſtination: euer taking the church for the conuocation of the predeſtinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to preſent iuſtice. And after this ſort the church is an article of our beléefe.

7 Peter is not, nor neuer was the head of the holy catholike church.

8 Prieſts liuing vitiouſly, do defile the authority of prieſthood, and ſo, as vnfaithfull children, do vnfaithfully beléeue of the ſeuen ſacraments, of the keies of the church, of offices, of cenſures, of ceremonies, of the worſhipping of reliques, indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.

The papall dignity touched. &c.

9 The papall dignity came and grew from the emperor: and his gouernment and inſtitution, ſprang from the emperors gouernment.

10 No man can reaſonably affirme either of himſelfe or other, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the biſhop of Rome is the head of the church of Rome.

11 A man ought not to beléeue, that he which is biſhoppe of Rome is the head of euery particular church, vnleſſe God haue predeſtinate him.

12 None is the vicar of Chriſt, or elſe of Peter, vnleſſe he follow him in maners and conditions, ſéeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwiſe apt to receiue of God this power procuratory. For vnto the office of a vicegerent of Chriſt is required, the conformity of manners, and the authority of the inſtitutor.

13 The pope is not the manifeſt and true ſucceſſor of Peter the prince of the Apoſtles, if he liue in manners contrary to Peter: and if he hunt after auarice, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iſcariot. And likewiſe the cardinals bee not the true and manifeſt ſucceſſors of the colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt, vnleſſe they liue according to the maner of the Apoſtles, keeping the commandements and counſels of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

14 The doctors alledging, that if a man, which will not be amended by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, is to be deliuered to the ſecular powers, doe follow in this point the biſhops, Scribes and Phariſies, that deliuered Chriſt to the ſecular power (ſaying, it is not lawfull for vs to kill any man) becauſe he would not obey them in all things: and that ſuch be greater homicides then Pilat.

15 The eccleſiaſticall obedience is ſuch an obedience as the prieſts of the church haue found out, beſides the expreſſe authority of the ſcripture. The immediat diuiſion of humane workes, is, that they be either vertuous or vitious: and if a man be vitious, and doth any thing, then doth he it vitiouſly; and if he be vertuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it vertuouſly. For like as vice, which is called a great offence or mortall ſin, doth ſtaine all the doings of a vitious man: ſo vertue doth quicken all the doings of a vertuous man.

16 A prieſt of God liuing after his law, and hauing the knowledge of the Scripture, and a deſire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithſtanding any excommunication pretended of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magiſtrate doth forbid a prieſt ſo diſpoſed to preach, he ought not to be obedient vnto him. For euery one that taketh vpon him the order of prieſthood, receiueth in charge the office of a preacher: and of that burden ought he well to diſcharge himſelfe, any excommunication againſt him pretended in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

17 By the cenſures eccleſiaſticall, as of excommunication, ſuſpending, and interdict, the clergy to their owne aduancement cauſe the lay people to aid them: they multiply their auarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to antichriſt. And it is an euident ſigne that ſuch cenſures procéede from antichriſt, which in their proceſſe they call Fulminationes, that is, their thunderbolts wherewith the clergy principally procéedeth againſt thoſe that declare the wickednеſſe of antichriſt, who ſo greatly for his owne commodity hath abuſed them.

18 If the pope be euill, eſpecially if he be a reprobate, then is he with Iudas a very diuell, a théefe, and the ſon of perdition, and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of the ſame.

19 The grace of predeſtination, is the band wherewith the bodie of the church and euery member of the ſame, is indiſſolubly ioyned to their head Chriſt.

20 The pope or prelat that is euill and a reprobate, is a paſtor in name, and not in deed, yea he is a théefe and a robber in very deed.

21 The pope ought not to be called the moſt holy one for his office ſake, for then ought a king to be called by his office, the moſt holy one: and hangmen, with other ſuch officers alſo were to be called holy, yea the diuell himſelfe ought to be called holy, foraſmuch as he is Gods officer.

Iohn Hus expoundeth this article with this diſtinct. Non ratione meritи, ſed ratione officij.

22 If the pope liue contrary vnto Chriſt, although he climbe vp by the right and lawfull election, according to the common cuſtome of men: yet notwithſtanding ſhould hee otherwiſe climbe then by Chriſt, yea though we admit that he ſhould enter by the election principally made by God. For Iudas Iſcarioth was lawfully elect of God Chriſt Ieſus to his biſhoprick, and yet came not hee the ſame way he ought to doe vnto the ſheepfold.

Iohn Hus declareth his mind touching this article ſufficiently before.

23 The condemnation of 45. articles of Iohn Wickliffe by the doctors made, is vnreaſonable, wicked and naught, and the cauſe by them alledged is fained, that is, that none of them are catholike, but euery one of them hereticall, erroneous, or ſlanderous.

24 Not for that the electors, or the moſt part of them haue conſented together with liuely voice, according to the cuſtome of men vpon the perſon of any, therefore that perſon is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifeſt ſucceſſor and vicar of Peter the Apoſtle, or of any other the Apoſtles in the eccleſiaſticall office. Wherefore, whether the electors haue either well or euill made their election, it behoueth vs to beléeue the ſame, by the works of him that is elected. For in that that euery one that worketh more meritoriouſly to the profit of the church, he hath ſo much the more greater authority from God.

Election maketh not the ſucceſſor of Peter, but imitation.

25 There is not ſo much as one ſparke of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and gouerning the church in ſpirituall cauſes, which ſhould alwaies be conuerſant in the church militant: for Chriſt without any ſuch monſtrous heads, by his true diſciples ſparſed through the whole world, could better a great deale rule his church.

One head of the vniuerſall church beſide Chriſt, hath no foundation in all ſcripture.

26 The Apoſtles and faithfull prieſts of God, haue right worthily in all things neceſſary to ſaluation, gouerned the church before the popes office toke place, and ſo might they do againe, by like poſſibility vntill Chriſt came to iudgement, if the office ſhould faile.

Let euery one that is ſuſpected in the foreſaid articles, or elſe otherwiſe found with the aſſertion of them, be examined in manner and forme as followeth.

The forme and manner of the popes inquiſition.

IN primis, whether hee knew Iohn Wickliffe of England, Iohn Hus of Bohemia, and Ierome of Prage, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them: whether that during the liues of them, or any of them, they had either béen conuerſant with them, or found any friendſhip at their hands.

2 Item, whether hee knowing them, or any of them to be excommunicat, did willingly participate with them: eſteeming and affirming the ſame their participation to be no ſinne.

Hereſie to pray for Iohn Wickliffe or Iohn Hus, &c.

3 Item, whether that after their deaths, hee euer prayed for them

them or any of them, openly or priuily, doing any worke of mercy for them, affirming them to be either saints, or else to be saued.

4 Item, whether he thought them, or any of them to be saints; or whether that euer he spake such words, and whether euer he did exhibit any worship vnto them as vnto saints.

5 Item, whether he beleeue, hold and affirme, that euery generall councell, as also the councell of Constance, doth represent the vniuersall church.

Heresie not to beleeue the councell of Constance.

6 Item, whether he doth beleeue, that that which the holy councell of Constance representing the vniuersall church, hath and doth allow in the fauor of the faith, and saluation of soules, is to be approued & allowed of all the faithfull christians: and that whatsoeuer the same councell hath condemned, and doth condemne to be contrary both to the faith and to all good men, is to be beleeued, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not.

7 Item, whether he beleeueth that the condemnations of John Hus, John Wickliffe, and Jerome of Prage, made aswell vpon their persons, as their bookes and doctrine, by the holy generall councell of Constance, be rightly and iustly made, and of euery good catholike man, are so to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8 Item, whether he beleeue, hold, and affirme, that John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, & Jerome of Prage, were heretikes or not, and for heretikes to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their bookes and doctrines were and be peruerse or not: for the which, together with their pertinacie, they were condemned by the holy sacred councell of Constance for heretikes.

9 Item, whether he haue in his custody any treatises, small workes, epistles, or other writings in what language or tongue soeuer, set forth and translated by any of these heretikes, John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers, that he may deliuer them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commissary, or to the inquisitors vpon his oth. And if he say that he hath no such writting about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you sweare him to bring the same before his Ordinary, or other aforenamed, within a certaine time to him prefixed.

10 Item whether hee knoweth any that hath the treatises, workes, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, in whatsoeuer tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect & manifest the same, for the purgation of their faith and execution of iustice.

11 Item, especially let the learned be examined, whether he beleeueth that the sentence of the holy councell of Constance vpon the 45. articles of John Wickliffe, and the 30. articles of John Hus be not catholike: which saith that some of them are notorious and hereticall, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensiue to godly eares.

12 Item, whether he beleeueth and affirmeth, that in no case it is lawfull for a man to sweare.

13 Item, whether he beleeueth, that at the commandement of a iudge or any other, it is lawfull to take an oth to tell the truth in any conuenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not.

14 Item, whether he beleeueth that periury wittingly committed, vpon what cause soeuer, whether it be for the safegard of his owne life, or of any other mans life, (yea although it be in the cause and defence of the faith) be a sinne or not.

15 Item, whether a man contemning purposedly the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcisme, of catechisme, and the consecration of the water of Baptisme be deadly sinne or not.

16 Item, whether he beleeue, that after the consecration of the priest in the sacrament of the altar vnder the figure of bread and wine, be no materiall bread and wine; but in all points the same very Christ which was crucified vpon the crosse, and sitteth vpon the right hand of the father.

17 Item, whether he beleeue, that after the consecration made by the priest vnder the onely forme of bread, and besides the forme of wine, be very flesh of Christ and his bloud, his soule and his deitie, and so whole Christ as he is: and in likewise, vnder the forme of wine, without the forme of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very bloud, his soule, and deitie, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely vnder euery one of those kinds singularly.

Heresie to minister in both kinds.

18 Item, whether he doth beleeue, that the custome of houseling of the lay people vnder the forme of bread onely, obserued of the vniuersall church, and allowed by the onely councell of Constance, be to be vsed, and not without the authority of the church, at mens pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirme the contrary to this, are to be punished as heretikes, or not.

19 Item, whether he beleeue that those which contemne the receiuing of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme vnction, or else the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sinne or not.

20 Item, whether he beleeue that a christian man, ouer and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a conuenient priest, is bound to confesse himselfe onely to a priest, and not to any lay man, be he neuer so deuout or good, vpon the necessitie of saluation.

21 Item, whether he beleeue, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolue a sinner confessing himselfe, and being contrite, from all sinnes, and enioyne him penance for the same.

22 Item, whether he beleeueth, that an euill priest, with due maner and forme, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolue, doth verily baptise, and doth verily dispose all other sacraments euen as the church doth.

23 Item, whether he beleeue that S. Peter was the vicar of Christ, hauing power to bind and to loose vpon the earth.

24 Item, whether he beleeue that the pope being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expressly be the successor of Peter or not, hauing supreame authority in the church of God.

25 Item, whether he beleeue that the authority or iurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop or a bishop, in binding and loosing, be more then the authority of a simple priest or not, although hee haue charge of soules.

Heresie to denie the popes indulgences.

26 Item, whether he beleeue, that the pope may vpon a iust and good cause, giue indulgences and remission of sinnes to all christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that goe on pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds.

27 Item, whether he beleeue, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those churches, and giue them any thing, may obtaine remission of sinnes or not.

28 Item, whether he beleeue that all bishops may grant vnto their subiects, according as the holy canons doe limit, such indulgences, or not.

Heresie not to worship images.

29 Item, whether he beleeue and affirme, that it is lawfull for faithfull christians to worship images and the relikes of saints, or not.

30 Item, whether he beleeue that those religions which the church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy fathers, or not.

31 Item, whether he beleeueth that the pope, or any other prelat for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicat their subiect ecclesiasticall or secular for disobediente or contumacy; so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicat, or not.

32 Item, whether he beleeue, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicat, increasing; the prelats or their vicars in spirituall things haue power to aggrauate and to reaggrauate, to put vpon men the interdict, & to call for the secular arme: and that the same secular arme or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiors called for.

33 Item, whether he beleeue that the pope and other prelats, or else their vicars, haue power in spirituall things to excommunicat priests, and lay men that are stubborne and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church, also to suspend them.

These popes will be sure to lose nothing.

34 Item, whether he beleeue that it is lawfull for ecclesiasticall persons without committing sinne, to haue any possessions and temporall goods: and whether he beleeue that it is not lawfull for lay men to take away the same from them by their authority: but rather that such takers away and inrochers vpon ecclesiasticall goods, are to be punished as committers of sacriledge, yea although such ecclesiasticall persons liue naughtily that haue such goods.

Wealthy wickednes maintained.

35 Item, whether any such taking away or inrooching vpon any priest rashly or violently made, although the priest be an euill liuer, be sacriledge, or not.

36 Item, whether he beleeue that it is lawfull for lay men of whether sex soeuer, that is, men and women, to preach the word of God, or not.

The pope neither preacheth himselfe, nor yet will suffer other good priests to preach.

37 Item, whether he beleeue that it is lawfull to all priests freely to preach the word of God wheresoeuer, whensoeuer, and to whosoeuer it shall please them, although they be not sent at all.

38 Item, whether he beleeue that all mortall sinnes, and especially such as be manifest and publike, are to be corrected and to be extirpat, or not.

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any by secret information, by you or any other to be receiued, shall be found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresie, and doctrine of the most pestilent men John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome of Prage, the archheretikes aforesaid, or of fauoring, receiuing, or defending the foresaid damned men whilest they liued on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that beleeueth their errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholike men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other waies, wherein they deserue to be suspected: that then they by you or some of you, may be cited personally to appeare before you or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oth being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plaine and meere verity of the articles aboue written, and euery of them, or other opportune, as case & circumstance shall require, according to your discretion; as you or any of you shall see expedient

expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you shall thinke good.

Also that you doe publish solemnly, and cause to be published, these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocesse, where conueniently you may, vnder our authority, and there to denounce, and cause to be denounced all and singuler such heretikes, with their abettors and fauorers of their heresies and errors, of what ser or kind soeuer, that doe hold and defend the said errors, or doe participate any manner of way with heretikes, priuily or apertly, of what state, dignity, or condition soeuer he or they be, patriarke, archbishoppe, king, quéene, duke, or of what other dignity either ecclesiasticall or secular hee bee: also with their aduocates and procurators wholsoeuer, which are beleeuers, followers, fauorers, defenders, or receiuers of such heretikes, or suspected to be beleeuers, followers, fautors, defenders, or receiuers of them, to be excommunicat euery sunday and festiuall day, in the presence of the people.

Papa spirat minas & cædes.

Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired by the said our authority, vpon all and singuler such persons both men and women, that maintaine, approue, defend, and teach, such errors, or that be fauorers, receiuers and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, state, preheminence, degree, order, or condition soeuer. And such as you shall finde in the said your inquisition, either by their owne confession, or by any other meane to be diffamed, or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresie or error, you through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and priuation of their dignities, personages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fées, which they hold of any church, monastery, and other ecclesiasticall places, also of honors and secular dignities and degrées of sciences or other faculties, as also by other paines and censures of the church, or by waies and meanes what soeuer else shall séeme to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning of their bodies, and other correctall punishments wherewith heretikes are punished, or are wont and are commanded by canonicall sanctions to bee vsed: and if they bee clerkes, by degradation, doe correct and punish, and cause them to bee corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise vp stoutly and courageously against such heretikes, and the goods as well of them, as of the lay men, according to the canonicall sanction made against heretikes and their followers, vnder the which we will and command them and their partakers to be subiect. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premisses, shall be bound to purge themselues at your arbitrement: but the other, which either be witnesses, or by their owne confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be conuicted of the foresaid heresies or articles, or of any the premisses, they shall be compelled to reuoke and abiure publikely and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condigne penance and punishment, yea euen to perpetuall imprisonment, (if néed be) for the same.

See here the dragon casting out whole flouds to swallow vp the saints.

And to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, déed, or gesture, or shall induce other either in word or déed, priuily or apertly, directly or indirectly to beléeue the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety. Who, if it so chance that they will not publikely and solemnly renounce and abiure their articles and errors, and take at your hands condigne penance, though it be to perpetuall or tempozall punishment, according to your discretion, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold nor nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce other by word or déed, priuily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other maner of colour to beléeue the same: that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits: yea and if you see it so expedient, as against heretikes, and as infected with heresie, by our authority, according to the canonicall sanctions summarily, & simply and plainly, sine strepitu & figura iudicij, and of office, all appellation or appellations whatsoeuer ceasing, and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonicall, yea if néed be, in leauing and committing them to the secular power: and against such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiasticall excommunication, all appellation set aside, also inuocating, if néed shall require, aid of the secular arme: The constitution as well of our predecessor pope Boniface 8. of blessed memorie, wherein is decreed that no man without his citie or diocesse (except in certaine cases) or in places being one daies iourney distant from thence where he inhabiteth, shall bee called into iudgement, and that no man doe presume to depute Iudges from the see apostolike, without the citie and diocesse where they are deputed to proceed against any: or do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remoue any man beyond one daies iourny from out his diocesse where he dwelleth, or at most two daies iourny, if it be in a generall councell: as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well Iudges delegat, as persons not to be called to iudgement beyond a certaine number: or else any other edict, indulce, priuiledge, or exemption generall or speciall granted from the apostolike see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited vp to iudgement without the compasse of certaine limits: or else whatsoeuer thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your iurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any meanes to the contrary notwithstanding. Dat. Constant. the first yéere of our popedome.

Pope Martin 5. contrary to pope Boniface 8.

Pope Martin indoeth the acts and edicts of all other popes.

¶ This bloudy and abominable commission of pope Martin, which I haue copied out of a certaine old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hacklupt, student in the Temple, séemeth to be directed and giuen out to the publike destruction of all faithfull christian men, about the latter end and breaking vp of the councell of Constance, anno 1418. By the which, the prudent reader hath this to note and consider, what labor, what policie, what counsell, and what lawes haue béen set, what waies haue béen taken, what seuerity hath béen shewed, how mens power, wit, and authority of the whole world haue conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner meanes to subuert and supplant the word and way of the Lord: and yet notwithstanding man hath not preuailed, but all his force and deuised policies haue béen ouerthrowne, dispatched, and with the counsell of Achitophel and Ammon, haue béen brought to nought, and contrary to the furie of the world, the Gospell of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this, will the pope cease to spurne and rebell still against the kingdome of Christ, and of his gospell, against which, neither he, nor yet the gates of hell shall euer preuaile. The Lord of hosts be mercifull to his poore persecuted flocke, Amen.

Note how anti-christ rageth and riseth against Christ.

Mans power and counsell too weake against Christ.

Against this pestilent bull and inquisition of pope Martin the great antichrist, I thought good here to adioyne and annex another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conradus, and other captains of the Bohemians, which séemeth not long after the death of Zisca, to be written against the pestiferous see of Rome, the tenor whereof here followeth.

A fruitfull and christian exhortation of the Bohemians to kings and princes, to stir them vp to the zeale of the Gospell.

An exhortation of the Bohemians.

The almighty God the father, by his welbeloued Sonne Iesus Christ, may in his holy spirit open the vnderstanding both of you and of all christians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his doctrine of righteousnesse, and may make you to continue therein, surely established to the end. This we desire of you for your saluation, all ye honorable, wise, and honest Noblemen, and all the comminalty, yea rich and poore, heare and consider with diligent héed the words of this present letter, which is sent vnto you from the country of the Bohemians. It is manifest and well knowne to you and many other cities, kings, princes, and lords, that now a certaine number of yeeres, there hath béen great discord betwixt vs and you; and there haue béen some which haue moued you by letters, and prouoked you to make warre against vs, and to destroy vs. And as well on your part as ours, many men as well noble as vnnoble, haue faithfully lost their liues. Yet neuer hitherto haue ye in any part vnderstood our faith by our owne confession, neither whether we be able to proue the same out of the Scriptures, yea or no: and yet in the meane time kings, princes, lords and cities haue sustained great damage. And hereof we greatly maruell that you doe so much trust and beléeue the pope and his priests, which giue you drinke full of poison, and such comfort as no man can vnderstand, in that they say that they will giue you forgiuenesse of all your sinnes, and great grace and pardon, to this end, that you should warre vpon vs and destroy vs: whereas their graces and pardons are none other then great lies, and a great seducing of the body and soule of all them that beléeue them, and put their trust in them. This we would proue vnto them, and ouercome them by the holy Scripture; and we would suffer, that wholsoeuer is desirous to heare the same, should heare it. For the pope and all his priests herein deale with you as the diuell would haue done with our Lord Iesus Christ. Of whom Luke writeth in his fourth chapter, that he brought him vpon an high hill, and shewed vnto him in the twinckling of an eye, all the kingdomes that are in the compasse of the earth, and said vnto him: I will giue thee, &c. So the diuell deceiueth the pope, and all the priests with the riches of the world, and worldly power: And they thinke they can giue grace and pardon when they will: and they themselues shall neuer finde fauour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiuing of Christendome. And how can they giue that to others, which they themselues haue not? So did the diuell, who was rich in promising, and poore in giuing. And like as the diuell is not ashamed to tell a lie, so all they are not ashamed to speake that which shall neuer bee found true, nor be proued by the holy scriptures, because for no cause they stirre vppe kings, princes, lords and cities to make warre against vs, not to the end that the christian faith should thereby

The pope and prelats by their letters stirred them to fight.

False words to make fooles faine.

The pope seduceth the world with vaine promises of things which he cannot giue.

The diuell and the pope rich in promising, and poore in giuing.

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thereby be defended, but because they feare that their secret vices and heresies shall be disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, and a godly loue to the christian faith, they would then take the bookes of the holy Scripture, and would come vnto vs, and ouercome vs with the weapons of Gods word, and that is our chiefe desire. For so did the apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ, who came to the Paganes and Iewes, and brought them from their infidelity to the true faith of our Lord Iesus Christ; and this they did in the spirit of meeknesse, as the apostle Paul writeth in the 6. chap. to the Galat. Brethren if any man be agreeued, &c. So ought they also to doe, if they perceiued that they were iust and wee vniust. And if wee would not abide instruction: then they might take to them kings, princes, lords, and imperiall cities, and resist vs according to the commandements of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtle defence of all the bishops and priests, that they say that master Hus and Hierome which were burnt at Constance, were ouercome of the holy father the pope, and of the whole councell: For ye must vnderstand that they were not ouercome by the holy Ghost, but vniustly, with wrongfull violence, which God may yet hereafter grieuously punish in all them that gaue their counsell and aide thereto. And they say it ought not to be suffered, that we should be heard in confessing our faith. How may that be proued by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the diuell, as it is written in the fourth chapter of Matthew? And they are not better then Christ, nor we worse then the diuell. If they bee iust and haue the truth with them (as they say they haue) and wee bee vnrighteous, why doe they feare, since the truth ought not to bee afeard of falshood, as Esdras writeth in his second booke, the third chapter: Zorobabel declared that truth is of all things the most mightie, and ouercommeth all things. For Christ is the truth; John 14. I am the way, the truth, &c. And the diuell is the father of lies; John 8. He is a lier from the beginning, and neuer abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him. Therefore if the pope and his priests haue the truth, let them ouercome vs with the word of God. But if they haue lies, then they cannot long abide in all their presumption. Wherefore, wee exhort and beseech all the imperiall cities, all kings, princes, noble men, rich and poore, for Gods sake, and for his righteousnesse, that one of them write hereof to an other, and that there may bee some meanes made, how wee may commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place as shall bee fit both for you and vs, and bring with you your bishoppes and teachers, and let them and our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let vs heare them, and let not one ouercome the other by violence or false subtiltie, but onely by the word of God. And if your bishops and teachers haue better proofes of their faith out of the holy Scripture, then we, and our faith be found vntrue, we will receiue penance and satisfaction, according to the Gospell. But if your bishops and teachers bee ouercome of ours by the holy Scripture, then doe yee repent and hearken to vs, and hold with vs. And if your bishops and teachers will cease from their spirituall pride, and repent and make satisfaction: then will we helpe you according to our power, and will compell them, either to ioyne with vs, or else we will expell them out of Christendome. And if your bishops and teachers will say, that it is not lawfull for lay men to heare such reasoning, or to be present at it: that may you vnderstand to tend to no other end, but that they feare they should be ouercome and put to shame in the sight of you: For if they knew that they should ouercome therein, out of doubt they would desire that euery man should heare it, and thereby their glory should become the greater, and their fame and praises should bee encreased vpon the earth. And if your bishops and teachers counsell you to come to no hearing with vs, then doe it whether they will or no, and suffer not your selues at any time to be so foolishly seduced with their folish pardons, but tarie at home in your houses with your wiues and children. And let the pope of Rome come to vs with all his cardinals and bishops, and with all his priests, with his owne person and power to warre with vs, and let themselues deserue the absolution of sinnes, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they haue great need of forgiuenesse of sinnes, grace, and pardon) and by the grace of God wee will giue them pardon enough as they shall neede. But their subtill excuse is this: they say that it belongeth not to priests to fight with bodily weapons: and true it is that belongeth not to them: but it belongeth as little to them to stir vp, to counsell, and to fortifie others thereto: For Paul saith in the first to the Rom. and in the fifth to the Galath. That all that do such things are worthy of everlasting death

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing then to fight against vs, then will wee take the Lord to our helpe and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the excommunication or curse of the pope, or his cardinals, or of the bishops, because wee know that the pope is not God, as he maketh himselfe, that hee can curse and excommunicate when hee will, or blesse when hee will: who hath now these many yeares cursed and excommunicated vs, and yet notwithstanding, God and his gratious blessing hath beene our helpe. But peraduenture ye will say, that though wee see that bishops and priests bee euill and wicked, yet wee cannot lacke them: for who should baptise our children, who should heare confessions, and minister the holy Sacraments? and then also wee should bee within the excommunication of the pope and of his bishops. Welbeloued, ye needs to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the pope hurteth you nothing. Feare yee the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will prouide for those things well enough. If yee would banish euill bishops and priests, yee should haue good priests which should baptise your children, heare confessions, and minister the holy mysteries, because when the diuell is banished, then place is made for the holy Ghost: So when ill bishops and priests shall bee banished, then place shall bee made for good priests and bishops. Also, your bishops and priests say; that wee are miscreants and heretickes, and that we beleeue not on Purgatorie, vpon the virgine Marie, nor vpon the saints: wherein they say ill, for wee will proue by the holy Scripture, that we know better by Gods grace how we ought to beleeue vpon Purgatorie, and vpon Marie the mother of our Lord, and vpon his welbeloued saints, then they can tell vs. Also they say, that we will not be obedient vnto the pope. Truelie when hee shall become holie and iust, then wee know well that wee ought to bee obedient to him in all things, and not before. They say also that wee destroy Gods holie seruice, in that wee destroy monasteries, banishing thence the wicked monks and nuns. Truely wee did it, thinking once that they were holie, that they did the reuerend seruice of God; but after that wee well perceiued and considered their life and workes, then wee perceiued that they were false lowlie hypocrites, and wicked builders on high, & sellers of pardons and masses for the dead, and such as deuoured in themselues the sinnes of the people. And whereas they said that they rise at midnight when other men sleepe, and pray for the sinnes of the people: forasmuch as their selling of their praiers and masses for the dead for gifts, is no better then hypocrisie and heresie; therefore if wee doe speake against them and destroy their monasteries, we doe not therein destroy the seruice of God, but rather the seruice of the diuell, and the schooles of heretickes. And if yee knew them as wee know them, yee would as diligently destroy them as we doe. For Christ our Lord did not ordaine any such order, and therefore it must needs come to passe that shortly it shall be destroyed, as our Lord saith in the Gospell of saint Mat. 15. chap. Euerie plant which my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. We desire you also that yee would diligently consider the articles here written, wherein your bishops and priests are guiltie.

The first article is, that when your bishops will ordaine priests, they doe it not except he that is to bee made priest haue sufficient liuing, either inheritance left him of his parents or of benefices: whereas notwithstanding, Christ would that priests should bee poore, forasmuch as it is enough for the scholler to bee as his master is, and for the seruant to bee as his lord is: and the bishops will that they should be rich vpon earth, which is vniust before the Lord.

The 2. article is, that bishops take money of such as are to be ordained; but saint Peter did therefore sharpely rebuke Simon Magus, when he would haue giuen him money, as it is written in the eighth of the Acts.

The third article is, that they that come to be priests enter into their priesthood, not for Gods seruice sake, because they meane to preach and increase it among the christian people, so as the people may bee edified and made better: but rather for an idle life: and that they may eate well and drinke well, and that they may be honoured and reuerenced vpon earth. For euery one waiteth vpon his priest as a theefe and a robber, as John writeth in his tenth chapter.

The 4. article is of excommunication, which the pope and all his priests take to themselues, and therewith fetter and bind all christian people as they will, and they thinke that whosoeuer they excommunicate or curse, he is accursed and excommunicate before God: And wee will proue by the holy Scripture, that they themselues are excommunicate and accursed before God, because they keepe not the commandement of the loue of God, whereof the apostle writeth in the 1. to the Corinthians, the 16. chap. If any man loueth not our Lord Iesus Christ, he is excommunicate in the day of the comming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are alreadie bound and excommunicate before God and his saints; and therefore why feare ye their excommunication?

The 5. article is, that they take gifts for to pray for the dead, and to say masse for their soules. This is a wickednesse and heresie before the Lord, & all they that contribute to them to this end, doe wickedly, for that hereby priests become merchants of praiers and of masses: and herewith is all the church of Rome poysoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead, and say masse for their soules, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, forsomuch as they ought to take no gifts, neither little nor great. And euery one that taketh rewards to this end, to redeeme soules out of Purgatorie, doe therewithall cast their owne soules downe into hell. And they that giue any thing to that end, doe altogether lose that which they giue. And with such diuellish subtiltie, the pope with all his priests

Galat. 6.

False pretenses of the papists. M. Hus and Hierome by wrongfull violence put to death.

Christ heard the diuell: but the pope will not heare men confesse their faith.

2. Esdras 3. Iohn 14. Iohn 8.

A iust and godly request of the Bohemians.

Wherefore the popes clergie will abide no conference with the laity.

The popes pretensed excuse detected. Rom. 1.

Experience of Gods blessing where the pope hath cursed. Obiection.

Answere.

Mat. 15.

The abuse of popish religion in making priests, cardinals, &c.

Act. 8.

The abuse of popish religion in taking orders.

Popish excommunication abused. 1. Cor. 16.

The popes church poysoned with buying and selling their praying & singing, and all their doing for money.

haue deceiued, spoiled, and disherited kings, princes, lords, and knights, and good houlholders and many other, of their lawfull inheritances, because their ancestors and progenitours gaue it to colledges, monasteries and churches, that they might make memorials of them, and to sing or say praiers or masses for their soules, that they might bee redeemed out of Purgatorie. And with such goods, bishops, canons, and monasteries haue made themselues so rich, that now they fall at variance, with cities and princes: and whereas they should procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the first that begin warre: and as long as they haue such goods, they will neuer cease to be at strife with lords and cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they doe as a dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it; so long hee holdeth his peace and cannot barke: Euen so, as long as they haue this bone of pleasant riches, it will neuer be well in the world. Wherefore all kings, princes, and imperiall cities should doe a great worke of godlinesse and mercie, if by them they were compelled to doe this, as the dogge is when the bone is taken from him.

Feare of purgatorie hath robbed almost all the whole world.

So long as priests be rich, they will neuer be true teachers.

And therefore ye noble men, kings, princes, lords, imperiall cities, and all the communaltie, both rich and poore, if yee haue beene asleepe, yet now awake and open your eyes and behold the subtiltie of the diuell, how hee hath blinded the church of Rome, and take againe that is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memoriall for your soules, then doe as the wise man saith, Eccles. 19. Lay vp almes, &c.

The subtilty of the diuell in making the church rich. Eccles. 19.

The 6. article is, that they are full of pride and of high mind, which is manifestly knowne, by their long, costly, and superfluous garments, wherein they walke very vnlike to Christ our Lord, who had a garment without a seame, and to the welbeloued John Baptist, who had a garment of Camels haire: and they will be honoured and worshipped, and they preach and say that priesthood ought to be honoured; and so it ought indeed to be: but there are none that doe so much slander and abase it, as they themselues, with their euill workes, gay apparell, and with their euill words, wherein they passe all other men. Paul saith the first to Tim. the 3. chap. Let the Elders that gouerne well, be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labor in the word and doctrine of the Lord. Consider, that he saith, They that gouerne well.

Popish priests with their long and sumptuous gownes more like to the Pharisies then Christ. 1. Tim. 6.

Honor in well gouerning.

The 7. article is, that they are couetous from the highest to the lowest, and for couetousnesse they preach many foolish deeds and manifest lies, and sell the holy Sacraments, which is a great heresie: for God commanded that they should giue freely. Paul writeth in the first to Timothie: couetousnesse is the roote of al mischiefe, wherunto many haue beene giuen, and therefore they are separated from the faith and haue denied the truth.

The popes church poysoned with couetousnesse. 1. Tim. 1.

The 8. article is, that they commonly are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifestly seene in their concubines and children, which walke openly in all mens sight, and make many mens wiues whores, or corrupt their daughters being virgins, and make them priests harlots and ribalds.

The popes church poysoned much with whoredome.

The 9. article is, that they are full of diuellish enuie, and especially in all monasteries they haue great enuie and hatred amongst themselues, because when any thing is giuen or disposed to one monasterie or colledge, then there are others that hate it, and enuie at it, and would more gladly haue it themselues: Like as among dogs, when any thing is giuen to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing, enuieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather deuour all himselfe, then giue any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sinne of enuie in giuing nothing vnto them: And it were better that their possessions were taken from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to his disciples saying: Go ye and preach the Gospell to all men.

The popes church and monasteries commonly poysoned with diuellish enuie.

The 10. article is, that they are idle, and chiefly the bishops, canons, and other prelats, which will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of Christendome, whereto they haue bound themselues, and they eate the bread thereof in idlenesse, because when other men watch and labour to maintaine themselues and their little ones, then are they with their lemmons, or else they walke in some citie, carying hawkes on their fists, or else they sit at the good wine with their concubines, and there they sing and play the Lucians, and eate of the best; and therefore all that willingly bring and giue to them shall bee made partners of that curse which is giuen them of God, because they eate their bread vniustly, whereof Paul writeth in the 2. to the Thessal. the 3. chapter: Hee that laboureth not, let him not eate.

The popes church poysoned with idlenesse and bellicheere.

The 11. article is, that they are notorious liars, because to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lies, which in the holy Scripture haue no foundation nor proofe. Of such writeth John in the Apocal. 21.

The popes church infamous with notorious lies.

The 12. article is, that they doe not rightly giue or minister to the people the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they giue it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and a diuellish sinne and too great malapertnesse.

The popes church erreth in diminishing one part of the Sacrament.

Herein wee would ouercome them, with the testimonies of the Euangelists: I say wee would ouercome the pope, and all his priests, with the authorities of Marke, Luke, and Paul, Romaines 13. and wee would suffer, that kings, princes, lords, and all that are willing to heare, should heare it.

The 13. article is, that they sit in spirituall iudgement, and then many times they iudge according to fauour, and not according to the righteousnesse of God, that they take bribes, giuing sentence for him, which in Gods sight hath the wrongfull cause. Woe bee to such sentences, as it is written in Isay 5. Woe be to you that, &c.

The popes church charged with partiality.

The 14. article is, that they sit hearing confessions, and when there come to them vsurers, raueners, and theeues, they take bribes of them of their ill gotten goods, to spare them: and they willingly suffer them in cities and townes. And likewise of adulterers and other notorious whoremongers, and whores, and they neuer let or stay them in their great sinnes, to the end that the Scripture may bee fulfilled in them, which saith: Gifts and the loue of money doe draw to hell, and doe blind the eyes of iudges.

The 15. article is, that they receiue tithes of men, and will of right haue them, and preach and say that men are bound to giue them tithes; and therein they say falsly: For they cannot proue by the new Testament, that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded it, and his disciples warned no man to doe so, neither did themselues receiue them. But although in the old Testament, it were commanded to giue tithes, yet it cannot thereby be proued, that christian men are bound thereto: For this precept of the old Testament had an end in the first yeere of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the precept of circumcision. Wherefore welbeloued, consider and see, how your bishops seduce you and shut your eyes with things that haue no proofe. Christ saith in the 11. of Luke: Giue almes of those things that remaine, but he said not, giue the tenth of the goods which ye possesse, but giue almes. But when they heare the word, they may say as the lawyer said to Christ: Master when thou saiest so, thou giuest offence, Luke 11.

He meaneth of claiming tithes by meere necessitie of the old law; and not by the politike law of princes.

The 16. article is, that they in many places lend money or goods to haue treasure or vsurie, and they haue in cities and townes, yeerely payments and perpetuall reuenues, as great princes and lords. Wherein they do against the Gospell, which saith, Doe not ye possesse gold nor siluer. And whereas they lend for gaine and vsurie, against that speaketh the Lord, Deuteronom. 24. Lend not to vsurie to thy brother, &c. Yee honest, discreet, and welbeloued lords, all the aforesaid articles we will proue against the pope, and all his priests, with many testimonies of the holy Scripture, which for breuities sake, wee haue not here mentioned. But note yee chiefly these 4. articles, for which we striue, and desire to defend them to the death.

The popes church charged with vsurie.

The first article is, that all publike, and customable mortall sinnes, ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all priests and laie men, according to the commandement of the holie Scripture.

The second article is, that riches ought to bee taken from the pope and all his priests, from the highest to the lowest, and they ought to be made poore, as the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were: who had nothing of their owne, neither possessions in this world, neither worldly power.

He meaneth the immoderate riches and temporall possessions.

The third article is, that the word of God ought to be free for euery man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and reade in all places, whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, or without any inhibition of either spirituall or earthly power, openly or manifestly.

When appointed to preach may preach though the pope forbid them.

The fourth article is, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to bee deliuered to euery christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Euangelists haue written. We haue also vnderstood that there shall be a councell in Basill: Wherefore let no man bee exalted, but let them diligently keepe their wiues, their daughters, and their virgins from bishops, priests, and monks. And doe not thinke that there is made any holy assemblie of bishops and priests for the common commoditie and profit of Christendome, but onely to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies, with the cloake of hypocrisie, and let and hinder the righteousnesse of God, which is much contrarie to them: and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy assemblie, but the congregation of Satan. And take yee heede that it be not done as some did at Constance, who tooke money of bishoppes and prelats, and suffered them to sleepe with their wiues. Yee welbeloued and honest lords, if yee find any thing in these foresaid articles or words written somewhat sharpely, we did it not to offend or contemne you, but to the end that yee should diligently consider and deuise, how christendome is so ill kept and led by the priests of this present age. Our Lord Jesu Christ keepe you both in bodie and soule. Amen. In the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundreth and thirtie.

When the pope holdeth his councell, let men looke to their wiues and daughters where the councell is kept.

Preropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samssinolich, Captaines of Bohemia.

Ex vetustissimo codice manuscripto.

Now

Now to prosecute the warres of the Bohemians againe: After Zisca was dead, whereof we did intreat before, there was great feare, sorrow, and lamentation in the armie, the souldiors accusing fortune which gaue ouer such an inuincible captaine to be ouercome with death. Immediatlie there was a diuision in the host, the one part chosing Procopius Magnus to be their captaine, the other part saying, that there was none could be found worthie to succeede Zisca: whereupon they chusing out certaine to serue the warres, named themselues Orphans.

The armie of Zisca diuided.

Thus the Thaborites being diuided into two armies, the one part retained their old & accustomed name, and the other by meanes of the death of their captaine, named themselues Orphans. And albeit, that oftentimes there was dissension betweene them, yet whensoeuer any forraine power came towards them, they ioyned their powers together in one camp, and defended themselues. They seldome went vnto any fenced townes, except it were to buie necessaries, but liued with their wiues and children in their campe and tents. They had amongst them many carres, the which they vsed as a Bulwarke: For whensoeuer they went vnto battell, they made two wings of them, which closed in the footmen. The wings of the horsemen were on the outside, and when as they saw their time for to ioyne battell, the wagon men which ledde the wings, going forth vnto the Emperours standard, and compassing in such part of their enemies as they would, did close themselues in together, whereby the enemies being inclosed, so that they could not be rescued, they were partlie by the footmen, and partly by the men that were in the carres, with their darts slaine. The horsmen fought without the fortification: and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the carres opening themselues, receiued them as it were into a fensed citie: and by this meanes they got manie victories, forsomuch as their enemies were ignorant of their policies.

The order and policie that the armie of Zisca vsed in warre after his decease.

These two armies went forth, the one into Silesia, and the other into Morauia, and returned againe with great pray, before their enemies knew of their comming. After this they besieged the towne of Swetley in Austrich, where as the Thaborites and the Orphans, two nights continuallie assaulted the walles without ceasing; but Albert duke of Austrich comming with his host to ayde the citizens, they fought by the space almost of foure houres, the valiantest warriours being slaine on both parts. At the length the battaile was broken off, and the Thaborites lost their carres, and Albert was put out of his campe and tents. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus, came againe and inclosed the citie of Rhetium in Austria with a notable siege. They of Prage were in his armie, and Boslaus Cygneus, of whom we spake before, was slaine there with a dart, and the citie of Rhetium was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The Burgraue of Malderburge lord of the towne, was also taken & caried vnto Prage, where also he died in prison.

Procopius Magnus.

These things thus done, the Emperour sent for the nobles of Boheme: which went vnto him vnto a towne of Hungarie, called Posonium in the borders of Austria, vpon the bankes of the riuer of Danubius: but they would not enter into the towne, but remained without the towne in their tents; whither as the Emperour going out vnto them, communed much with them as touching his right and title, and the recouering of his fathers kingdome, promising if there were any cause, which did alienate the Bohemians mindes from him, that he would take away all the occasion thereof. They made answere, that he had made warre vpon them without cause, and that he had suffered their countrey men contrarie to his promise, to be burnt at Constance not being heard, and the kingdome to be contumeliously interdicted, and the Nobles of Boheme to be condemned by the church of Rome as heretikes: and that he should thinke the force and power of the Bohemians not to be so small, but that they would prouide for their owne honor. Whereunto the Emperour answered verie gentlie, and offered them a generall councell, wherein they might declare their innocencie, if they would submit themselues to the iudgement of the vniuersall church: but the Bohemians which were nowe become valiant victors in armes, would not now bee ouercome with words; and so nothing being finally concluded, the Emperour returned home.

Sigismund the emperor which burned Hus & Hierom before, now is faine to intreat for his kingdome.

The death of J. Hus & Hierom reuenged.

Then pope Martin perceiuing the Gospell to increase dailie more & more, sent the Cardinall of Winchester an English man, borne of a noble house, into Germany to moue them vnto war against the Bohemians. Whereunto the Emperour also did assist him.

The Cardinall of Winchester sent into Germany to raise war against the Bohemians.

There were three armies prouided. In the first army were the dukes of Saxonie, and the lower cities.

Three armies set against the Bohemians.

The second armie which was gathered of the Franconians, was vnder the conduct of the Marques of Brandenburge.

The third army was led by Otho the archbishop of Treuers, whom the Rhenenses, the Bauarians, and the Imperiall cities of Swenia followed. These armies entring into Boheme, in three seuerall parts, after they were passed the wood, they ioyned together and pitched before Pilsna. This towne a certaine learned and eloquent protestant, named Prichicho, the night before had wonne from the Papists: wherfore the armie was determined first to recouer that citie, before they would goe any further. But when as newes came vnto the host, how the Protestants had gathered an armie, and come with all speed towards them: they fled before they saw their enemies, and went vnto Tacouia, leauing behind them their warlike engines with a great pray. The Cardinall was not yet come into the campe, but meeting them in their flight at Tacouia, he maruelled at the cowardlie flight of so many Noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turne againe vnto their enemies, which, he said, were farre weaker then they. Which thing when he had long trauailed about in vaine, he was faine to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entred the wood, when as the Bohemians comming vpon them, set vpon their rereward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearfull then before, neither did they leaue flying before the Bohemians left following. Then all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquished Tacouia: and hauing obtained great store of warlike engines, they destroyed Pilsna. And when they would haue returned home by Franconia, they had great summes of money sent vnto them that they should not waste or destroy the Countries of Bamberge and Noremberge: whereby the host of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

The popes army flieth.

Like captaine like souldiours.

Sigismundus the emperor hauing newes of these things, went straight vnto Noremberge, and gathered there new aid and help. Also Pope Martine sent Julian the cardinall of saint Angell into Germany with his ambassade, to make warre against the Bohemians, and that hee should in the Councell of Basill, which doth now shortly draw on, be president in the Popes name. He entring into Germany, went straight to Noremberge to the emperour, where as many of the Nobles of Germany were assembled.

Anno 1421

The pope raiseth war the second time against the Bohemians.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians, against the eight Kalends of Julie, and Fredericke Marquesse of Brandenburge appointed Generall of that warre, which should follow the Cardinall. Hee entred into Boheme by the way that leadeth vnto Thopa, and Albertus prince of Austrich was appointed to bring his armie through Morauia.

A new warre raised by the pope against the Bohemians.

In this expedition was Albert and Christopher of Bauaria, and Fredericke Dukes of Saxony, John and Albert princes of Brandenburge, with their father which was Generall of those warres. Also the bishops of Hyperbolis, Bamberge and Eyslen. Also the company of the Sweuians, which they called the companie of Saint George, and the magistrates of the imperiall cities, the bishops of Mentz, Treuers, and Colen sent their aides, and with them the chieftaines of their prouinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen were aboue fortie thousand. But their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans for the most part doe vse to fight their battels on horsebacke.

The number of the popes army against the Bohemians.

Also Rhenatus prince of Lorain promised to come to these warres, but being letted by his ciuill warres, forsomuch as he went about to vanquish the earle of Mandome, whereby hee could not keepe his promise, neither the countie Palatine of Rheine, which did aide and succour the earle of Mandome, could not goe against the Bohemians. The cardinall staying for them, deferred his iourney vntill the Kalends of August. In the meane time, Albert leading his armie out of Austria, vnderstanding that the cardinall was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himselfe vnable to encounter with the Bohemian power, he returned backe againe. After this the cardinall entred into Boheme with an huge armie, and destroyed many of the protestants townes, killing men, women and children, sparing neither old nor young: notwithstanding, this his tyrannie was exercised in the vttermost borders of Boheme, for his captaines feared to enter farre into the land. The Bohemians allsoone as they had heard tell that their enemie was come, made readie, and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a tower called Stiltiuerge, and brought it vnder subiection.

Cardinal Julian with a maine host entreth Boheme.

The cruell slaughter done by the cardinal.

In the mean season there fell such a marueilous sudden feare amongst al the papists throughout the whole camp, that they began most shamefullie to run away before any enemie appeared in sight. The cardinal Julianus marueiling at this most sudden feare, and what should moue so great an armie to flie, went about vnto the captains, exhorting them to put on armor, to order their battels, and couragiously to abide their enemies, saying: they did not fight for the glorie of their kingdome, or for the possession of lands, but for their liues, and honour, and * religion of Christ, and for the saluation of soules. How ignominious a thing is it (saith he) for the Germans to flie in battell, whose courage and valiantnesse all the world doth extoll? It were much better for to die, then to giue place to any enemies, before they were seene: for they can by no meanes liue in safetie within the wals, which giue place vnto their enemie in the field; for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the wals, & except they would euen presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death. But this exhortation was

God striketh a feare into the popes armie.

* Rather for the religion of Antichrist.

This cardinall belike loued to preach rather in the campe then in the Church.

God reserueth his people newly conuerted.

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all in vaine, for feare had put away all boldnesse: for the ensignes were snatched vp, and as though there had beene no captaine in the host, euery man ranne headlong away. No man regarded any commandement, neither once tooke his leaue of his captaine, but casting away their armour with spéedie slight they ran away, as though their enemie had béen at their backes. The cardinall also, although it were against his will, was forced to doe the like.

The cardinals armie ranne away for feare.

Thus the protestants by the feare of their enemies made the more bold & couragious, pursued them through the woods, and had a great pray and spoile of them. Notwithstanding, Albertus, when he heard tell that the cardinall was entred into Boheme, with all speed came againe out of Austrich with his armie, and besieged the strong towne of Prezorabia: but when he vnderstood how the cardinall was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through Morauia, which was not yet subiect vnto him, and destroyed aboue fiftie townes, with fire and sword, tooke many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murther and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they tooke vpon them his yoke, and promised to be subiect and obedient to him vnder this condition, that as touching religion he would be bound to do that which the councell of Basill should determine.

Great slaughter in Boheme by duke Albert.

Then was there an ambassade sent out of Boheme vnto Basill, where as Sigilmund held the councell, who during the time of the warres, had kept himselfe at Norembergе. When as he should take his iourney vnto Rome to be crowned emperour, he wrote letters vnto the nobles of Boheme, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian borne, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation, then to his owne, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned, the which his honour should also be a renowne to the Bohemians, whom to aduance it hath beene alwaies his speciall care.

The councell of Basill.

A letter of the Emperour to the Bohemiãs.

Also, how that through his endeuor the councel was begun at Basill, exhorting all such as were desirous to bee heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintaine any quarrell contrarie to the holy mother church, that the councell would louingly and gently heare their reasons; that they should onely endeuor themselues to agree with the Synode as touching religion, and reserue and kéepe a quiet and peaceable kingdome for him, against his returne: Neither should the Bohemians thinke to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and vncle, had reigned ouer them, and that he would reigne ouer them after no other meane or sort, then other christian kings vsed to doe.

The councell of Basill also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors which should shew a reason of their faith, promising safe-conduct to goe and come, and free libertie to speake what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of two opinions; for the protestants and almost all the common people said, it was not good to goe, alledging the examples of John Hus and Hierome of Prage, which going vnto Constance vnder the safe-conduct of the emperour, were there openly burned. But the nobilitie following the mind of Maynardus, prince of the new house, said, that they ought to goe vnto the councell, and that they are not to bee suffred which had inuented those new and strange opinions of faith, and new kind of religion, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the vniuersall church, and defend those things, which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion tooke place, and an ambassade of three hundred horse was sent vnto Basil. The chiefe whereof were William Colca a valiant knight, and Procopius surnamed Magnus, a man of worthie fame for his manifold victories. John Rochezana preacher of Prage, Nicolas Galecus minister of the Thaborites, and one Peter an Englishman, of excellent prompt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the towne, and many out of the Synode and councell, attending before the gates to sée the comming of this valiant and famous people: othersome gathered together in great number into the streetes where as they should passe through. The matrons, maides and children, filled the windowes and houses to behold and sée, and to maruell at their strange kind of apparell, and stout couragious countenances, saying that it was not vntrue which was reported of them: notwithstanding all men beheld Procopius, saying, this is he which hath ouerthrowne the papists in so many battels, which hath subuerted so many townes, and slaine so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his owne souldiers, doe feare and reuerence: also, that hee was a bold, valiant and inuincible captaine, which could not bee ouercome with any terrour, labour or trauell.

The Bohemians sent for by the councell.

Safe-conduct giuen to the Bohemians to come to the councell.

A doubt among the Bohemians whether they to goe to the councell of Basil or no.

This Maynardus was after a great backfriend to the faithfull Bohemians.

300. horsemen of the Bohemians sent ambas. to the councell.

This Englishman was Peter Paine.

The receiuing of the Bohemians at Basill.

Procopius famous among the Germaines.

These Bohemian ambassadours were gently receiued. The next day after, cardinall Iulianus sending for them vnto the councell house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent Oration vnto them, exhorting them to vnitie and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our Sauiour Christ, and the mother of all faithfull, that it hath the keyes of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and faire, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot erre in those points which are necessarie to saluation, and that he which doth contemne the same church, is to be counted as a prophane Ethnicke, and Publican, neither can this church be represented better by any meanes then in this councell. He exhorteth them also to receiue the decrees of the councell, and to giue no lesse credit vnto the councell then vnto the Gospell, by whose authoritie the Scriptures themselues are receiued and allowed. Also that the Bohemians which call themselues the children of the church, ought to heare the voice of their mother, which is neuer vnmindfull of her children: how that now of late they haue liued apart from their mother; albeit (said hee) that is no new or strange thing, for there haue been many in times past which haue forsaken their mother, and yet séeking after saluation haue returned to her againe: That in the time of Noes flood, as many as were without the arke perished: that the Lords passeouer was to be eaten in one house: that there is no saluation to bee sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden and famous fountaine of water: whereof whosoeuer shall drinke, shall not thirst euerlastingly: That the Bohemians haue done as they ought, in that they haue sought the fountaines of this water at the councell, and haue determined now at length to giue eare vnto their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armour and weapon is to be laid apart, and all occasion of war vtterly to bee reiected: For the fathers would louingly and gently heare whatsoeuer there they would say in their owne cause or quarrell, requiring onely that they would willingly receiue and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred Synode: whereunto not onely the Bohemians, but also all other faithfull christians, ought to consent and agrée, if they will be partakers of eternall life.

This Oration of the cardinall, was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Whereunto the Bohemians answered in few words, that they neither had contemned the church nor the councels: that the sentence giuen at Constance against those which were vnheard, doth diminish nothing of the christian religion: that the authoritie of the fathers hath alwaies remained amongst them inuiolate; and whatsoeuer thing the Bohemians had taught, to bee confirmed by the Scriptures and Gospell, and that they are now come to manifest their innocencie before the whole church, and to require open audience, where as the laity may also be present. Their request was granted them: and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the church of Rome, they propounded foure articles.

The Bohemians answere to the cardinals oration.

First, they affirmed, that al such as would be saued, ought of necessitie to receiue the communion of the last Supper vnder both kinds of bread and wine.

The second article, they affirmed all ciuill rule and dominion to be forbidden vnto the clergie by the law of God.

The third article, that the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth article, as touching open crimes and offences which are in no wise to be suffered for the auoiding of greater euill.

The articles wherein the Bohemians differed from the church of Rome.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the councell in the name of the whole realme. Then an other ambassador affirmed that hee had heard of the Bohemians diuers and sundrie things offensiue to christian eares, amongst the which this was one point, that they should preach that the inuention of the order of begging friers was diabolicall.

Then Procopius riling vp, said, neither is it vntrue, for if neither Moses, neither before him the Patriarchs, neither after him the prophets, neither in the new law Christ and his apostles, did institute the order of begging friers, who doth doubt but that it was an inuention of the diuell, and a worke of darkenesse?

This answere of Procopius was derided of them all: And cardinall Iulianus went about to proue that not onely the decrées of the Patriarches and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted to be only of God, but also all such decrées as the church should ordaine, being guided through the holy Ghost, be the workes of God. Albeit, as he said, the order of begging friers, might séeme to bee taken out of some part of the Gospell. The Bohemians chose out foure diuines which should declare their articles to bee taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrarie part there were foure appointed by the councell. This disputation continued fiftie daies, where many things were alledged on either part, whereof, as place shall serue, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of that councell.

Certaine appointed by the Bohemians and the councell to dispute.

In the meane season, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigilsmund the emperour and the pope, fighting for their religion, vnto whom, notwithstanding all the fulnesse of the popes power was bent against them, God of his goodnesse had giuen such noble victories, as is aboue exprest, and euer did prosper them so long as they could agrée among themselues: as these things (I say) were doing in Boheme king Henrie the fifth, fighting likewise in France, albeit for no like matters of religion, fell sicke at Boys, and died, after hee had reigned nine yéeres, fiue monethes, three weekes

The death of king Henry 5. called prince of priests for fauouring the pope.

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weekes and odde daies from his coronation. This king in life and in all his doings was ſo deuout and ſeruiceable to the pope and his chaplaines, that he was called of many the prieſts: who left behind him a ſonne being yet an infant nine moneths and fiftéene daies of age, whom hee had by quéene Katharine daughter to the French king, married to him about two or thrée yeeres before. The name of which prince ſucceéding after his father, was Henrie the ſixth, left vnder the gouernment and protection of his vncle named Humfrey Duke of Glocester.

The names of the Archbiſhops of Canturbury in this fifth booke contained.

54	Simon Iſlepe.	17
56	Simon Langham.	2
57	William Witleſey	5
58	Simon Sudbury.	6
59	William Courtney.	15
60	Thomas Arundel.	18
61	Henrie Chicheſly.	29

The ſixth Part or Section, pertaining to the laſt three hundred yeares.

A Preface to the Reader.

According to the fiue ſundrie diuerſities and alterations of the church, ſo haue I diuided hitherto the order of this preſent church ſtorie into fiue principall parts, euery part containing 300. yeeres. So that now comming to the laſt 300. yeeres, that is, to the laſt times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliffe: Foraſmuch as in the compaſſe of the ſaid laſt 300. yeeres, are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the maruellous reformation of the ſame through the wondrous operation of the almightie; all which things cannot be comprehended in one booke: I haue therefore diſpoſed the ſaid latter 300. yeeres into diuers bookes, beginning now with the ſixth booke, at the reigne of king Henry the 6. In which booke beſide the grieuous and ſundry perſecutions raiſed vp by Antichriſt, to be noted, herein is alſo to be obſerued, that whereas it hath of long time beene receiued and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally vſed, hath ſprung vp and riſen but of late, euen by the ſpace (as many do thinke) of 20. or 30. yeares, it may now manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the Acts and Monuments heretofore paſſed, but alſo by the hiſtories hereafter following, how this profeſſion of Chriſts religion hath beene ſpread abrode in England of old and ancient time, not only from the ſpace of theſe 200. late yeeres, from the time of Wickliffe, but hath continually from time to time ſparkled abrode, although the flames thereof haue neuer ſo perfectly burſt out, as they haue done within theſe hundred yeeres and more: As by theſe hiſtories here collected and gathered out of Regiſters, eſpecially of the dioces of Norwich, ſhall manifeſtly appeare: wherein may be ſeene what men, and how many both men and women within the ſaid dioces of Norwich, haue beene, which haue defended the ſame cauſe of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the church. Which perſons although then they were not ſo ſtrongly armed in their cauſe and quarrell, as of late yeeres they haue beene, yet were they warriers in Chriſts church, and fought for their power in the ſame cauſe. And although they gaue backe through tyrannie, yet iudge thou the beſt good Reader, and refer the cauſe thereof to God, who reuealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

King Henry 6. Anno 1422

This yong prince being vnder the age of one yéere, after the death of his father, ſucceéded in his reigne and kingdome of England, Anno 1422. and in the eight yéere was crowned at Weſtminſter: and the ſecond yeere after was crowned alſo at Paris, Henrie biſhoppe of Wincheſter, cardinall, being preſent at them both, and reigned 38. yéeres, and then was depoſed by Edward the fourth, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall bee declared in his time. In the firſt yéere of his reigne was burned the conſtant witneſſe bearer and teſtis of Chriſts doctrine, William Taylor, a prieſt, vnder Henry Chicheſley archbiſhop of Canturbury. Of this William Taylor I read, that in the daies of Thomas Arundell, hee was firſt apprehended, and abiured. Afterward in the daies of Henry Chicheſly, about the yeere of our Lord, 1421, which was a yéere before his burning, the ſaid William Taylor appeared againe in the conuocation before the archbiſhop, being brought by the biſhop of Worceſter, being complained of to haue taught at Brikstow theſe articles following.

Ex ſchala mundi. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

William Taylor the firſt time apprehended. William Taylor againe appeareth before the archbiſhop: Three articles firſt obiected to William Taylor.

First, that whoſoeuer hangeth any Scripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due only to God, and giueth it to the Diuell.

Secondly, that no humane perſon is to bee worſhipped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the ſaints are not to be worſhipped nor inuocated.

Vpon theſe articles the ſaid William Taylor being examined, denied that hee did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talke vpon the ſame, eſpecially vpon the ſecond and third articles, onely in way of reaſoning, and for argument ſake. And to iuſtifie his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, hee brought out of his boſome a paper or libell written, wherein were contained certaine articles, with the teſtimonies of the Doctours alledged, and exhibited the ſame vnto the archbiſhop. Who then being bid to ſtand aſide, the archbiſhop conſulting together with the biſhops and other prelats, what was to be done in the matter, deliuered the writings vnto maſter John Caſtle, and John Rikinghale, the two Vicechancellors of Oxford, and Cambridge, and to John Langdon monke of Canturbury. Who aduiſing with themſelues, and with other Diuines, about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following, preſented the ſaid articles of William Taylor, to the archbiſhop and prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. Whereupon William Taylor being called before them, in concluſion was contented to reuoke the ſame, and for his penance was by them condemned to perpetuall priſon.

Notwithſtanding, through fauour they were contented, that he ſhould be releaſed from his carcerall indurance, in caſe he would put in ſufficient ſurety in the kings chancerie, and ſweare that he ſhall neuer hold or fauour any ſuch opinions hereafter. And thus the ſaid William Taylor, appointed to appeare the nert Wedneſday at Lambeth before the archbiſhop, to take his abſolution from his long excommunication, during the time from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him; where hee laying aſide his Arunlouſa, that is, his cloke, his cap, and ſtripped vnto his dublet, kneeled at the feéte of the archbiſhop. Who then ſtanding vp, and hauing a rod in his hand, began the Pſalme Miſerere, &c. his chapleins anſwering the ſecond verſe. After that was ſaid the collect, Deus cui proprium, &c. with certaine other prayers. And ſo taking an oth of him, the archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtodie of the biſhop of Worceſter, to whom power and authority was permitted to releaſe him, vpon the conditions aforeſaid. And thus was William Taylor for that time abſolued, being enioyned notwithſtanding to appeere at the nert conuocation whenſoeuer it ſhould be, before the ſaid archbiſhop or his ſucceſſor that ſhould follow him.

The forme of canonicall abſolution in the church vſed againſt them that were excommunicate.

In the meane time, while William Taylor was thus in the cuſtodie of the biſhop of Worceſter, there paſſed certaine writings betweene him, and one Thomas Smith prieſt at Brikstow, in the which writings William Taylor replied againſt the ſaid Thomas, concerning the queſtion of worſhipping of ſaints. Upon the occaſion of which replie, being brought to the hands of the biſhop of Worceſter, William Taylor began anew to be troubled, and was brought againe before the publike conuocation of the clergie, by the ſaid biſhop of Worceſter, to anſwere vnto his writings. This was Anno 1422, the 11. day of February. Unto the which conuocation the ſaid William being preſented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not deny to be of his owne hand writing.

The tenour and effect of whole writing onely tended to proue, that euery petition and prayer for any ſupernatural gift, ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit in this his writing hee did not vtterly denie, that it was not lawfull in any reſpect to pray to ſaints (and bringeth for the ſame Thomas Aquine) but onely in reſpect of that worſhip,

The opinion of William Taylor concerning worſhipping of ſaints.

which is called Cultus latriæ: And further so prosecuteth his mind herein, that he seemeth little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists: as most plainely appeareth by his owne words, saying: Nunquam tamen negaui, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viantium, tam viuis, quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere; quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex consona ratione, &c. And moreouer he inferreth the example of Moses, who prayed vnto God, alledging the merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, which were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimonie of Hierome, and alledging the example of Steuen, saith: Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus. And at length hee commeth to this conclusion, proouing by saint Austin, in this maner: Ne igitur cum impijs & idololatris in veteri testamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deueniendo ad centrum, sanum est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis: Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius, vt misericordiam consequamur & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio opportuno, &c. That is: And therefore lest we runne about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the old Testament, and neuer come to the center, therefore it is wholesome and good counsell, that wee follow the mind of the apostle, saying: Let vs resort with boldnesse vnto the throne of his grace, that we may obtaine mercie, and find grace in time of opportune helpe, &c.

Cultus latriæ, that is, worship which is onely due to God.

Aug. super Psal. 21.

Thus much out of the foresaid writing of William Taylor I haue excerped, to the intent that the indifferent Reader, vsing his iudgement herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the papists. And yet notwithstanding the same writing being deliuered by the archbishop, to the foure orders of friers of London to be examined, was found erroneous and hereticall in these points.

4. articles by the foure orders of friers laid against William Taylor

First, that euery prayer, which is a petition of some supernaturall gift or free gift, is to be directed onely to God.

2 Item, that prayer is to be directed to God alone.

3 Item, to pray to any creature is to commit Idolatrie.

4 Also, an other opinion there was much like to the other, to make vp the fourth; so that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet to make vp a number euery order of the foure sorts of friers, thought to find out some matter to offer vp to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seeme more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more then could another: or else perchance lest any of them should seeme to fauor the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

❧ The burning of William Taylor priest.

When the Saturday was come, which was the 20. day of Februarie, vpon the which day the foure orders were appointed to declare their censure vpon the articles in the chapiter house of Pauls, first appeareth frier Tille, for the black friers, then frier Winchelsey, then frier Lowe, after frier Ashwell, each frier for his order seuerally bringing his heresie, as is aboue specified.

Thus the verdict of these foure orders being giuen vp to the archbishop, and seuerally each order comming in with his heresie, which was the 20. day of Februarie: hereupon commeth downe a writ from the king, directed to the lord Maior and Sheriffes of London, De hæretico comburendo, dated the first day of March, Anno the first of his reigne. The copie whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower, beginning thus: Rex Maiori & Vicecomitibus. Whereupon the said William Tailor condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the secular power. Who then being had to Smithfield, the first day of March, with christian constancie, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdome, 1422.

William Taylor degraded.

William Taylor martyr burned in Smithfield.

The maner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Hus before: for the papists vse but one forme for all men. First degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patine. From deaconship, by taking from them the gospell booke and tunicle. From subdeaconship, by taking from them the epistle booke and Tunicle. From Acolutheship, by taking from them the Cruet and candlestick. From an exorcist, by taking away the booke of Exorcismes or Gradual. From the sextonship, by taking away the church doore key and surplis. And likewise from Benet, in taking away the surplis, and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished vpon this godly martyr, before his burning.

The popes maner of degradation.

Iohn Florence a Turner.

IOhn Florence a Turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocesse of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies here vnder written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

John Florence a Turner.

In primis, that the pope and cardinals haue no power to make or constitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to bee kept holy, but only the Sunday which God hath hallowed.

Item, that men ought to fast no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

Item, that images are not to be worshipped, neither that the people ought to set vp any lights before them in the churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item, that curats should not take the tithes of their parishioners, but that such tithes should bee dunded amongst the poore parishioners.

He meaneth they should not claime such tithes by any exaction.

Item that all such as sweare by their life or power, shall be damned, except they repent.

The dispiling of Iohn Florence.

Upon Wednesday being the second day of August in the yeere of our Lord, 1424. the said John Florence, personally appeared before William Bernam, chancellor to William bishop of Norwich, where as he proceeding against him, obiected the first article touching the power of the pope and cardinals: to which article the said John Florence answered in this maner. If the pope liued vprightly as Peter liued, he hath power to make lawes: otherwise I beleeue hee hath no power. But being afterward threatned by the iudge, he acknowledged that hee had erred, and submitted himselfe to the correction of the church, and was abiured, taking an oth that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any errour or heresie contrarie to the determination of the church of Rome, neither maintaine, helpe, or aide any that shall teach or hold any such errours or heresies, either priuilie or apertly; and for his offence in this behalfe done, he was enioyned this penance following.

{Anno 1424}

Three

The maner of this diſpling was with a white rod, thrice laid vpon the head of the penitentiary.

Three ſundaies in a ſolemne procellion in the cathedrall church of Norwich, hee ſhould be diſpled before all the people. The like alſo ſhould be done about his pariſh church of Shelton, three other ſeuerall ſundaies, he being bare headed, bare foted and bare necked, after the maner of a publike penitentiarie, his body being couered with a canuas ſhirt and canuas breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound waight; and that done he was diſmiſſed.

Richard Belward of Eriſam in the dioceſſe of Norwich.

RIchard Belward of Eriſam, in the dioceſſe of Norwich, was accuſed for holding and teaching theſe errors and opinions here vnder written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

He meaneth the wicked biſhops of that time, whoſe curſes God did diſalle.

In primis, that eccleſiaſticall miniſters and Ordinaries haue no power to excommunicat, neither can excommunicat. And albeit that a biſhop doe excommunicat any man, God doth abſolue him.

This proueth ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle to be no traitor.

Item, that hee held the erroneous opinions and concluſions, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle held when he was in priſon, and affirmed that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle was a true catholike man, and falſly condemned and put to death without any reaſonable cauſe.

Item, that ſuch as goe on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and ſtone, are excommunicat, becauſe they ought to offer to the quicke, and not to the dead: and that the eccleſiaſticall miniſters, that is to ſay, the curats doe ſell God vpon Eaſter day, when as they receiue offerings of ſuch as ſhould communicate before they doe miniſter the ſacrament vnto them.

Item, that he counſelled diuers women, that they ſhould not offer in the church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

The words of the Regiſter.

Item, that he blamed diuers of his neighbors that refuſed his doctrine, ſaying vnto them: Truly ye are fooles that denie to learne the doctrine of my ſect, for your neighbors which are of my ſect, are able to confound and vanquiſh all other that are of your ſect.

Item, that the ſaints which are in heauen ought in no caſe to be praied vnto, but only God.

Item, that the ſaid Richard keepeth ſchooles of Lollardy in the Engliſh tongue, in the towne of Wichingham, and a certaine parchmentmaker bringeth him all the bookes containing that doctrine, from London.

The fifth day of July 1424. the ſaid Richard Belward was brought before Iohn biſhop of Norwich, ſitting in place of iudgement, where as the foreſaid articles were obiected againſt the ſaid Richard, which he there denied: whereupon the biſhop appointed him another day to purge himſelfe, the monday next after the feaſt of Saint Margaret: vpon which day being the 24. of July, in the yeere aforeſaid, he appeared againe before the biſhop, and brought with him nine of his neighbors to purge him vpon thoſe articles, and there did ſolemnly purge himſelfe. And afterward, forſomuch as the ſaid biſhop ſuſpected the ſaid Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there preſently to ſweare vpon the Euangeliſts, that from that day forward he ſhould not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or hereſie, contrary to the church of Rome, neither aid, aſſiſt, fauor or maintaine, priuily or apertly, any manner of perſon or perſons, that ſhould hold or maintaine the ſaid errors or hereſies. In the preſence of maſter William Bernam, Iohn Wadden, Robert Serle and Iohn Berne eſquire, and other of his neighbors which came vnto his purgation.

Iohn Goddeſell of Dichingham.

In like manner Iohn Goddeſell of Dichingham parchmentmaker, was detected and accuſed vpon the ſame articles, and thereupon brought before the biſhop: where as hee denying them, purged himſelfe by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being ſworne alſo in like manner, as he was, and ſo was diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1428. when as he was againe apprehended, accuſed and abiured, as ſhall be more at large declared in the hiſtorie when wee come to that yeere. Sir Hugh Pie alſo, chaplaine of Ludney in the dioceſſe of Norwich, was likewiſe accuſed and brought before the biſhop of Norwich the fifth day of July, anno 1424. for holding of theſe opinions following

Sir Hugh Pie priеſt.

That the people ought not to goe on pilgrimage.

Item, that the people ought not to giue almes, but onely vnto ſuch as beg at their doores.

Image of the croſſe not to be worſhipped.

Item, that the image of the croſſe and other images are not to be worſhipped. And that the ſaid Hugh had caſt the croſſe of Bromeholt into the fire to be burned, which he tooke from one Iohn Welgate of Ludney. Which articles, as is aforeſaid, being obiected againſt him, he vtterly denied: whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himſelfe by the witneſſe of three lay men, and three prieſts. That ſo done, he was ſworne as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1428. king Henry the 6. ſent downe moſt cruell letters of commiſſion vnto Iohn Ereter and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtell of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of ſir William White prieſt, and others ſuſpected of hereſies, the tenor whereof hereafter enſueth.

The copie of the kings letters directed to Iohn Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtell of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of ſir Willliam *White prieſt, and other (as they called them) Lollards.*

A letter of the king.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to his welbeloued Iohn Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtell of Colcheſter, health.

Ye ſhall vnderſtand that we fully truſting vnto your fidelitie and circumſpections, haue appointed you ioyntly and ſeuerally to take and arreſt William White prieſt, and Thomas, late chaplaine of Setling, in the county of Norfolke, and William Northampton prieſt, and all other whatſoeuer they bee that are ſuſpect of hereſie or Lallardie, whereſoeuer they may be found within the liberties or without, and ſtraightway being ſo taken, to ſend them vnto our next gaile or priſon, vntill ſuch time as we ſhall haue taken other order for their deliuery: And therefore we ſtraitly command you, that ye diligentlie attend about the premiſſes, and fulfill the ſame in forme aforeſaid. Alſo we charge and command all and ſinguler Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Shiriffes, Bailiffes, Conſtables, and all other our faithfull officers, by the tenor of theſe preſents, that they doe aſſiſt, aid and counſell you and euery of you, in the execution of the premiſſes, as it ſhall be comely for them. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patents to be made. Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the 6. of July, the 6. yeere of our raigne.

By vertue of which commiſſion wee finde in old monuments, that within ſhort ſpace after, Iohn Ereter, which was appointed one of the commiſſioners, attached ſir perſons in the towne of Bungay in the dioceſſe of Norwich, and committed them to William Day, and William Roe, Conſtables of the towne of Bungay, to be ſent within ten daies following vnder ſafe cuſtody, vnto the caſtell of Norwich. Whoſe names through the antiquity of the monument were ſo defaced, that we could not attaine to the perfect knowledge of them all: onely three names partly remained in the booke to be read, which were theſe.

¶ Iohn Waddon of Tenderdon, in the countie of Kent, Bartlemew, monke of Erſham, in the county of Norfolke, Corneleader a married man. William Scuts.

These three were in the cuſtody of the duke of Norfolke, at his caſtell of Fremingham.

Beſides theſe, we alſo find in the ſaid old monuments within the dioceſſe of Norfolke and Suffolke, ſpecially in the townes of Beckles, Erſham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to haue been vered and caſt in priſon, and after their abiuration, brought to open ſhame in churches and markets, by the biſhop of the ſaid dioceſſe called William, and his chancellor William Bernham, Iohn Ereter being the Regiſter therein; ſo that within the ſpace of three or foure yeers, that is, from the yeere 1428. vnto the yeere 1431. about the number of 120. men and women were examined and ſuſtained great veration for the profeſſion of the chriſtian faith: of whom ſome were only taken vpon ſuſpition only, for eating of meates prohibited vpon vigill daies, who of their purgation made, eſcaped more eaſily away, and with leſſe punihment, whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed.

William biſhop of Norwich, William Bernham his chancellor.

¶ The names of them that were taken and examined *vpon ſuſpition of hereſie.*

A catalogue of good men and women troubled for ſuſpition of hereſie.

Robert Skiruing of Harlſtone.
William Skiruing.
Iohn Terry of Erſham.
Iohn Abtre of Erſham.
Iohn Middleton of Haluergate.
Iohn Wayde of Erſham.
Richard Clarke of Sething.
Thomas White of Bedingham.
Maſter Robert Beete of Berry.
Richard Page of Clipſly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and ſome of them were put to death and burned, among whom we doe ſpecially finde mention made of theſe three:

Father Abraham of Colcheſter. William White, prieſt. Iohn Waddon, prieſt.

¶ The reſidue for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abiure, ſuſtaining ſuch cruell penance as pleaſed them

then the said bishop and his chancellor to lay vpon them. The names of which, both men and women, here follow together in this briefe catalogue to be seene.

John Beuerley.
John Wardon.
Iohn Baker. Iohn Midleton.
Iohn Kynger.
Margery Backster.
Iohn Skilley.
Iohn Godhold.
Thomas Albecke. Iohn Pieree.
Nicolas Canon of Eye.
Thomas Pye.
Iohn Mendham.
Iohn Middleton.
Thomas Chatris.
Thomas Wade.
William Taylor.
Iohn Cupper, vicar of Tunstall.
Sir Hugh Pye priest.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Thomas Iames.
Iohn Fouling.
Bertram Cotmonger.
Thomas Swerdin.
Alanus Andrew.
William Wright.
William Euerden.
William Taylor.
Auis the wife of Thomas Moone and her daughter.

Richard Fletcher of Beckles.
Nicolas Belward.
Thomas Grenemere.
Iohn Clarke. William Bate.
William Scherming.
William Osburne.
Iohn Rene of Beckles.
Baldwine Cooper of Beckles.
Iohn Pet. M. Moones seruant.
Rob. Brigs. Iohn Finch.
Iohn Wropham. Thomas Moone.
Isabel Chaplaine of Martham.
William Marsh of Ersham.
Iohn Goodwin of Ersham.
Henry Latchcold of Ersham.
Henry Boode of Ersham.
Rich. Horne of Ersham.
Iohn Belward senior of Ersham.
Iohn Belward iunior of Ersham.
Iohn Spire of Bungay.
Rob. Cole of Turming.
The heard of Shepemedow.
Isabel Dauy of Costes.
Sibyl wife of Iohn Godesel of Dicham.
Iohn Pyry of Bartham.
Iohn Baker. Margery Wright.
Thomas Burrel and his wife.
Iohn Pert. Edm. Archer.

The clerke of Ludney.
Richard Clarke of Sething.
Katharine the wife of William Wright,
VVilliam Collin of Southcreke.
Rich. King of Windeham.
Tho. Plowman. Iohn Fellis.
Tho. Loue of Rokeland.
Richard Knobbing of Beckles.
Rich. Grace of Beckles.
Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
William Hardy. William Bate.
Iohn Weston.
Katharine Hobs.
Iohn Daw.
Rob. Grigs of Martham.
Wil. Calis priest.
Tho. Pert. priest.
Katharine Dauie.
Iacob Bodhome, & Margaret his wife.
Iohn Manning of Marton.
Iohn Culling of Beemster.
Rich. Fletcher of Beckles and Matild his wife.
Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
Rob. Canel priest.
Nic. Drey.
William Hardy of Mundham.
Iohn Poleyne.

These forenamed persons and souldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those daies, although they were constrained to relent and abiure, that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues, then their hearts did thinke, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity (being as yet but new trained souldiers in Gods field) yet for their good will they bare vnto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not expresse it, we haue thought good that their names should not be suppressed, aswell for other sundry causes, as specially for this: either to stop the mouthes of malignant aduersaries, or to answer to their ignorance; who following rather blinde affection, then the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for newelty, and carping the teachers thereof for new broched brethren. Who, if they did as well foresee times passed, as they be vnwilling to follow times now present, they should vnderstand as well by these stories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath preuailed, although in most places through tyranny and the malice of men, Christs proceedings haue been suppressed and kept vnder from rising, so much as mens power and strength ioyned with craft and subtiltie, could labour to keepe downe the same: as here by these good men of Northfolke and Suffolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the good towardnesse of those good men, had had the like libertie of time, with the helps of like authority, as wee haue now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelats, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would haue been, which now they contemne and reiect for the newnesse thereof: neither needed Boner to haue asked of Thomas Hawkes, & such other, where their church was for fortie yeeres agoe, in as much as for forty yeeres agoe, and more, within the country of Northfolke and Suffolke, was then found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now professe. And thus much for the number of the names of these persons.

Boner might see the church here in this age, more then forty yeeres, before he was borne,

Now as touching their articles which they did maintaine and defend: first, this is to be considered, as I finde it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in their assertions and articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other; what their articles were, partly it is shewed in the leafe before: and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles that many of them either were falsly obiected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries, according as the common maner is of these aduersaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresie, and of a little occasion, to stir vp great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Hus, and others mo: So in like manner it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptisme and paying of tithes. For whereas they speaking against the ceremoniall and superfluous traditions then vsed in baptisme, as salt, oile, spittle, taper, light, crismes, exorcising of the water, with such other, accounted them as no materiall thing in the holy institution of baptisme, the notaries slanderously deprauing this their assertion, to make it more odious to the eares of the people, so gaue out the article, as though they should hold, that the sacrament of baptisme vsed in the church by water, is but a light matter and of small effect.

These men are falsly slandered about baptisme.

Againe, in speaking against the christening the midwiues vse in priuat houses, against the opinion of such as thinke such children to be damned, which depart before they come to their baptisme, they are falsly reported, as though they should say, that christian people bee sufficiently baptised in the blood of Christ, and neede no water, and that infants bee sufficiently baptised, if their parents be baptised before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest word, that it is not to be thought any to be so ignorant of the Gospell, that euer would or did affirme the same.

Moreouer, they thought or said peraduenture, that in certaine cases, tithes might be withholden from wicked priests sometime, and be conferred to better vses, to the behoofe of the poore: Therefore they are falsly slandered, as saying and affirming that no tithes were to be giuen to the ministers and curats of the churches.

The papists are but quarrell pickers.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirme, as though it consisted onely in the mutuall consent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other solemnizing in the publike church, and all because (as it is like) they deemed it to be a sacrament. Other articles were obiected against them, as these which hereafter follow.

Articles.

That auricular confession is not to be made vnto a priest, but vnto God only, because no priest hath any power to absolue a sinner from his sinne.

Item, that no priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but that after the sacramentall words, there remaineth pure materiall bread as before.

Item, that euery true christian man is a priest to God.

Item, that no man is bound vnder paine of damnation vnto Lent, or any other daies prohibited by the church of Rome.

Item, that the pope is antichrist, and his prelats the disciples of antichrist, and the pope hath no power to binde and lose vpon earth.

a In case of necessity vrgent they meane.

a Item, that it is lawfull for euery christian to doe any bodily worke (sinne only except) vpon holy daies.

Item, that it is lawfull for priests to haue wiues.

Item, that excommunications and ecclesiasticall censures giuen out by the prelats, are not to be regarded.

Item, it is not lawfull to sweare in priuat cases.

Item, that men ought not to goe on pilgrimage.

Item, that there is no honor to be giuen to the Images of the crucifix, of our Lady, or any other saint.

Item, that the holy water hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more vertue then other running or well water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.

The death of Thomas Becket.

Item, that the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy, neither meritorious.

Item, that the reliques, as dead mens bones, ought not to be worshipped or digged out of their graues, or set vp in shrines.

Item, that prayers made in all places are acceptable vnto God.

Item, that men ought not to pray to any saint but only to God.

Item, that the bels and ringing in the church, was ordained for no other purpose then to fill the priests purses.

Item, that it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.

Item,

In this article is meant, that the wicked be in the church, but not of the church.

Item, that the catholike church is onely the congregation of the elect.

These were the articles which were generally obiected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one vniforme faith, that whatsoeuer one did hold, all the other did maintaine and hold the same. By the which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all receiued it of some one instructer, who was William White: which being a scholler and follower of Iohn Wicklike, resorted afterward into this country of Norfolke, and there instructed these men in the light of the Gospell. And now, as wee haue declared the names and articles of these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speake of their troubles how they were handled, beginning first with William White.

William White priest.

wil. White martyr. Anno 1428. Ex Waldeno. Eccles. 50.

THis William White being a follower of Iohn Wicklike, and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them, of whom the wise man speaketh: He was as the morning starre in the middest of a cloud, &c. This man was well learned, vpright, and a well spoken priest. He gaue ouer his priesthod and benefice, and toke vnto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Ioane: notwithstanding hee did not therefore cease or leaue from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of his spoule Christ, by reading, writing and preaching. The principall points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canturburie.

That men should seeke for the forgiuenesse of their sinnes only at the hands of God.

That the wicked liuing of the pope and his holinesse, is nothing elle but a diuellish estate and heauy yoke of antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy vnto Christs truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men which are dead.

The Romish church aptly resembled to the cursed figge tree.

That the Romish church is the fig tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true beliefe.

That such as weare coules, or be annointed or shorn, are the lanceknights and souldiers of Lucifer: and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when as the Lord shall come.

Upon which articles he being attached at Canturbury vnder the archbishop Henry Chichesly, in the yeere of our Lord 1424, there for a certaine space stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had preached: but like as there hee lost his courage and strength, so afterward he became againe much more stouter and stronger in Iesus Christ, & confessed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into Norfolke with his said wife Ioane, and there occupying himselfe busily in teaching and conuerting the people vnto the true doctrin of Christ, at the last, by the meanes of the kings letters sent downe for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before William bishop of Norwich, by whom he was conuict, and condemned of 30. articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, an. 1424.

The burning of William White.

This William White and his wife, had his most abode with one Thomas Pore of Ludney. This man was of so de-

vout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reuerence, and desired him to pray for them: insomuch that one Margaret Wright confessed, that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him then to any other. When he was come vnto the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speake vnto the people, to exhort and confirme them in the verity, one of the bishops seruants stucke him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keepe silence. And thus this good man receiuing the crowne of martyrdome, ended this mortall life to the great dolor and griefe of all the good men of Norfolke. Whose said wife Ioane, following her husbands steppes according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in Gods truth: wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same yeere at the hands of the said bishop.

The bishops man smiteth him on the mouth, exhorting the people.

About the same time also was burned father Abraham of Colchester, and Iohn Waddon priest, for the like articles.

Father Abraham, Iohn Waddon priest, martyrs and burned.

Concerning them which abiured, how and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and maner of the penance inioyned them, here it might be set out at large: but for auoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certaine of the principals, whereby the better vnderstanding may be giuen to the reader, after what maner and order all the other were intreated.

First, amongst them which were arrested and caused to abiure in this yeere afore specified, 1428. was Thomas Pie, and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough, who being conuict vpon diuers of the articles before mentioned, were inioyned penance to be done in their owne parish church, as by the bishops letter directed to the deane of Rhodenhall, and the parish priest of Aldborough doth more at large appeare, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The copy of the bishop of Norwich his letter.

A letter of the bishop of Norwich.

WIlliam by the sufferance of God bishop of Norwich, to our welbeloued sonnes in Christ the deane of Rodenhall of our dioceſſe, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Aldborough of the same our dioceſſe, health, grace and benediction. Forsomuch as we, according to our office lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendement of the soules of Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough of the dioceſſe aforesaid, because they haue holden, beleeued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome, and the vniuersall church and catholike faith, haue enioyned the said Thomas and Iohn, appearing before vs personally, and confessing before vs iudicially that they haue holden, beleeued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and heresies, this penance hereunder written, for their offences to be done and fulfilled in maner, forme and time hereunder written, according as iustice doth require, that is to say, six fustigations or displings about the parish church of Aldborough aforesaid, before a solemne procession six seuerall sundaies, and three displings about the market place of Hereſtone of our said dioceſſe three principall market daies, bare necked, head, legges and feet, their bodies being couered onely with their shirts and breeches, either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound waight, as well round about the church, as about the market place, in euery

The maner of the popes penance.

The description of the penance of Thomas Pye, *and Iohn Mendham.*

of the foresaid appointed daies; which tapers the last sunday after their penance finished, wee will that the said Iohn and Thomas

Thomas do humbly and deuoutly offer vnto the high altar of the parish church of Aldborough at the time of the offertorie of the high Masse the same day, and that either of them going about the market place aforesaid, shal make foure seuerall pauses or staies, and at euery of those same pauses, humbly and deuoutly receiue at your hands three dusplings. Therefore we straitly charge and commaund you and either of you, ioyntly and seuerally by vertue of your obedience, that euery sunday and market day, after the receit of our present commandement, you doe effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendam to begin and accomplish their said penance, and so successiuely to finish the same in maner and forme afore appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandements in this behalfe, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them peremptorilie, that they or either of them appeare before vs or our commissarie, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the 14. day after the citation so made, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they or any of them haue any cause why they should not be excommunicate for their manifest offence in this behalfe committed, according to the forme and order of law, and further to receiue such punishment, as iustice shall prouide in that behalfe. And what you haue done in the premisses, whether the said Thomas and Iohn haue obeyed your admonitions, and performed the said penance or no: we will that you or one of you which haue receiued our said commandement, for the execution thereof, doe distinctly certifie vs betweene this and the last day of Nouember next comming. Dated at our palace of Norwich vnder our commissaries seale, the 8. day of October, An. 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the most part, the order of their whole penaunce: howbeit, some were often times more cruelly handled: and after their penaunce they were banished out of the diocesse, and othersome more straitly tied by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

Iohn Beuerley alias Battild.

IOhn Beuerley alias Battild a labourer was attached by the vicar of Southereke, the parish priest of Waterden and a lawyer, and so deliuered vnto maister William Barnam the bishops commissarie, who sent him to the castle of Norwich there to be kept in irons: where as afterward he being brought before the Commissarie, and hauing nothing proued against him, he toke an oth, that euery yeere afterward he should confesse his sins once a yeere to his curate, and receiue the Sacrament at Easter, as other christians did: and for his offence was inioyned that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast bread and water, and vpon the Saturday to be *whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomes lands, and by S. Michaels church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, hauing in his hand a ware candle of two pence, to offer to the image of the Trinitie after he had done his penance. And for so much as he confessed that he had eaten flesh vpon Easter day, and was not shriuen in all Lent, nor receiued vpon Easter day, the Iudge enioyned him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday in Whitson-weeke, hauing but one meale a day of fish and other white meats, & after this penance so done, he should depart out of the diocesse, and neuer come there any more.

John Beuerley

*Alias fustigated.

Iohn Skilley of Flixton, miller.

IOhn Skilley of Flixton miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich the 14. day of March, 1428. for holding and maintaining the articles aboue written, was thereupon conuict and forced to abiure; and after his abiuration solemnly made (which heere to auoid tediousnes I omit) he had a most sharpe sentence of penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: That for so much as the said Skilley was conuict by his owne confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before written, and for receiuing certaine good and godly men into his house, as sir William White priest, and Iohn Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretikes, and had now abiured the same, being first absolued from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by meanes of his opinions, he was enioyned for penance 7. yeeres imprisonment in the monasterie of Langley, in the diocesse of Norwich. And for so much as in times past, he vsed vpon the Fridaies to eat flesh, he was inioyned to fast bread & water euery Friday, by the space of that seuen yeeres to come; and that by the space of two yeeres next immediatly after the 7. yeeres expired, euery Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and euery Maundie thursday, he should appeare before the bishop or his successor, or commissarie for the time being, in the cathedrall church of Norwich together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

John Skilley. The penance of John Skilley.

Besides these there were diuers other of the same company which the same yeere were forced to like abiuration and penance. And so to proceed to the next yeere following, which was 1429. there ensueth a great number in the same register, which were examined and did penance in like sort, to the number of 16. or 17. In the number of whom was Iohn Baker, otherwise called Vsher Tunstall, who for hauing a booke with the Pater noster, the Aue and Creed in English, and for certaine other articles of fasting, confession and inuocation contrarie to the determination of the Romish Church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abiure and sustaine such penaunce, as the other before him had done.

The storie of Margery Backster.

AMother was Margerie Backster, wife of William Backster Wright in Wartham, the same yeere accused: against whom, one Ioane wife of Cliffeland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in forme following.

Margerie Backster.

First, that the said Margerie Backster did informe this deponent, that she should in no case sweare, saying to her in English, dame beware of the Bes, for euery Bee will sting, and therefore take heed you sweare not, neither by God, neither by our ladie, neither by none other saint: and if yee doe contrary, the Bee will sting your tongue and venome your soule.

A woman brought in for witnesse in the popes court. The Bee will sting.

Item, this deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did euery day at Church, she answered that shee kneeled downe and said 5. Pater nosters, in worship of the crucifix, and as many Aue Maries in worship of our ladie. Whom Margerie rebuked, saying: You do euil to kneele or pray to such Images in the Churches, for God dwelleth not in such Churches, neither shall come downe out of heauen, and will giue you no more reward for such prayer, then a candle lighted and set vnder the couer of the font, will giue light by night to those which are in the Church: saying moreouer in English, Leaud wights, of stocks hew and forme such crosses and Images, and after that, leaud painters glere them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true crosse of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your owne house. Which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery stretching out her armes abroad, said to this deponent: this is the true crosse of Christ, and this crosse thou oughtest and maist euery day, behold and worship in thine owne house, and therefore it is but vaine to run to the Church to worship dead crosses and Images.

Against Images.

Item, this deponent being demanded by the said Margery how she beleeued touching the Sacrament of the altar, said that shee beleeued the Sacrament of the altar after the consecration, to be the very bodie of Christ in forme of bread. To whom Margerie said: Your beleefe is nought: For if euerie such Sacrament were God, and the very bodie of Christ, there should be an infinite number of Gods, because that a thousand priests and more doe euery day make a thousand such Gods, and afterward eate them, and void them out againe by their hinder parts filthilie stincking vnder the hedges, where as you may find a great many such gods, if you will seeke for them. And therefore know for a certaintie, that by the grace of God it shall neuer be my God, because it is falsly and deceitfullie ordeined by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry: for it is only materiall bread.

The sacrament is not God.

Moreouer, the said Margerie said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canturbury, whom the people called S. Thomas, was a false traitor and damned in hell, because hee iniuriously endowed the Churches with possessions, and raised vp many heresies in the Church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed: and those false priests that say that hee suffered his death patiently before the altar, doe lie: For as a false coward ly traitor he was slaine in the church doore as he was flying away.

Tho. Becket a traitor.

Thomas Becket slaine, not before the altar, but in his flying.

Moreouer, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her that the cursed Pope, Cardinals, Archbish. and Bishops, and specially the Bishop of Norwich and others that support and maintaine heresies and Idolatrie, raigning and ruling ouer the people, shall shortly haue the verie same or worse mischiefe fall vpon them, then that cursed man Thomas of Canturbury had. For they falsly and cursedlie deceiue the people with their false mammetries and lawes, to extort mony of the simple folke to sustaine their pride, riot and idlenesse. And know assuredlie that the vengeance of God will speedilie come vpon them, which haue most cruellie slaine the children of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and Iohn Wadden, with many other godlie men: which vengeance had come vpon the said Caiphas, the Bishop of Norwich and his ministers, which are members of the diuell, before this time, if the Pope had not sent ouer these false pardons vnto those parties, which the said Caiphas had falsilie obtained to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the Church. Which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatrie.

Father Abraham, William White, Iohn Wadden.

Item, the said Margerie said to this deponent, that euerie faithfull man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other daies appointed for fasting by the Church, and that euerie man may lawfully eate flesh and all other meates vpon the said daies and times: and that it were better to eate the fragments left vpon Thursday at night on the fasting daies, then to go to the market to bring themselues in debt to

Against the Popes fasting daies.

to buy fish: and that pope Siluester made the Lent.

Item, the said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsly condemned for an heretike, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where as she saw that when he would haue opened his mouth to speake vnto the people to instruct them, a diuell one of bishop Caiphas seruants strucke him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Will. White willing to speake at the stake, was strucken on the mouth.

Item, this deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not goe on pilgrimage, neither to our lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she and Joane her maid would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should heare her husband reade the law of Christ vnto them; which law was written in a booke that her husband was wont to reade to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joane Welk, and that the said woman is in a good way of saluation.

Also that the said Margery said to this deponent: Joane, it appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I haue said vnto you: and this deponent sware that she would neuer disclose it, without the said Margery gaue her occasion. Then said Margery vnto this deponent; if thou doe accuse mee vnto the bishop, I will doe vnto thee as I did once vnto a certaine frier a Carmelite of Yarmouth, which was the best learned frier in all the country. Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the frier. Vnto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said frier, rebuking him because he did beg, saying; that it was no almes to giue him any good thing, except hee would leaue his habit, and goe to the plough, and so he should please God more, then following the life of some of those friers. Then the frier required of the said Margery, whether shee could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as shee affirmed to this deponent) declared to this frier the gospels in English, and then the frier departed from her. After this, the same frier accused the said Margery of heresie; and shee vnderstanding that the frier had accused her, accused the frier againe, that he would haue knowne her carnally; and because she would not consent vnto him, the frier had accused her of heresie. And moreouer she said, that her husband would haue killed the frier therefore: and so the frier for feare held his peace, and went his way for shame.

Against auricular confession.

This Margery also said, that she had often times bin fainedly confessed to the Deane of the fields, because he should thinke her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gaue the said Margery often times mony. Then this deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sinnes to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had neuer offended any priest, and therefore she would neuer confesse her selfe to any priest, neither obey him, because they haue no power to absolue any man from their sinnes, for that they offend daily more grieuously then other men; and therefore that men ought to confesse themselues only vnto God, and to no priest.

Against Image worship.

Item, that the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship diuels which fell from heauen with Lucifer, which diuels in their fall to the earth, entred into the Images which stand in the churches, and haue long lurked and dwelled in them: so that the people worshipping those Images, commit idolatry.

Item, she said more to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the bels are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicat which first ordained them.

Moreouer, that she should not be burned, although she were conuict of Lollardy, for that shee had a charter of saluation in her body.

Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Bethem her seruant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the saturday after Ashwednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a bealle pot standing ouer the fire, with a peece of bacon and otemeale seething in it, as it is said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also besides this deponent, diuers other sworn and examined vpon the said Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, seruants to William Clifland, which all together confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we haue thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we haue gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we finde no mention made in the said registers, we are not able to declare.

The same yeere also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against diuers good men, as here followeth.

John Pery, John Bungay, John Usher.

First this deponent saith, that William Taylor told John Pery of Ludney, in the house of John Bungay of Weghton, in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Grigges wright of Wartham, and John Usher, that all the good men of Wartham which were fauorers and helpers to that good man William White are euill troubled now a daies, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor: and that the best doctor after him was William Euerden, which wrought with the said William Taylor of Ludney, by the space of one moneth, and that the first sunday of the same moneth, the said William Euerden did sit all day vpon the table at worke, saying to the said William Taylor, that he would not goe to church to shew himselfe a Scribe or a Pharisie: and the second sunday he put on gentlemans apparell, and went to Norwich to hearken how the bishop and his ministers vsed the poore christians there in prison.

Will. Euerden.

Also the said William Wright, deposed that William Taylor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with sir Hugh Pie, and had conuersation oftentimes with sir William White, hauing often conference vpon the Lollards doctrine.

Will. Taylor of Ludney.

Item, that Amie, wife of Thomas Poone, is of the same sect, and fauored them, and receiueth them often, and also the daughter of Thomas Poone is partly of the same sect, and can reade English.

The wife and daughter of Tho. Poone.

Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckles, is a meet perfit doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfitly expound the holy Scriptures, and hath a booke of the new law in English, which was sir Hugh Pies first.

Rich. Fletcher.

Item, that Nicolas Belward, sonne of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelam, is one of the same sect, and hath a new testament which he bought at London for foure marks and forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one yere, and studied diligently vpon the said new Testament.

Nic. Belward. A new testament then cost forty marks, and forty pence.

Item, that Thomas Gremner, Turner of Dychingame, is perfect in that sect and law.

Tho. Gremner.

John Clarke the younger of Bergh, had the bedding and apparell of William Euerden in his custody, after the returne of William White from Bergh, and is of the same sect.

John Clarke.

Item, William Bate, Taylor of Sething and his wife, and his sonne, which can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Wm. Bate.

Item, William Skruing of Sething, receiued Joane the wife of William White into his house, being brought thither by William Euerden, after their departure from Wartham.

Wm. Skruing.

Item, William Osborne of Sething, John Reue glouer, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckles are of the same sect.

Wm. Osborne, John Reue, Bawdwin Cooper.

Item John Pert, late seruant of Thomas Poone, is of the same sect, and can reade well, and did reade in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought sir Hugh Pie into the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Poone, and there conferred vpon their doctrine.

John Pert.

Item, sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, seruant to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the booke of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

Sir Hugh Pie priest.

John Perker, mercer of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

John Perker.

Item the said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a maner destroied: notwithstanding at the length the Lollards shall preuaile and haue the victory against all their enemies.

Prophecie.

Also he said, that Tucke knoweth all of that sect in Suffolke, Norfolke and Eller.

Besides these, there were many other the same yere troubled, whose names being before erpressed in the table of Norfolke men, here for breuities sake we omit further to intreat of, passing ouer to the next yere following, which was 1430. Ex Regist. Norw.

Ex Regist. Norw.

John Burrell, seruant to Thomas Poone of Ludney, in the diocesse of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresie the 9. day of September, in this yere of our Lord 1430. and examined by master William Bernam the bishops commissary, vpon the articles before mentioned, and diuers others hereafter following obiected against him.

John Burrell.

In primis, that the catholike church is the soule of euery good christian man.

Item, that no man is bound to fast the Lent or other fasting daies appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests: and that euery man may eat flesh or fish vpon the same daies indifferently, according to his owne will, and euery friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Lent fast, fish daies.

Item, that pilgrimage ought not to be made, but only vnto the poore.

Pilgrimage to the poore.

Item, that it is not lawfull to sweare, but in case of life and death.

Item, that masses and prayers for the dead, are but vaine, for the soules of the dead are either in heauen or hell: and there is none other place of purgatory but this world. Vpon the which articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure

Masses for the dead vnprofitable.

ture, and suffered like penance, as the other before had done.

Tho. Woone of Ludney.

THomas Woone of Ludney, was apprehended and attached for suspition of heresie, against whom were obiected by the bishop, the articles before written, but specially this article, that he had familiarity and communication with diuers heretikes, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained diuers of them, as sir William White, sir Hugh Pye, Thomas Pet, and William Callis priests, with many other more vpon the which articles, he being conuict before the bishop, was forced to abiure, and receiued the like penance, in like manner as before.

Wil. White, Hugh Pye, Tho. Pert, Wil. Callis, priests persecuted.

Rob. Grigges of Wartham.

In like maner, Robert Grigges of Wartham was brought before the bishop the 17. day of February, in the yeere aforesaid, for holding and affirming the foresaid articles, but specially these hereafter following.

Articles.

That the sacrament of confirmation ministred by the bishop, did auaile nothing to saluation.

That it was no sinne to withstand the ordinances of the church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests made ouer them.

Upon which articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure, and receiued penance in manner and forme as the other had done before him.

John Finch of Colchester.

The like also (albeit somewhat more sharpe) happened vnto John Finch of Colchester, the 20. day of September, who albeit he was of the diocesse of London, being suspect of heresie, was attached in Ipswich in the diocesse of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he being conuict of the like articles, as all the other before him, was enioyned penance, three displings in solemne procession about the cathedrall church of Norwich three seuerall sundaies, and three displings about the market place of Norwich three principall market daies, his head, necke, and feet being bare, and his body couered only with a short shirt or vesture, hauing in his hands a taper of wax of a pound waight, which the next sunday after his penãce, he should offer to the Trinity: and that for the space of three yeers after, euery Ashwednesday and Maundy Thursday, he should appeare in the cathedrall church of Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to doe open penance amongst the other penitentiaries for his offences.

Popish penance.

There were besides these men which we haue here rehearsed, diuers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that their articles and punishments were all one, wee haue thought good at this time to passe ouer, especially forsomuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

{Anno 1430} Rich. Houeden martyr.

ABout the same time, euen the same yeere 1430. shortly after the solemne coronation of king Henry the sixth, a certaine man named Richard Houeden a woll winder, and a citizen of London, receiued also the crowne of martyrdome.

The burning of Richard Houeden.

Which man when hee could by no perswasions bee withdrawne or plucked backe from the opinions of Wickliffe, hee was by the rulers of the Church condemned for heresie; and as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the Tower of London.

Nicolas Canon of Eye.

Nicolas Canon of Eye. {Anno 1431}

NOw to proceed in our story of Norfolke and Suffolke, in following the order of yeeres, we finde that in the yeere of our Lord 1431. one Nicolas Canon of Eye was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspition of heresie, with certain witnesses sworne to depose against him touching his maners and conuersation, which witnesses appointing one William Chrystopher to speake in the name of them all, he deposed in maner and forme following.

First, that on Easter day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicolas Canon as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrarie way, and met the procession.

Deposicions.

This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, the said Nicolas asked of master John Colman of Eye, this question: Master Colman, what thinke you of the sacrament of the altar? To whom the said Colman answered: Nicolas, I thinke that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ vnder the forme of bread and wine. Vnto whom Nicolas in derision said: Truly if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and bloud of our Lord Jesu Christ, then may very God and very man be put in a small rome; as when it is in the priests mouth, that receiueth it at masse. And why may not wee simple men, as well eat flesh vpon fridaies, and all other prohibited daies, as the priest to eat the flesh, and drinke the bloud of our Lord euery day indifferently? The which article, the said Nicolas denied that he spake vnto master Colman, but vnto a monke of Hickelney: and furthermore, he thought he had spoken well in that behalfe.

If the sacrament be very flesh, then the priests eat flesh on Friday.

Item, that on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high masse, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled downe, holding vp their hands, and doing reuerence vnto the sacrament, the said Nicolas went behinde a piller of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reuerence vnto the sacrament.

This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he beleeued himselfe to doe well in so doing.

Item, when his mother would haue the said Nicolas holst vp his right hand, and to crosse himselfe from the crafts and assaults of the diuell, forsomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother tooke vp his right hand and crossed him, saying: In nomine patris, filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen. Which so ended, the said Nicolas immediatly deriding his mothers blessing, tooke vp his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his aduersaries report of him. This article the said Nicolas acknowledged to be true.

Nicolas Canon turned his backe to the sacrament.

Item, that vpon Allhallowe day, in the time of elevation of high masse, when as many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them vp to the high altar, kneeling downe there in reuerence and honor of the sacrament, the said Nicolas carrying a torch, went vp hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priests back saying masse, at the time of the elevation he stood vpright vpon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would doe no reuerence vnto the sacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalfe. All which articles the bishops commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent vnto master William Worsted, prior of the cathedrall church of Norwich and to other doctors of Diuinity of the order of begging friers, that they might deliberate vpon them, and shew their mindes betweene that and thursday next following. Vpon which thursday, being the last of November, the yeere aforesaid, the said Nicolas was againe examined before master Barnam and diuers other, vpon two other articles which he had confessed vnto J. Exceter notary, and Tho. Gerulken bacheler of Diuinity, and others. Whereof the first article was this: that the said Nicolas Canon being of perfit mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the sacrament of the altar were the very body of Christ or no. This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

Another examination of Nicolas Canon.

Item, that he being of perfit mind and remembrance, beleeued that a man ought not to confesse his sinnes to a priest. This article he also confessed that he doubted vpon.

Articles obiected.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded vpon the articles: whose answere vnto the same was this.

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article in the same termes as it was propounded, is not simply an heresie, but an error.

The iudgement of the prior and doctors vpon his articles.

Item, as touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, as touching the third article, they affirme that it is an heresie.

Vnto the fourth article, they answered as vnto the first and second.

An heresie by doubt worded.

Item, the doctors affirme the fifth article to be an heresie.

Item,

the Sacrament be the perfect bodie of Christ or no.

Item, as touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicolas being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the Sacrament of the altar were the verie perfect bodie of Christ or no, then the article is simplie an heresie.

Nicolas Canon declared an heretike.

Whereupon the said Commissarie declared and pronounced the said Nicolas Canon vpon the determination of the foresaid doctors, to be an heretike, and thereupon forced the said Nicolas to abiure all the said articles. That done, he enioyned the said Nicolas penance for his offences, three disiplings about the cloister of the cathedrall church of Norwich, before a solemne procession, bare headed and bare foote, carrying a taper of halfe a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a meere penitentiarie: the which his penance, the iudge commanded should be respited vntill the comming of the bishop into his diocesse, and that in the meane time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venime and poison of errors and heresies.

Penance enioyned to Nicolas Canon.

Thus haue we briefly discoursed vnto you, the great troubles and afflictions, which happened in Norfolke and Suffolke by the space of those foure yeeres before mentioned, hauing drawne out briefly for euerie yeere, certaine notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, for so much as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise then by those particular examples may be plainly seene.

Thomas Bagley priest.

Thomas Bagley priest, martyr.

AND now to proceed as we haue begun with our former stories, generally we find in Fabians chronicles, that in the same yeere of our Lord 1431. Thomas Bagley a priest, vicar of Monenden beside Malden, being a valiant disciple, and adherent of Wickliffe, was condemned by the bishops of heresie at London about the middest of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

¶ Paul Craw a Bohemian.

Paul Craw, martyr. *Ex Hector. Boetia.*

THe same yeere also was Paul Craw a Bohemian taken at Saint Andzeiwes by the bishop Henrie, and deliuered ouer to the secular power to be burnt, for holding contrarie opinions vnto the church of Rome touching the Sacrament of the Lords supper, the worshipping of Saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliffes opinions.

❋ The storie of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite frier, burnt in Italie for the profession of Christ.

Thomas Rhedonensis, martyr. *Ex Antonin. 3. part. hist. fol. 165.*

WE haue declared before, how this cruell storme of persecution which first began with vs in England, after it had long raged heere against many good and godly men, it brake out and passed into Boheme, and after within a short time, the fire of this persecution increasing by little and little, inuaded Scotland, and from thence now with greater force and violence, this furious deuouring flame hath entred Italy, and sufereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and slaughter of most good and godly men. It hapned about this time, that one Thomas Rhedon, a frier of that sect, which taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chance came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was of that sort and sect, which in stead of Christians, are called Carmelites, yet was he of a far other religion, and vnderstood the word of God, iudging, that God ought not to be worshipped, neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man being a true Carmelite, and sauouring with his whole hart that new sweet musse of Jesus Christ, with earnest study and desire seeking after a christian integrity of life, prepared himselfe first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no place, some, by whose good life and liuing he might be edified and instructed. For where ought more abundance of vertue and good liuing to be, then in that place, which is counted to be the fort and fountaine of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that where as so great holines is professed, whereupon all mens eyes are bent, as vpon a stage, where as Saint Peters seate is, and is thought to be the ruler and gouernour of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthie of so great expectation in that place? This holy man hauing these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himselfe, forsoke his owne countrie and citie, and went vnto Rome, conceiuing a firme and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthie men, he should greatly profit in godlines and learning: but the successe of the matter did vtterly frustrate his hope, for all things were cleane contrarie. Whatsoeuer he saw, was nothing else but meere dissimulation and hypocrisie. In stead of gold, he found nothing but coales: and for to say the truth, he found nothing else there but gold and siluer. In stead of heauenly gifts, there raigned amongst them the pompe and pride of the world. In

Thomas Rhedonensis commeth into Italy.

The golden citie of Rome.

place of godlines, riot. In stead of learning and studie, slothfulnes and superstition. Tyrannie and hautinesse of mind had possessed the place of apostolike simplicitie: that now there remained no more any place or libertie for a man to learne that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly vnderstood. Finally, all things were turned arse verse, all things happned vnto him contrarie to his expectation whersoeuer he went. But nothing so much offended this good mans mind, as the intolerable ambition, and pompous pride in them, whom example of humilitie should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw heere nothing, which did accord and agree with the rule of the Apostles: yet these things did so much passe all measure and patience, that he could by no meanes refraine his tongue in so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparell, in their palaces, in their daintie fare, in their great traines of seruants, in their horse and armour, and finally in all things pertaining vnto them. Which things, how much they did varie from the prescript rule of the Gospell, so much the more was this good man forced to speake. Albeit he did wel vnderstand how little he should preuaile by speaking: for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the boks of Wickliffe and diuers other were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Hus, and of Jerome of Prage, and their blod shed for the same, was yet present before their eyes: at whose most effectuall exhortations, they were so little correct and amended, that they seemed twice more cruell then they were before. Yet all this could not feare this good man, but that in so necessarie and wholesome an office, he would spend his life if need should be. So by this meanes, he which came to be a scholar vnto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens liues & maners, had now contrariwise set before them his life to be marked and followed. For he liued so amongst them, that his life might be a rule vnto them all, and so taught, as he might also be their schoolemaster. For euen as Paul had forshewed vnto such as desired to liue godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward hapned vnto this man. He gaue vnto them the fruit of godlinesse, which they should follow: they againe set vpon his head the diademe of martyrdome. He shewed them the way to saluation, and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had been worthie for his great labours and trauels, they with most extreame ignominie persecuted him euen vnto the fire. For when as by continuall preaching he had gotten great enuie and hatred, the rulers began to consult together, by what meanes they might circumuent this mans life. Heere they had recourse to their accustomed remedies: for it is a peculiar and continuall custome amongst the prelats of the church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talke be not according to their mind, or by any meanes hurtfull, or a hinderance to their lucre and gaine, by and by they frame out articles of some heresie, which they charge him withall. And like as euery liuing thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himselfe from harme, as nature hath armed the Boze with his tuskes, the Hedghog with his prickles, the Lion is feared for his clawes, the Dog for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his hornes, neither doth the Asse lacke his houes to strike withall: euen so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with heresie, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition: which thing may be easily perceiued and seene in this most holy man, beside a great number of other. Who, when as now he began to ware grieuous vnto them, and could no longer be suffered: what did they? straightwaies flie vnto their old policies, and as they had done with Hus, and Jerome of Prage, euen so went they about to practise against this man. They ouerwhelme him with suspition, they seeke to intangle him with questions, they examine him in iudgement, they compile articles against him, and lay heresie vnto his charge, they condemne him as an heretike, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godlines: this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites. Whose religion was to weare no sword nor shield, notwithstanding, they did beare in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft and deceit, sharper then any sword. With how great care and policie is it prouided by law, that none of these clergie men should fight with sword in the streets? when as in iudgement and accusations (where as it is not lawfull for a man to oppresse his brother) there is no murtherer which hath more readie vengeance, or that doth more vilely efface his brothers soule then they. They shead no blod themselues, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliuer them ouer vnto others to be slaine. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the ministers of the cruell fact? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another meane.

All things corrupt at Rome.

The wickednes and pride that raigneth at Rome.

The corruption of Rome will admit no reformation.

Pietie rewarded with persecution.

Heresie made where none is.

Poperie armed with policie, and defended with tyrannie.

The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these.

His articles.

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, Jewes, Turkes, and Moores, shall be conuerted vnto Christ in the latter daies.

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That abominations are vsed at Rome.

That the vniust excommunication of the pope, is not to be feared: and those which do not obserue the same, do not sinne or offend.

Ex Antonin. 3. part hist. fol. 165.

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles: albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, euen mens soules. For this office and ministerie, there was no man thought more meete, then William of Rowne, cardinall of Saint Martins in the mount, Vicechancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was pope, who had a little before succéeded pope Martin aboue mentioned. Before the which Eugenius, this godly Rhedonensis the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence sent vnto prison. And againe after his imprisonment, and diuers and sundrie grieuous torments, he was brought before the Iudges. The Wolfe sate in iudgement, the lambe was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring: But heere need not many words. This good Thomas, not being able to resist the malice of these mightie potentates, had offended enough, and was easily conuict and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be depriued of all such degrées as he had taken of priesthood: For it is counted an vnlawfull thing, that a priest should be punished with prophane punishment, whenas notwithstanding it is lawfull enough for priests to put any lay man to death, be he neuer so guiltlesse.

W. Cardinalis Rhotomagensis his persecutor. Thomas Rhedonensis brought before pope Eugenius.

How religiously and earnestly do they foresée, that the maiestie of priestly dignitie should not in any case be hurt? But how little care haue they, that their consciences be not hurt with false iudgements, and oppressing the guiltlesse? Wherefore, before that he should come vnto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and maner of this popish degrading, is partly before touched in the storie of William Taylor, fol. 606.

Thomas degraded.

After that it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrées wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they depriued him of his life also, and burned him foure yéeres after that he came to Rome. In the yéere of our Lord, 1436.

Thomas Rhedonensis a Frenchman, burned at Rome.

❧ The burning of Thomas Rhedonensis.

And thus through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelats, this blessed martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a losse of this bodie, for a greater gaine of saluation, before the iust iudgement of God: Neither is it to be doubted, but that he liueth eternally vnder the altar with them, whose blood the Lord will reuenge, peraduenture too soone for some of them, whom the earth hath heere so long holden vnpunished.

As this Thomas aboue said suffered at Rome, so were diuers other in other places about Germanie executed neere about the same time, after the burning of John Hus: as Henrie Grunfelder priest of Ratispone, an. 1420. also Henrie Radtgeber priest, in the same citie, an. 1423. John Dzaendorfe of noble birth, and a priest, was burned at Mozmes, an. 1424. Peter Thozaw, at Spire, an. 1426. Matthew Hager also suffered at Berline in Germanie, not long after. Ex Balei Centur. sept.

Henrie Grunfelder priest, Henrie Radtgeber priest, John Dzaendorfe priest, Peter Thozaw, Matthew Hager martyrs.

After the death of pope Martine, who raigned fourtéene yéeres, succéeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the yéere of our Lord 1431. Of whom Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much giuen to wars, as may well declare his conflicts and fighting with the Romans: also the battels betweene the Venetians and the Florentines.

Pope Eugenius the fourth.

This pope began first to celebrate the councell of Basill, which councell Martine his predecessour had before intended, according to the institution of the councell of Constance. Notwithstanding, the said Eugenius perceiuing afterward, this councell of Basill not to fauour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward laboured by all subtill practise to dissolue and interrupt the said councell, and from Basill to translate it first to Ferraria, then to Florentia, more néere to his owne sée of Rome. Concerning the which councell of Basill, for so much as we haue begun heere to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way, to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principall matters thereof shall séeme sufficient or necessarie to be knowne.

¶ Here followeth the order and maner of the councell of Basill, touching the principall matters concluded therin, briefly collected and abridged heere in this *present booke: the rest wherof we haue referred vnto our former edition, wherein the full discourse of the whole disputation is to be seene more at large, for such as haue list and leasure to see more therof.*

The councell of Basill. Ex Aeneas Siluio. Ex Cochlaeo in hist. Hussit. Ex paralipom. Abbat. Vsperg.

IN the thirtie ninth session of the councell of Constance (as is before mentioned, page 547.) it was decréed and prouided concerning the order and times of such generall councels as should hereafter follow: The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth yéere after the said councell of Constance: The second to be holden the seuenth yéere after that, and so orderly all other to follow successiuely from ten yéere to ten yéere. Wherefore, according to this decrée, followed a generall councell, fiue yéeres after the councell of Constance, celebrate and holden at Sene, vnder pope Martine, an. 1424. but it soone broke vp. After the which councell, the terme of seuen yéeres being expired, another councell was holden at Basill, in the yéere of our Lord 1431. The which councell is noted to haue béen the most troublesome, and to haue endured longer then anie other councel before time celebrate and holden in the church. This councell continued almost the space of seuentéene yéers: wherein it was concluded, as before in the councell of Constance, that the generall councels were aboue the pope, and both of these two councels did attribute the chiefe authoritie in decrééing and determining vnto the generall councell: which is the cause that the contrarie part doth derogat so much from the authoritie of this présent councell.

When as pope Martine the fifth had appointed Julian, cardinall and deacon of Saint Angell, his legat, to celebrate and hold a generall councell at Basill for the reformation of the church, and rooting out of heresies, within short space after pope Martine died, in whose seat Eugenius the fourth succeeded, who confirmed vnto the said cardinall Julian, the same authoritie which his predecessour before had giuen him. Vnto this councell of Basill being begun, came the emperour Sigismund, who during his life time, with his présence and authoritie, did protect and defend the said Synode. After the emperors death, pope Eugenius altering his former mind and purpose, would transport the councell vnto Bononie, and thereby hinder the successe of the councell of Basill. And first he held a contrarie councell at Ferraria, and afterward at Florence: For after the death of the emperor Sigismund, there were no princes or noble men, that had any care or regard of the councell. Eugenius the pope pretended causes, as touching the Grékes, which should come vnto the councell, and the vniting of their church vnto the West church, the which Grékes would in no wise passe the Alpes: Also as touching his owne incommoditie, that he could not come vnto Basill, being so long a iourney, and that all his men might haue easie accesse vnto Bononia, and that amongst the Germains (which in their owne countrie are so intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited cardinall Julian, and the fathers of the councel vnto Bononia, vnder great penaltie. They againe cited the pope, that either he should come himselfe vnto the councell, or send Ambassadors vnder the like penaltie. For this cause the ambassadours of Albert king of the Romaines, and of the other princes of Germanie, assembled together first at Norenberge, and when as they could determine nothing there, they assembled againe at Frankford, to appease the dissension betweene the councell and the pope: for it was thought, that the Electours of the empire might best assemble and meet in that place. In the meane time the emperours ambassadours, and the ambassadours of the Electors, went vnto Basill, and hauing conference with the ambassadours of the other princes which were there, they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the councell, that they would embrace and receiue the vnitie, which they would offer. The request of the princes was,

The death of pope Martin. Pope Eugenius the fourth.

Pope Eugenius seeketh to dissolue the councell of Basill.

Dissention betweene the councell of Basill, and pope Eugenius.

was, that the fathers would transport the counсell, and go vnto another place: the which only thing pope Eugenius seemed alwaies to seeke and desire, that thereby he might either diuide the fathers of the counсell, or take way their libertie.

The prelats of the counсell refused the popes request.

Notwithstanding, this sacred Synode thought good neither to denie the princes request, nor to grant that which pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the emperours ambassadours, the bishops of Patauia and Augusta, (being much required and stirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant baron called Conrade Weinsperge, by the kings commandement, to be protector and defender of the counсell, and the fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceiued the emperours mind to be alienate from the pope, so the fathers of the counсell vnderstood his good will towards them, for so much as he would not haue sent them a protectour, if he had not iudged it a lawfull counсell: neither againe would he haue iudged it a counсell in Basill, if he had giuen credit to pope Eugenius. But by meanes of a great pestilence which began to grow, the assemblie that should haue bẽn holden at Frankford, was transported vnto Mentz. The ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any meanes of vnitie, whereby they might vnite and knit the pope againe vnto the counсell.

The princes assembled at Mentz, to make vnitie betweene the counсel and the pope.

The assemblie was verie famous; for there were present the archbishops of Mentz, Collen, and Treuers, Electours of the sacred empire, and all the ambassadours of the other Electours. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Collen was the chiefe fauourer of the counсell in this assemblie, who with all his labour and diligence went about to bring the matter vnto a good end. Rabanus the archbishop of Treuers shewed himselfe somewhat more rough. The sacred Synode also thought good to send thither their ambassadours, and appointed out the Patriarke of Aquileia, the bishop of Aicene, and the bishop of Argen: diuines, John Segouius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with diuers others. There was no man there present which would name himselfe the ambassadour of Eugenius: Albeit there were many of his fauourers and friends come thither, both from the counсell, and also out of Florence, the which albeit they had sworne to the contrarie, yet fauoured they more Eugenius then the counсell. But the chiefe Hercules of all the Eugenians, was Nicolas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned, and of great experience. After diuers consultations had, the Electours of the empire, and the ambassadours of the other princes of Germanie, thought good to giue out commandement throughout their whole nation and countrie, that the Decrees of the counсell of Basill should be receiued and obserued.

Whilest these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certaine verie doubtfull question amongst the diuines which remained at Basill, whether Eugenius might be called an heretike, which had so rebelliously contemned the commandements of the church. Hereupon they gathered themselues together, disputing long amongst themselues, some affirming, and othersome holding the negatiue part. Vpon this their disputation, there arose three seuerall opinions, some affirming that he was an heretike, othersome, not only an heretike, but also a relapse. The third sort would neither grant him to be an heretike nor a relapse. Amongst these Diuines, the chiefe and principall both in learning and authoritie, was the bishop of Ebrun, ambassadour of the king of Castile, and a certaine Scotish abbat: which, as two most valiant champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent vnto their arguments, or gaue place vnto them, and so their determination toke place, and Eugenius was pronounced both an heretike and relapse. Eight conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the Diuines, which they called verities: the copie whereof they did diuulgate throughout all christendome.

Three opinions touching the pope.

When the ambassadours of the counсell were returned from Mentz, and that certaine report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of the counсell thought good to discusse the conclusions of the diuines more at large. Whereupon by the commandement of the deputies, all the maisters and doctors and clergie, were called together, with all the residue of the prelats, into the Chapterhouse of the great church, there openly to dispute and discusse Eugenius heresie. The which thing sore grieued the bishop of Millaine, fearing lest this disputation would worke the depriuation of Eugenius, the which, as he said, he had alwaies letted for feare of a schisme. Wherefore he ceased not by all manner of waies to labour, to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the last, there was a great assemblie in the Chapterhouse, some comming thither to dispute, and othersome to heare. This disputation continued fiue daies, both forenoone and afternoone, amongst whom cardinall Lodouicus archbishop Arelatensis, was appointed as Iudge and Arbiter of the whole disputation: who beside many other notable vertues, was both valiant and constant. Nicolas Amici, which was also a proctor of the faith, a famous man amongst the diuines of Paris, demanded of euery man what their opinion was. John Deinleffil, publike Notarie, wrote

The ambassadours returne from Mentz.

The popes heresie discussed.

The bishop of Millaine taketh Eugenius part for feare of a schisme.

euery mans sentence and iudgement. The conclusions of the Diuines which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following.

Conclusions of the disputation.

1 It is a veritie of the catholike faith, that the sacred generall counсell hath power ouer the pope, or any other prelate.

2 The pope cannot by his owne authoritie, either dissolue, transport, or prorogue the generall counсell being lawfully congregate, without the whole consent of the counсell: and this is of like veritie.

3 He which doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted an heretike.

4 Pope Eugenius the fourth hath resisted these verities, when as at the first, by the fulnesse of his Apostolike power he attempted to dissolue or to transport the counсell of Basill.

5 Eugenius being admonished by the sacred counсell, did recant the errors repugnant to these verities.

6 The dissolution or translation of the counсell attempted the second time by Eugenius, is against the forsaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the faith.

7 Eugenius in going about to dissolue and transport the counсell againe, is fallen into his before reuoked errors.

8 Eugenius being warned by the Synode, that he should reuoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted: after that his contumacie was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a counсell at Ferraria, shewed himselfe thereby obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the Chapterhouse before the fathers of the counсell. Vpon the which, when they were desired to speake their minds, they all in a manner, confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, Panormitane archbishop disputed much against them. Likewise did the bishop of Burgen the king of Arragons Almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but only those wherein pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane as he was subtill, so did he subtilly dispute against the last conclusions, indeuouring himselfe to declare that Eugenius was not relapsed, and had great contention with the bishop of Argens, John Segouius, and Francis de Fure, Diuines. He diuided the articles of the faith into three sorts: straitly, as in the Creed: largely, as in the declarations made by the church: most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premisses; affirming, that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolue the councels: and that it seemeth not vnto him to rise of the determinations before made, but rather of the decrees of the counсell of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserued for the pope to be discussed, for so much as in ỹ chapter beginning Frequens, it appeareth that the place where the counсell should be kept, ought to be chosen by the pope, the counсell allowing the same, and nothing is thereof at all spoken. And if peraduenture Eugenius had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the counсell of the cardinals, representing the church of Rome: whose authoritie hee said to bee such, that the iudgement thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there bẽn any sacred counсell found to haue proceeded against Eugenius as an heretike, and that is an euident signe, that the counсell hath not thought him to haue swarued from the faith, neither to haue any occasion that he should be called heretike for his errors reuoked; and that he himselfe hath read the whole text, that the pope did not reuoke the dissolution as contrarie vnto the faith, but as breeding offence: Also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, for so much as likewise he had done it by the counсell of the cardinals, and for the vniting of the Greekes, that he might not be compelled in a criminall cause, to answere by his procurator, when as he being letted by sicknesse, could not come personally. So, for as much as in the first dissolution Eugenius hath fallen into no errour of faith, he cãnot be perswaded that he can be called a relapse, for so much as he neither in the first, neither yet in the second dissolution did violate his faith.

Panormitane speaketh against the pope.

Articles of faith diuided into three sorts.

Panormitane preferreth the iudgement of the cardinals of Rome, before all the world.

The pope pretendeth the vniting of the Greekes, when he meaneth another thing.

This Oration of Panormitane was more praised then allowed of all men. Notwithstanding, this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the conclusions, and in stead thereof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst Panormitane himselfe, altogether excuse Eugenius of heresie, but defended more the first dissolution, then the second: yet departed he not without answere: for John Segouius an expert Diuine, rising vp, answered him reuerently as was comely for such a prelat. Hee said, hee granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the diuision of the Articles of the faith into three points, for because it made for his purpose. For if those things are to be holden for articles of faith, said hee, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifest that the conclusions whereupon wee now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church: that is to say, of the counсell of Constance: for, if therein the pope bee made subiect vnto the generall

The pope no relapse, but prolapse.

John Segouius answereth Panormitane.

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councell, who is it that will say that the pope hath power ouer the councell which is aboue him: or that Eugenius ought to remaine pope, because hee could not dissolue the councell which is aboue him, without the consent thereof? The which article vndoubtedly, he hath violate and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violate, because there was no declaration made thereof, let him which so thinketh, thus vnderstand: that the bishop of Rome ought not onely to know the plaine and manifest, but also the secret and hidden things of the faith; for hee being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be hee will not, then hee shall be conuicted for being head, because hee continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the councell, neither did consent vnto the determination of the church; and therefore, if peraduenture hee did not erre in the faith, in dissoluing of the councell, yet did he erre in perseuering in the same, as it manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement oftentimes alleaged by Panormitan, wherein it is said, that hee which liueth rebelliously, and neglecteth to doe good, is rather a member of the diuell then of Christ, and rather an infidell then a true beleeuer: so that Eugenius by disobeying the church, may worthily be called an infidell. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in the faith: Forsomuch, as well in that answere which beginneth Cogitanti, as also in the answere which beginneth Sperant, made vnto the popes ambassadours, these words are manifest: this article concerneth faith, and wee had rather die then through cowardlines to giue place. By the which saying it is euident, the Synode to haue sufficiently admonished the pope that hee did against the faith, and therefore it seemed ỹ afterward when as Eugenius reuoked the dissolution, hee also reuoked the errour of faith contained in the same. There are also diuers offences sprung and risen through the errour of faith: for some say that the pope is vnder the councell, other some denie it, and this diuersitie of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressie against the authoritie of the councell, that the pope did reuoke the assertions made in their name.

The pope neglecting to doe good, is a member not of Christ, but of the diuell.

And albeit in such reuocations, the stile and order of iudgements is not obserued, notwithstanding it doth suffice in such case, when as the councell doth proceede against the pope, in which case onely the truth is to bee obserued, neither is the councell subiect vnto any politius law, that it ought to obserue any tearmes or iudiciall orders. Also hee said that he vtterly contemned that singular glose which did preferre the pope before all the world, so that it might well be called singular, which decreed so foolish and fond things and vnworthie to be followed of any man: and that he did much maruell of Panormitane, and other Doctors of those dates, which whilest they went about to extoll the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding a singularity thereto: for that glosse is singular which is alone. But who would not more esteeme a glosse constantly written and agreeable in all places, then that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may seeme to bee an errour; and that as touching the verity and truth: Saint Hierome a graue and ancient Doctor is contrary to this glosse, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is aboue the city it selfe, that is to say, Rome.

Councels bound to no politius law.

Segouius, could scarcely finish this his Oration without interruption; for Panormitane oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argen rising vp, a man not onely eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose: yet they proceeded so farre, that they passed the maner of disputation, and did not abstaine from opprobrious taunts.

When the bishop of Argen chanced to say that the bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that: insomuch that hee so forgot himselfe that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) did so faile him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirme, that the pope was lord ouer the church. Whom Segouius answered: Marke (saith hee) O Panormitane, what thou saiest: for this is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, wherein he calleth himselfe the seruant of the seruants of God. Which is gathered vpon this point, when as Christ said vnto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know hee answered them: The princes of the people haue rule and dominion ouer them, but amongst you it is not so, &c. Wherein hee doth vtterly prohibite lordship and dominion; and Peter which was the first vicar of Christ, saith: Feede the flocke of Christ which is committed vnto you, prouiding for them not by compulsion, but willingly. And immediately after hee said, not as lords ouer the clergie. For if Christ the Sonne of God, came not to bee ministred vnto, but to minister and to serue, how then can his vicar haue any dominion, or bee called lord, as you Panormitane will affirme: forsomuch as the disciple is not aboue his master, nor the seruant aboue his lord. And the Lord himselfe saith: Be ye not called masters, forsomuch as your onely master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you, shall be your seruant. Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with

Panormitane appointeth the pope lord of the church.

The pope and the clergie desire dominion contrary to the Scriptures.

this answere, the councell brake vp and departed.

The next day, there was a generall congregation, and they returned all againe vnto the chapter house after dinner, whereas the archbishop of Lions, the kings Orator being required to speake his mind, after he had by diuers and sundrie reasons proued Eugenius to be an hereticke, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignaure of those that had preferred such a man vnto the papacie, and so moued all their hearts which were present, that they al together with him did bewaile the calamities of the vniuersall church.

The French kings ambassadour.

Then the bishop of Burgen, the ambassadour of Spaine, diuided the conclusions into two parts, some he called generall, and othersome personall, disputing very excellently as touching the three first conclusions, affirming that he did in no point doubt of them, but only ỹ the addition which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtfull vnto him. But vpon this point he stayed much, to proue, that the councell was aboue the pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proued both by Gods law and mans law, he taught it also by physicall reason, alledging Aristotle for witnesse. He said, that in euery well ordered kingdome, it ought specially to be desired, that the whole realme should bee of more authority then the king; which if it happened contrary, it were not to bee called a kingdome, but a tyrannie: so likewise doth he thinke of the church, that it ought to be of more authority then the prince thereof, that is to say, the pope. The which his Oration hee vttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truely, that all men depended vpon him, and desired rather to haue him continue his Oration, then to haue an end thereof.

The bishop of Burgen.

The councell aboue the pope.

But when as he entred into the other conclusions, hee seemed to haue forgotten himselfe, and to bee no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither grauity in oration, or cheerefulnes of countenance, so that if he could haue seene himselfe, he would peraduenture greatly haue maruelled at himselfe. Euery man might well see and perceiue then the power and force of the truth, which ministred copy of matter vnto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof. But when as hee began once to speake against her, she take away euen his naturall eloquence from him. Notwithstanding Panormitane, and the bishop of Bergen, shewed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confesse or grant the last conclusions to bee verities of faith: yet they would not that any man should follow or leane vnto their opinion, which were but meane diuines; but rather vnto the opinions of the diuines. But the king of Arragons Anner, being a subtill and craftie man, did not directly dispute vpon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certaine arguments, sought to let and hinder the counsell. Against whom, an abbat of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much: and Thomas de Corcellis, a famous Diuine, alledged much against him out of the decrees of the sacred councell, & with a certaine modest shamefastnes, alwaies beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the conclusions.

The force of truth which appeared also in Eneas himselfe the writer hereof, although afterward when he was pope, he denied the same.

Note what it is, a man to labour against his knowledge.

But now to auoid tediousnes, I will onely proceed to declare arguments, whereby the conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to intreats of the fiue last conclusions, which concerne the person of Eugenius, but onely vpon the three first, whereunto I will adioyne certaine probable arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the fathers. In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed: touching the which, two things are to be required, and examined. The one, whether the generall councell haue authority ouer the pope. The other, whether the catholike faith commandeth it to be beleeued. As touching that the pope is subiect to the generall councell, it is excellently well proued by the reason before alledged, by the bishop of Burgen. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdome: and for a king to be of more authority then his kingdome, it were too absurd: Ergo, neither ought the pope to bee aboue the church. For like as oftentimes kings which doe wickedly gouerne the commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprined of their kingdomes; euen so it is not to bee doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the generall councels.

The conclusions of the disputation.

The first conclusion.

A king is not of more authority then is his kingdome.

Neither do I herein allow them, which attribute so ample and large authority vnto kings, that they will not haue them bound vnder any lawes; for such as so doe say, bee but flatterers, which doe talke otherwise then they thinke. For albeit that they doe say that the moderation of the law is alway in the princes power: that doe I thus vnderstand, that when as reason shall perswade, he ought to digresse from the rigour of the law: for he is called a king, which careth and prouideth for the common-wealth; taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of the subiects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those, ouer whom he ruleth: which if he doe not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is onely to seeke his owne profit: for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other onely his owne. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alledged, wherefore kings were ordained.

These kind of flatterers came now in our dates.

What a king is.

At

The institution of kings.

The pope ought to be subiect vnto the councell.

This place, *Tu es Petrus, &c.* expounded.

Sinnes are the gates of hell.

Against the papists opinion, that the pope cannot erre.

The interpretation of this place; *Orauí pro te Petre*, by meanes of the Church.

Bishops of Rome are heretikes.

Pope Honorius the second.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is certaine, that there was a certaine time when as the people liued without kings. But afterward, when lands and possessions began to be diuided according to the custome of euery nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause, but only to exercise iustice. For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mightie men, they ranne by and by to some good and vertuous man, which should defend the poore from iniurie, and ordaine lawes, whereby the rich and poore might dwell together. But when as yet vnder the rule of kings, the poore were oftentimes oppressed, lawes were ordained and instituted, the which should iudge neither for hatred nor fauour, and giue like eare vnto the poore as vnto the rich: whereby we do vnderstand and know, not only the people, but also the king to be subiect to the lawes. For if we do see a king to contemne and despise the lawes, violently rob and spoile his subiects, deflоure virgins, dishonest matrones, and doe all things licentiously and temeariously: do not the nobles of the kingdome assemble together, deposing him from his kingdome, set vp another in his place, which shall sweare to rule and gouerne vprightly, and be obedient vnto the lawes? Verily as reason doth perswade, euen so doth ✠ vse therof also teach vs. It seemeth also agreeable vnto reason, that the same should be done in the church, that is to say, in the councell, which is done in any kingdome. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we haue before said, that the pope is subiect vnto the councell.

But now to passe vnto the arguments of Diuinitie, the foundation of the matter which we do intreate vpon, are the words of our Sauiour Iesus Christ in diuers places, but specially where as he speaketh vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferni non præualebunt aduersus eam: that is, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. Vpon which words it seemeth good to begin this disputation, for so much as some were wont to alleage these words, to extoll the authoritie of the bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by and by appeare) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning then diuers of them do thinke, for he saith: and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there haue been spoken, then that the gates of hell should not preuaile against the Church? These gates of hell, as Saint Hierome saith, doe signifie sinnes. Wherefore if sinnes cannot preuaile against the Church, neither can any maligne spirits preuaile against the same, which haue no power at all ouer mankind, but only through sinne. And for that cause, whereas it is said in Iob, that there is no power vpon the earth that may be compared vnto the power of the maligne spirit, whereby it followeth that the power of the Church is aboue all other power.

We may also vpon the same saying, reason after another sort: for so much as the gates of hell, that is to say, sinnes, cannot preuaile against the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sinne: the which cannot be spoken of the pope which is a mortall man, for so much as it is written, Seuen times in the day the iust man doth offend: If the Church bee without spot because it cannot be defiled with sinne, who is it that will preferre a sinfull man before an vndefiled Church? Neither let vs giue eare vnto those which will not referre these words of Christ vnto the Church, where as he saith, Orauí pro te Petre, vt non deficiat fides tua: That is to say, Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith should not faile thee. For as Saint Augustine saith in the exposition of the Psalmes, Certaine things are spoken as though they seemed properlie to pertaine vnto the Apostle Peter, notwithstanding, they haue no euident sense but when they are referred vnto the Church, the person whereof he is vnderstood figuratiuely to represent. Whereupon in another place in the questions of the new and old Testament, vpon the words, Rogaui pro te Petre, I haue prayed for thee Peter: What is doubted? Did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for Iames and John, beside the rest? It is manifest that vnder the name of Peter, all other are conteined. For in another place of Saint John he saith: I pray for them whom thou hast giuen me, and I will that wheresoeuer I am, they shall be also with me. Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of Peter vnderstand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place: otherwise the truth could not consist, for so much as within a while after, the faith of Peter failed for a time by the denial of Christ, but the faith of the Church, whose person Peter did representi, did alwaies perseuere inuiolate.

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer vs, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either haue been heretikes, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant how that Marcellinus at the emperours commandement, did sacrifice vnto Idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attaine vnto the Papacie by a diuelish fraude and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimonie of Paul vnto the Hebrewes shall suffice vs at this time, who saith, euery bishop to be compassed in with infirmitie, that is to say, with wicked-

The church is without sinne, and the pope is a sinner.

nesse and sinne. Also the testimonies of Christ himselfe do approue that the Church remaineth alwaies without sinne: for in Matthew hee saith, I am with you euen vnto the end of the world. The which words were not only spoken vnto the Apostles (for they continued not vnto the end of the world) but also vnto their successours: neither would Christ then signifie that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceiued to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certaine gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserue the holy Church consisting amongst his Apostles and their successors, alwaies immaculate and vndefiled.

And againe in another place; I (saith he) will pray, and he shall giue you another comforter, that he may remaine with you for euer, euen the Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receiue, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remaine with you. The which words being spoken vnto the Disciples of Iesus, are also vnderstood to bee spoken vnto their successours, and so consequently vnto the Church. And if the Spirit of truth be continuallie in the Church, no man can denie, but that the Church ought to continue vndefiled. By the same authoritie also that Christ is called the spouse of the Church, who seeth not, but that the Church is vndefiled? For the husband and the wife (as the Apostle saith) are two in one flesh, and (as he doth also adde) no man hateth his owne flesh: thereby it commeth to passe, that Christ cannot hate the Church, for so much as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himselfe: Ergo, the Church doth not sinne; for if it did sinne, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apostle to confesse that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he writing vnto Timothie, affirmeth the Church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth: whereupon in this song of the spouse it is said: My friend thou art altogether faire and beautifull, neither is there any spot in thee.

The church one flesh with Christ.

The church is without spot or sinne, is to be vnderstood not by nature, but only by imputation.

These words peraduenture may abash some, that I do go about to proue the Church to be without sinne. For when as the Church doth containe all men which are called Christians, which also doe agree and come together in one beliefe of faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I doe feare lest some men will thinke, that I do affirme all men to be without sinne: which is so farre from my meaning, that I doe verily thinke the contrarie to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the Church being clothed in this mortall flesh, without sinne. Neither doe these things varie or dissent among themselues: For the Church hath this gift, that albeit euerie part and member thereof may sinne, yet the whole bodie cannot sinne. For there be alwaies good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subiect vnto humaine fragilities, not withstanding they haue so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnall desires and affections, they keepe themselues a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice vnto God. Neither do I consent or agree vnto the opinion of diuers, which affirme that the virgin Marie onely perseuered in faith at the Lords passion. Whereupon diuers haue not been ashamed to say that the faith might be so debilitate and weakened, that it should returne to one only old woman. Whose opinion or rather madnesse, Saint Paul seemeth openly to reiect, writing thus vnto the Romans: Do ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture writeth of Helias, how incessantly he called vpon God against the children of Israel, (saying) O Lord, they haue slaine thy Prophets, and digged downe thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seeke after my soule? But what answere receiued he of God? I haue left vnto my selfe yet seuen thousand men, which haue not bowed their knees vnto Baal. What other thing doth this answere of God declare, then that it is a foolish opinion of them which thinke the church of God to be brought vnto so small a number? We ought to beleeue the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant vnto those men who affirme that the Virgin only did perseuere in faith. For Iesus said vnto his Father, O holy Father, saue them in thy name, whom thou hast giuen mee, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I haue kept them that thou gauest vnto me, and none of them perished, but onely the sonne of perdition. And I doe not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserue them from euill.

The errour of those which say that only the virgin Marie did perseuere constant at the time of Christs passion.

The Church without sinne, how to be vnderstood.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserued from euill, and he so praying, without doubt is heard: for he saith in another place, I know that thou hearest me. But how is he heard, if all those for whom he praieth, swarued at the time of his passion? As for example: by what meanes did Christ hanging vpon the crosse, commend his dearely beloued mother vnto John, if so be he were either then swarued, or should by and by after haue swarued from the faith? Moreouer, did not the Centurion by and by crie out and say, truly this is the Sonne of God? The Iewes also which at that time were farre distant from Ierusalem, might both be called faithfull, and also saued by their faith: seeing that (as the Apostle saith) men are bound vnto the Gospell, after it is once knowne and reuealed vnto them. But let vs leaue these men, and speake of that which is more likely, and let vs iudge that

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there hath been and is a great number of good men in the Church, and by them as by the more worthie part, let vs name the Church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the euill as the good. For the Church is compared vnto a net, which is cast into the sea, and gathereth together all kind of fishes.

The church comprehendeth both the euill and good. Matth. 20.

And againe it is compared vnto a king, which made a marriage for his sonne, and sent forth his seruants to call those which were bidden vnto the wedding, and they gathered together good and euill, as manie as they could find. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirme, that only good men be comprehended in the Church: the which if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we vnderstand or know were the Church were. But for so much as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthie of loue or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithfull in the Church: of whom, although a great part be giuen to voluptuousnesse and auarice, yet some notwithstanding are cleane from deadly sinne. The which part, as it is the most worthie, it giueth the name vnto the church, to be called most holie: which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our Creed, vnam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, that is to say, one holy Catholike and Apostolike Church: the which article, the Synode of Constantinople added vnto the rest: Wherefore if the Church be holie, it is also without sinne. But to returne to our former purpose, this word Sanctum, which signifieth holie (as Macrobius alleaging Trebatius, affirmeth) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for cleane and vncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the church holy, as the Apostle Peter calleth it immaculat, as we reade in the famous Epistle of Clement.

This saying of Ecclesiastes is not so to be translated, and also serueth to another sense then is heere meant.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by Saint Paul, that Christ is the head of the church: For if the church should wholly sinne, she should not agree with her head Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himselfe would signifie vnto vs in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded vpon the strong rocke, against the which, neither the windes, neither the stormes could preuaile. In the house of God (saith the Apostle) which is the Church builded vpon the strong rocke, which rocke (as the said Apostle declareth) is Christ. Who then is so vnshamefast, that he will affirme the church, which is founded vpon Christ, to be subiect to sinne? and will not rather crie out with the Prophet and say, Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ: That is to say, O Lord, I haue loued the beautie of thy house? Hereupon wrote John Chrysostome this golden sentence: The church neuer ceaseth to be assaulted, neuer ceaseth to be laid in wait for: but in the name of Christ it hath alwaies the vpper hand, and ouercame. And albeit that other doe lie in wait for it, or that the floods doe beate against it, yet the foundation which is laid vpon the rocke, is not shaken. Saint Hilarie also saith, that it is the propertie of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to vnderstand when it is reproued, to be in safetie when it is forsaken, and to obtaine victorie, when as it seemeth almost ouercome. Thus by manie reasons and testimonies, it is proued that the church doth not erre: which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the pope subiect vnto the church, for it is conuenient, that the lesse perfect be subiect vnto the more perfect. There be also manie other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now somewhat more intreate.

Christ is the rocke whereupon the church is builded.

He proueth by authoritie the pope to be vnder the councel.

If authoritie be sought for, saith Saint Hierome (for I willingly occupie my selfe in his sentences, as in a most fertill field) the world is greater then a citie. What then I pray you Hierome? Is the pope mightie because he is head of the church of Rome? His authoritie is great, notwithstanding the vniuersall church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one citie, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the church be the mother of all faithfull, then she hath the bishop of Rome for her sonne: otherwise, as Saint Augustine saith, he can neuer haue God for his father, which will not acknowledge the church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus vnderstanding, called the vniuersall church his mother, as the writers of the canons do know. And Calixtus saith: As a Sonne he came to do the will of his Father, so we doe the will of our mother, which is the church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the sonne is inferiour to the mother, so much the church is superiour or aboue the bishop of Rome.

If the church be the mother, the pope must be her sonne.

The church being the spouse, the pope cannot be the head thereof, but he must also be the head of Christ, for so much as Christ and his spouse be both one.

Also we haue said before, that the church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar: but no man doth so ordaine a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subiect vnto him, but that the spouse is alwaies thought to be of more authoritie, then the vicar, for so much as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here passe ouer the words of Saint Paul vnto the Romans: Let euerie soule (saith he) be subiect vnto the higher powers: Neither doth he herein except the pope: For albeit that he be aboue all other men, yet it seemeth necessarie that he should be subiect to the church. Neither let him thinke himselfe hereby exempt, because it was said vnto Peter by Christ, Whatsoeuer thou bindest, &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the person of the church, for we find it spoken afterward vnto them: Quodcunque ligaueritis super terram, ligatum erit in cœlis: that is, Whatsoeuer ye shall bind vpon earth, shall be also bound in heauen. And furthermore, if all power be giuen of Christ, as the Apostle writeth vnto the Corinthians, it is giuen for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction therof: why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keyes, and bring all things vnto ruine?

The exposition of this place, quodcunque ligaueritis.

The church may depose the pope if he abuse the keyes.

Adde hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is lesser then the Angels, for we reade in Matthew of John Baptist, that he which is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. Notwithstanding Christ saith in another place, that amongst the children of women there was not a greater then John Baptist. But to proceed: men are forced by the example of Zacharias, to giue credit vnto Angels, lest through their misbeliefe they be stricken blinde as hee was. What more? The bishop of Rome is a man: Ergo, he is lesse then the Angels, and is bound to giue credit to the Angels. But the Angels learne of the church, and doe reuerently accord vnto her doctrine, as the Apostle writeth vnto the Ephesians: Ergo, the pope is bound to do the same, who is lesse then the Angels, and lesse then the church, whose authoritie is such, that worthily it is compared by Saint Augustine vnto the Sunne: that like as the Sunne by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the church is aboue all other authoritie and power. Whereupon Saint Augustine writeth thus: I would not beleeue the Gospell, saith he, if the authoritie of the church did not moue me thereunto: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who representing the church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equall to his Lord and master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Sauiour Christ doe specially proue the bishop of Rome to be subiect to the church, as we will hereafter declare: For he sending Peter to preach vnto the church, said, Go, and say vnto the church. To the confirmation of whose authoritie, these words doe also pertaine: He that heareth you, heareth me. The which words are not only spoken vnto the Apostles, but also vnto their successours and vnto the whole church.

The church and not the pope compared to the Sunne.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and giue eare vnto the church, hee doeth not giue eare vnto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an Ethnicke and Publican. For as Saint Augustine affirmeth, when as the church doth excommunicat, hee which is so excommunicate is bound in heauen, and when the church loseth, hee is losed. Likewise if hee be an heretike, which taketh away the supremacie of the church of Rome, as the Decrees of the councell of Constance doth determine, how much more is he to bee counted an heretike, which taketh away the authoritie from the vniuersall church, wherein the church of Rome and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now euident, that it is the opinion of all men before our dates (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by graue authors) that the pope is subiect vnto the vniuersall church. But this is called into question, whether hee ought also to be iudged of the generall councell. For there are some, which, (whether it be for desire of vaine glorie, or that through their flatterie they looke for some great reward) haue begunne to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the iurisdiction of the generall councell. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not onlie this present Schisme, but also all other Schismes euen vnto this day haue had their originall. For as in times past the greedie desire and ambition of the papacie, brought in that pestiferous beast, which through Arrius then first crept into the church, euen so they do specially nourish and maintaine this present heresie, which are not ashamed to begge. Of the which number, some crie out and say, the workes of the subiects ought to be iudged by the pope, but the pope to be reserued only vnto the iudgement of God. Others said, that no man ought to iudge the high and principall seat, and that it cannot bee iudged either by the emperour, either by the clergie, either by any king or people. Other affirme, that the Lord hath reserued vnto himselfe the depositions of the chiefe bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirme that the bishop of Rome although hee carrie soules in aduer so great number vnto hell, yet hee is not subiect vnto any correction or rebuke.

The popelie he do not hearken to the church, is an Ethnicke and Publican.

It is to be feared lest the church hath had many such popes.

Whether the pope is to be iudged by the generall councell, &c.

These are the canons and the schoole diuines, and begging friers.

Diuersitie of iudgements touching the bishop of Rome.

And because these their words are easilie resolued, they run straightwaies vnto the Gospell, and interprete the words of Christ, not according to the sense and meaning of the holie Ghost, but according to their owne will and disposition. They do greatly esteeme and regard this which was spoken vnto Peter: Tu vocaberis Cephas; that is, Thou shalt be called Cephas: by this which word, they make him the head of the church. Also I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth, &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith should not faile. And againe, Feede my sheepe: Cast thy net into the deepe: Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men: Also that Christ commanded Peter as the prince of the Apostles, to pay toll for them both: and that Peter drew the net vnto the land,

How foolishly the church of Rome doth wrest the scriptures.

neglecting the expositions of the fathers.

land, ful of great titles: that only Peter drew out his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatlie extoll, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers: the which if (as reason were) they would consider, they should manifestly perceiue by the authorities aforesaid, that the pope is not aboue them when they are gathered together in councell, but when they are separate and diuided.

But these things being passed ouer, forsomuch as answer shall appeare by that which hereafter shall follow, wee will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men vpon this question. But first wee would haue it knowne, that all men which are of any name or estimation, doe agree, that the pope is subiect to the Councell, and for the proofe thereof they repeate (in a manner) all those things which were before spoken of the Church: for they suppose all that, which is spoken of the Church, to serue for the generall Councell: And first of all,

Those things which were spoken of the Church, serue also for the generall Councell.

they alleage this saying of the Gospell, Dic Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the Church. In the which place it is conuenient to vnderstand, that Christ spake vnto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. Yee saith, if thy brother offend or sinne against thee, rebuke him betweene thee and him alone. If hee giue eare vnto thee, take with thee brother: but if he doe not giue eare vnto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not giue eare vnto thee, Dic Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the Church.

What shall we vnderstand by the church in that place? shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole world? My yoke is pleasant, saith the Lord, and my burden is light. But how is it light, if Christ command vs to doe that which is impossible to bee done? For how could Peter speake vnto the Church which was dispersed, or to seeke out euery Christian scattered in euery towne or citie? But

Peter representeth the double person.

the meaning of these words is farre otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted: for which cause it is necessarie that wee remember the double person, which Peter represented, as the person of the high bishop, and a priuat man. The sense and meaning of his words are euident and plaine enough of themselues, that they need no supplement or alteration. Wee must

Christ nameth the Church but twice in the Gospell.

first marke and see, what this word Ecclesia signifieth, the which we do find but only to be twice spoken of by Christ: once in this place, and againe when as he said vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: That is: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church. Wherefore the Church signifieth the conuocation or congregation of the multitude. Dic Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the Church. That is to say, tell it vnto the Congregation of the

What the Church is.

faithfull: the which forsomuch as they are not accustomed to come together, but in a generall Councell, this interpretation

The interpretation of this place, *Dic Ecclesiæ.*

shall seeme very good, Dic Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the church, that is to say, Dic generali Concilio, tell it vnto the generall Councel.

In this case I would gladly heare if there be any man, which doth thinke these words to bee more properly expressed in any prelate, then in the Councell, when as they must put one man for the multitude: which if it be admitted in the Scriptures we shall from henceforth find no firme or stable thing therein. But if any man doe maruell at this interpretation, let him search the old writers, and hee shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holie fathers and old doctors, which haue first giuen light vnto the Church, as pope Gregorie witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holinesse of his life, and his singular learning) whose words are these, written in his Register vnto the bishop of Constantinople: And we (said he) against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldnesse, doe obserue and keepe that which the truth doth command vs, saying, Si peccauerit in te frater: that is, If thy brother doe offend against thee, &c. And afterward he addeth more, If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I doe seeke helpe of the Church. The which words do manifestly declare the Church here to bee taken for the generall Councell. Neither did Gregorie say, that he would seeke help of the Church that is dispersed abroad in euery place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the generall Councell; for that which is dispersed abroad, cannot bee had, except it bee gathered together. Also pope Nicolas reproouing Lotharius the king for adultery, said: If thou doest not amend the same, take heed that wee tell it not vnto the holy Church.

The Church taken for the generall Councell.

In the which saying pope Nicolas did not say, that hee would go throughout the world to certifie euery one, man by man: but that he would call the Church together, that is to say, the generall Councell, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he which had contemned the popes commandements, should feare the reuerence of the generall Councell. I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tend vnto one end: but this one testimonie of the Councell of Constance shall suffice for them all, wherein it is said, that not onelie the pope in the correction of his brother is remitted vnto the Councell, when as hee cannot correct him of himselfe: but also when as any thing is done as touching the correction of the pope himselfe, the matter

The Councell of Constance decreeth the pope to be vnder the Councell.

ought to be referred to the Councel. Whereby it appeareth our interpretation to be most true, which doth expound the Church to be in the generall Councel. Hereupon in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which were then holden, were called the Church. Also in the Councell of Nice, and in other Councels, when as many should bee excommunicated, alwaies in manner, this sentence was adioyned: Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia: The Catholike and Apostolike Church doth excommunicate this man. And hereupon that title is giuen vnto the Councels whereby we do say, that the generall Councell doth represent the vniuersall Church. Wherefore the lawes and decrees of the Councell are called the lawes of the Church, for that the Church doth not set forth any lawes in any other place, then in the generall Councell: except wee will call the popes constitutions the lawes of the Church, which cannot be properly said but of the councel: whereas, albeit all those which are of the Church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those which come, the whole power of the Church doth consist: Whereupon we reade in the Acts of the Apostles: It pleased the Apostles and Elders with all the Church. For albeit that all the faithfull were not there present (because a great number of them remained at Antioch) yet notwithstanding it was called the whole Church, because the whole power of the Church consisted in the Councell. Thus for this present it is sufficient that wee vnderstand by the Church the generall councell.

The acts of the Apostles. The Councell of Nice.

The title of the Councels.

The constitutions of the bishops of Rome are not the lawes of the Church.

And now to returne vnto our purpose, let vs heare what our Sauiour saith vnto Peter: If thy brother doe offend against thee, vnto this text following, tell it vnto the church: and let vs vnderstand the councell by the Church. Who is greater in this place, he which is sent vnto the councell, or the councell, whereunto Peter was sent? The veritie doth remit the bishop of Rome vnto the generall councell. And why so? verily because the bishops of Rome should not disdaine to acknowledge some power in earth, to bee aboue them, the which they should consult withall in matters of importance, and agree vnto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name Simon, the which, as Rabanus in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tongue, obedience, that all men might vnderstand obedience to be necessary, euen in the bishop of Rome.

By the Church the councell is vnderstood.

Simons obedience necessary in the bishops of Rome.

The authoritie of the councell of Constance might suffice vs in this point: but we thinke it good to say a little vpon this matter, and to leaue no place open for our aduersaries: which whilest they go about to maintaine the insatiable wilfulnesse of one man, preferring a priuate wealth before a common commoditie, it is incredible how great errors they doe stirre vp. Against the which, besides many other, Zacharias bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly striue: Who in the great and sacred Synode of Chalcedon, when as the sentence of the bishop of Rome was obiected vnto him, that the canon of pope Nicolas and other patriarks was aboue the councell, he replied against it. And Zosimus the pope saith thus as touching the decrees of the generall councell: The authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth hee heere speake of the decrees of the fathers, which are dispersed abroad in cities or wildernesse, for they doe not bind the pope: but of them which are made and published by the fathers in the generall councell. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of pope Leo, the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annered, who wrote vnto Anatholius, that the decrees of the councell of Nice, are in no part to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding himselfe and the high patriarke.

The fauourers and maintainers of the pope goe about to maintaine and preferre the pleasure and profit of one before a common commoditie.

The authoritie also of Damasus vpon this sentence, is more manifest, writing vnto Aurelius the archbishop, as Isidorus declareth in the booke of councels, whose worthy saying as touching the authoritie of the Synode is this: That they which are not compelled of necessity, but of their owne will either frowardly do any thing, either presume to doe any thing, or willingly consent vnto those which would doe any thing contrary and against the sacred canons, they are worthilie thought and iudged to blaspheme the holy Ghost. Of the which blasphemy, whether Gabriel which calleth himselfe Eugenius, be presently partaker, let them iudge which haue heard him say, that it is so farre from his office and dutie to obay the generall councels, that he saith hee doth then best merite and deserue, when as hee contemneth the decrees of the councell. Damasus addeth yet moreouer. For this purpose, saith hee, the rules of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the spirit of God and the reuerence of the whole world, are faithfully to be knowne and vnderstood of vs, and diligently loked vpon, that by no meanes, without a necessity which cannot be eschued (which God forbid) we do transgresse any of the decrees of the holy fathers. Notwithstanding, we daily see in al the popes bulles and letters, these words, Non obstante: that is to say, notwithstanding: which no other necessitie hath brought in, then onely vnsatiable desire of gathering of mony. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

The pope can abide no generall councels.

Non obstante in the popes bulles.

But now to returne againe vnto Damasus, mention is made

The Councell to be aboue the pope.

made in the Epistles of Ambrose bishop of Millaine of a certaine Epistle, which is said to be written by Damasus, vnto the iudges deputed by the Councell of Tapua, where hee declareth that it is not his office, to meddle with any matter which hath been before the Councell. By the which saying hee doth manifestlie reproue all those which affirme and say the bishop of Rome to be aboue the Councell. The which if it were true, Damasus might haue taken into his hands the cause of Bonosius the bishop to determine, which was before begun by the Councell: but for somuch as the Councell is aboue the pope, Damasus knew himselfe to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius also acknowledging the Synode to be aboue him, would haue his decrées confirmed by the Councell. Also the famous doctor S. Augustine in his epistle which he did write vnto Glorius and Eleusius, and Felix the Grammarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus the bishop, was accused by Donatus, with others. Melchiades the pope with certaine other bishops absolued Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishoprieke. They being moued with those doings, made a schisme in the parts of Africa. S. Augustine reprooueth them, which hauing another remedie against the sentence of the pope did raise a schisme, and doth inuey against them in this manner: Behold, let vs thinke those bishops which gaue iudgement at Rome, not to haue been good iudges: there remained yet the iudgement of the vniuersall Church, whereas the cause might haue been pleaded euen with the iudges themselues, so that if they were conuict not to haue giuen iust iudgement, their sentence might be broken.

The full iudgement of the Church is not to be found, but in the generall Councell.

Whereby it appeareth, that not onelie the sentence of the pope alone, but also the pope with his bishops ioyned with him, might bee made frustrate by the Councell: for the full iudgement of the vniuersall Church is not found elsewhere, then in the generall Councell. Let not any man doubt, in that S. Augustine seemeth heere onelie to speake of bishops: for if the text of his epistle bee read ouer, hée shall find the bishop of Rome to bee comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the Councels of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should not receiue or heare the appeales of any which did appeale from the Councell: which altogether declare the superioritie of the Councell. And this appeareth more plainlie in the Acts of the Apostles, where as Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apostles, because hée went in to Cornelius a Heathen man, as if it had not been lawfull for him to attempt any great matter without the knowledge of the congregation: and yet it was said vnto him as well as others: Ite & Baptizate, &c. Go and baptise. But this seemeth to make more vnto the purpose, which S. Paul writeth vnto the Galathians, where as he saith, he resisted Peter euen vnto his face, because hee did not walke according to the veritie of the Gospell. Which words if they be well vnderstood, signifie none other thing by the veritie of the Gospell, then the Canon of the Councell decreed amongst the Apostles: for the Disciples being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon S. Paul doth shew, that Peter ought to haue obayed the generall Councell.

No appeale to be made from the Councell to the pope. Acts 13.

Gal. 2. Peter constrained to obey the generall Councell.

The decree of the Councell of Constance.

But now to finish this disputation, we will here adioyne the determination of the Councell of Constance, the which Councell aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguitie and doubts, and to prouide a certaine order of liuing, declared by a solemne decrée that all men, of what estate or condition so euer they were, yea, although that they were popes themselues, bee bound vnder the obedience and ordinances of the sacred generall Councels. And although there be a certaine restraint, where as it is said, in such things as pertaine vnto the faith, the extirpation of schisme, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the head as in the members: notwithstanding this amplificatiue clause which is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus adea, that is to say, withall the appertenants. The which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it, which may bee imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus vnto his Apostles, Goe yée forth and teach all people. He did not say in three points onelie, but teach them to obserue and keepe all things whatsoeuer I haue commanded you. And in another place he saith, not this or that, but whatsoeuer yée shall bind, &c. which all together are alleaged for the authoritie of the Church and generall Councels. For the preferment whereof, these things also come in place: He that heareth you, heareth me. And againe: It it is giuen vnto you to know the mysteries of God. Also, Where 2. or 3. be gathered in my name &c. Again, Whatsoeuer yée shall aske, &c. O holie father, saue them whom thou hast giuen mee, &c: And, I will be with them euen vnto the end of the world. Also out of Saint Paul these places are gathered: We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made vs apt ministers of the new testament, &c. And he appointed some Apostles and some Prophets, &c. In all which places both Christ and the Apostles speake of the authoritie of many, which all together are alleaged for the authoritie of the vniuersall Church.

The pope bound vnder the obedience of the generall Councell.

Diuers places rehearsed out of the Gospels and Apostles, for authoritie of the Church and generall Councels aboue the pope.

But for so much as that Church being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decrée or ordaine any thing: therefore of necessitie it is to be said, that the chiefe and principall authoritie of the Church, doth consist in the generall Councels, where as they assemble together. And therefore it was obserued in the primitiue Church, that hard and waightie matters were not intreated vpon, but only in the generall Councels and congregations. The same is also found to bee obserued afterward. For when as the Churches were diuided, generall Councels were holden. And in the Councell of Nice, we do find the heresie of Arrius condemned. In the Councell of Constantinople the heresie of Macedonius. In the Councell of Ephesus, the heresie of Nestorius. In the Councell of Chalcedon, the heresies of Eutychius were also condemned: for so much as they thought the iudgment of the bishop of Rome, not to suffice to so great, and waighty matters: and also they thought, the sentence of the Councell to bee of greater force, then the sentence of the pope, for so much as he might erre as a man: but the Councell, wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided with the holy Ghost, could not erre. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus the Emperor, which serueth for that purpose, whose words are these: Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men, will sticke to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madnesse, at the noone time and faire day light, to seeke for a fained light: for hee which hauing found the truth, séeketh to discusse any thing further, séeketh but after vanities and lies.

Weighty matters intreated but only in generall councels.

The pope not sufficient of himselfe to conuince or iudge heretickes.

The pope may erre.

Now I thinke it is euident enough vnto all men, that the bishop of Rome is vnder the Councell. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the Councell or not: For albeit it be proued that he is vnder the Councell, yet for all that, will they not grant, that he may bee also deposed by the Councell. Wherefore, it shall bee no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say vpon that matter: and first of all, to speake of these railers, which are yet so earnest for the defence of the bishop of Rome: which being vanquished in one battell, still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacie then of ignorance. They would haue heere recited againe, that which we haue before spoken, as touching the prééminence of the bishop of Rome, or the patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words then eloquent, they stay much of this point, whereas Christ said vnto Peter: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum; I will giue thée the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth shall be bound in heauen: as though by those words he should be made head ouer the other. And again they doe amplifie it by this: Pasce oues meas: Fæd my sheep, which they doe not find to be spoken to any other of the Apostles. And because it is said that Peter was the chiefe and the mouth of the Apostles, therefore they iudge it well spoken, that no man shall iudge the chiefe and principall see: being all of this opinion with Boniface, which said, that the pope ought to bee iudged for no cause, except he be perceiued or knowne to swarue from the faith, although he doe carry innumerable people with him headlong into hel, there to be perpetually tormented: as though he could not open the kingdome of heauen to others, if any other could shut it against him, neither that he could fede other if he himselfe lacked pasture.

Whether the pope may be deposed by the Councel or not.

The places, *Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum*, *Pasce oues meas*, make nothing for the popes supremacie.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For S. Augustine in the Sermon of the nativitie of Peter and Paul saith in this wise: Our Lord Jesus Christ before his Passion, chose his disciples (as ye do know) whom he called brethren. Amongst those, Peter alone almost in euery place represented the person of the Church, and therefore it was said vnto him, Tibo dabo claues regni cœlorum: That is to say, Unto thée will I giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen. These keies did he not receiue as one man, but as one hee receiued them for the Church. And in another place, where hee writeth of the Christian agonie, he saith: The keies of the kingdome of heauen were giuen vnto the Church, when as they were giuen vnto Peter: And when as it was spoken vnto him: Amas me? Pasce oues meas: That is to say, Louest thou me? fæde my sheepe: it was spoken vnto them all. And Saint Ambrose in the beginning of his pastorall, saith: Which sheepe and which flocke, the blessed Apostle S. Peter tooke no charge of alone, but together with vs, and we all together with him. By which words the foundation and principall arguments of those flatterers, are vtterlie subuerted and ouerthrowne. For if Peter represented the person of the Church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words vnto Peter, but vnto the church. Neither do I see how that can stand, which Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre distant from the truth, except it bee vnderstood otherwise then it is spoken.

The popes supremacie confuted.

Peter representeth the person of the Church, and not of the pope.

The keies giuen to the Church, and not to one man.

Pope Boniface erreth.

But it may peraduenture séeme a great thing vnto some, that it is said, the bishop of Rome to be the head of the militant Church. For as in the bodie of man, Physitions do neuer giue counsell to cut off the head for any manner of sickines and disease, although it be neuer so full of vlcers, or infected: so in this mysticall bodie of the Church, the head ought alwaies to be kept: and albeit it be neuer so wicked, yet is it to be suffered and borne withall. But now conuert this argument: If it were possible in the bodie of man, when one head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the church, should not heads then be oftentimes changed for diuers diseases? Moreouer, if we will thus reason, that the head of the church should be in respect of his body, as the head of man

The bishop of Rome vnproperly called the head of the Church.

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man in respect of the body of man: then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die; as is manifest in the body of man: So should it grow into an absurdity to confesse that the pope being dead, the church also should be dead: the which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoeuer other men say, I am not of opinion with them, which affirme the bishop of Rome to be head of the church, except peraduenture they doe make him the ministeriall head: for wee doe reade that Christ is the head of the church, and not the pope; and that he is the true head, immutable, perpetuall, and euerlasting, & the church is his body, whereof the pope himselfe is also a member, and the vicar of Christ; not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroier of the church, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do: and we ought, as pope Leo saith, to be mindfull of the commandement giuen vs in the Gospell: that if our eye, our foote, or our right hand doe offend vs, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord saith in another place: Euery tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut downe and cast into the fire. And in another place also it is said vnto vs: Take away all euill and wickednesse from among you. It is very iust and true which is written in the Epistle of Clement, vnto James the brother of our Lord, that he which will be saued, ought to be separate from them which will not be saued.

They vote which say, that the pope cannot be deposed for any other cause then for heresie.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, wee must haue recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the Gospel of John: I am the true vine, saith the Lord, and my father is the husbandman, and ye are the branches: euery branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my father will cut off. These words were spoken vnto the Apostles, amongst whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would haue cut off, if hee brought not forth his fruit. Also Saint Hierome vpon these words of Matthew: Unsauory salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and troden of swine. Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul, he saith thus: It is no easie matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keepe the chaire of them which raigne with Christ. This vnsauory salt, that is to say, a foolish prelat, vnsauory in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be troden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which haue dominion ouer the wicked and naughty prelats, as their owne flocke and heard. Behold, this testimonie of Hierome is plaine and euident. Let him be cast out, saith he.

Fruitlesse branches are to be cut off.

If the pope be vnsauory salt, he is to be cast away.

He expoundeth and speaketh it of the prelat, which vsurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who being vnsauory in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as Hierome affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither as some doe dreame, is he to be deposed for heresie only. Isidorus in the booke of Councels, rehearseth a certaine Epistle of Clement the successor of Peter, written vnto James the Apostle, where as the said Clement referring the words of Peter vnto himselfe, saith thus: If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceiue thy selfe, and those which shall giue eare vnto thee: for thou canst not fully distribute vnto euery man those things which pertaine vnto saluation: whereby it shall come to passe, that thou as a man for not teaching those things which pertaine vnto saluation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance. Notwithstanding in another place, in stead of this word deposed, it is found, thou shalt be punished: which two words, if they be well vnderstood, doe not much differ, for deposition is often times vsed in the place of punishment. But peraduenture some will here obiect, that this Epistle is not to bee iudged Clements, because it is said to bee written vnto James, who as the ecclesiasticall history affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might thinke that James was aliue when as he wrote: which were farre distant asunder, and messengers of the christians came not often vnto Rome. Moreouer, there is mention made of this Epistle in diuers places of the decretals, as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same Epistle; where hee saith, that he which liueth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learne and to doe good, is rather a member of the diuell then of Christ, and doth shew himselfe rather to be an infidell then a faithfull christian. Upon which words, the gloss which Panormitane calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, Ergo also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault deposed: otherwise he should be accused in vaine.

The words of Peter to Clement.

The epistle of Clement to James doubted.

The pope may and ought to be both accused and punished for ill doing.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our aduersaries, but that the pope may be deposed. Notwithstanding it is not yet euident whether hee may be deposed by the councell or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And first of all, the aduersaries will grant this vnto vs, that the bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, for so much as the pope being the vicar of the church, no man doubteth but that a lord may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church, then of Christ. But if the church may depose the pope, Ergo the councell also may doe the same. Also the gloss which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence: that the generall councell is iudge ouer the pope in all cases. Likewise the most sacred synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishop of Rome to be vnder the iudgement of the councell: and the councell to iudge and determine of euery doubtfull matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt hereof, because this word deposition is not mentioned: for it is said of euery doubtfull matter or question: for if the synod doe iudge of euery doubt; Ergo it shall also iudge, whether the pope shall be deposed or no; for that may also come in doubt. And because wee will not seeke examples farre off, Iohn 23. whom all the world did reuerence, was deposed of his papacy by the councell of Constance. Neither yet was he condemned for any heresie, but because he did offend the church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depose him: and euer since continually, the church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirme that the pope cannot be deposed but only for heresie.

The pope is rather to be called the vicar of the church, then of Christ.

Pope Iohn 23. deposed, and yet for no heresie.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certaine men doe affirme the generall councels to be of no effect, except the pope doe call and appoint them, and his authority remaine with them. Whereupon they said that Dioscorus did rebuke Palchasius the bishop of Cicill, and legat of pope Leo, because that he did enterprise without the authority of the Apostolike see, to call a councell at Ephesus. They also alledge another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon: where as, when mention was made of the councell of Ephesus, all the bishops cried out, saying: We ought not to call it a councell, because it was neither gathered by the Apostolike authority, neither rightly kept. By the which authorities, they which say that the councels cannot bee holden without the consent of the pope, doe thinke themselues marueilously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and preuaile as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the church. For what remedy shall we finde, if that a wicked pope doe disturbe the whole church, destroy soules, seduce the people by his euill examples, if finally he preach contrary vnto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies, shall wee prouide no stay or stop for him? Shall we suffer all things to run to ruine and decay with him? Who would think that the bishop of Rome would congregate a councell for his owne correction or deposition? for as men are prone vnto sinne, so would they also sinne without punishment. But when as I doe peruse ancient histories, and the acts of the Apostles, I doe not finde this order, that councels should be gathered only at the will of the pope: for the first councell of all, after that Matthias was substitute in the place of Iudas, was not congregate at the commandement of Peter, but at the commandement of Christ, who commanded the Apostles that they should not depart from Ierusalem, but looke for the promise of the father.

Whether councels may be congregated without the authority of the pope.

They erre that say the pope ought only to appoint the councels. Marke wherefore the popes will haue no generall councell.

The 1. councell of the Apostles.

The second councell as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the twelue Apostles: for it is written; The twelue Apostles calling together the multitude, &c.

The 2. councell of the Apostles.

The third councell, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a generall inspiration: for it is written The Apostles and Elders came together, &c.

The 3. councell of the Apostles.

The fourth councell, where as certaine things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by Iames: and so discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitiue church, whereby it should appeare that the authority of congregating of councels, should pertaine only vnto bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Constantinus Magnus, and other emperors, was the consent of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councels; and therefore it is written thus of the synod of Chalcedon: The sacred and vniuersall synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chiefe citie of the prouince of Bethunia, according vnto the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and christian emperors Valentinian and Martian, doth not make any mention of the bishop of Rome, although his consent were there.

The 4. councell of the Apostles.

Generall councels in times past congregated by emperors, and not by popes.

Whether the pope may be deposed by the councell or no.

Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would haue no councell congregate, yet if the greater part of the church doe iudge it necessary to haue a councell, the councell may be congregate whether the pope will or no. The councell holden at Pisa, was not congregate by the authority and consent of any pope, when as Gregory did condemne it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be said of the councell of Constance, which was assembled by the authority of pope Iohn, who in respect of the Spaniards was no true pope. And if the councell of Pisa were no true councell, pope Iohn was no true pope: Whereupon his consent to the congregation of the councell of Constance, was of no effect. Moreouer, it is more then folly to affirme, that when the pope hath once giuen his consent

If the greater part of the church doe consent, a councell may be holden whether the pope will or no.

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consent, if it should be called backe, that the Councell should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to reuoke his consent: And of necessitie he must be obedient vnto the Councell, whereof he is a member, and giue place vnto the greater part: and if he separate himselfe from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the vnitie of the Church, he maketh himselfe a schismaticke.

How the pope is a schismaticke

Now, to come vnto the second conclusion: if it be true, as it is indeed, that the pope is vnder the Councell, how can the pope then dissolue, alter and transport the Councel, against the will of the same? For with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power ouer the superior? How can the Synode correct the pope, if the pope may dissolue the Synode contrarie to the will thereof? Admit that the pope be libidinous, couetous, a louer of war and discord, and a most mortall enemie vnto the Church, and the name of Christ, how can the councell remoue him, if he haue authoritie to dissolue the Councell? For allone as euer that the bishop of Rome shall vnderstand that in the Councell they doe intreat or talke of his correction or punishment, straightwaies he wil seek remedie by dissoluing the Councell. For as Macrobius saith: he that hath libertie to doe more then is fit or necessarie, will oftentimes doe more then is lawfull. If so be that the bishop of Rome may exempt himselfe from correction by dissoluing or transporting the Councell, it followeth that the Councell is not aboue him. Therefore we must either denie that which is afore said, that the pope is vnder the Councell, or else denie that the pope hath power to dissolue the Councell, contrarie to the will and determination of the Councell.

The pope cannot dissolue a generall Councell against the will of the same.

The saying of Macrobius.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are al other conclusions false, which seeme to impugne the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the diuines is also manifest: albeit that some do admit it in certaine cases, and in other some exclude it againe. For if we do admit, that for certaine causes the pope may dissolue the Councell contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the pope iudge of the Councell, it were cleane contrary vnto the first conclusion.

Whether the pope in certaine cases may dissolue the Councell.

Now it is proued that the Councell is aboue the pope, and cannot be dissolued by the pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an article of our faith to beleeue it: which matter hath respect vnto the third conclusion. For there haue been many, which albeit they did confesse these two conclusions to bee true, yet they doubted whether it were a veritie of the Catholike faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed. And we must see whether it be an article of faith that the pope be vnder the Councell. Which being proued, it shall also appeare to bee an article of faith, that the pope cannot dissolue the Councell without the consent thereof. Which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all therefore we must inquire what faith is, that we may thereby the better vnderstand, what pertaineth thereunto.

The definition of faith.

Faith, as the diuines do define it, is a firme and stedfast cleauing vnto things, beleeued by the authoritie of him that speaketh. If then we beleeue, as is afore said, that the pope of Rome is vnder the Councell, some authoritie doth moue vs thereunto: so is it the faith of him which beleeueth it. But the question is not whether it bee an article of faith only, but whether it bee an article of the Catholike faith. Wherefore we must againe enquire what the catholike faith is. This word catholike is a Greeke word, and signifieth vniuersall. The Catholike faith, that is to say, the vniuersall faith, is not so called because that euery man holdeth it, but because euerie man ought to beleeue it. For all men doe not beleeue that God is incarnat, but euery man ought so to beleeue. And albeit that many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be vniuersall. For what writeth the Apostle vnto the Romans? If some of them haue not beleeued, doth their misbeleefe make the faith of God vaine? God forbid. Verily God is true, but euery man is a lier. Therfore to beleeue that the pope is vnder the Councell, is a point of the catholike faith, although some thinke the contrary: for we are bound to beleeue it, forsomuch as it is taken out of the Gospell. For we are not bound only to beleeue those things which are noted to vs in the Creed, but also all those things which are contained in the holy scriptures, whereof we may not denie one iot. And those things which we alleage for the superioritie of the generall Councell, are gathered out of the sayings of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, and the Epistles of S. Paul: Ergo, we are all bound to beleeue it. And to proue that these things are taken out of the Gospel, the Councell of Constance doth witnes, the which groundeth his authoritie vpon these words: Dic Ecclesiæ, that is to say, Tell it vnto the Church. And, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c. And, What soeuer yee shal bind, &c. with other such like texts.

The definition of the catholike faith.

Rom. 3. Catholicke what it is.

Whereupon pope Martine the fourth being yet at Constance, vnder the licence of the Councell, sent out his bulles, which doe reckon vp the articles, whereupon they ought to be examined, which had fallen into any heresie; amongst the which articles he putteth this article: whether he doe beleeue the sacred generall Councell to haue power immediatelie from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to bee receiued of all faithfull Christians; which if any man would denie, hee should bee counted an heretick. Wherefore, when as the sacred Synode of Constance doth set forth this veritie, as touching the superioritie of the generall Councell, what should let, but that wee also should confesse the same to be a verity of the catholicke faith? For the catholicke Church being congregate at Constance, receiued that faith, that is to say, beleeued it by the authoritie of him which spake it, that is, Christ and his Saints.

The Councell of Constance. *Vide supra, pag. 599.*

To this purpose also serue very well the words of the Synode of Chalcedon, written in this manner: It is not lawfull for him that is condemned by the whole Synode to nominate any bishop. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary vnto this, is an heretick. And againe, it is a rule, that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and chosen Synode.

The words of the Councell of Chalcedon, whereby he is declared an heretick that holdeth any opinion contrary to the Councel.

Marke the manifest witnesse of this most sacred Synode, which said, that hee is an heretick, which holdeth any opinion contrarie vnto the Councell: But he is no heretick, except he refuse the catholicke faith: Ergo, it was the catholicke faith to beleeue that it was not lawfull to appeale from the sacred Councell. But how was the same any point of the catholick faith? Verily forsomuch as the sacred Synode perusing ouer the holy Scriptures, hath receiued this conclusion out of the words of Christ and other holy fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon took their conclusion out of the holy Scriptures, so did the Councell of Constance, this we now reason vpon. And like as the one is an article of the catholike faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion contrarie to either of both, is an heretick.

Furthermore, they seeme vnto mee to dreame and dote, which confessing them to bee verities, will not confesse them to bee verities of faith. For if they bee verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of Grammar, much lesse of Logike; and from Astronomie and Physicke they are farre distant. Neither is there any other man but a diuine, that will grant this veritie, whom Scripture doth force vnto it of necessitie, if hee doe beleeue Christ, or his Apostles. Therefore this is a veritie of the catholicke faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he which obstinatelie resisteth against the same, is to be iudged an heretick, as the third conclusion doth affirme. Neither let any man thinke it hard or cruell, that hee should be called an heretick which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the generall Councell, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities. Also Panormitan alleageth S. Hierome, saying: Hee which vnderstandeth the Scripture otherwise then the consent of the holy ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the church may be called an heretick.

Panormitan is noted, and very well nipped by his owne supposition.

Whereupon it followeth, that he which vpon the words of Christ, saying vnto Peter, Dic Ecclesiæ. i. Tell it vnto the church, doth not vnderstand by the church the generall councell, vnderstandeth it otherwise then the sense of the holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as an heretick. And to proue that the sense of the holy Ghost is otherwise then he doth iudge it, the councel of Constance doth declare: The which interpreting those words, Dic Ecclesiæ. i. Tel it vnto the church, spoken by the holy Ghost, vnderstandeth them to be spoken of the generall councel. By these and many other waightier reasons the 3. afore said conclusions seemed true vnto the diuines, and through them they also allowed the residue.

Tel the church, that is to say, the generall Councell.

Now haue we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised: neither doe I thinke any man now to be in doubt of these 3. first conclusions. Now to returne againe vnto our storie, it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the conclusions of the diuines: for there are many things worthie of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable vnto the posteritie.

When the disputation was ended and a finall conclusion of these matters euen at hand, the archbishop of Millaine and Panormitane with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon, and duke of Millaine, armed themselues with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomackes.

And first of all, allsoone as the congregation was assembled together, the bishop of Burgen exhorted them to deferre the conclusion, and to tarry for the Ambassadors of other prouinces, which would returne from Mentz.

The bishop of Burgen.

After him Panormitane with a graue and Rhetoricall Oration, spake (in a manner) as followeth.

Panormitans oration.

I haue (said he) had a commandement by the Prophet, to crie without ceasing; Which Prophet said: Cry out, cease not, lift vp thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before, he ought to haue cried, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roring out, when as the state of the vniuersall Church is intreated vpon, either to be preserued, or vtterlie ouerthrowne: and that hee hath cried so much in this matter, that hee doubted not, but the saying of Dauid was fulfilled in him, where hee saith: Laboraui clamans, raucæ sunt factæ fauces meæ: I haue laboured, crying out, that my iawes are become hoarce.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding that hee would both now, and as often as neede should require, without ceasing still crie out, and speciallie now in this most difficult and waightie matter: wherein he required the sacred Councell gently to heare both him, and the Ambassadours of other princes: Adding moreouer foure things to bee considered in all requests made of any man. The which he also required the fathers now presentlie, to marke and consider: Who it is that maketh the request. What is required. Why it should be required: and what effect would come by the request either granted or denied. As touching the first point he said: The most noble kings and excellent princes with their prelats to be of great power: and then reckoned vp the king of Castile, the king of Arragō, the duke of Millaine, and the bishops of the same princes, rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said kings, and also of the duke of Millaine. But when as hee came to make mention of the prelats, he could not refraine himselfe, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of prelats were on his part. For if the bishops & abbats were counted, it were not to be doubted, but the greatest part of them would haue this present matter deferred: and forsomuch as the whole power of the Councell doth consist in the bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded, which pleased the greater part of the inferiors: For the keies (said hee) were giuen to the apostles, and to their successors, which are the bishops: also, that there are three kinds of Synods, episcopall, prouinciall, and generall, and none of all these without bishops.

Foure things to be considered in euery request.

Panormitane would haue dignitie to be considered in Councell, and not voices.

Wherefore the manner and order of the present Councell seemed vndecent, where as things were not waighed according men excell in dignitie, but by most voices: Notwithstanding according to the most famous epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillers and keies of heauen, and the inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultatiue voice with them: wherefore there would bee a great offence in this behalfe, if a matter of faith should be determined without the bishops: in which matter not onely the bishops, but also the secular princes ought to be admitted. And for so much as they, in the name of their princes desired to bee admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fullie, he complained greatly how vnworthy a thing it was that they should be contemned or despised.

Panormitane seemeth to delay the proces against the pope.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed ouer to the second part of his oration, declaring what it was that he required: not gold, nor siluer, neither pretious stones, neither prouinces nor kingdoms, neither a thing hard to bee done, but that only the delay of the sacred Councel was required, and that the fathers would stay in the proceasse against the pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only vntill the returne of the Ambassadors from Mentz, whom he knew well would returne very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and to be small intreatie, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seeme iniurious, not to tarrie for the ambassadors of the princes which were then at Mentz, whenas they were not absent for their owne priuate commoditie, but about the affaires of the common-wealth, and the commoditie of peace: neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence, there should be nothing renued concerning the matters of Eugenius.

The third part of Panormitans oration.

Then immediatly adioyning the third part of his oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the priuate commoditie of any one man, but for a common-wealth: not to cause any trouble or vnquietnes, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might passe with peace and quietnesse, that the matter might be so much the more firme and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so hee proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider and waigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they should grant or denie this request. For (saith he) if yee shall denie this small petition of the princes, they all will be agreeued therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they bee obedient vnto you, or receiue your decrees. In vaine shall yee make lawes except the princes doe execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vaine: yet would I thinke this to be borne withall, if I did not feare greater matters to ensue. What if they should ioyne themselues with Eugenius, who not onely desireth to spoile you of your liuings, but also of your liues: Alas, what slaughter and murther doe the eies of my mind behold and see: Would God my opinion were but vaine. But if you do grant and consent vnto their petitions, they will think themselues bound vnto you: they will receiue and embrace your decrees, and whatsoeuer you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your aduersary, they will speak euill of him and abhorre him: but you they will commend and praise, you they will reuerence: vnto you they will wholly submit themselues: and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillitie of the Church. And thus he required the matter to bee respited on all parts. At the last hee said, that except the Ambassadors of the princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

Perswasions of Panormitane.

When Panormitan had made an end of his oration, Lodouicus the protonotarie of Rome rose vp, a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior vnto any of the famous men aforetime. In somuch that he had alwaies in memorie whatsoeuer he had heard or read, and neuer forgat any thing that he had seene. This man first commending Panormitan, said: that he came but the day before from the baths, & that it seemed vnto him a strange thing which was now brought in question: wherein hee desired to heare other mens minds, and also to bee heard of others, and that those prelates which were at Mentz should be taried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalfe of their princes, which prelats were men of great estimation, and the orators of most mightie princes.

The praise of Lodouicus the Protonotary.

Hee allowed also the saying of Panormitane touching the voices of the inferiours, that it seemeth not to bee against the truth, that only bishops should haue a deciding or determining voice in Councels. And albeit that some in this disputation doe thinke that, which is written in the 15. chapter of the acts, to be their force or defence: notwithstanding he was nothing moued therewith, nor toke it to be of any effect, albeit it was said: It seemed good vnto the holy Ghost and to vs; whereas both the Apostles and the elders were gathered together: whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the Apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be maruelled at, then to be followed: and that it doth not appeare there, that the Apostles called the elders of dutie, but that it is onelie declared that they were there present: whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it seemed vnto him, that the inferiours in the councell of Basill, were admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and fauour onelie, because the bishops may communicate their authoritie vnto others. He alleaged for testimonie, the bishop of Cancen, a man of great authoritie, who would not suffer any incorporation, or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore, neither any inferior, neither himselfe, which as yet was not made bishop, to haue any deciding voice in the Councell. Wherefore forsomuch as the matter was waightie, which was now in hand, and that the bishops spake against it, he required the Councell that they would of necessitie stay and tarrie for the Ambassadors of the princes comming from Mentz.

Bishops onely to haue determining voice in Councels.

His oration was so much the more grieuous, in that manie were touched with his words, and speciallie in that point, that hee said, the Apostles were not to be followed: for that all men did impugne as a blasphemy. But here a man may marueil, that a man of such excellencie, alleaged no more or better matter. But in this point the memorie of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speake in this matter, and desired nothing somuch, as not to obtaine that which he intreated for. After him many other spake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and deferre the conclusion of these matters.

It is no maruel why he alleaged no more, or better matter: for of naught bee leather no man can make a good shooe.

And note here how God withdraweth his gifts, when men dissemble and cloke the truth.

Then Lodouicus the cardinall Arelatensis, a man of marueilous constancie, and borne for the gouernance of generall Councels, gathering together the words of all the orators, spake in this wise: Most reuerend fathers, this is no new or strange businesse, nor begun to day or yesterday. For it is now many weekes agoe, since the conclusions were disputed vpon amongst the diuines, and sent vnto Mentz, and to all other parts of the world. After this, they were disputed vpon sire dates continuallie, and fully discussed, and after that not without great delay approued by the deputies, and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publikely and openlie. Neither can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the prelats or Princes contemned: For wee called all that were present at Basill, and exhorted all the rest for to bee present. And forsomuch as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile: who is it that is ignorant, that the kings Orators were there present: The bishop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence, and you also Panormitane your selfe, which heere represent the person of the most famous king of Arragon, were twice present your selfe in the chapter house, and disputed twice most subtillie, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What doe you desire any more: Also out of the territorie of the duke of Millaine, there was present the archbishop of Millaine, who albeit, he be no Ambassadour, yet how famous a prelate hee is, you are not ignorant. When he had spoken these words, the archb. being somewhat moued, said vnto him: My lord cardinall, you supplie the roome of a president no better, then I do the place of a dukes orator, and began to taunt him with many words. But the Cardinall, (as hee was a man most patient, and would not be prouoked to anger by any meanes) said: this is it that I euen now desired. For if the archbishop bee an Ambassador, then hath the duke no cause to complaine, which had his orator present at the discussing of those matters.

Truth seeketh no corners.

The patience and answers of Arelatensis.

I passe ouer other princes, because they do not complaine.

Notwith-

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Notwithstanding, the most Christian K. of France, had there the bishop of Lions, a graue and sober man, his Ambassadour at the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they should be tarried for, which knowing the Councel to be congregate for such matters as pertaine vnto faith, doe not thinke it absurd, that the doubtfull matters of faith should bee declared in the Councell: Whereunto if they had been willing to come, they would haue been present ere this.

Why this matter should néede so much discussing, as some will haue, I do not vnderstand. For if I be well remembred, Panormitane and also Ludouicus, haue oftentimes affirmed in this place, euen the very same thing which the conclusions signifie. And if any of them now will goe about to gainsay it, it will happen vnto them, as it did vnto Didimus. To whom, when as on a time, hee repugned against a certaine history, as vaine and friuolous, his owne booke was deliuered vnto him, wherein the same was written: So likewise these two men (meaning Panormitane and Ludouicus the Protonotary) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent: yet may they be confuted by their owne writings. Besides this: there are Synodall epistles and decrees of this Councell, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficultie can bee raised? What is it that may be impugned? Shall wee now bring that againe in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decréed? But (say they) the princes and Ambassadors are absent, which are bishops, by whose presence the decrées should bee of more authoritie. Well, they are not onely absent which are gone to Ments: but almost an infinit number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world: whom if we should tarry to looke for, nothing at any time should be decréed. They are all called vnto the Councell: they might haue come if they would. To those that are present, power is giuen, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they which are absent, are about the affaires of the common-wealth: truely wee sent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the Councell, then with the consent thereof.

Didimus reprehended that which was in his owne booke found.

He meaneth Panormitane and Ludouicus the Protonotary.

And admit that they had been sent by the Councell: yet were not our power so much restrained, but that we might reforme the Church, for otherwise there should neuer any thing be done in the Councell: forsomuch as alwaies some are sent out by the Councell, and some are alwaies to be looked and taried for, and therefore wee must either doe nothing at all, or send out no prelats from the councel. Whereas he said, that prelats, and specially bishops are contemned, that is most far frō the truth, for they haue the chiefe and first places. They speake first, and giue their voices first of all vnto all things: and if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors without any gainesaying did some follow their mind.

Neither peraduenture shall it be found vntrue, that there was neuer any Synode, which did more amplifie the power and authoritie of bishops then this. For what haue the bishops been in our daies, but only shadowes? Might they not well haue béen called shepheards without the sheepe? What had they more then their miter and their staffe, when as they could determine nothing ouer their subiects? Verily in the primitiue Church, the bishops had the greatest power and authoritie: but now was it come to that point that they excéeded the common sort of priests onely in their habit and reuenues. But we haue restored them againe to their old state, we haue reduced the collation of benefices againe vnto them: we haue restored vnto them the confirmation of elections: we haue brought again the causes of the subiects to be heard, into their hands: I haue made them bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, that the bishops should say, they are contemned of the Councell? Or what iniurious thing haue we at any time done vnto them? But Panormitan saith, that forsomuch as most bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors: but let Panormitan remember himselfe, that this is no new kind of procéeding.

Marke Ye bishops, the Councel of Basill contendeth for you and ye will not vnderstand it.

This order of procéeding, the Councell ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitane, in times past hath pleased you well enough, when as the multitude did follow your mind. But now, because they doe not follow your mind, they doe displease you. But the decrées of the Councell are not so mutable, as the wils of men. Know yee moreouer, that the very same bishops which doe consent with you in word, doe not consent with you in mind, neither speake the same secretly, which they now doe openly. They doe feare that which you told them at home in their countrie, that except they would follow your mind, they should displease the king. They feare the power of the prince, and to bee spoiled of their temporalties: neither haue they frée libertie to speake as is requisite in Councels. Albeit if they were true bishops, and true pastors of soules, they would not doubt to put their liues in venture for their sheepe, neither bee afraid to shed their bloud for their mother the Church.

This was a true Cardinall: out of whose mouth the veritie did speake, which feared not the threatnings of princes, neither sought any worldly glory or dignitie.

Marke what worldly pompe, dignitie and wealth had brought the prelats to in those daies.

But at this present (the more is the pitie) it is too rare to find a prelate in this world, which doth not preferre his temporalties before his spiritualties: with the loue whereof, they are so withdrawne, that they study rather to please princes then God, and confesse God in corners, but princes they will openly confesse. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his Gospell: Euery one, saith he, that confesseth me before men, I will confesse him before my father which is in heauen. And contrariwise, the Lord will not confesse him before his father which is afraid to confesse the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitan saith, most bishops to be on his part; for here are many bishops proctors whom hee doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignitie of the fathers, to be respected in the Councell, as he saith, but onely reason, nor any thing more to be looked for then the truth: neither will I for my part, preferre a lie of any bishop, be he neuer so rich, before a veritie or truth of a poore priest. Neither ought a bishop to disdaine, if he be rude or vnlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poore learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdome dwelleth often vnder a bare and ragged cloke, then in rich ornaments and apparell.

Note here the great godlinesse and most Christian saying of this good bishop.

Truth many times dwelleth vnder the ragged cloke.

Wherefore I pray you my Lord bishops, do not so much contemne your inferiors; for the first which died for Christ, the which also opened vnto all other the way of martyrdome, was no bishop but onely a Leuite. As for that which Ludouicus and Panormitane doe alleage touching the voices of bishops, I know not where they haue it. Wherefore I desire them that they would tell me, where they haue found it. But if we repeat the examples of old Councels, we shall find that the inferiors were alwaies present with the bishops. And albeit that Ludouicus doe forbid vs the examples of the Apostles, I stay my selfe most vpon their doings. For what is more comely for vs to follow, then the doctrine and customes of the primitiue Church? It is said therefore in the 15. chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, It seemed good vnto the holy Ghost, and to vs. The which word (to vs) is referred vnto them which are before named, the Apostles and the Elders. Neither this word, (it séemed good) signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth, that other beside the bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said Acts, when as the Apostles should intreat vpon any waightie matter, they durst not determine by themselues, but the rest called together the multitude.

Strouen the first marryd.

Note the sinceritie of this good bishop, which staied himselfe vpon the examples of the primitiue Church, and not vpon customes and popes.

Here Ludouicus saith, that it doth not appeare that the Apostles called other of necessitie: but I say vnto him, how knowest thou that they did not call them of necessitie? But forsomuch as both parts are vncertain: nothing doth prohibit vs to follow the Apostles. For seeing that all things were written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apostles would giue vs example, that in waightie matters we should admit our inferiours. And therefore in all Councels which were celebrate and holden afterwards, we find that priests were also present: as in the Councell of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius being then but onely a priest, withstood the Arrians, and infringed their arguments: Albeit, there were also other priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twentie two bishops, yet it is not denied, but that the inferiors were there, whom I thinke to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part, is taken of the most worthie.

Athanasius being but a priest, and no bishop, vanquished an archbishop.

In the Synode of Chalcedon (which was counted one of the foure principall Synods) it is said that there were present 600. priests: the which name is common both vnto bishops and priests. In other Councels the name both of bishops and priests is omitted, and mention made onely of fathers, which hath the same signification that this word Elders had in the Acts of the Apostles. We haue also a testimonie of the ecclesiasticall history, how that there was a Councell gathered at Rome of lx. bishops, and as many priests and deacons against the Nouatians, which called themselues Cathari. Also, when Paul ỳ bishop of Antioch, in the time of Galiene the emperor, preached that Christ was a man of common nature, the Councell assembled against him in Antioch: whereunto there came bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Ierusalem, and many other bishops, priests and deacons: and it is said, that for that cause the Councell was often holden.

The name of priests or elders common both to bishops and priests.

Paul bishop of Antioch.

And at the last, in the same place, vnder Aurelius the emperour, Paul was condemned of all Christian Churches which were vnder heauen: neither was there any man, which did more confound the said Paul, then Malchion a priest of Antioch, which taught Rhetorike in Antioch. But to make no long digression from the matter, wee haue most euident testimonies, for the defence of the inferiours. For the chiefe and principall amongst all the diuines, Saint Austen vpon the words of Matthew, where as Christ saith vnto Peter, I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, saith, that by those words the iudiciall power was giuen, not onely vnto Peter, but also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church the bishops and priests. If then priests haue a iudiciall power in the Church, what should let that they haue not also a determining voice in the Councels? The famous doctor Saint Hierom doth also agree with Saint Austen, whose words are these

Paul the heretick condemned.

S. Augustines mind vpon this sentence, *Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum.*

vpon

vpon the epistle of Paul vnto Titus. Before that difference was made in religion by the instigation of the diuell, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the churches were gouerned by the common consent and counsell of the priests: for a priest is the verie same that a bishop is. Wherefore all bishops ought to vnderstand, that they are of greater power then priests, rather by custome then by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. And this wee doe also gather out of Paul vnto Titus, which maketh so much concordance betweene bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priests bishops; whereby it doth euidently appeare, that priests are not to be excluded from the conuentions of bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit as Saint Hierome writeth, that bishops only by custome are preferred before priests, it may be, that a contrarie custome may take away that custome: For if priests ought to rule the church together with the bishops, it is euident that it also pertaineth vnto them to decide and determine the doubtfull matters of the church.

Bishops are of greater power then priests, rather by custome then by dispensation of truth.

Bishops and priests ought to rule the church together.

Wherefore the testimonie of Saint Paul is euident: for (as he writing vnto the Ephesians, saith:) If Christ instituted his Apostles, Prophets, Pastours, and Teachers to the worke of the ministerie, for the edifying of his church vntill such time as we should meet him, for this purpose that there should be no doubt in the diuersitie of doctrine, who doubteth then, but that the gouernance of the church is committed vnto others together with the Apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seeme to be no wiser then they ought to be. The memoriall of the councell of Constance, is yet freshly in memorie, where as diuers of vs were present, and I my selfe also which was neither cardinall nor bishop, but only a doctor, where I did see, without any maner of doubt or difficultie, the inferiours to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtfull matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great councell, which also followed the examples of the councell of Pisa, and the great councell at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the priests did iointly iudge together with the bishops.

Aeneas Siluius.

Moreouer, if abbats, as we do see it obserued in all councels, haue a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ: why should not priests haue the same, whose order Christ ordained by his Apostles? Hereupon also, if only bishops should haue a determining voice, nothing should be done, but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceed all other nations, or at the least is equall with them, in number of bishops. And howsoeuer it be, I iudge it in this behalfe to bee a worke of God, that the inferiours should be admitted to the determinations: for God hath now reuealed that vnto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

Note that abbats were not instituted by Christ.

Italy surmounteth all other nations in number of bishops.

Behold you do see the zeale, constancie, vprightnesse, and magnanimitie of these inferiours. Where should the councell now be, if only bishops and cardinals should haue their voice? Where should the authoritie of the councels be? where should the catholike faith be? where should the decrees and reformation be? for all things haue now a long time been vnder the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughtie purpose, except these inferiours, whom you now contemne, had withstood him. These are they which haue contemned the priuation made by Eugenius. These, I say, are they which haue not regarded his threatnings, spoile and persecution. These are they which being taken, imprisoned and tormented, haue not feared to defend the truth of the councell; yea euen these are they, who albeit they were by Eugenius deliuered ouer for a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred councell, and feared not to suffer warre, famine, and most cruell pestilence: and finally, what thing is it, that these men haue not willingly suffered for the right and equitie of the councell? you might haue heard this inferiour sort euen in the middest of their tribulatiõs, with a loud voice crie out and say, Albeit that al men become obedient vnto that subuerter of the church Eugenius, and that euery man do depart from the veritie of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting vnto the commandements of Eugenius, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers, the which indeed they haue done. Neither could they be feared with threatnings, or discouraged with any spoiles, neither could any feare or hope turne them from their most blessed purpose: And (to speake somewhat of mine owne order) whether anie cardinals haue done the like or no, that iudge you.

Note the terrible persecution of those daies, and the great constancie of the godly, for the truths sake.

O zeale of faith, worthie the crowne of martyrdome!

As for bishops, whom Panormitan alone would haue to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and euen they which are heere present, are not able, by vertue to ouercome iniquitie, they feare the terrene power, and commit offence with their hak. Haue yee not heard how they all said, they would consent vnto the kings will and pleasure? But the inferiours are they which haue had truth, righteousnesse, and God himselfe, before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for shewing themselues such men vnto the church of God. But why doe I defend the cause of these inferiours? When as some will also exclude those bishops which are but bishops by name and title, and haue no possession of the church, from our companie, not vnderstanding that whilest they go about to put backe those men, they do condemne Peter, and the other Apostles, who (as it is euident) were long without any great flocke, neither was Rome vnto Peter, nor Jerusalem vnto James, at any time wholly obedient: for at that time no great number of people, but a small flocke beleeued in Christ.

Eccles. 7.

The bishops feare the earthly power, but no God.

For, I pray you, what is that we should require of these bishops? They haue no flocke: but that is not their fault. They haue no reuenues: but money maketh not a bishop, and as the Lord saith, Beati pauperes spiritu: that is, Blessed are the poore in spirit. Neither was there any rich bishops in the primitiue Church, neither did the ancient Church reiect Dionysius bishop of Millaine, Eusebius bishop of Vercelles, or Hilarie bishop of Pictauia, although they were neuer so poore, and banished without a flocke. But if we will grant the truth, the poore are more apt to giue iudgement then the rich, because that riches bring feare, and their pouertie causeth libertie. For the poore men do not feare tyrannie as our rich men do, which being giuen ouer vnto all kind of vanities, idlenesse and sloth, will rather denie Christ, then lacke their accustomed pleasures: * whom not their flocke, but their reuenues make bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they iudge all poore men vnhappie. But, as Cicero saith; Nothing can happen better vnto a wise man, then mediocritie of substance. Whereupon it is written in the Gospell, It is easier for a Camell to passe thorow a needles eye, then for a rich man to enter into the kingdome of heauen.

The bishops of the primitiue church what they were. Poore men more meet to giue iudgement then rich: for riches, wealth, and dignitie bringeth feare: but pouertie causeth libertie.

* The bishops in this age of the church, what they are.

But now to returne to a more full declaration of Panormitans words, I determine to passe ouer two points which he propounded in the beginning of his oration, that is: Qui petant, & cur petant, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and (as he doth affirme) that they haue deserued good of the church; neither do I doubt but that they are moued thereunto, with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon, which he spake of; it is now to be enquired. A delay (saith he) is required: a delay for a few daies. A small matter: a matter of no importance: a matter easie to be granted. Notwithstanding let Panormitan heere marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are alreadie declared: they be alreadie discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftentimes the delay of one moment, is the losse of a whole yeere; hereof we haue many examples. Hannibal when he had obtained his victorie at Cannas, if he had gone straight vnto Rome, by all mens iudgements, he had taken the citie. But for so much as he did deferre it vntill the next day, the Romans hauing recouered their force againe; he was shut out, and deserued to heare this opprobrie:

In matters of faith and religion, there ought to be no delaies.

Vincere scis Hannibal, vti victoria nescis.

Hannibal thou knowest victorie to get,
But how to vse it thou knowest not yet.

Likewise the French men, after they had taken Rome and besieged the Capitoll, whiles that they greedilie sought to haue great summes of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus comming vpon them did most shamefullie driue them out againe. But what need I to rehearse old stories, whenas our owne examples are sufficient for vs? Wee know your selues how often these delayes haue been hurtfull vnto you, and how often the delay of a few daies hath growne to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth yeere that you haue spent in delaies: and you haue seen, that alwayes of one delay another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore I do require, that Panormitan should consider, that the conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to passe hereafter againe or no: manie impediments or lets may rise. Neither doth Panormitan say, that this delay being obtained, he would afterward consent with his fellowes vnto the conclusions: for he denieth that he hath any commandement thereunto; and (which is more to be considered) he saith that the ambassadours at their returne from Mentz, may bring such newes, whereby these conclusions may be omitted: as though any thing were more excellent then the truth.

The eighth yeere of the councell of Basill. How subtillie they sought delaies.

The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seeke delayes for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugne the conclusions the more stronglie. Neither do I agree with Panormitan, as touching the effects which hee said should rise either of the deniall, or granting of the requests: For I see no cause why the princes should so greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any prince come vnto vs as touching such request, neither is there anie man lately come from them, neither is it greatlie materiall vnto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But

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this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitan hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most godly princes, where as hee saith, if wee doe please them, they will take our part. If contrariwise, they will decline vnto Eugenius, and wholly resist and rebell against vs. This is a maruellous word, and a wonderfull conclusion, altogether vnworthie to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the councell of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soeuer they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of the generall councels. But Panormitans words do not tend to that effect, for he would not haue the princes obedient vnto the councell, but the councell to be obedient vnto the princes.

The decrees of the councell of Constance.

Alas, most reuerend fathers, alas, what times and daies, what maners and conditions are these? Into what miserie are we now brought? How shall we at any time bring to passe, that the pope being Christs vicar, and (as they say) another Christ in earth, should be subiect vnto the councell of the christians, if the councell it selfe ought to obey worldly princes? But I pray you look for no such things at the princes hands. Do not beleeue that they will forsake their mother the church. Do not thinke them so farre alienate from the truth, that they would haue iustice suppressed.

If these things seeme so vntollerable, what shall we say, when as they make the pope a God?

The conclusions whereupon the controuersie is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they do not resist against vs, but against the holy Scriptures, yea and against Christ himselfe: which you ought neither to beleeue, neither was it comely for Panormitan so to say. Panormitan (by your licence be it spoken) you haue vttered most cruell words, neither do you seeme to go about any other matter, then to inculcate terror and feare into the minds of the fathers: for you haue rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit our selues vnto the princes.

They which teach this doctrine, are heretikes and schismatikes: but blessed are those heretikes, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen.

But you most reuerend fathers, shall not be afraid of them which kill the bodie, the soule they cannot kill: neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slacke in the quarrell of our mother the church, and the catholike faith, then those most holy martyrs, which haue established the church with their blood. For why should it be any grieuous matter vnto vs to suffer for Christ, which for our sakes hath suffered so cruell and grieuous death? Who when he was an immortall God, void of all passions toke vpon him the shape of a mortall man, and feared not for our redemption to suffer torments vpon the crosse. Set before your eyes the prince of the Apostles, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew: (and not to speake only of bishops) Marke what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, other some burned, and others tormented with most cruell and grieuous torments suffered for Christs sake. I pray you for Gods sake let vs follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let vs not feare martyrdome. Alas what effeminate hearts haue we? Alas what faint hearted people are we? They in times past by the contempt of death, conuerted the whole world, which was full of gentilitie and idolatrie: and we through our sluggishnesse and desire of life, do bring the christian religion out of the whole world into one corner; and I feare greatly, lest the little also which is left, we shall lose through our cowardlinesse: if that by following Panormitans mind, we do commit the whole gouernance and defence of the church vnto the princes. But now plaie the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and feare not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to do for the citie of Rome: which Mencetheus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly toke vpon them.

A christian exhortation to constancie and martyrdome.

This came to passe twentie three yeeres after, when Christendome lost Constantinople, and all the East parts vnto the Turkes.

Examples of good men dying for their countrie.

Not only the martyrs, but also the Gentiles might moue and stir vs to cast off all the feare of death. What is to be said of Theremeus the Athenian? with how ioyfull heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drinke the poison? What say you vnto Socrates that most excellent Philosopher? did he either weepe or sigh, when he supped vp the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certaine of: Not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better.

Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the pretious blood of Christ, so greatly to feare death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which haue chearefully and couragiously gone vnto those places, from whence they knew they should not returne. With like courage did the Lacedemonians giue themselues to death at Thermopylis, of whom Simonides writeth thus:

Dic hospes Spartanos te hic vidisse iacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

Report thou stranger, the Spartaines heere to lie,
Whiles that their countrie lawes they obeyed willingly.

The noble Lacedemonians.

Neither iudge the contrarie, but that the Lacedemonians went euen of purpose vnto death: vnto whom their captaine Leonidas said: Ye Lacedemonians, go forward couragiously, for this day we shal sup together with the infernal Gods. But I most reuerend fathers, do not inuite you vnto the infernals as he did his Lacedemonians, but vnto the celestiall and euerlasting ioyes of Paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truths sake, and patiently abide the threatnings of these princes, if there be any threatnings at all. I call you vnto that eternal glorie: where as there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth: where all good and perpetuall things doe abound: where as no man wanteth, no man enuieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth, and finally no man dieth. Where as all men are blessed and happie, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortall, all are of like estate, and that all men haue, euery man hath, and that euerie man hath, all men haue. Which things if we will consider, we shall truly answere Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyrensis is said to haue answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatned to hang him: who said, I pray you threaten these horrible things vnto your courtiers; as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rot aboue the ground or vnder the ground. So likewise let vs answere vnto the princes, if there be any that doe threaten vs, and let vs not feare their torments.

The blessed state of the life to come.

The worthie answere of Theodorus Cyrenensis.

What doth a longer life preuaile to helpe vs? No man hath liued too short a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrell of his countrie, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the Rhetoricians, but also happie and blessed, what shall we say for these deathes which are sustained for the countrie of all countries, the church? Truely, most reuerend fathers, it is too much that our aduersaries do perswade themselues of you, for they iudge you fearefull, sluggish, and faint hearted: and therfore they do obiect princes vnto you, because they thinke that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile in the quarrell and defence of the church. But I thinke you will esteeme it no hard matter, for the obtaining of euerlasting life, to do the same which shipmen do for the obtaining of transitorie riches, to put themselues in danger of the sea and wind, and suffer most cruell stormes.

No death to be feared for Christs church.

The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hils and woods, and are tormented with cold: yet haue they none other reward, but some wilde beast of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do, whose reward shall be Paradise? I am ashamed of our ignauie, when as I reade that women, yea euen yong maidens haue violently obtained heauen through their martyrdome, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This riuer of Rheine which runneth along by the citie, in times past hath carried eleuen thousand virgins vnto martyrdome. In India (as Cicero writeth) when anie man was dead, his wiues (for there they had many wiues) came into contention who should be burned with him: and the whom he loued best, hauing vanquished the other, all the rest ioyfully following her, was cast into the fire with the dead carcase of her husband and burnt. The other which were ouercome, departed full of heauinesse and sorrow, wishing rather to haue died then liue.

Example of Mariners and Hunters.

Example of the eleuen thousand virgins.

The which courage we now taking vpon vs for Christs sake, will answere Panormitan euen as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who when as by his letters he threatned them, that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him whether he would also let them to die. Therefore as you are excellent men, so vse your vertue, which is alwaies free, and remaineth alwaies inuincible. For you doe know that power is giuen you of the Lord, and strength from the most highest: who will take account of your workes, and examine your thoughts: vnto whom ye should be carefull to render a good account, iudging rightly and keeping the law of righteousnesse, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the ambassadours of Eugenius, do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome aboue the vniuersall church, to the end that ignorant soules be not snared, ye shall not cease or leaue to publish the three first conclusions, following the example of the Apostle Paul, which would in no point giue place vnto Peter when he walked not according to the Gospell. As for the other matters, which do respect the only person of Eugenius (because Panormitan and the other Ambassadors of the princes, shall not say that we doe passe our bounds) ye shall deferre them for this present.

When as cardinall Arelatensis had made an end of his oration, there was a great noise, crying out and brawling euery where. The Presidents commandements were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order obserued: for sometimes they spake vnto Panormitan, sometime vnto Lodouicus: no man was suffered to speake, but in halke the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiours with their fellowes. All was full of contention and debate: which when as Lodouicus the Patriarch of Aquileia perceiued, a man of no lesse courage and stomack, then of nobility and birth, being also a duke, for the zeale which he bare vnto the vniuersall church, turning himselfe vnto Panormitan and Lodouicus the Protonotarie, said: Doe not thinke the matter shall so passe, you know not

Lewes Patriarch of Aquileia duke of Decke in Sweuia.

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not yet the manners of the Germaines, for if you go forwards on this fashion, it will not be lawfull for you to depart out of this countrey with whole heads. With which words Panormitan, Ludouicus, and the archbishop of Millaine, being stricken (as it were with lightning from heauen) rose vp and said: Is our libertie thus taken from vs? What meaneth it that the Patriarch doth threaten vs, that our heads should be broken? And turning themselues vnto Iohn earle of Dierstein, which then supplied the protectors place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the councel, and preserue all men in their libertie, or no?

The earle of Dierstein.

The praise of the citizens of Basill.

The citizens also and Senatours, were present to prouide and foresee that no offence should rise, for the cittizens obserued alwaies this order, that they would be present in all affaires, which they supposed would breed dissension, foreseeing specially that no tumults should rise, otherwise then with words. They vsed alwaies such a maruellous foresight and prouidence, that no man vnto this day, could haue any cause against them, to complaine for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time any cittizens haue deserued wel at the hands of the church, surely this praise is to be giuen vnto the Basilians. These men together with Iohn earle of Dierstein, being present in the assemblie of the fathers, gaue a signe of preseruation of their libertie. The earle (albeit he was moued at the strangenesse of the matter, for he would not haue thought so great contentions could haue risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, that they all should bee of good chære. For the emperours safe-conduct should bee obserued and kept euen to the vttermost: neither should the Patriarch, nor anie other once violate the libertie, or take away the assurance granted by the emperour. Notwithstanding he desired the Patriarch that he would call backe his words againe, and not to speake any more in such sort. But that famous father, being nothing at all moued, or troubled, committed his whole mind vnto Iohn de Bacheilleine, auditor of the chamber, a man both graue and eloquent, to be declared. Who affirmed that the Patriarchs mind was not to threaten anie man, or disturbe the libertie of the councell, but to mone the fathers vnto constancie, that they should be mindfull of the reformation, which they had promised vnto the whole world, and not to say one thing to day, and another to morrow: for if they would so do, it were to be feared, lest the lattie seeing themselues deluded, and despairing of reformation should rise against the clergie.

Therefore he monisheth the fathers to foresee and prouide for the perill, that they should not depart from the councell, nothing being determined or done: and finally he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the councell, Panormitane, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly said, that humilitie is the sister of nobilitie: both which did verie excellently appeare in this man. Yet for all this, could not the humilitie of the Patriarke stop or stay their noise or cries: for as often as mention was made of reading the Concordatum, great noise and rumours were still made, for to stop the same. Then Amodeus archbishop of Lions, and primate of all France, a man of great reuerence and authoritie, being touched with the zeale of faith, which he saw there to be stopped and suppressed, said: Most reuerend fathers, I haue now a great occasion for to speake: for it is now seuen yeeres or more, that I haue been amongst you, yet haue I neuer seene the matter at that point which it is now at, most like vnto a miracle; for euen presently I doe behold most wonderfull signes of miracles; for it is no small matter that the lame doe walke, the dumbe doe speake, and that poore men preach the Gospell. Whereupon I pray you commeth this sudden change? How happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now suddenlie start vp? Who hath giuen hearing to the deafe, and speech to the dumbe? Who hath taught the poore men to preach the Gospell? I doe see heere a new sort of prelats come in, which vnto this present haue kept silence, and now begin to speake. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugne iustice.

Humilitie sister to nobilitie.

Amodeus archbishop of Lions.

Anno 1438

Bishops that lie at home, haue tongues here to speake for the pope.

But this is more to be maruelled at then any miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all, impugne our conclusions which are most certaine and true: And they which now reproue them, in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Lodouicus the Protonotarie preached these verities at Louaine and at Collen, and brought them from thence, confirmed with the authorities of the Vniuersities. Wherefore albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And therefore I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not giue eare vnto these men, which albeit they are most excellently learned, yet haue they no constancie in them: which doth adorne all other vertues.

Marke how they are turned backe which sometime fauoured the truth and are now become liers and flatterers. Constancie lacked in diuers of this councell.

When he had ended his oration, Lodouicus the Protonotarie rising vp, said: It is most true that I brought those verities, but you doe call them verities of faith, which addition seemeth verie doubtfull vnto me. When he had spoken these words cardinall Arelatensis required that the Concordatum of the twelue men should be read, and many whispered him in the eare, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panormitan, as soone as the Concordatum began to be read, rising vp with his companions and other Arragons, cried out with a loud voice, saying; You fathers do contemne our requests, you contemne kings and princes, and despise prelats; but take heed lest whilest that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men: You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greater part of prelats, we make the coūcell, and it is our part to conclude; and I in the name of all other prelats do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed. With this word, there sprang such a noise and rumour in the councell as is accustomed to be in battell with the sound of trumpets and noise of horsemen, when as two armies ioine. Some cursing that which Panormitan went about, othersome allowing the same: So that diuersitie of minds made diuers contentions.

Panormitan speaketh like himselfe.

Then Nicolas Amici, a Diuine of Paris, according vnto his office, said; Panormitan, I appeale from this your conclusion, to the iudgement of the councell heere present, neither do I affirme any thing to be ratified which you haue done, as I am readie to proue, if it shall séeme good. The contrarie part séemed now to be in the better place, for they had alreadie concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it séene how they could conclude amongst so great cries and vproares. Notwithstanding amongst all this troublous noise, Iohn Segouius, a singular Diuine of the Vniuersitie of Salamantine lacked not audience: for the whole councell was desirous for to heare him: wherefore all men as soone as he rose vp kept silence, and he perceiuing that they were desirous to heare him speake, began in this sort.

Nicolas Amici, a Diuine of Paris.

Most reuerend fathers, the zeale and loue of the house of God forceth me now to speake: and I would to God that I had been either blind, this day, not to haue séene those things which haue happened, or that I had been deafe, that I should not haue heard those words, which haue been spoken. Who is it that is so stonie or hard hearted, which can abstaine from teares, when as the authoritie of the church is so spoiled, libertie taken away both from vs and the councell, and that there is no place giuen vnto the veritie? O sweet Iesu, why hast thou forsaken thy spouse? Behold and looke vpon thy people, and helpe vs if our requests are iust.

The oration of Segouius.

We come hither to prouide for the necessitie of the church, we require nothing for our selues, and our desire is only that truth might appeare. We trusted now to haue concluded vpon the verities which were sometimes allowed in the sacred deputations. The Orators of the princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deferred. But we be not vnmindfull of those things which Ambrose wrote vnto Valentinian the emperour in this manner: If we shall intreate vpon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times past: who is it that will denie but that in case of faith (I say in case of faith) the bishops ought to iudge vpon christian emperours, and not emperours vpon bishops? Neither do we admit their petition but vpon most vrgent causes: Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilest that they did speake, euen so long as they would.

Ambros. ad Valentinianum.

How farre and wherein bishops ought to iudge vpon emperors.

But now if any of our part would speake, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honestie is this? what modestie or grauitie? is it lawfull so to do in the councell? Where is the decree of the councell of Tholose now become? (where are our decrées, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also all small bablings and talke?) They say, it is because we contemne them: but they are they, which not only contemne the councell, but also resist the same. The Patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no euil intent or purpose, and by and by they complained that their libertie was broken: but they, when as they do enforce the councell, when as they forbid the President to speake, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, do not iudge that they do any thing contrarie to the libertie of the councell. They say, they are the councell themselues, and yet they intreat the councell. These things do not I vnderstand: for if they be the councell, why do they intreate themselues? If they be not the councell, why do they not suffer the councell for to speake? Why doe they not looke for an answere of him to whom they make their petitions?

He excuseth the Patriarch.

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is also too much, to suffer such excesse euen in the face of the church. But this doth most of all grieue me, and this do I most maruell at, that Panormitan, a man of singular wit and doctrine, did conclude without any discussing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the twelue men, or anie rite or order. The which except mine eyes had beheld and séene, I would scarcely beleeue, if any other man should report it vnto me, of him: Neither do I yet know, whether I may sufficiently credit my selfe, the matter séemeth so horrible: for I doe not sée by what authoritie his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the authoritie of his king, whom he saith will haue it so. But you most reuerend fathers, take heed that ye bring in no such custome: for so it shall come to passe, that in all matters, a fewe froward prelats shall haue one to conclude for them.

He meaneth Panormitan, which did conclude without the examination of twelue men.

And albeit Panormitan hath proued (as hée thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet not-

Paul would giue to Peter no respite when he swarued awrie.

withstanding I doe require you most reuerend fathers to follow the example of the Apostle, who (as Arelatensis hath verie well declared) would not giue one houres respite vnto Peter, when he swarued from the truth of the Gospell. The faith is speedily to be relieued and holpen, neither doth any thing sustaine more danger by delaies, then faith doth. For heresies except they be roted out at the first, when they are once growne, are hardly taken away. Wherefore I desire you spéedilie to helpe and aide. Hoise vp your sailes, and launch out your oares. What should we tarrie looking for either the prelats or the princes? You are now in conflict: I onely desire that you would hasten vnto the victorie. Regard not the threatnings of those princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: for you are blessed, saith the Lord, when as men curse you and persecute you, speaking all euill against you, making lies and slanders vpon you for my sake; reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. What is it I pray you that the princes doe so much obiect against vs? Is not our Lord God able to take vs out of the furnace of hote burning fire, and deliuer vs out of the hands of those princes? I beseech you most reuerend fathers and louing brethren, haue no lesse hope in Iesus Christ, then Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago had, which feared not that old king Nabuchodonosor: and let the princes know, that the most high ruleth ouer the kingdoms of men, and giueth them vnto whom he pleaseth. God beholdeth all things from aboue; he is (I say) in the middest amongst vs; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and shew your selues as a strong wall for the church of God: suffer not the faith to perish vnder your hands. The almightie God is present with you. Hée is present that will defend you. Feare not them which séeke onely to kill the bodie. Doe iustice and equitie, and be assured that he will not deliuer you ouer into the hands of the backbiter and slanderer. Againe I say vnto you, shew your selues valiant and stout: Defend your mother the church. And vnto thée, O thou president I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God then man, for if thou depart thence without a finall conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait iudgement of God. And thus without any more words, hee sate downe in his place.

Marke the great constancy and christian zeale of this man.

An exhortation to constancie.

In the meane time, many graue and ancient men had exhorted Panormitan that he should giue ouer his conclusion. The bishop of Burgen was verie instant and earnest with him, that he should make vnitie and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make an vnitie with al men. But neither the fathers of the councell were determined to depart without a conclusion, neither Panormitan was minded to alter his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the prelats sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as euery mans affection led him. Some went to the cardinall Arelatensis, some vnto Panormitan and exhorted them, as if they had been princes or rulers of armies. Then Arelatensis knowing the matter to be in danger, and that there was no readie way to make a conclusion, thought to vse some policie, to appease the tumult.

The bishop of Burgen seeketh concord.

How men be readie to heare newes.

Note the godly policie of the cardinall.

The conclusion of the councell.

Most reuerend fathers, said he, we haue receiued newe letters out of France, which declare vnto me miraculous things: that there are incredible newes spring vp there, which if you will giue me willing audience, I will declare vnto you. By this meanes there was a sudden silence throughout the whole councell, and by this maruellous policie he made all men attentiue to heare. When as he saw he had frée libertie to speake, without either fable or historie of any letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and as it is requisit in an Orator, came by little and little to the principall point, saying; that Eugenius his messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, aboue the generall councels: against whom, except spéedie remedie were found, it would come to passe, that many would giue credit vnto them, and therefore the sacred councell ought of necessitie, to prouide remedie, and of necessitie to conclude vpon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temeritie of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers intent to conclude vpon them all, but only the thrée first: euen as I also (saith he) héere do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

When he had finished his Oration, with a chéerefull and merrie countenance rising vp, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdome, that being a French man borne, had that day vanquished the Italians, which were men of great policie. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy Ghost, then by the cardinals owne power. The other of the contrarie faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging downe their heads, departed euery man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another: so that their countenances declared vnto euery man that they were ouercome. Something more also is reported of Panormitan, that when he came to his lodging, and was

The holy Ghost working against the pope.

The sorrow of Panormitan for impugning the truth.

gone vnto his chamber, he complained with himselfe vpon his king, which had compelled him to striue against the truth, and put both his soule and good name in danger of losing; and that in the middest of his teares and complaints he fell asléepe, and did eat no meat, vntill late in the euening for verie sorrow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither vnwillingly impugned the truth.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leaue the councell; other some thought it méeter to tarrie, and with all indeuour to resist that nothing should further be done against the Eugenians: and this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of April, the archbishop of Lions and the bishop of Burgen, calling together the prelats into the chapter house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Burgen perswaded that there should be deputations appointed that day, vnto whom the archbishop of Lions should giue power to make an agrément. Vnto whom answere was made, as they thought, very roughly, but as other iudged, gently, but notwithstanding iustly and truly: For, they said there could be no vnitie or concord made, before the aduersaries confessed their fault and asked pardon therefore.

The bishop of Lions and Burgen.

The first answere of the councell.

The day following, the said bishop of Burgen, with the other Lombards and Cathelans, went vnto the Germaines, and from thence vnto the Senate of the citie, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of schismes. The Germaines referred themselues to those things which the deputation should determine. The Senate of the citie (as they were great men of wisdome, which would do nothing without diligent aduice and deliberation) answered, that the matter pertained not vnto them, but vnto the councell: the fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained vnto the christian faith; and if there were any danger toward, it should be declared vnto the councell and not to the Senate: For they beléeue that the Elders of the councell, if they were premonished, would foresée that there should no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the citie, it was their duetie only to defend the fathers and to preserue the promise of the citie. With this answere the bishop of Burgen departed.

The answere of them both.

In the meane time the fathers of the councell had drawne out a forme of a decrée vpon the former conclusions, and had approued the same in the sacred deputations. By this time the princes orators were returned from the assemblie at Ments, and holding a councell among themselues, they had determined to let the decrée. The ninth day of May there was a generall conuocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part putting forth himselfe vnto the conflict.

The forme of the decree is written and approued.

The princes Ambassadours were called by the bishop of Lubecke and Conrade de Winsperg the protectour, into the quier, and there kept: where as they intreated of a vnitie and by what meanes it might be had, and there they tarried longer then some thought to doe: the which matter gaue occasion to bring things well to passe, beyond all expectation. The only forme of the decrée was appointed to be concluded that day; whereupon, as soone as cardinall Arelatensis perceiued the congregation to be full, and that the twelue men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commanded by and by the publike concordances to be read. Wherein this was also contained, that the cardinall Arelatensis might appoint a Session whensoeuer he would. Which being read, he being desired by the promotors, concluded according as the manner and custome is. The ambassadours of princes being yet in the quier, as soone as they vnderstood how the matter passed, being verie much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talke, imputing all things to the bishop of Lubeck, which of purpose had kept them in the quier and protracted the time. Whereupon they entring into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

The policie of the cardinall Arelatensis.

First of all, the Orator of Lubecke complained both in his owne name and the name of the protector, as touching the conclusion, and required that the councell would reuoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to intreat a peace, and to bee a proctour betweene the councell and the ambassadours of the princes. But the archbishop of Turnon said, that it séemed vnto him euery man to haue frée libertie to speake against that law which should be promulgate, vntill the Session, when the canons should be consecrated and receiue their force: when as the bishops in their pontificalibus, after the reading of the decrée in the Session, should answere that it pleased them: otherwise the demand which was made by the promoters in the Session, to be but vaine: and for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the Session, therefore hée said that he might without rebuke speake somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit vp in such a short time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but euen now: notwithstanding that hee being an archbishop ought to haue knowne the matter, that at his returne home, he might informe the king and also instruct those which were vnder him. And that hee and his fellowes

The bishop of Turnon.

before

before any Session should be: would both heare and be heard of others. Neither doth it seeme good vnto him that the Session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambassadors of the princes had done at Ments, which would peraduenture be such as might alter and change the minds of the fathers. Then the bishop of Conce ambassadour of the king of Castile, which was also lately returned from Ments, a man of great vnderstanding, but lacking vtterance, grieuously complained that the prelats were contemned. Neither had it been (said he) any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expences, went to Ments, not for their pleasure, but of necessitie. And afterward as it were smiling, he said, how mad am I that would haue the prelats to be tarried for, vntill they returne from Ments, when as they are not tarried for, whilest they came out of the quier of the church: do therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischiefe hereupon, neither are we the ambassadours of Castile to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our most noble king.

The bishop of Concen speaketh.

Heere were it long to repeate, with what rebukes and taunts they inueighed against the cardinall Arelatensis: but especially the bishop of Millaine railed most cruelly vpon him, saying ỳ he fostered & maintained a rable of Sophisters and Schoolemasters, and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them: calling him also another Catalin, vnto whom all desperate and naughtie persons had refuge, that he was their prince, and ruled the church with them: and that he would not giue eare vnto the ambassadours of the most noble princes, or to the most famous prelats in this most waightie matter. Albiganensis a bishop and a man of great nobilitie, descended of the emperours blood, albeit he had neuer alienate his mind before from the councell: yet lest he should seeme to dissent from other ambassadours of the princes, made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the prelats. After this it came vnto Panormitan to speake, who as he had a greater vehemencie in speaking, so also he did declare a more angrie stomacke and mind: for in the beginning of his Oration, he seemeth not to goe about according to the precept of Orators, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather their hatred: for he said that our Sauiour shewed foure signes in the Gospell, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate: for he which is of God (saith he) heareth the words of God, but you heare not the words of God, because ye are not of God. And againe, he that doth euill hateth the light. And in another place also, by their fruits you shall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth euill fruit.

Marke what the truth must suffer.

O marueilous despite and contumelie in a bishop! for if Arelatensis had kept whores or concubines, he would haue praised him: but to maintaine learned me was a great offence.

All which sayings hee wrested against the fathers of the councell, because they would not heare the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the ambassadours had spoken, because they fled from the light in the absence of the ambassadours, priuily concluding, and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day but had concluded thereupon, also because they had the vpper hand in the foresaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he said that the fathers themselues should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselues were not good: and that hee did see another councell at hand, where as he feared lest these conclusions should be reuoked, as the fruit of an euill tree: and therefore, they ought not so suddenlie to proceed in so waightie matters: and that he would be yet more fullie heard before the Session, as well in his owne name, because he was an archbishop, as in the name of his prince, which raigned not ouer one kingdome alone but ouer many: Also he said that he heretofore by his words, deeds and writings, hath extolled the authoritie of the councell: and that he feared, lest by these meanes, the authoritie thereof should be subuerted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the councell, for so much as verie sorrow and griefe forced him to speake so.

The fathers of the councell slandered by Panormitan. Foure signes to know the good from the bad.

Looke if it be not spoken of them in the Gospell, where mention is made of the beast which is fallen into the ditch.

What is it that ambition will not do?

The Abbat Virgiliacensis would haue made answere to those things which Panormitan had touched, concerning his deputation: but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrarie part should speake first, amongst whom, last of all Ludouicus the Protonotarie, the Homer of lawyers rose vp. And albeit that he spake vnwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refraine his words. And whiles he went about to seeme learned and eloquent, he vtterly forgot to be good. Hee said that the councell ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of faith, against the prelats, lest any offence should follow, for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose twelue Apostles and seuentie Disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the Creed, onlie the Apostles were present, thereby (as it were) giuing example, that the matters of faith did pertaine onely vnto the Apostles, and so consequently vnto bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of faith, which ought to be cleerely distinct, for so much as Peter affirmeth the triall of faith to be much more pretious then gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the bishops be contemned, which are called the pillars and keyes of heauen, the faith cannot seeme to be well proued or examined. But at length he confessed,

Abbat Virgiliacensis.

Ludouicus the Protonotarie in labouring to seeme learned, forgot to be good.

The Apostles principally gathered the Creed.

that the inferiours might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiours might determine any thing. From thence he passing to the matter of faith, said, that those verities whereupon question was now had, are articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And for so much as euerie man should be bound for to beleeue those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should beleeue as an article of faith. Neither should it be comely for the councell to denie him his request, which according to the rule of the Apostle, ought to bee readie to giue account vnto euerie man which shall require it, touching the faith, which it holdeth.

After euery man had made an end of speaking, the cardinall Arelatensis calling his spirits together, made an Oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the Imperiall ambassadours, which offered to entreate a peace and vnitie; but neither necessitie, nor honestie (he said) would suffer those things which are concluded to be reuoked. He answered also, that the petition of the ambassadours of France is most iust, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith: and that the councell would grant their request, and send vnto them certaine Diuines, which should instruct them at home at their lodgings: but the matter was alreadie concluded, and could no more be brought in question, that the Session was onelie holden, rather to beautifie the matter, then to confirme the same. And as touching that which the bishop of Concen so greatly complaineth of, hee doth not much marueil: for hee could not know the processe of the matter, when hee was absent, who being better instructed, hee supposed would speake no more any such words, for so much as a iust man would require no vniust thing. Also that his protestation had no euill sense or meaning, in that he would not haue it imputed, neither vnto him, neither vnto his king, if any offence should rise vpon the conclusions. Notwithstanding it is not to be feared that any euill should spring of good workes. But vnto the bishop of Millaine he would answere nothing, because he saw him so moued and troubled, for feare of multiplying of more grieuous and hainous words. As for Panormitan hee reserued vnto the last. But vnto Ludouicus the Protonotarie, which desired to be instructed: he said, he willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken vnto the bishop of Turnon.

The oration of the cardinall Arelatensis, to the imperiall ambassadors.

To the ambassadours of France.

To the bishop of Concen.

To Ludouicus the Protonotarie.

Notwithstanding, he left not this vntouched which Ludouicus had spoken concerning the Apostles Creed. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed, the Apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow (saith he) that they only were present at the setting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes that princes are commended and praised as chiefe authors and doers of things, whenas notwithstanding they haue other helpers; as it appeareth in battels, which although they are fought with the force of all the souldiers, yet the victorie thereof is imputed but vnto a few. As in these our daies, they do ascribe all things which the armie doth either fortunately or wisely, vnto Nicolas Picenius, that most valiant captaine, which hath obtained so manie famous victories: albeit that oftentimes other haue been the inuenters of the policie, and workers of the feate. And therefore Ludouicus ought to know and vnderstand, that they are not only articles of faith which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the councels, as touching the faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of the Creed which we now vse in the church, that were not put to by the Apostles, but afterward by generall councels: as that part wherein mention is made of the holy Ghost, which the councell of Lions did adde; in which councell also it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiours did iudge together with the bishops. But for so much as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But comming vnto Panormitan, hee rehearsed his words: Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit, Hee that is of God, heareth Gods word, which is very well taken out of the Gospell, but not well applied vnto the councell (said he:) for hee firmely beleeued, that his predecessors haue iudged, the holy Ghost to be in the middest of the councels, and therefore the words of the councels to be the words of the holy Ghost: which if any man do reiect, he denieth himselfe to be of God. Neither doth the councell hate the light, which doth all things publikely and openly, whose congregations are euident vnto all men, neither doth it as the conuenticles of the aduersaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreouer, the thing which is now in hand, was begun to be intreated of for two monethes ago, and first the conclusions were largely disputed vpon in the Diuinitie schooles, and afterward sent vnto Ments and other places of the world.

Nicolas Picenius an Italian.

Articles of the Creed not all put in by the Apostles, but some by the councels.

The article of the holy Ghost put in by the councell of Lions.

Panormitan wounded with his owne dart.

After all this, the fathers were called into the Chapter house of the great church, to the number of an hundred and twenty: amongst whom Panormitan which now complaineth, was also present, and according to his manner, did learnedlie and subtilly dispute, and had libertie to speak what he would. Likewise in the deputations, euery man spake his mind freely,

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and in the deputation where Panormitan was, the matter was three daies discussed. After this the twelue men did agree vpon it, and the generall congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly, and also without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did sit vpon a holy day, there is no hurt in that, neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they haue often holden their Session vpon festiuall daies, when as the matter hath had haste, and specially for that the matter of faith hath no holy daies. And further he said, that he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully, in the congregation, as Panormitan hath reported, but publikely and openlie at the request of the Promoters. Neither hath any man any iust cause to complaine vpon him, for so much as when he was made president, he was sworne that alwaies when three or foure of the deputations did agree, he should conclude thereupon. And for so much as he had alreadie concluded, in diuers causes touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of faith, for that he was a cardinall, and did weare his red hat for this purpose, that he should shed his blood in the defence of the faith. Neither hath he done any thing now against the pope, for that omitting the fiue conclusions touching Eugenius, hee had concluded but onely the generall conclusions: which except he had done, the fathers should haue had iust cause to complaine against him (in that they trusting in his fidelitie and faithfulnesse, had chosen him President) if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessarie cause of faith. And turning himselfe vnto the people, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, for so much as hee would neuer forsake them, yea although he should suffer death: for he had giuen his faith and fidelitie vnto the councell, which he would obserue and keepe: neither should any mans flattery or threatnings put him from his purpose: that he would be alwaies readie to do whatsoeuer the councell should command him, and neuer leaue the commandements of the deputies by any meanes vnperformed.

Arelatensis concluded not, but at the request of the promoters.

These foure deputations were foure sorts of chosen men, which did discusse and determine those things which the fathers did conclude vpon. Verily this is no Babylonical cardinall, but of the immaculate spouse Jesus Christ.

He speaketh to the whole counsell.

As touching that Panormitan had extolled the authoritie of the councell, hee said that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet he ought to vnderstand and know the authoritie of the councell to be such, as cannot be augmented or increased by any mans praise or commendation, or be diminished by anie opprobrie or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the forme of the decree to be read. Then Panormitan and those which tooke his part, would needs haue a certaine protestation to be first read. There was great contention on euerie side. Notwithstanding at the last Arelatensis preuailed, and the forme of the decree was read vnto this word, Decernimus, that is to say, we decree. Then Panormitan rising vp, would not suffer it to be heard any further: And the bishop of Catania cried out saying, that it was vncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did also all those which fauoured Panormitan. The cardinall of Terraconia also (which vntill that time had holden his peace) did grieuously rebuke his partakers, that as men being asleepe or in a dreame, they did not reade the protestation, and commanded by and by one of his familiars to reade it. But like as the aduersaries before did perturbe the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the councell now giue place to the reading of the protestation. Which when Albiganensis did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought vnto him, and as he began to speake, suddenly Arelatensis rose vp, with a great number of the fathers to depart: which thing pleased the cardinall of Terraconia and Panormitan verie well, for that they hoped that they alone with their adherents, should remaine in the church. They exhorted Arelatensis to reuoke the conclusion, and to make another.

Euerie man may determine in matters of faith, hauing the Scripture on his part.

Contention in the councell about reading of the protestation.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Protonotarie of Bardarina, sitting somewhat beneath his vncle, the cardinall of Terraconia, a man but yong of age, but graue in wisedome, and noble in humanitie: who as soone as he saw the cardinall Arelatensis rise, hee determined also to depart, and when as his vncle called him, commanding him to tarrie, he said; God forbid father that I should tarrie in your congregation, or do any thing contrarie to the oth which I haue taken. By which words he declared his excellent vertue and nobilitie, and admonished our men which remained, of those things which they had to do. His voice was the voice of the holy Ghost, and words more necessarie, then could bee thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the councell had peraduenture departed, and gone their way, and the other remaining in the church, had made another conclusion which they would haue affirmed to haue been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be receiued. But many being warned by the words of the Protonotarie, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other councels before, called backe againe the multitude which were departing, and cried vpon the cardinall and the Patriarch to sit downe againe, and that they should not leaue the church void and quiet for their aduersaries. Whereupon suddenly all the whole multitude sate downe, and the gates were shut againe. In the meane time Mattheus Albiganensis a bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himselfe alone, for it could not bee heard for noise: which being ended the Lombardes and the Cathelanes confirmed the protestation. When the cardinall of Terraconia said that he did agree to that dissension, they maruelled at that saying. And when some smiled and laughed at him: What, said he, ye fooles do ye mocke me? do not the ambassadours of my king dissent from you? What do you maruell then if I do say I consent vnto their dissension: And with these words, he and almost all the Aragons, Lombardes and Cathelanes departed, all the other taried still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past two at afternoone) Arelatensis seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affaires of priuate persons to be read, as the manner is: which being ended, hee commanded also the publike affaires to bee read, and willed the conclusions and the forme of the decree to be read againe. There remained in the congregation, the ambassadours of the empire and of France, talking together of their affaires. Notwithstanding the bishop of Turnon heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himselfe to the bishop of Lubecke, said: Loe, the matters of faith are now in hand againe, let vs go hence I pray you that we be not an offence vnto others, or that we be not said to dissent from the other ambassadours. To whom the bishop of Lubecke answered: Tarrie father, tarrie heere, are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth? These words were not heard of many, for they spake them softly betweene themselues. Notwithstanding I heard it, for I sitting at their feet, did diligently obserue what they said. Arelatensis, after all things were read, which he thought necessarie, at the request of the deputies concluded, and so making an end, dismissed the congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty Arelatensis concluded, for so much as neither the matter, nor the forme could be concluded without dissension:* and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all mens hope, but were obtained by the industrie of Arelatensis, or rather by the speciall gift of the holy Ghost.

The affaires of the councell are read.

Eneas Syluius being present collected this. Arelatensis concludeth heere, as he did also before, not without the consent of the deputies according to the order of the councell.

* Eneas, you did not so praise this councell after you were bishop your selfe.

After this, it was determined betweene the Lombardes and Aragons to abstaine from the deputations for a certaine time, which they did not long obserue, notwithstanding the deputations were holden verie quietly for a certaine space, neither was there any thing done worthie of remembrance vntill the fifteenth day of May, during which time, all meanes possible were sought to set a concord betweene the fathers, but it would not be. Then Nicolas Amici promoter of the faith, was called into the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the daies before, and declared how that Arelatensis might point a session. Wherefore, for so much as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, he required that a session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the cardinall for his dignities sake, in that he was called the principall of the church, and the other bishops, that (as they had promised in their consecration) they would not now shrinke from the church in these waightie affaires, and suffer the faith to be oppressed: but the other inferiours he required vpon their oth which they had taken, to shew themselues faithful and constant herein. Then againe there fell a great contention vpon these words: for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoint a Session, and exhorted all men to be there present in their robes. The bishop of Lubecke rising vp, made a protestation in his owne name, and also in the name of his protector, that he would not consent, that there should be any Session, if it should in any part derogate from ỹ agreement had at Ments. Gregorius Miles also, his fellow ambassadour, consented to this protestation. When as the proctor of the councell appointed by the emperor, vnderstood himselfe for to be named by the bishop of Lubecke, he maruelled a while what the matter should be. But being certified by an interpreter, he answered that he would in no case consent vnto the protestation of the bishop of Lubecke, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Ments: also that he was sent by the emperour to the sacred councell, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Concense, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed Panormitan. Whose words before I will repeat, I desire that no man would maruell that I make mention so often of Panormitan: for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

The bishop of Lubecke.

Conrade Winsperge a Baron.

It happened in these matters, euen as it doth in warlike affaires: for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and doe most worthie feats, obtaine most fame, as in the battell of Troy, Achilles and Hector: so in these spirituall wars and contentions, those which most excel in learning and eloquence, and do more then other, should be most renowned and named: for on the one part Panormitan was prince and captaine; on the other, Arelatensis: but his owne will made not the one captaine, but only necessitie, for it behoued him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding he was not ignorant of the truth and veritie, neither did he resist willingly against it: for I haue seene him oftentimes in his librarie complaine of his prince, that hee followed other mens councell. When as his time came to speake, he said that he did not a little maruell why

How God worketh by occasion.

Albiganensis readeth the protestation, but none could heare him.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Eugenians, and Arelatensis the Hector of the councell.

why the protector of the faith, should require the prelats to haue a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office, and that he ought not to vsurpe the presidents place. And againe, he complained touching the contempt of the prelats, for the matter did presently touch the state of the apostolike see, and for that cause the sée ought to be heard before any Session bee holden. Neither it is to be regarded (said he) that the councell of Constance seemeth to haue decreed, that it should now be spoken of, forsomuch as pope Iohn was not heard at Constance, neither any man else, to speake for the see: by which words he seemed both to contemne and bring in doubt all the decrees of that most great and sacred Synode of Constance: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying: that the Synode of Constance is holy, and the authoritie thereof ought to be inuiolate. But he being still instant, with a stout and haughtie courage, affirmed, that the matter could not be finished without the ambassadors of the princes, and that the princes ought to be heard in a matter of faith. And againe, that the ambassadours themselues cannot consent, forsomuch as in the Colloquie holden at Ments they had promised during the treatie of peace by them begun, they would receiue and allow nothing that the pope should either doe against the councell, or the councell against the pope: and that he doubted not, but that the three first conclusions declared Eugenius an heretike, insomuch that it was euident, that Eugenius did vehemently resist the two first. And therefore forsomuch as the Session was not yet holden, and that it was lawfull for euery man before that Session to speake what hee will, he desired and required them most instantly, that there might be no Session as yet holden. Vnto whom Arelatensis answered, that it was not to be doubted, but that the promoter of the faith, by his office might call the prelats to determine a matter of faith, and specially forsomuch as the deputation of the faith and the whole councell, had so giuen him in commandement.

As touching the prelats, hee saith, that albeit without all doubt bishops haue chiefe authoritie: yet notwithstanding it is accustomed in councels, not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of the whole councell: and the vniuersall Church hath decreed certaine lawes in this councell, which should remaine inuiolate. Neither let the bishops thinke the presence of the inferiors grieuous vnto them, whenas oftentimes vnder a bare and torne coat, wisedome lieth hid: and vnder rich vestures and ornaments, follie lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindfull of the saying of Domitius, which (as Saint Hierome reporteth) said: Why should I esteeme thée as a prince, if thou doest not regard mee as a Senator? For the bishops ought to esteeme priests as priests, if they will haue reuerence done vnto them as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be loked for, to the deciding of this matter, forsomuch as the Church is not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ, which hath not receiued his power from princes, but immediatly from God: to the defence whereof, he should perceiue the inferiors to be no lesse encouraged then the bishops, for that hee did well vnderstand and know, that they would not only spend their temporall goods, but also their liues for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather then they will lose any part of their temporalities, they will sell the libertie of the Church vnto the princes, and make them iudges and lords ouer the councell. As touching the acts at Ments, hee doth not regard them, forsomuch as (as it is said) they accounted without their host: for hee saith, he doth not vnderstand how this can bee, that they had decreed neither to obay the pope, nor the councell. The one or the other they must needs bee obedient vnto: for there is no third tribunall, whereunto any obedience is due in these matters which concerne the faith and the saluation of soules: And finally, that the church would not suffer, that their affaires and matters of faith should bee determined by the iudgement of princes: for the holy Ghost is not subiect vnto princes, but princes vnto him: and vpon this conclusion hee would not feare, neither the losse of his goods, neither any death or martyrdome. And whereas Panormitane doth now shew himselfe so great a defender of Eugenius, he saith, that hee doth not a little maruell at it, for that in times past, no man hath more published Eugenius his errors then he: by whose speciall labour and counsell, both a decrée monitorie, and also the suspension was admitted and set out against Eugenius: And now, whereupon this sudden change should come: hee saith, that he was vtterly ignorant, forsomuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the church continue in such a schisme. Wherefore hee desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: for (saith he) the conclusions which now shall bee decreed, are most general: neither is there any mention in them of the pope: and moreouer the veritie of faith is contained in them: against the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more meet that the pope should bee corrected, then the veritie omitted. And thus he making an end all were warned to come the next day vnto the Session. The protector also desired the sacred councell, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the Session. Forsomuch as he was readie to obserue the safe-conduct of the emperour, and together with the Senate of the citie, to prohibite all quarellers for doing of iniurie.

When the 16. day of May was come, all they whom the Session contented and pleased, assembled at the houre. The ambassadours also of the princes were come together into the quier of the Church, to attempt further what they could doe; and sending the bishop of Lubecke & Concense, and the deane of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themselues to be present at the Session, if that the deposition of Eugenius might yet be deferred foure moneths. Who, when they had receiued a gentle answer of Arelatensis, and the other principals, returning again vnto the ambassadors, they would onely haue the first conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent againe vnto Arelatensis: vnto whom answere was made, that the chiefe force did consist in the two other conclusions, and that the councell would specially determine vpon them. If the ambassadours would not be present, they should vnderstand, that the concord was broken by them, which would not obserue that which they had offered. With which answere they departed, and the Session began to bee celebrate. There was no prelat of the Aragone present at it, neither out of Spaine, and out of Italie, onely the bishop of Gzolletane, and the abbat of Dons, which for their constancie and stedfast good will toward the vniuersall church, could not be changed from their purpose: but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Aragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spaine and Italie, (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the bishops did) and then the worthy stoutnesse of the Aragons and Cathelanes appeared in the inferiour sort, which would not shrinke away in the necessitie of the church. Of the two other nations there were onely present twentie bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, professing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouthes. Arelatensis considering afore what would come to passe, caused prayers to be made, and after their prayers made vnto almightie God, with teares and lamentation, that he would send them his holy spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops proctors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests and doctors of both lawes, which I iudged to be about the number of 400. or more: amongst whom there was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith, and there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the Church. The bishop of Mallia a noble man, read the decrée, which was attentiuely harkned vnto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, Te Deum laudamus was sung with great ioy and gladnes, and so the session dissolued, which was in number the xxxiij. session, and amongst all the rest the most quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the xxiij. of May, the princes ambassadors without all mens expectation, came vnto the generall congregation, by that their doing at the least, giuing their assent vnto the Session before passed. In celebrating whereof, if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawfull for the princes and ambassadors, to haue holden the councell with those fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and euen now to detest and abhorre that which they had done: as it was not hidden to the ambassadors of the Empire and France. For the bishop of Lubecke said, that the cause of his absence was, for that hee was appointed by the emperours commandement, to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any businesse, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be intreated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the Session before holden, and beléeued the decrée therein promulgate to be most good and holy, and the verities therein contained to be vndoubted: and said, that he would sticke thereunto both now and euer, euen to the death. But the bishop of Turnon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellowes, said, that he heard how that they were euil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honoured their king in that most sacred session, whom it becommed specially to exalt and defend the faith: which also for that cause aboue all other kings was named most Christian: notwithstanding, he said that they had a lawfull excuse, in that it was conuenient that they, which were sent to intreat peace, should doe nothing whereby their ambassage should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of iniustice (said hee) whereby either things are done that should not bee done, or things that should bee done are not done. The first doth not alwaies bind, because it is conuenient to haue respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth alwaies bind, wherein he said, they were not culpable. But as touching the first point, they might séeme vnto some to haue erred, because they were not present at the session: but yet in this point they had sufficient to answere, forsomuch as if they had been present at that session, they should haue been vnmeet to haue intreated any peace with Eugenius: And therefore albeit they were wanting at so holie a businesse in that point they followed the example of Paul, which albeit he desired to be dissolued, and to be with Christ, yet for the further profit and aduancement of the Church, it was deferred. So likewise

The vaynesse of that which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary they condemne, whether it be scripture or prophane.

Arelatensis answere to Panormitan.

This deputation of faith, was the company of chosen men which did determine matters of faith.

Saint Hierome vnto *Nepotianus de vita clericali.*

Marke how politikelie and sincerely he doth confute his aduersaries.

No man hath heretofore more then Panormitane published the errours of Eugenius: whom he now so greatly defendeth.

The Session proclaimed.

In all Italy, there were scarselie two prelats found which fought the commoditie of the vniuersall Church, in Spaine there was none.

Prayers made with teares.

Among 400. doctours that were present, there was not one ill word.

The 33. Session.

The ambassadours consent to the former Session.

Two kinds of iniustice.

wise he said, that they had now done, for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions (which they iudged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would sticke euen vnto the death) but because they would not be vnmē: for the treatie of peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their owne persons, they had fulfilled (said hee) by their seruants and household, whom altogether they commanded to reuerence that Session. I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelat; surely they should not haue gone vnpunished, which thought to haue plaied bo peepe. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treatie of peace? Or if it doe hurt, why is hee not counted as great an offender, which consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What shall we need any further testimonie? for now the ambassadors of the princes haue declared Eugenius to be an enemie vnto the truth. But to passe ouer these things, it is sufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward vnto the king of France, that hee did vnderstand the bishop of Tournon to become his enemie.

Æneas, you should haue vsed such seueritie when you were pope.

Behold, the princes ambassadours declare Eugenius an enemie vnto the truth.

After that the bishop of Tournon had made an end, cardinall Arelatensis gaue thanks vnto God, which had so defended his Church, and after great stormes and clouds, had sent faire and cleare weather: and commending the good will of the emperour and the king of France toward the Church, he also praised the bishop of Lubeck and Tournon, for that oftentimes in the councell, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authoritie of the councell. But speciallie hee commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestred themselues from the faith of the Church.

Arelatensis commendeth the ambassadors.

Afterward, he entring into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at Pysis and at Constance, and neuer saw a more quiet or deuout Session then this; affirming that this decree was most necessarie, to represse the ambition of the bishops of Rome, which exalting themselues aboue the vniuersall Church, thought it lawfull for them to doe all things after their owne pleasure, and that no one man from henceforth should transport the councell from one place to another, as Eugenius attempted to doe, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, then againe to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that againe to Florentia; and that hereafter the bishops should withdraw their minds from the carefulnes of temporall goods, (which as hee himselfe did see) had no mind at all on spirituall matters: and therfore by how much this session was most holy and necessarie, by so much more the assent of the ambassadours was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers. These words thus spoken, hee rose vp, and the congregation was dissolued.

This councell was gathered to take away the ambition of the bishops of Rome, that they should not think they might doe all things according to their owne pleasure: and further to reuoke them from the care of temporall things vnto spirituall things, which now they regarded not.

Now after that Gabriel Condulmarius was deposed from the bishoprick of Rome, the principall fathers of the councell being called together in the chapter-house of the great Church consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should bee done with speed, shewed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head: also what a pestiferous sickenes was in all the citie, which not onely consumed young men and children; but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers vnto the poore of the citie, and so infected the rich, and now was come vnto the fathers of the councell: amplifying moreouer, and encreasing the terror thereof, and making the thing worse then it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the decree (said they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is prouided that there should be delay of 60. daies after the see is void: for that is to bee vnderstood when as the see is void, at such time as there is no councell holden: neither ought we to tarrie or make any delay, lest the princes being perswaded by Gabriel, should resist: Vnto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, is to be certified all vnder one message. The other which thought good that there should bee a delay said: that the councell did lacke no head, forsomuch as Christ was the head thereof: neither did lacke a ruler, forsomuch as it was gouerned by the presidents and other officers: and that no mention should bee made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that, vnto stout and strong men, death is not to bee feared, neither can any thing daunt or feare them which contend for the christian faith. As for that pestilence which doth now encrease and grow in the citie, forsomuch as iudgement is now giuen, it is to be hoped that it will allwage, which was thought to haue come for the neglecting of iustice. Also that in so doubtfull a matter, they ought rather to vse the princes against their will, then to neglect them: and that it is not to bee feared, but that in this case, God will helpe those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds, as there were men) yet it seemed vnto them all, that it was most profitable to chuse the bishop by and by, but most honest to deferre it.

The councell doth deliberate vpon the popes election.

Lx. daies must be delaid after the see is void.

Note the Christian zeale of these mē, which would refuse no danger for Gods cause.

Hereupon John Segouius, a man of excellent learning said: Most reuerend fathers, I am diuerslie drawne by sundrie reasons to this side and that. But as I waigh the matter more deepely in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a

John Segouius.

a speedie election, it seemeth good, to speake after mans iudgement: but to delay it for two moneths, to speake after Gods iudgement, it seemeth much better. I doe iudge that not onelie the words, but also the meaning of our decree, ought to be obserued. Wherefore, if yee will giue any credit vnto me, follow rather dangerous honestie, then secure vtilitie: albeit that indeed, vtilitie cannot be discerned from honestie. This opinion of delay tooke place among the fathers, and they determined to stay for the space of two moneths.

Dangerous honestie preferred before secure vtilitie.

In the meane time, messengers were sent vnto the princes to declare the deposition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publish it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt aire was nothing at all purged, but the mortalitie daily increasing, many died and were sicke. Whereupon a sudden feare came vpon the fathers. Neither were they sufficiently aduised what they might do: for they thought it not to be without danger, either to depart or to tary. Notwithstanding they thought it good to tary, and also they caused other to tarrie: that since they had ouercome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they would not seeme to shrinke for the persecution of any plague or sickenes. But forsomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politikly prouided, that the councell should not seeme to be dissolued for any mans departure. And for the more establishment of the matter, there were certaine things read before the fathers, which they called De stabilimento, whose authoritie continued long time after. When as the dog-daies were come, and that all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the corses hourely caried thorough the streets, when on euery side there was weeping, wailing and sighing. There was no house void of mourning: no mirth or laughter in no place, but matrons bewailing their husbands, & the husbands their wiues. Men and women went thorough the streets, and durst not speake one to another. Some tarried at home, and othersome that went abroad, had perfumes to smell vnto to preserue them against the plague.

A great pestilence in Basill.

The common people died without number: and like as in the cold Autumne, the leaues of the trees doe fall; euen so did the youth of the citie consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should haue met a man merry in the street now, and within ten houres heard that hee had been buried. The number of the dead corses was such also that they lacked place to burie them in: insomuch that all the Churchyards were digged vp, and filled with dead corses, and great holes made in the parish churches, where as a great number of corses being thrust in together, they couered them ouer with earth. For which cause the fathers were so afraid, that there appeared no bloud in their faces: and specially the sudden death of Lodouicus the Protonotarie did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both lawes: whom the same enuious and raging sickenesse tooke away in a few houres. By and by after died Lodouicus the Patriarke of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought vp alwaies in troubles and aduersity, neither could he see the day of the popes election which he had long wished for: Notwithstanding hee tooke partly a consolation in that hee had seene Gabriel deposed before his death. This mans death was grieuous vnto all the fathers; for now they said that two pillers of the councell were decaied and ouerthrowne, meaning the Protonotary and the Patriark, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds defended the veritie of the councell.

Lodouicus the protonotary died of the plague.

About the same time also died the king of Arragons armer in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Ebzon. The abbat of Vergilia died at Spyze, and John the bishop of Lubeck, betweene Vienna and Buda.

These two last rehearsed, euen at the point of death, did this thing worthie of remembrance. When as they perceiued the houre of their death approch, calling vnto them certaine graue and wise men, said: All you that be here present, pray to God that hee will conuert such as knowledge Gabriel for high bishop, for in that state they cannot be saued: and professing themselues that they would die in the faith of the councell of Basill, they departed in the Lord. In Boheme also departed the bishop of Constance, which was ambassadour for the councell. There was great feare and trembling throughout all the councell. There had been also in the councell, by a long time, the abbat of Dona, of the diocesse of Cumana, a man poore vnto the world, but rich vnto God, whom neither flatterings nor threatnings could turne away from his good purpose and intent, chusing rather to begge in the truth of the fathers, then to abound in riches with the false flattering aduersaries.

The erhortation of those which died.

The bishop of Constance died.

The abbat Dona, a true abbat.

Whereupon, after the lords were departed, which gaue him his lining, he remaining still, was stricken with ỳ plague and died. Likewise a great number of the registers and doctors died: and such as fell into that disease, few or none escaped. One amongst all the rest, AEneas Syluius, being stricken with this disease, by Gods helpe escaped. This man lay three daies euen at the point of death, all men being in despaire of him: notwithstanding it pleased God to grant him longer life.

Æneas the author hereof escaped death hardly.

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life. When as the pestilence was most feruent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great intreatie made vnto cardinall Arelatensis, that hee would goe to some other towne or village neere hand: for these were the words of all his friends and houshold: What doe you most reuerend father? At the least void this wane of the moone, and saue your selfe: who being safe, all we shall also bee safe: if you die, we all perish. If the plague oppresse you, vnto whom shall we flie? Who shall rule vs: or who shall be the guide of this most faithfull flocke? The infection hath already inuaded your chamber. Your secretarie and chamberlaine are already dead. Consider the great danger, and saue both your self and vs. But neither the intreatie of his houshold, neither the corses of those which were dead could moue him, willing rather to preserue the councell with perill of his life, then to saue his life with perill of the councell: for he did know that if he should depart, few would haue tarried behind, and that deceit should haue been wrought in his absence.

The inuincible constancie and fortitude of the cardinall Arelatensis.

Wherefore, like as in warres the souldiers feare no danger, when as they see their captaine in the middest of their enemies: so the fathers of the councell were ashamed to flie from this pestilence, seeing their president to remaine with them in the middest of all dangers. Which their doings did vtterlie subuert the opinion of them, which babled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basill to seeke their owne profit and commoditie, and not the veritie of the faith: for there is no commoditie vpon the earth which men would change for their liues: for that all such as do serue the world, do preferre before all other things. But these our fathers shewing themselues an inuincible strong wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the craftie deceits which Gabriel vsed, and ouercomming all difficulties, which this most cruell and pestiferous yeere brought vpon them, at the length all desire of life also being set apart, they haue ouercome all dangers, and haue not doubted with most constant minds to defend the veritie of the councell, euen vnto this present.

The time of the decree being passed, after the deposition of Gabriel, it seemed good vnto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another bishop. And first of all they nominated those that together with the cardinals, should elect the pope. The first and principall of the Electors was the cardinall Arelatensis, a man of inuincible constancie, and incomparable wisdome: vnto whose vertue I may iustly ascribe whatsoeuer was done in the councell: for without him, the prelats had not perseuered in their purpose, neither could the shadow of any prince haue so defended them. This man came not to the election by any fauor or denomination, but by his owne proper right. The rest of the Electours were chosen out of the Italian, French, Germaine and Spanish nations, and their cels and chambers appointed to them by lots, without respect of dignitie or person, and as the lots fell, so were they placed: Whereby it chanced a doctor to haue the highest place, and a bishop the last. Wherein the distribution of lots was very strange, or rather a diuine dispensation, reprooving the deuices of man, whereas the prelats had determined to haue the best chambers appointed for themselues, and had earnestlie contended before to haue their chambers appointed according to their dignitie.

The commendation of Arelatensis.

The councell of Marcus.

The next day after, there was a Session holden, wherein Marcus a famous diuine, made an Oration vnto the Electors, wherein he reckoned vp the manifold crimes of Gabriel, which was deposed. He endeuoured to perswade the Electors to chuse such a man, which should in all points bee contrarie vnto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices: that as hee, through his manifold reproches, was hurtfull vnto all men: so he which should bee chosen, should shew himselfe acceptable vnto all men, through iustice: and as Gabriel was couetous and full of rapine, so this man should shew himselfe continent.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the streets, any man could passe. There was present John earle of Dierstein, who supplied the place of the emperours protector: also the Senators of the citie, with many other noble men, to behold the same, whereof you shall heare (Christ willing) more largely hereafter. The citizens were without in armor, to prohibit that there should be no vprore made. The Electors receiued the communion together, and afterwards they receiued their oth: and the Cardinall Arelatensis opening the booke of decrees, read the forme of the oth in the audience of all men, and first of all, he taking the oth himselfe, began in this manner.

The godly oth of Arelatensis.

Most reuerend fathers, I promise, sweare and vow, before my Lord Iesus Christ (whose most blessed bodie I vnworthie sinner haue receiued: vnto whom in the last iudgement I shall giue account of all my deeds) that in this businesse of election, whereunto now by the will of the councell wee are sent; I will seeke nothing else, then the only saluation of the Christian people, and the profit of the vniuersall Church. This shall be my whole care and studie, that the authoritie of the generall councels be not contemned, that the catholike faith bee not impugned, and that the fathers which remaine in the councell, bee not oppressed. This will I seeke for: this shall bee my care: vnto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend my selfe: neither will I respect any thing in this point, either for mine owne cause, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the Church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart will I take mine oth before the councell.

His words were liuely and fearefull. After him all the other Electors in their order, did sweare and take their oth. Then they went with great solemnitie vnto the Conclaue: where they remained seuen daies. The manner of their election was in this sort. Before the cardinals seat was set a deske, whereupon there stood a basen of siluer: into the which basen all the Electors did cast their schedules: which the cardinall receiuing, read one by one, and foure other of the Electors wrote as hee read them.

The other electors take their oth.

The tenor of the Schedules was in this maner: I George, bishop of Vicene do chuse such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome, and peraduenture named one or two: euery one of the Electors subscribeed his name vnto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his owne, and say nay, if it were contrarie to that which was spoken: whereby all deceit was vtterly excluded. The first scrutinie thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacie: yet none had sufficient voices, for that day there were xvii. of diuers nations nominate. Notwithstanding, Amedeus duke of Sauoy, a man of singular vertue, surmounted them all: for in the first scrutinie he had the voice of xvi. Electors, which iudged him worthie to gouerne the Church.

A scrutinie is a priuie election by voices.

Amedeus duke of Sauoy.

After this, there was diligent inquisition had in the councell touching those which were named of the electors, and as euery mans opinion serued him, he did either praise or discommend those which were nominate. Notwithstanding there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutinie, which was holden in the Nones of Nouember, the said Amedeus had 21. voices, and likewise in the 3. and 4. scrutinie 21. voices. And forsomuch as there was none found in all the scrutinie to haue 2. parts, all the other schedules were burnt. And forsomuch as there lacked but onelie one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell vnto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds to an vnitie and concord, worthily to elect and chuse him which should take the charge ouer the flocke of God. Forsomuch as Amedeus seemed to be neerer vnto the papacie then all other, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a lay man ought not so suddenlie to be chosen: for it would seeme a strange thing for a secular prince to be called vnto the bishoprike of Rome: which would also too much derogate from the ecclesiasticall state, as though there were none therein meet or worthie for that dignitie. Other some said, that a man which was married and had children, was vnmeet for such a charge. Other some againe affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

Prayer for vnitie and concord.

When these words were spoken, other some rising vp, spake farre otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forsomuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and studie, and had sought not the name, but euen the ground of learning. Then said another: If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this princes life, I pray you giue eare vnto me, which doe know him throughly. Truelie this man from his youth vpward, and euen from his young and tender yeeres, hath liued more religiouslie then secularly, being alwaies obedient to his parents and maisters, and being alwaies indued with the feare of God, neuer giuen to any banitie or wantonnesse: neither hath there at any time been any child of the house of Sauoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardnesse; whereby all those which did behold and know this man, iudged and foresaw some great matter in him: neither were they deceiued. For if yee desire to know his rule and gouernance, what and how noble it hath been: First know yee this, that this man hath raigned since his fathers decease, about fortie yeeres.

Let lying Bagius be ashamed of his false inuectiue against Amedeus.

During whose time, iustice, the ladie and queene of all other vertues, hath alwaies flourished: For he hearing his subiects himself, would neuer suffer the poore to be oppressed, or the weake to be deceiued. He was the defender of the fatherlesse, the aduocate of the widowes, and protector of the poore. There was no rapine or robberie in all his territorie. The poore and rich liued all vnder one law, neither was he burthenous to his subiects, or importune against strangers throughout all his Countrie: there were no grieuous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himselfe rich enough, if his inhabitants of his dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it was the point of a good shepheard to sheare his sheepe, and not to deuoure them. In this also was his chiefe studie and care, that his subiects might liue in peace, and such as bordered vpon him might haue no occasion of grudge.

By which policies he did not onely quietly gouerne his fathers dominion, but also augmented the same by others, which willingly submitted themselues vnto him. Yee neuer made warre vpon any, but resisting against such as made warre vpon him, hee studied rather to make peace, then to seeke any reuenge, desiring rather to ouercome his enemies with benefits, then with the sword. He married onely one wife, which

was

was a noble virgin, and of singular beautie and chastitie. He would haue all his family to keep their hands and eies chast, and continent, and throughout all his house, honestie and integritie of manners was obserued. When as his wife had changed her life, and that he perceiued his duchie to be established, and that it should come without any controuersie vnto his posteritie, he declared his mind, which was alwaies religious, and dedicate vnto God, and shewed what will and affection hee had long borne in his heart. For hee contemning the pompe and state of this world, calling vnto him his deare friends, departed and went into a wildernesse: where as building a goodly abbey he addicted himselfe wholly to the seruice of God, and taking his crosse vpon him, followed Christ. In which place hee being conuersant by the space of many yeeres, shewed forth great examples of holinesse, wearing no other garments then such as could withstand the cold, neither vsing any kind of daintie fare, but only to resist hunger, watching and praying the most part of the night. Wherefore this prince is not newly come vnto the Church (as some doe suppose) but being a Christian borne of progenitours, a thousand yeeres and more being Christians, doth now serue God in a monastery.

Commendation of Amedeus pope elect.

But as touching that also which is spoken concerning a wife, I doe not regard it: whenas not onlie hee which hath had a wife, but hee also which hath a wife may bee elect and chosen pope. For why doe the doctors dispute, whether a married man chosen pope, ought to performe his duties toward his wife, but only because a married man might be receiued and chosen? For as you know well enough, there were many popes that had wiues: and Peter also was not without a wife. But what doe we stand about this? for peraduenture it had been better that more priests had been married, for many should be saued through mariage, which are now damned through their single life. But hereof we will (saith he) speake in another place. But this seemeth vnto me, rather to be laughed at, then worthy any answer, which is obiected touching his children: for what can children (speciallie being of great age) be impediment or let vnto the father, being a bishop? Doth not the Scripture say, Woe be vnto him that is alone, for if he fall, he hath none to helpe him vp againe? This cannot be imputed vnto the prince, for he hath two sonnes, both comelie and wise. Whereof the one is prince of Piemont, the other earle of the Gebennians: these men will rule the countrie of Sauoy in the absence of their father, and will helpe him, if he haue need, for they haue alreadie learned to rule ouer that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a bishop of Rome, to haue valiant children, which may helpe their father against tyrants? O most reuerend fathers, the more I doe behold the storme of this most peruerse and froward time, the more I doe consider the vexations and troubles which the Church is now tormented withall; I doe so much the more thinke it profitable, yea and necessarie, that this man should bee chosen prince and head: I will thinke that God hath shewed his mercie vpon vs, if I may see him haue the gouernance ouer this boat. I pray you consider into what straits wee are now driuen, with what perils wee are now vexed and tossed. What prince is it that is obedient vnto this councell? For some will not confesse that the councell is here, neither receiue our decrees: other some confesse it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that by their words and letters, they doe not denie that the Church is here, yet doe they procure promotions at the hands of Gabriel, which is deposed. This is the state of the Church: with these stormes and tempests the ship is shaken and bruised: wicked children haue risen vp against their mother, which being vnmindfull of their mothers labours and kindnesse toward them, despise her, contemne her, and beat her. What is to bee done herein? Shall we chuse a bare man, which shall rather be derided of our princes, then had in reuerence? The daies are not now, that men haue respect onely vnto vertue: for (as the Satyricall poet writeth) vertue is praised, but is coldly followed. A poore man speaketh, and they aske what he is? Truly vertue is good: but for our purpose, it must bee marked and loked vpon, whether it bee in a rich man, or a poore man: you must chuse a gouernor which may rule the ship not onely by counsell, but by power also. The wind is great: Wherefore except the counsell be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be broken, and all put in danger. The memoriall is yet fresh before our eies, that the princes do neglect the authoritie which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantnesse shewed in this point, in that you fearing no perill or danger, either of life or goods, haue so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the most mightie and high God loketh downe from on high, and will resist this their pride. I haue often consented vnto their opinion, which said it was expedient, that the temporall dominions should bee diuided from the Ecclesiasticall state: for I did thinke that the priests should thereby be made more apt to the diuine ministerie, and the secular princes more obedient to the clergie: But forsomuch as at this present, the Churches of the world are possessed, partly by Eugenius, and partly by other tyrants, we must prouide that we chuse such a one, which may recouer againe the patrimonie of the Church, and in whom the office of Christs vicar may not bee contemned: through the shield of whose power, their contumacie may be suppressed, which contemne both veritie and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth vnto me more apt or meet, then Amadeus duke of Sauoy, which holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italie, and the other in France: Vnto whom all Christian princes are allied either by consanguinitie, or ioyned by amitie and friendship, and whose vertue, how famous it is, I haue alreadie declared. Why doe we then stay or doubt to chuse him? then whom Gabriel seareth no man more. Let him therefore perish with the sword wherewithall he hath stricken. There is no man which can more pacifie the Church then he. Doe you require deuotion in a bishop? there is no man more deuout then he. Doe you require prudence? Now ye vnderstand by his former life, what manner of man he is. If yee seeke for iustice, his people are a witnes thereof: so that whether you seeke for vertue or power, al are here present before you. Whereupon doe yee stay? Goe to I pray you: chuse this man. He will augment the faith, hee will reforme manners, and preserue the authoritie of the Church. Haue ye not heard these troubles of the Church to haue been afore spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of all troubles? Haue ye not heard that about this time, there should a pope be chosen, which should comfort Sion, and set all things in peace? And who I pray you should he bee that could fulfill these things, except we chuse this man? Beleeue me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will moue your minds thereunto. Notwithstanding, doe what soeuer yee shall thinke most good and holy.

To haue a wife is no let for a good man to be elected pope. Popes haue been maried. Reade the fifth epistle of Ignatius, and you shall see that the Apostles had wiues; and Baptista Mantuanus maketh mention how that Hilarius bishop of Pictania had a wife.

Eccles. 4.

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the Electors seemed to consent vnto him, and his words tooke such effect, that in the next Scrutiny, the matter was finished and ended, and when the Scrutinie was opened, it was found that Amedeus, the most deuout duke of Sauoy, according to the decree of the councell, was chosen pope. Wherefore suddenlie there was great ioy and gladnesse amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the cardinall Arelatensis published vnto them the name of the elect bishop. After this, all the prelats in their robes, pontificalibus, and miters, and all the clergie of the citie comming vnto the conclaue, the electors being likewise adorned, they brought them vnto the great Church, where as after great thanks giuen vnto God, and the election againe declared vnto the people, a Hymne being sung for ioy, the congregation was dissolued.

Amedeus duke of Sauoy chosen pope.

This Amedeus aforesaid, was a man of reuerent age, of comelie stature, of graue and discreet behauiour: also before married. Who thus being elect for pope about Nouember, was called Felix the fifth, and was crowned in the citie of Basill, in the month of July. There were present at his coronation Lewes duke of Sauoy: Philip earle Gebenens. Lewes marques of Salutze: The marques of Rotelen: Conrade of Winsperghey, chamberlaine of the Empire: The earle of Dierstein: The ambassadors of the cities of Strasbrough, Berne, Friburge, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beside, to the view of 50000. persons. At this coronation, the popes two sons did serue and minister to their father. Lewes cardinall of Hostia did set on his head the pontificall diadem, which was esteemed at 30. thousand crownes. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnitie of the procession, or the popes riding about the citie. First proceeded the pope vnder his Canabie of cloth of gold, hauing on his head a triple crowne, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the marques of Rotelen, and Conrade of Winsperge, leading his horse by the bridle. The procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted foure full houres, being excellently sumptuous: where the popes two sonnes were butlers to his cup: The Marques of Salutze was the steward, &c.

Pope Felix the fifth.

The number of people at the coronation of pope Felix.

The popes two sons seruing at the coronation.

The valuation of the popes crowne.

The popes dinner and seruice.

Volat. lib. 3.

Of this Fœlix, thus writeth Volaterane in his third book, that he being desired of certaine of the ambassadors, if he had any dogs or hounds to shew them: he willed them the next day to repaire vnto him, & he would shew vnto them such as he had. When the ambassadours according to the appointment were come, hee sheweth vnto them a great number of poore people and beggers sitting at his tables at meat, declaring, that those were his hounds, which he euery day vsed to feed: hunting with them (hee trusted) for the glorie of heauen to come.

A note for our gentlemen and lords, to learne how to hunt, and what dogs to keepe.

And thus you haue heard the state of this councell hitherto, which councell endured a long season, the space of seuentéene yeeres.

About the sixth yeere of the councell, Sigismund the emperour died, leauing but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdomes: whom he had maried to Albert the second duke of Austrich, which first succeeded in the kingdome of Hungarie and Boheme, being a sore aduersary to the Bohemians: and afterward was made Emperour, an. 1438. and raigned Emperour but two yeeres, leauing his wife which was Sigismund his daughter, great with child. After which Albert, succeeded his brother Fredericke the third duke of Austrich, in the empire, &c. whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

The death of Sigismund the emperour.

Albertus the 2. emperour.

Anno 1438

The death of Albertus.

In the meane time, Eugenius hearing of the death of Sigismund aboue recited, began to worke the dissolution of the councell of Basill, and to transferre it to Ferraria, pretending the comming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding the councell of

Schisme in the Church.

Good it were that temporall dominions were diuided from the Church.

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The plague at Basill in the time of the councell.

of Basill, through the disposition of God, and the worthinesse of cardinall Arelatensis, constantly endured. Albeit in the said councell were many stops and practises to impeach the same, beside the sore plague of pestilence which fell in the citie, during the said councell. In the which plague time, besides the death of many worthie men, AEneas Syluius also himselfe, the writer and compiler of the whole historie of that councell sitting at the feet of the bishops of Turnon, and of Lubecke, lay sicke three daies of the same sore, as is aboue touched, and neuer thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would conuert the hearts of them that stucke to Eugenius as pope, against that councel, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated again for the better marking. Arelatensis being most instantly exhorted by his friends to flie that danger, could by no means be intreated to auoid, fearing more the danger of the Church, then of his owne life.

Aeneas Syluius sicke of the plague in Basill.

The constant zeale of Arelatensis to the truth.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this councell, strange it was to behold the mutation of mens minds. Of whom such as first seemed to fauour the councell, after did impugne it: and such as before were against it, in the end shewed themselues most friends vnto the same. The chiefe cardinals and prelats, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipt away, or else lurked in houses or townes neere, and absented themselues for feare: so that the stay of the councell most rested vpon their proctors, doctors, archdeacons, deanes, prouostes, priors, and such other of the inferiour sort. Whereof Aeneas Syluius in his 183. epistle, maketh this relation, where one Caspar Schlicke the Emperours chancellor writeth to cardinall Julian in these words: Those cardinals (saith he) which so long time magnified so highly the authority of the Church, and of generall councels, seeming, as though they were readie to spend their liues for the same, now at the sight of one letter from their king (wherein yet no death was threatned, but onely losse of their promotions) slipt away from Basill. And in the same epistle deridingly commendeth them, as wise men, that had rather lose their faith then their flocke. Albeit (saith he) they departed not farre away, but remained about Solotorne, waiting for other commandements from their prince. Whereby it may appeare, how they did shrinke away not willingly: but the Burle (quoth hee) bindeth faster, then true honour.

Aeneas Syluius epist. 183.

The wealthy prelats slide away from the councell.

Wealthie prelats afraid of truth.

Fide quam plebe, carere malunt.

Promotions choke the clergie.

Quid enim saluis infamia nummis? That is to say: What matter maketh the name of a man, so his monie bee safe? Hæc Aeneas.

Moreouer in one of the sessions of the said councell, the worthie cardinall Arelatensis is said thus to haue reported, that Christ was sold for thirtie pence: but I (said he) was sold much more deare. For Gabriel, otherwise called Eugenius pope, offered three score thousand crowns, who so would take me, and present me vnto him. And they that toke the said cardinall, afterward excused their fact by another colour, pretending the cause, for that the cardinals brother, what time the Armiakes walked Alsatia, had brought great damage to the inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands vpon a Frenchman, whersoeuer they might take him. At length by the bishop of Strasbrough, Rupert, and the said citie, the matter was taken vp, and he rescued. Wherein no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the pope his aduersary. Ex Paralip. Abbata. Vrsper.

60. thousand crownes offered by pope Eugenius, for the betraying of Arelatensis.

Arelatensis taken and rescued. Gods defence toward his seruants.

Ex paralip. Abb. Vrsper.

And thus farre hauing proceeded in the matters of this forsaid councell, vntill the election of Amedeus, called pope Felix the fifth, before we prosecute the rest, that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withall the residue pertaining to the matters concluded betweene this councell and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of ỹ ambassage, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had first in the said councel, then in their owne countrie with the councels ambassadours: also with their petitions and answers vnto the same.

The storie of the Bohemians prosecuted.

Touching the storie of the Bohemians, how they being sent for, came vp to the councell of Basill, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath been expressed, pag. 604. Now as leisure serueth from other matters, to returne againe vnto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so farre as both breuitie may be obserued, and yet the Reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthie in the same to be noted and knowne.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) hauing alwaies the vpper hand, albeit they were accused by the new bishop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they should be called vnto Basill, where as the councell was appointed. Whereupon cardinall Julian sent thither before, John Pullmair doctour of the law, and John de Ragusio, a diuine. Who comming vnto Basill in the moneth of August, anno 1431. called by their letters vnto the councell, John, abbat of Mulbrun, and John Gelhusius, monke of the same cloyster: which men for dexteritie of their wit, and experience and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessarie for ambassages.

Within a few daies after, Julianus also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gelhusius, and Hamman Offenbourg, a Senatour of Basill, first vnto the emperour Sigismund being at Feldkirch, and afterward vnto Fredericke duke of Austrich, for the appeasing of the warres betweene him and Philip, duke of Burgonie. This done, to the intent that peace being had, not onely the ecclesiasticall prelats, but also the merchants might haue safe accesse vnto Basill, and so bring in all things necessarie for sustentation.

They going on this ambassage, receiued letters from the Synode to be deliuered vnto the emperour Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Morauians, were called vnto the councell. These letters he by and by, caused to be carried vnto Boheme. But for so much as he himselfe went into Italie, to receiue the Imperiall crowne of the bishop, hee left William duke of Bauaria, as his deputie, to bee protectour vnto the councell. Furthermore, when as the Synode vnderstood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shamefull flight, they sent John Niderius a diuine, and John Gelhusius, to comfort the people which ioyned vpon Boheme, and earnestlie to mone the Morauians and Bohemians, which were before called, to come vnto the councell.

The Bohemians inuited to come to the councell.

They departing from Basill about the end of October, took their iournie toward Monacum, a towne of Bauaria: where, after they had saluted William duke of Bauaria and his brother Ernestus, and Albert the sonne of Ernestus, and had declared the commission of their ambassage, and had shewed vnto duke William, how that assone as he should come vnto Basill, the protection of the councell should bee committed vnto him by the emperour: they exhorted Fredericke, marques of Brandenberg, and John duke of Bauaria, the Senate of Noremberge, and other princes and lords, partly by letters from the councell, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no meanes take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtfull vnto the Church, and said they should haue aid out of hand. They desired them also in the name of the councell, that if the Bohemians would send their ambassadors vnto Basill, they would guide them, euery man through his countrie in safetie: which they promised to doe. It is incredible how all men reioyced, that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when as they counselled with the Senat of Noremberg, touching the sending of the councels letters vnto Boheme, it seemed best, first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answere to the former letters of the councell which they had sent. The rulers of Egra being aduertised by these letters, sent him which caried the councels letters into Boheme, vnto Noremberg. Hee reported how reuerently the councel of the greater citie of Prage receiued the letters, and how he was rewarded.

Wherupon they conceiued great hope of the good successe of the ambassage. Therefore the ambassadours vsing the councell of the Senat of Noremberge, and diuers others, sent the messenger backe againe vnto Egra, with their owne priuat letters, and with letters of the councell: for there was no better meane to send the letters vnto Boheme. Much trauell was taken by them of Egra, Fredericke marquesse of Brandenberge, and John duke of Bauaria, in this matter, for that they were very desirous that peace might bee had amongst all Christians. The copie of those letters, whereby the Synode did call the Bohemians vnto the councell, and other letters exhortatory of the ambassadours, and the Bohemians answere vnto the same; for breuities cause wee haue here pretermitted. The Bohemians not in all points trusting vnto the ambassadours, required by their letters, that the councels ambassadours with the other princes, would come vnto Egra, where as their ambassadours should also be present, to intreat vpon the safe conduct and other matters.

The Bohemians laboured to come to the councell.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the sunday after Easter, which was the twentie seuen day of April. Then came the ambassadours of the councell vnto Egra, with the noble princes, Fredericke Marquesse of Brandenberge, and John duke of Bauaria, with other nobles, almost to the number of 252. horse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsana, and the lord Swamberg ius had not sent their safe conduct. When they vnderstood this by their letters, they brought to passe that the ambassadours of the Bohemians, Nicolaus Humpeltzius, secretary of the greater citie of Prage, and Matthew Clumpezane, president of Pielsa, should be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Elenbogenses, and so they came vnto Egra with nineteene horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Tocqye receiued the Bohemian ambassadours before the marquesse, with an eloquent oration, taking this part of the Gospell for his Theame, Pax vobis. i. Peace bee with you. Then they propounded what great iniuries they had hitherto receiued at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either partie, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was some hope that they should bee heard.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians, and of the councell meet together at Egra.

After

The Bohemians require pledges.

After this, they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but princes and nobles. Which thing, forsomuch as it did not content the ambassadors, and that the matter should so be put off, the common people of Egra began to crie out that it was long of the ecclesiasticall princes, that a concord was not made with the Bohemians: Then Fredericke marquesse of Brandenberge, and John duke of Bauaria, bound themselues of their owne good will. The like also did William duke of Bauaria, at the request of the councell. Likewise also did the councell and the emperour Sigismund. Furthermore promise was made, that all the princes and cities, should doe the like, thorough whose dominion they should come, and the citie of Basill also. The copie of which safe-conduct was afterward sent vnto Prage. This also was required by the Bohemians, that if it were possible, the emperour should be present at the councell.

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the emperour to be present at the councell.

This conuention at Egra continued xvj. daies. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the councels ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully giue credit vnto them. Whereupon they chose out two ambassadors, Nicolas Humgolizius, and John Zaczenses, which should goe to Basill, and diligently enquire out all things. These men, Conrade bishop of Ratisbone, and Conrade Seglauer Deane of Ettein brought vnto Cattelspurge, where as the marques dwelt, being sent out by the Synode a little before, to enquire whether the Bohemian ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Biberacke, one being ouercurious inquired of one of the Bohemian ambassadours, of what countrie he was. He answered that he was a Zaczen. There (said he) are most execrable heretickes and naughtie men, &c. Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway caried to prison, and there should haue suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian ambassadors, and the abbat of Ebera, had not intreated for him. When they came vnto Basill, they were honorablie receiued with wine and fish. They tarried there fiue daies and a halfe. The tenth day of October, they came vnto the Synode, which was assembled at the Friers Augustines.

The Bohemians send two ambassadors to the councell.

Good iustice vpon a slanderous railer.

The gentlenes of the Bohemians ambassadors.

These ambassadors when as they were returned home with the charter of the Synode, and declared those things which they had seene, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were ambassadors chosen to be sent vnto the councell, both for the kingdome of Boheme, and the marquesdome of Morauia, which comming vnto Tusca, were brought from thence, with xxxij. horse, and diuers noble men, vnto Chambia. From thence they came to Swenkendorph, and so vnto Noremberge, where as beside their entertainement of wine and fish, xxij. horsemen accompanied them vnto Ulmes: from thence they of Ulmes brought them vnto Biberacke, and Sulgotia: there James Tunches a knight receiuing them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bands of the duke of Bauaria, brought them vnto Schafhuse. There they taking ship the fourth day of Januarie, came vnto Basill the ninth day of the same moneth. What were the names of these ambassadors of the Bohemians, which were brought vp with three hundred horse, and how they were receiued at Basill, mention is made before, pag. 604. When as they came vnto the Synode, cardinall Julian made an Oration, that whatsoeuer was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authoritie of the councell, forsomuch as all men are bound to submit themselues to the iudgement of the holy Church, which the generall councell doth represent. Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians returne home.

The Bohemians send vp to the councel other solemne ambassadors.

The oration of the cardinall Julian to the Bohemians. *Vide sup. pa. 604*

Then Rochezanus made an Oration, requiring to haue a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the xvj. day of the same moneth. Upon which day, John Rochezanus hauing made his preface, began to propound the first article, touching the communion to bee ministred vnder both kinds, and disputed vpon the same by the space of three daies alwaies before noone. Then Wencellaus the Thaborite disputed vpon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sinne, by the space of two daies. After whom Aldaricus priest of the Orphanes propounded and disputed vpon the third article by the space of two daies, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

The first article of the Bohemians by the first ambassadour.

The second article of the Bohemians by the second ambassadour.

The third article of the Bohemians by the third ambassadour.

The fourth article of the Bohemians by the fourth ambassadour.

Last of all, Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three daies vpon the fourth article, touching the ciuill dominion of the clergie, and afterward gaue copies of their disputations in writing vnto the councell, with heartie thanks that they were heard. The three last did somwhat inueigh against y councell, commending John Hus and John Wickliffe for their doctrine. Whereupon John de Ragusio a diuine, rising vp, desired that he might haue leaue to answer in his owne name, to the first article of the Bohemians. The councell consented thereunto: so that by the space of viij. daies in the forenoone, he disputed thereupon. But before he began to answere, John the abbat of Sistertia made an oration vnto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselues to the determination of the holy Church, which this councell doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus a diuine, after schollers fashion, in his answer spake often of heresies and of heretickes. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising vp with an angrie stomach, complained openly to the councell of this iniurie. This our countrie man (saith hee) doth vs great iniurie, calling vs oftentimes heretikes. Whereunto Ragusinus answered: forsomuch as I am your countreyman both by tongue and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you againe vnto the Church. Hee was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians going into Boheme, tooke their name by their country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence, the Bohemians would depart from Basill, and could scarslie bee appeased. Certaine of the Bohemians would not heare Ragusinus finish his disputation.

John Ragusinus replieth against the first article.

The Bohemians displeased with Ragusinus.

After him a famous diuine, one Egidius Carlerius, deane of the Church of Cambray, answered vnto the second article, by the space of foure daies. To the third article answered one Henricus, surnamed Frigidum ferrum, three daies together. Last of all, one Johannes Polomarius, master of the requests of the palace, answered vnto the fourth article likewise by the space of three daies, so that the long time which they vsed in disputations, seemed tedious vnto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answere, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and specially the first, insomuch as John Rochezanus did strongly impugne Ragusinus answer by the space of fiue daies. But forsomuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceiued how that by this meanes any concord could be made; the prince William duke of Bauaria, protector of the councell, attempted another remedie, that all disputations being set apart, the matter should bee friendly debated.

Egidius Carlerius answereth against the second article.

Henry Colbyzon answereth to the third article.

John Pollomarius answereth to the fourth article.

There were certaine appointed on either part to intreat vpon the concord: who comming together the eleuenth day of March, those which were appointed for the councell, were demanded to say their minds. It seemeth good, said they, if these men would be united vnto vs, and bee made one bodie with vs, that this bodie might then accord, declare and determine all manner of diuersities of opinions and sects, what is to bee beleeued or done in them.

Certaine chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

The Bohemians, when they had a while paused, said: this way seemed not apt enough, except first of all, the foure articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with vs, for otherwise it would be but a friuolous matter, if they now being united, againe disagree in the deciding of the articles. Here answere was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly united, and the aid of the holy Ghost called for, they should not erre in the deciding of the matter, forsomuch as euery Christian ought to beleeue that determination: which if they would doe, it would breed a most firme and strong concord and amitie on either part. But this answer satisfied them not, insomuch, that the other three rose vp, and disputed against the answers which were giuen. At that time cardinall Julian president of the councell, made this Oration vnto the Bohemian ambassadors.

The oration of cardinall Julian.

This sacred Synode, saith he, hath now by the space of ten daies, patiently heard the propositions of your foure articles; and afterward hee answered: you haue propounded, saith hee, foure articles, but wee vnderstand that beside these foure, you haue many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from vs. Wherefore it is necessarie, if that a perfect vnitie and fraternitie shall follow betweene vs, that all these things be declared in the Councell, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghost, which is the author of peace and truth, due prouision may be made therein. For we haue not gathered these things of light coniectures, but haue heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present, which haue seene them with their own eies in Boheme, and partly we doe gather it by your owne report: For master Nicolas, which was the second that did propound, amongst other things alleaged, that J. Wickliffe was an euangelicall doctor. If yee beleeue him to be a true doctor, it followeth, that you must repute his workes as authentike: If ye doe not so thinke, it is reason that it should be opened vnto vs.

Nicolas the second propounder, charged by the cardinall for commending of John Wickliffe.

Wherefore we desire you, that you will certifie vs vpon these and certaine other points, what you doe beleeue, or what credite you doe giue vnto them. But we doe not require that you should now declare your reasons, but it shall satisfie vs, if you will answer vnto euery article by this word, Credimus, aut non credimus: that is, We beleeue, or beleeue not. Which if you will doe (as we trust you will) then we shall manifestly perceiue that you desire that wee should conceiue a good estimation of you. If there be any thing, whereof you would be certified by vs, aske it boldly, and we will giue you an answere out of hand: For we are readie according to the doctrine of Saint Peter, to render account vnto euery man which shall require it, touching the faith which we hold. Hereunto the Bohemian ambassadors answered in few words, that they came onely to propound those foure artticles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kingdome of Boheme, and speake no more. Whereupon, William the noble protector of the councell, calling vnto him foure men on either part, intreated touching the pacifying of the matter,

A prudent answer of the Bohemians to the cardinall Julian.

The oration of the abbat of Sistertia offensiue to the Bohemians.

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The ambassadours of the Bohemians returne without agreement.

ter, by whose aduice, the councell decréed to send a famous ambassade, with the Bohemian ambassadours vnto Prage, whereas the people should assemble vpon sunday. But they would not receiue these conditions of peace which were offered, but made hast to depart. Wherupon the foureteenth day of Aprill, there were ten chosen out of the councell, to go with the Bohemian ambassadours vnto Prage.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done vnto these ambassadors, all the way in their iourney, and specially when they came vnto Boheme, by the citizens of Prage, when as a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prage at the day appointed, both of the clergie, nobility and common people.

The comming of the legates to Prage.

After the comming of those ambassadours, much contention began to rise betweene the parties. First began John Rochezanus: who speaking in the publike person of the communalty, laboured to commend and preferre the foure verities of the Bohemians before propounded: charging also the prelates and priests for their slanderous obtrectations, and vndeserued contumelies, wherewith they did infame the noble kingdome of Boheme, complaining also that they would not receiue those christian verities, left and allowed by their king Wencellaus, now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalfe of the whole nation, that they would leane off hereafter to oppresse them in such sort, that they would restore to them againe their Iosephs vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies had spoiled them, &c.

John Rochezanus speaketh.

Ex Cochleo, hist. lib. 7.

Polomar answereth to the Bohemians.

To this Polomar maketh answere againe, with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and vnity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should bee soone removed, promising also that this their vesture of honour and fame, should be amply restored againe: and afterward, if there were any doubtfull matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

The Bohemians replie againe to Polomar.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, vnlesse they might first haue a declaration of their foure articles, which if they might obtaine, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace (said they) began first to bee broken by themselues, in that the councell of Constance by their vniust condemnation, burned John Hus, & Hierome of Prage, and also by their cruell buls and censures, raised vp first excommunication, then warre against the whole kingdome of Boheme.

Polomar extolleth the councels.

Hereunto Polomar reclaiming againe, began to aduance and magnifie the honour and dignity of generall councels. To conclude, as much as the said Polomar did extoll the authority of the councels, so much did the answere of the Bohemians extenuate the same: saying that the latter councels which are not expressed in the law of God, haue erred, and might erre, not onely in faith, but also in maners. For that which hath chanced to the greene wood, may also chance vnto the drie. But of other, the most strong pillers of the militant church, the apostles I meane: seeme all to haue erred, and the catholicke faith to haue remained three daies sound and incorrupt onely in the virgin Mary. No christian man therefore ought to bee compelled to stand to the determination of the pope or the councell, except it be in that, which is plainely expressed in the law of God. For it is euident that all the generall councels which haue beene of long time, haue reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace, and maners of the church: but haue alwaies both in their life and decrées, notoriously swarued, and haue not established themselues vpon the foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not simplie and plainely (God being their good Lord) yéeld themselues to their doctrine, nor to such rash and hastie decrées: lest through that their hastie and vncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life, contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Iesus. In sum, in no case they would enter into any agréement of peace, except their foure articles which they counted for euangelicall verities, were first accepted and approued. Which being obtained (said they) if they would condescend with them in the verity of the Gospel, so would they ioyne together, and be made one with them in the Lord, &c. Ex Cochleo hist. Lib. 7.

Generall councels may erre and haue erred.

Ex Cochleo hist. Lib. 7.

The ambassadours of the councel and the Bohemians could not agree.

A declaration of 3. articles promised to the Bohemians by the councell.

When the ambassadours saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to passe, they required to haue those articles deliuered vnto them in a certaine forme, which they sent vnto the councell by three Bohemian ambassadors.

Afterward the councell sent a declaration into Boheme, to be published vnto the people, in the common assemblies of the kingdome, by the ambassadours, which were commanded to report vnto the Bohemians, in the name of the councell, that if they would receiue the declaration of those three articles, and the vnity of the church, there should be a meane found whereby the matter touching the fourth article, of the communion vnder both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietnesse.

They propounded in Prage, in an open assemblie of the nobles and commons, the declarations of the three articles in forme following.

A declaration of the councell to the Bohemians, concerning the first three articles.

For somuch as touching the doctrine of the verity, wee ought to proceed soberly and warely, that the truth may be declared, with words being so orderly conceiued and vttered, that there be no offence giuen to any man, whereby he should fall or take occasion of errour, and (to vse the words of Isidore) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtfull: whereas you haue propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sinnes in these words: All mortall sinnes, and specially open offences ought to bee rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose duety it is so to doe, reasonablie and according to the law of God: here is to be marked and vnderstood, that this word (whose dutie it is) is too generall, and may be an offence and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling stocke before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed vp, that our neighbours dre doe not fall therein: all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore wee say that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, it is thus vniuersally to be holden: that all mortall sinnes, especially publicke offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reasonablie as may be, according to the law of God, and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders, doth not pertaine vnto any priuate person, but onely vnto them which haue iurisdiction of the law ouer them, the distinction of law and iustice, being orderly obserued.

The 2. proposition propounded by the Bohemians, with the declaration from the councell.

Punishing of publike offences how and by whom.

Note here the popes addition.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which article you haue alledged in this forme, that the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord: lest by this word (freely) occasion may be taken of disordred liberty, which as you haue often said you doe not meane) the circumstance thereof is to be vnderstood: and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus vniuersally to bee beléeued: that the word of God ought freely, but not euery where, but faithfully and orderly, to be preached by the priests and Leuites of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors, vnto whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the bishop alwaies reserued, who is the prouider of all things according to the institution of the holy fathers.

The 3. article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the councell.

Liberty of preaching, how far and to whom it extendeth.

As concerning the last article expressed vnder these words, It is not lawfull for the christian clergie, in the time of the law of grace, to haue dominion ouer temporall goods: we remember that in the solemne disputation holden in the sacred councell, he which was appointed by the councel to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort.

The 4. article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the councell.

Temporall possessions in the clergie mens hands.

First, that such of the clergie as were not religious, and had not bound themselues thereunto by a vow, might lawfully haue and possesse any temporall goods: as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left vnto him, or any other goods iustly gotten by meanes of any gift or other lawfull contract, or else some lawfull art.

The papists stand hard for their temporall lordships.

The second conclusion: The church may lawfully haue and possesse temporall goods, moueable and vnmoueable, houses, lands, townes, and villages, castles and cities, and in them a priuate and ciuill dominion. Your ambassadour which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying that they did not impugne the sense of his article, being well vnderstood, forsomuch as he vnderstandeth this article, of ciuill dominion formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be vnderstood, that those words, to haue secular dominion expressed in the foresaid article, seemeth to bee referred to some speciall maner or kind of dominion. But forsomuch as the doctrine of the church is not to bee intreated vpon by any ambiguous or doubtfull words, but fully and plainely: therefore we haue thought good more plainely to expresse that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, is vniuersally to be beléeued: that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the clergie ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrées of the holy fathers: and that the vsurpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other then by them, vnto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacriledge.

Thus the sacred councell (said they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Gospell, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three foresaid articles. Wherefore, if there doe yet remaine any doubt: according to the information which we haue receiued in the sacred councell, we are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall verity) to declare the truth vnto you: If ye doe receiue and embrace the declaration of the said three articles, which is grounded vpon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually haue a pure, simple, and perfect vnity, touching the libertie of the communion vnder both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully haue, without the licence of holy church: wee haue authority from the generall councell, by certaine meanes, to intreate and conclude with you, trusting that you will shew your selues as you will continue.

The Bohemians take a deliberation of the fourth article.

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said that they would giue no answere

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vnto the premisses, before they vnderstood what should be offered them as touching the communion. Wherefore, it shall be necessarie to declare the matter, as it was written in forme following.

A declaration of the councell touching the fourth article of the communion.

In the name of God and our Sauiour Iesus Christ, vpon the Sacrament of whose most blessed last supper we shall intreate, that he which hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of vnity and peace, will vouchsafe to worke this effect in vs, to make vs that we may be one in the said Lord Iesu our head, and that hee will subuert all the subtilties of the diuell, which through his enuious craftinesse, hath made the sacrament of peace and vnity, an occasion of warre and discord, that whilest Christians doe contend touching the maner of communicating, they be not depriued of the fruit of the communion. Whereupon saint Augustine in his sermon vpon infants, in the decrees De conse. distinct. 2. Quia passus, saith thus: So the Lord Iesu Christ certified vs and willed, that wee should appertaine vnto him, and consecrate the mystery of our peace and vnity vpon the table. He that receiueth the mystery of vnity, and doth not keepe the bond of peace, doth not receiue a mystery for himselfe, but a testimony against himselfe. This we thought good aboue all things to bee premised, that the generall custome of the church, which your fathers and you also in times past haue obserued, hath a long time had and still vseth, that they which do not consecrate, communicate onely vnder the kind of bread. Which custome being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now a long time obserued, it is not lawfull to reiect, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore to change the custome of the church, and to take in hand to communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds, without the authority of holy church, is altogether vnlawfull. For holy church vpon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty to communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds. And euery communion, which, being attempted without the authority and licence of the church, should bee vnlawfull, when it is done with the authority of holy church, shall be lawfull, if other things let it not: because (as the apostle saith) He that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation.

Consecrat. dist. 2. quia passus.

This is to set by the church aboue the Scripture.

The holy communion requireth amendment of life.

Whereupon saint Isidore in the second distinct. vpon the consecration, writeth thus: They which liue wickedly and cease not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learne that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sinnes. And saint Augustine in the same distinction saith, Holy things may hurt the euill, for vnto the good they are saluation, but vnto the euill, damnation. There are besides this, many other authorities. The apostle Iudas was amongst them which did first communicate, but forsomuch as hee receiued vnworthily, hauing that sinne of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing, but the diuell by and by exercised the more power and authority ouer him. This is declared by a great reason: Which of you is it, that if you should receiue your Lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care, studie to make cleane and adorne his house, that he may receiue the lord honestly: much more he that shall receiue the Lord and Sauiour into the house of his soule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his soule, to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humblie, purely, and truely confessing his sinnes, and receiuing due satisfaction and penance, to adorne and decke the same with the purple or rich array of deuotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with feruent desire, he may come to that most holy sacrament, wherby God reconcileth all the world vnto him.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reuerent receiuing of the sacraments.

Wherefore, the most sacred Synode admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should vse all their care and endeauour, that no man come to that most blessed sacrament, except he bee duely prepared with great reuerence and deuotion, lest that which is receiued for the saluation of the soule, redound to the condemnation, through the vnworthy receiuing thereof.

Moreouer, Doctors doe say, that the custome of communicating vnto the people, onely vnder the kind of bread, was reasonablie introduced by the church and holy fathers, for reasonable causes, specially for the auoiding of two perils: of errour and vnreuerence. Of errour, as to thinke that the one part of Christs body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup, which were a great error. Of vnreuerence, forsomuch as many things may happen, as wel on the one part of the minister, as on the part of the receiuer: As it is said that it happened when as a certaine priest, carrying the sacrament of the cup vnto a sicke man, when he should haue ministred, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such like chances. We haue heard moreouer, that it hath often happened, that the sacrament consecrate in the cup, hath not bin sufficient for the number of communicants, whereby a new consecration must bee made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and also that oftentimes they doe minister wine vnconsecrate for consecrate wine, which is a great perill. By this meanes then it shall be brought to passe, that if you will effectually receiue the vnity and peace of the church, in all other things besides the vse of the communion vnder both kinds, conforming your selues to the faith and order of the vniuersall church, you that haue that vse and custome, shall communicate still by the authority of the church vnder both kinds, and this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred councell, where you shall see that as touching this article, is to be holden as an vniuersall verity, it is to be done for the profit and saluation of the christian people, and all things being thus throughly handled, then if you perseuere in your desire, and that your ambassadours do require it, the sacred councell will grant licence in the Lord, vnto your ministers, to communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds: that is to say, to such as be of lawfull yeeres and discretion, and shall reuerently and deuoutly require the same, this alwaies obserued, that the ministers shall say vnto those which shall communicate, that they ought firmely to beleeue not the flesh only to be contained vnder the forme of bread, and the blood only vnder the wine, but vnder each kind to be whole and perfect Christ.

Receiuing in both kinds permitted to the Bohemians.

The condition annexed.

Thus hitherto we haue declared the decree of the councell. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterward moued by the masters and prelats of Boheme, the ambassadors of the councell answered thus.

Doubts or questions of the Bohemians.

First they said, that it was not the meaning of the sacred councell, to suffer the communion vnder both kinds by toleration, or as the libell of discorement was permitted to the Iewes: forsomuch as the councell intending euen to open the bowels of motherly charity, and pity, vnto the Bohemians and Morauians, doth not meane to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sinne, but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Iesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may bee lawfull, profitable and healthfull vnto those which worthily receiue the same. Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth vp the hearts of priuate persons to the correcting and punishing of sinnes, and so it should seeme lawfull vnto the inferiours to correct and punish their superiours: they answered, alledging the text of saint Augustine in the three and thirtith decree: He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the minister of God: but he which without any publike administration or office murthereth or maimeth any wicked theefe, sacrilegious, adulterous or periured person, or any other offender, shall be iudged as an homicide, and so much the more sharpely, in that he feared not to abuse and vsurpe the power not granted him of God: and truely, this city would take it much more grieuously, if any priuate man should attempt to punish an offender, and set vp a gallowes in the street, and there hang him, then if one man should kill another in brawle or quarrell. They alledged also other texts of saint Ambrose and saint Hierome agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therin is simplie written, Thou shalt not steale. And notwithstanding by the commandement of God the children of Israel caried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same law it is plainely written, thou shalt do no murther. Whereupon saint Austin in his first booke De Ciuitate Dei, proueth that it is not lawfull for any man to kill himselfe: when as he maketh example of Sampson, he answereth with these words: when as God commandeth and doth affirme himselfe to command without any doubt, who is he y wil cal obedience sin: or who will accuse the obedience to God?

Answere. Permission of both kinds granted to the Bohemians, not of sufferance, but by full authority.

Punishing of offences considered.

How and by whom offenders ought to be punished.

To do that God commandeth is obedience and no sin, though it be extraordinary. The Israelites did steale from the Egyptians without sinne. Sampson killed himselfe without sin.

Here in this proposition, you haue the words of saint Austin for answere. But let euery man well foresee, if God doe command, or that he do intimate the commandement without any circumstances, and let him proue the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no lawes to be giuen, neither are they much to be talked of, for thereby there should easily occasion rise to make sedition, and for the inferiours to rise against the superiors. For when any man had stollen any thing, or killed any man: he would say that hee was moued thereunto by the spirit of God: but without manifest proofe thereof he should be punished.

Of extraordinary commandements no generall lawes to be made.

Againe, they said that there were certaine cases wherein the laity had power ouer the clergie. It was answered, that there were certaine cases in the law, wherein the laity hath power ouer the clergie, and oftentimes ouer cardinals. For if the pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclaue to elect a new pope, the king, prince, or other lord or secular power may compell them: but in these cases hee is now no priuate person, but vseth his iurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be vnderstood of all other cases expressed in the law.

Obiection. Answere. How the laity hath power ouer the clergie, and wherein The pope will be iudged by his owne law.

They said further, that no common law hath any right or iustice except Gods law doe allow the same.

Obiection.

It was answered that no common law hath right or iustice, if it bee against the law of God, for because the law of God is the rule of all other lawes. But there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule, for oftentimes, it seemeth that there is diuersitie in the thing made by the rule, when there is none in deede: but the

Answere.

Receiuing vnder one kind, for auoiding two perils.

Error grounded vpon error.

Causes why to minister vnder one kind.

the default is in the applying, because their rule is not duely applied to the thing made by it.

Obiection. As touching the article of preaching the word of God, it was moued, that oftentimes some prelats, through their owne enuie and malice, without any reasonable cause, doe inhibite a good and meet preacher that preacheth catholickely and well.

Answere. Abuse of prelats in inhibiting true preachers. Answere was made, how that they vnderstood wel enough that the abuse of certain prelats, which did inordinately behaue themselues, gaue a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they neuer heard of any such complaints in those parts, but that the prelats do fauor good preachers, and stirre them vp to preach, by intreaty, fauor, and promotion. In all such causes, there are remedies already prouided by the law: for when any man is so prohibited to vse his right, hee hath remedy to appeale: & if he do trust his appeale to be iust, he may vse his right, all violence both of the spirituall and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare if hee had iust cause to appeale. Then shall be declared that the superior hath done euill in prohibiting, and the plaintiffe iustly in doing, and the superior for his vniust prohibition shall bee punished. But if he be iustly prohibited, and that through his temerity, he do contemne the iust commandement of his superior, he is worthie to be punished with condigne punishment.

Remedy of appeale.

Obiection. Where it was moued concerning the third article, whether it were lawfull for the ecclesiasticall prelats to exercise in their proper person, the acts of secular dominion, hereunto it was

Answere. answered, that if by this word, Acts of secular dominion, are vnderstood Acts which a secular lord may doe or exercise, then

Acts of secular dominion to be exercised of the clergie, after a double respect: *vel per se, vel per alium.* is to be said, that a prelate may lawfully exercise some such Acts in his proper person, as to sell, to pawne or pledge, to infeofe by maner and forme ordained by law: but there are some Acts, which it is not lawfull for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to haue afterward a vicegerent or proctor, to doe the same: whereupon there is prohibition made in the law in the Rubrike, Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotijs se immisceat, & in alijs rebus.

Obiection. It was also moued, whether that coactiue power, which ought to be exercised by a steward, &c. bee in the hands of an ecclesiasticall prelate.

Answere. Whereupon Iohn Polomair answered, that this question presupposeth another: whereof there are diuers opinions

Coactiue power, whether it belongeth to the clergie, and how. amongst the doctors, in whose power the dominion of the church should be: and furthermore, whether the actions bee in the person of the tutor or proctor, or if they bee not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitution of any actor or proctor (whose exercising of those actions do giue authority vnto the actor or proctor) they be: with other difficulties, whereof it is not needfull to speake at this present. But forsomuch as hee was vrged to say his opinion: hee said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would bee contented to giue the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of church matters should be in the power of Christ: and the prelats, with the other clergie, are but canonicall administrators in maner of tutors: but they haue more power and administration then tutors, and by constituting a steward or vicegerent, &c. Their constitution being duely made, the steward or vicegerent hath the same coactiue power and exercise of iurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it is agréed that these words, Iustè: equisita. i. iustly gotten, alledged therein, determine all things contained in the same.

The goods of the church in whose possession they be properly. 12. q. 1. cap. expedit. Also as touching the second conclusion, whereas the sacred canons and holy doctors speak thus: The goods of the church, the substance of the church, and the possessions of the church, and diuers other opinions there be amongst the doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be, as it is noted in the Glos. Cap. expedit xij. quæst. i. they do not intend to constraine any man to any of those opinions; neither to exclude any of them, but that euery man should haue libertie, probablie to maintaine which of them he thinketh best.

The clergie be administrators, not lords of the temporalties of the church. Moreouer, the Bohemians said, that they did beléeue that the clergie are but administrators of the temporalties of the church, and not lords thereof, according to the maner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy doctors and canons. Also the Bohemians said, that in all occasions which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the iudge, agréed vpon in Egra, with one consent. In this maner did the ambassadours make answere vnto the Bohemians. At the last, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and vnity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The Bohemians promised to receiue the peace and vnity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done in the yéere of our Lord 1438. About the feast of saint Martine, it was afterward agréed both by the ambassadors of that councell, and of Boheme, that what soeuer remained, should be determined and agréed vpon, first at Ratisbona, afterward at Bruna in the dioces of Olymutes: then at Alba in Hungary, before the emperour Sigismund: but the matter could not be ended in any place.

The agreement betweene the Bohemians and the councell. Anno 1438

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing with their seales at Inglauia, a city of Morauia, the fifth day of July, in the presence of the emperor.

¶ Certaine petitions, which the Bohemians put vp last of all in the sacred councell of Basill, An. 1438. in the moneth of Nouember.

Certaine petitions of the Bohemians put vp to the councell. Anno 1438. VNto the most reuerend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords. Wee the ambassadours of the kingdome of Boheme, do most humbly and hartily require you, that for the perpetuall preseruation of peace and concord, and for the firme preseruation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemencie, to giue and grant vnto vs all and singuler our requests, here vnder written, with effectuall execution of the same.

First and aboue all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of diuers dissensions and controuersies, which will vndoubtedly follow amongst our people vnder the diuersitie of the communion, and for the abolishing of infinite euils, which we are not able to expresse, as wee haue conceiued them, that you will gently vouchsafe of your goodnesse and liberality, to giue, grant and command, vnto our kingdome of Boheme, and marquesdome of Morauia, one vniforme order of the communion vnto all men, vnder both kinds: that is to say, vnto the archbishop of Prage, the bishop of Luthomus, Olmutz, and other prelats of the kingdome and marquesdome, hauing charge of soules, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subiects, and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole councell, written in the chap. Pro firmitate, where it is thus said, and all other things shal be done, which shall be meet and necessarie for the preseruation of the peace and vnity. For this done by your benefit, the whole kingdome shall be comforted aboue measure, and established in brotherly loue: whereby an vniforme subiection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed vnto the holy church.

The communion in both kinds to be generally granted. Item, we require and desire (as before) that for the auoiding of all false suspition and doubtfulnesse of many, which suppose that the sacred councell hath granted the said communion vnder both kinds vnto vs but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libell of diuorcement: that you will vouchsafe, according to this chapter alledged in the compositions: First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred councell, &c. wholesomely and speedily to prouide for our safety and your grant in this behalfe, and with the buls of your letters, to confirme that chapter together with the other pertaining to the office of your ambassadors.

To haue a good and lawfull pastor, and bishop. Item, we beseech you (as afore) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergie, and for the finall defence and obseruation of all things determined and agréed vpon, and for the good order in spiritualties, yee will vouchsafe effectually to prouide for vs a good and lawfull pastor, archbishops and bishops, which shall séeme vnto vs most meet and acceptable for our kingdome, to execute those offices and duties.

Free communion vnder both kinds to be permitted to all princes. Item, we require you (as afore laid) that your fatherly reuerences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdome and marquesdome, to declare and shew our innocencie, in that they haue communicated, doe, and hereafter shall communicate vnder both kinds; to giue out, ordaine, and direct the letters of the sacred councell, in maner and forme most apt and meete for such declaration, vnto all princes, as well secular as spirituall, cities and communalties, according to the compositions, and as the lords the ambassadours are bound vnto vs for to doe.

Item, wee desire you, that in the discussing of the matter for the communion vnder both kinds, and of the commandement thereof giuen vnto all faithfull, yée will not proceed otherwise then according to the concordatum agreed vpon in Egra: that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ, and his apostles, the generall councels, and the minds of the holy doctours, truely grounded vpon the law of God.

Item, we desire that your fatherly reuerences, considering the great affection of our people, will giue vs the desired liberty to communicate vnto the yonger sort, the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this vse of communicating should bee taken away, which our kingdome being godly, moued by the writings of most great and holy Doctours, and brought in by examples, hath receiued as catholicke, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise vp an intollerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grieuously vexed and troubled.

The gospels and epistles to be read in the vulgar tongue. The Scriptures read in the Slauonis tongue of old time. Item, we require you (as before) that for like causes your fatherly reuerences, would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the gospels, epistles, and créed to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar tongue, before the people, to moue them vnto deuotion: for in our Slauon language it hath beene vsed of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdome.

Item, we require you in the name of the said kingdome, and of the famous Vniuersity of Prage, that your fatherly reue-

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Incorporations to be granted to vniuersities, an vnlawfull request.

tences would vouchsafe to shew such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that Vniuersity, that according to the maner and forme of other Vniuersities reformed by the church, prebends and collations of certaine benefices of cathedrall and parish churches, may be annexed and incorporate vnto the said Vniuersity, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

A request for necessary reformation and discipline.

Item, we desire you (as before) as heartily as we may, and also (saluing alwaies your fatherly reuerence) require you, and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeauours, and with all care and studie, your reuerences will watch and seeke for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and Christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publicke euils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you haue often promised to do in our kingdome, in the compositions, and as our fourth article touching the auoiding of all publicke euils, doth exact and require.

There were certaine answers prouided by the councell, to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not deliuered vnto them, but kept backe, for what purpose & intent we know not. Wherfore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to auoide prolixity, we haue iudged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus haue ye heard compendiously the chiefe and principall matters intreated and done in this famous councell of Basill. And here (to conclude withall) we haue thought good to declare vnto you, for the aid and helpe of the ignorant people (which iudge many things to bee of longer time and continuance, then indeed they be; and thereupon haue established a great part of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of this councell, that is to say, in the xxxi. Session of the same, holden the xvij. day of September, in this yeere of our Lord 1439. the feast of the conception of our Lady, was ordained to be holden & celebrate yeerely. In like case also in the 44. Session of the same councell, holden the first day of July, An. 1441. was ordained the feast of the Visitation of our Lady, to be celebrate & holden yeerely in the moneth of July. We haue also thought it good, before we doe end this story, to annex hereunto certaine decrées, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the said councell, against the inordinate giuing of the ecclesiasticall benefices and liuings by the pope, with certaine other constitutions also, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the church.

The conception of our Lady brought into the church.

The visitation of our Lady brought in.

Vowsons and gifts of benefices before they were voide debarred by the councell which vowsons here are called *expectatiue graces.*

During the time that the generall councell at Basill was so diligent and carefull about the reformation of the church, this one thing seemed good vnto them to be prosecuted and followed with an earnest care and diligence, that thorow euery church, apt and meete ministers might bee appointed, which might shine in vertue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthfull edifying of the christian people: whereunto the multitude of expectatiue graces hath beene a great impediment and let, in that they haue beene found to haue brought grieuous troubles, diuers disorders, and many dangers vpon the ecclesiasticall state. For hereby oftentimes, scarcely apt or meete ministers haue bene appointed for the churches, which are neither knowne nor examined: and this expectation of void benefices (as the old lawes do witnesse) doth giue occasion to desire another mans death, which is greatly preiudiciall vnto saluation: besides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moued amongst the seruants of God: rancour and malice nourished: the ambition and greedy desire of pluralities of benefices maintained: and the riches and substance of kingdomes and prouinces marueilously consumed. Poore men suffer innumerable vexations, by running vnto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way: troubled and afflicted with diuers plagues, and hauing spent their patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are constrained to liue in extreme pouerty. Many do challenge benefices, which without any iust title (yea such indeed as ought not to haue them) obtaine and get the same: such I say as haue most craft and subtilty to deceiue their neighbour, or haue greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes that vnder the intrication of these prerogatiues, attelations, and such other as doe associate these expectatiue graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also oftentimes the ministery is taken away from yong men, by their ordinary giuers, whiles that by the trouble of those contentions, and diuers discourses, running to and fro by meanes of those graces, they are vexed and troubled, the ecclesiasticall order is confounded, whiles that euery mans authority and iurisdiction is not preserued: and the bishops of Rome also, by challenging and taking vpon them too much the office of the inferiours, are withdrawne from more waighty and fruitfull matters, neither doe they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiours, as the publike vtility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion vnto the clergie, and ecclesiasticall state, to the great preiudice and hinderance of Gods true worship, and publike saluation.

Incommenten-ces that rise by vowsons of benefices.

No controuersies to bee brought to Rome beyond

In the same councell also diuers other constitutions were made, not vnprofitable for reformation, and for remouing of certaine abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to bee brought vp and translated to the court of Rome: Wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controuersies should bee brought from other countries, to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond 4. daies iourney distant from the said court of Rome, a few principall matters only excepted. Also, that no friuolous appeales should be made to the pope hereafter. It was moreouer in the same councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of 24. besides them that were already, and that they should bee freely taken out of all countries: and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for Annates or first fruits, or halfe fruits, it was there prouided, that no such Annates or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, should bee paid or reserued any more to the pope, for the first yeeres voidance. All which things there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles 7. with the full consent of all his prelats, in his high court of parliament in Bitures, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio: Anno 1438. whereupon great vtility ensued afterward to the kingdome of France. Albeit in processe of time, diuers friers there were which wrote against the same. Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.

four daies iourney from thence.

No friuolous appeales to be made to the P.

Against the superfluous number of cardinals.

Against the popes first fruits.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum 7.

Amongst many decrées of the said councell of Basill, in the 19. Session, there was also a decrée made touching the conuerting of Iewes and yong nouices in religion, vnto the christian faith.

Also that all ordinaries should yeerely at appointed times, prouide certaine men well learned in the holy Scriptures, in such places where Iewes and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the catholicke faith, that they acknowleging their errour, might forsake the same: vnto the which preaching, the said ministers should compell them to resort, and to heare, vnder paine of excluding them from occupying any more in that place: prouided that the said Dioceſanes and preachers should behaue themselues towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not onely by the declaring of the verity, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

An act made for the conuersion of the Iewes.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitfull, and that the preachers might bee the better instructed in the tongues, it was also in the same councell prouided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the councell of Vienna for learning the Hebrew, Chaldey, Araby and Greek tongues, should by all meanes be obserued and kept, and ordinary stipends prouided for them that should teach the same tongues.

An act for learning the Hebrue, Latine, and Chaldey.

An other decrée moreouer in the 20. Session was enacted, that whosoeuer was knowne or publikely noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestred from all fruits of his benefices, for the space of 3. moneths: which fruits should be conuerted by the Ordinary, to the repatrations, or some other vtility of the church: and if he did not so amend, it was by the Synode decreed that he should be cleerely deposed from al his benefices.

Against priests that kept concubines.

Furthermore, the said Synode did greatly inueigh against them, which hauing the iurisdiction of the church, did not shame to suffer such whoremasters for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthinesse, &c.

By these decrees of the councell aboue specified, it is to be seene, what corruption had beene then frequented in the church of God, through the bishop and court of Rome. For the more expresse declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Aeneas Syluius, touching and noting the said corruptions: the tenour of whose epistle here ensueth.

In epistle of Martine Meyre to Æneas Syluius, translated into English, the Latine whereof is extant in the former edition of this booke. *Ex Orth. Gra.*

Vnto the reuerend father, the lord Æneas cardinall of Sene, *Martine Meyr, chancellor to the* bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

I Haue vnderstood by certaine of my friends letters, that you are created cardinall. I am glad for your part, that you haue receiued so worthie rewards for your vertues. I reioyce also for my owne part, that my friend hath attained vnto such a dignity wherin he may in time to come, both helpe me and my friends: But this is a griefe vnto me, that you haue happened vpon those daies, which seeme to bee troublesome vnto the apostolicke see. For there are many complaints made vnto my lord the archbishop vpon the pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the councell of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himselfe bound to the couenants of his predecessours, and seemeth vtterly to contemne our nation, and to seeke the vtter ruine thereof. For it is euident that the election of prelats, is euery where reiected: benefices and dignities, of what sort soeuer they be, are reserued for the cardinals and chiefe notaries: and you your selfe haue obtained the reseruation of three Prouinces of Germany, vnder such a forme as hath not bene accustomed or heard of. Vowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number: yeerely stipends and halfe the reuenues are exacted without delay, and it is euident that there is more extorted then is due. The regimēts of churches are not cōmitted vnto such as best deserue them, but vnto such as offer most money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape

scrape and gather together money. Tithes are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our prelats, for the Turkish war, and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now caried vnto the apostolike see of Rome. A thousand waies are inuented and deuised, how the see of Rome may by subtilty and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from vs, euen as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians: wherby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood, conquered the Romain empire, and was once the lady and queene of all the world, now being brought vnto pouerty, is made a handmaid, and become tributarie, and being now in extreme miserie, hath of long time bewailed her cruell fortune and pouertie. But now our nobles being (as it were) wakened out of their sleepe, haue begun to consider and deuise with themselues, by what meanes they might withstand this calamity, and vtterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and haue determined with themselues, to challenge againe their former libertie. This will be no small losse vnto the court of Rome, if the princes of Gernany bring to passe that which they haue deuised. Wherefore as much as I do reioyce of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moued & grieued that these things happen in your daies. But peraduenture Gods determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You in the meane time be of good cheere, and deuise according to your wisedome, by what meanes the vehemency of these flouds may be stayed. Thus fare ye well.

From Hasthaffenberge the last day of August.

The corruption of the church of Rome detected.

Concerning the authority of this generall councell of Basill, what is to be esteemed, by the acts and fruits thereof may be vnderstood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented vnto it: But after the pope began to draw backe, many other followed, especially of the richer sort of prelats, which had any thing to lose: whereof sufficiently hath beene said by Arelatensis the cardinall before. In the number of those vnconstant prelats, besides many other, was first cardinall Iulian, the first collector of this councell, and Vicegerent of the pope, as by his feruent and vehement letter written to pope Eugenius in defence of this councell, may well appeare: Wherin he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaid pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolue the councell, and declareth in the same many causes, why hee should rather reioyce, and giue God thankes, for the godly procedings and ioyfull agreement betweene the councell and the Behemians, & so exhorteth him with manifold persuasions, to resort to the councell himselfe, and not to seeke the dissolution of the same. The copie and tenor of whose Epistle to the pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, wee thought here good to set downe to be seene.

The authority of the councell of Basill expended.

The epistle of cardinall Iulian to the pope, in the commendation of the councell of Basill.

The copie of an epistle, which Iulian cardinall of S. *Angen, and the popes ambassador into Germany, wrote* marueilous boldly and freely vnto Eugenius B. of Rome, for that he went about to dissolue the councel of Basil.

Most blessed father, after the deuout kisses of your blessed feet.

NOw shal the whole world vnderstand and know, whether that your holines haue in you the bowels of fatherly loue and charity, and the zeale of the house of God, whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse, or whether you be that good shepheard, which giueth his life for his sheepe. Behold the doore beginneth now to bee opened, whereby the lost sheepe may returne againe vnto their owne fold, now is there good hope euen at hand, of the reconciliation of the Bohemians. If that your holinesse, as it is your duety, do helpe and further the same, you shall obtaine great glory, both in heauen and earth. But if peraduenture you goe about to let the same (which is not to be hoped for at your hands) all men will reproue you of impiety; heauen and earth will conspire against you, all men will forsake you. For how is he to be followed, which with one word may restore peace and quietnesse to the church, and refuseth to do it? But I conceiue a better hope in you, how that your holinesse without any excuse, will with your whole heart and mind, fauour this most sacred councel, & giue thanks vnto almighty God for his great goodnesse, that this congregation hath not departed. Beholde the ambassadours of this sacred councell are returned with great ioy and gladnesse from Egra, reporting how that through the grace of the holy Ghost, they haue firmely concluded with the ambassadors of the Bohemians, that is to say, of the Prages, Orphants and Thaborites, amongst whom was also present the captaines of their enemies, and specially Procopius; That a solemne ambassade of all the estates of the realme should come vnto the councell of Basill: After that a safe-conduct is sent vnto them by the said councell in forme conditioned, which shall be done with speed, this sacred congregation is maruellous exhilarate and ioyfull. For those our ambassabours affirme, that all things were handled with such charity at Egra, and that they did see such things amongst the Bohemians, that not without cause, they doe conceiue great hope of their reconciliation.

The ambassadors of the councell are returned from Egra.

And at the last gently imbracing one another, euen with teares of gladnesse, they departed from Egra: the Bohemians requiring our ambassadors, that the matter might bee ended with all expedition. They report also, that many things happened in that treaty, which if any man heard, and did not weepe for ioy, he might well thinke himselfe to bee but smally affectioned vnto Christ. As for three of the foure articles, they seeme not to make any great difficulty vpon. As touching the 4: that is, of the communion vnder both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the iudgement of the councell. Who is it then that dare counsell your holinesse to persеuere any longer in the purpose of dissolution? for if the councell had not bin appointed at all, for so great hope and necessity; it ought to haue bin appointed in this place. How worthie praise & commendation should your holinesse do, if that you would leaue Italy and all other affaires, and come hither in your owne person; although you should need to bee caried in a wagon or litter? The keeping and defence of the temporall patrimony of the church, may well be disposed and done by legats and vicars. This is the true patrimony of the church, to win soules. For the church is not an heap of stones & walles. Christ hath not made you a keeper of castles and forts, but a pastor of soules. Therefore you should do that in your owne person, which is most necessarie and acceptable vnto Christ, and al other things by your substitutes. For so did the apostles, which to the intent they might the more freely attend to the preaching of the word of God, did institute 7. to serue the tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I heare that by the grace of God, your holines doth daily recouer and amend; and if so be, as it is said, you do visit some churches on foote, ye may also come hither on horsebacke, for you cannot goe vnto any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, then to goe vnto the place, where as innumerable benefits & goodnesse may spring. Let your holinesse vnderstand and consider wherein Christ whose viear you are, and S. Peter whose successor you are, and the apostles and holy bishops, did exercise and occupie themselues; and as you do succeed them in office, so succeede them in maners. But if peraduenture your holines cannot come hither, I doe counsell you, that for so great a benefit, you would send the more part of the reuerend lords cardinals of the court of Rome, and command all other prelats to come hither. Do not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

What the church is.

Your holines may beleeue me, that onely charity moueth me to counsell you in this sort: bee yee not separate from your members, nourish your children as the hen doth her chickens vnder her wings. And if so be, that you will doe nothing else, yet speake this only word, *Placet*: that is to say, that it pleaseth you, that the councell of Basill should goe forward. For a few daies past, there came newes hither, for the which your holines ought altogether to cease from your dissolution. The reuerend father the archbishop of Lions, hath written vnto the councel, and vnto me also, how that the prelats of France haue assembled together in the city of Bituria, and there after long and exact examination haue concluded, that the councell is lawfully congregate in this place. And that it is necessary that it should be holden and celebrate here at this present; and how the prelats of France should come vnto it: hee also directed hither the cause which moued them so to conclude, the copie whereof I suppose is sent vnto your holines by some other. Whereupon then doth your holinesse stay? You haue gone about as much as in you lay, by your messengers, letters and diuers meanes to draw backe the prelats, and haue laboured with all your endeauor to dissolue the councell; yet notwithstanding as you do see, it is encreased day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more are al mens minds enflamed to the cõtrary. Is not this then to resist the will of God? Why doe ye prouoke the church to anger? Why do ye stir vp the christian people? vouchsafe I pray you so to doe, that ye may get the loue and fauor of the people, and not the hatred: for all nations are greatly offended when they heare these your doings. Suffer not your holinesse to bee seduced by any man, which peraduenture shall inculcate feare vnto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted; or that do perswade you this to be no lawfull councel. I know I should offend your holinesse if I should go about to proue the contrary; but it is better that I doe offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds: for a physition layeth a burning corrosiue vnto the disease, and healeth the sore: For the medicine cannot profit except it be sharpe and bitter in tast. Vnder this hope and confidence I will not feare to declare the truth: that it being knowne, your holines may the better prouide both for your selfe and the church. It dependeth vpon the councell of Constance whether this councell be lawfull or not. If that were a true councel, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt whether that councell were lawfull, and likewise whatsoeuer was there decreed to be lawfull: for if any man will say, that the decrees of that councell are not of force, he must needs grant, that the depriuation of pope Iohn, which was done by the force of those decrees, to be of no effect. If that depriuation were not of effect; neither was the election of pope Martine of any force, which was done he being yet aliue. If Martin were no true pope, neither is your holines, which was chosen by the cardinall that he made

Eugenius pio uoketh the church.

A strong argument against Eugenius.

made, wherefore it standeth no man more vpon to defend the decrees of that councell, then your holines; for if any decree of that councell be called into doubt; by like meanes may all the rest of the decrees be reuoked. And by like meanes, shall the decrees of any other councell bee of no force and effect: for by like reason, as the faith of one councell is weakened, all the rest shal also be weakened, according to S. Augustines saying in the 9. distinction capitulo, *Si ad scripturas*: Then, saith he, both the faith and all other sacraments shall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any councell lawfully congregate. There was a decree made in the councell of Constance, intituled *Frequens*. Whereby it was ordained, that the first councell after that, should bee holden within 5. yeeres, and another within 7. yeeres after that againe. The councell of Constance being ended, and the 5. yeeres passed, the councel of Papia or Sene was holden; after which 7. yeeres being also run ouer, this councell is begun to bee celebrate. To what end then is it expressed in the bull of the dissolution, amongst other causes, that the 7. yeere is already past? When as of necessity it ought to be passed before the councell can be celebrate. For these words, from 7. yeere or 5. yeere, signifie according to the law, that all parts of time should be passed, and the last day looked for. Wherefore it behoued that 7. yeeres to be fully complete, before this councell of Basil should begin. Like as 5. yeeres were fully expired, before that the councel of Papia did begin. But peraduenture some man will say, that it ought to haue begun the first day after the 7. yeer was expired. For otherwise the terme of the councell is passed. But hereunto we may answere, that it is not contained in the chapter *Frequens*, that except it were holden the first day, it should not bee holden at all, neither can it be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it is only required that it should be holden after 7. yeeres expired, but whether it be the 2. or 3. day, or the 3. or 4. moneth after the 7. yeer, it doth satisfie the chapter *Frequens*. For when the first day is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the councel, but not afore, but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, *In quinquennium*; that is to say, against 5. yeere, next following, which is alledged in the chapter *Frequens*, and seemeth to be repeated also for the 7. yeeres, for it is not vnderstood that it is necessary to be holden the first day precisely after the 7. yeere, but because it should not be vnderstood of other 7. yeeres to come. For in speaking simplie of 7. yeere, it is vnderstood of 7. yeere next ensuing. Admit also that in the chapter *Frequens*, any of these words had bin ioyned with immediately following, as by and by, out of hand, immediately, or straight waies after, or such other words: yet ought they to be vnderstood with a certaine moderation, & distance of time, that assoone as might be conuenient; as these words are expounded by the lawyers and doctors, for they are inlarged and restrained, according to the subiect and diuers circumstances of the matters and affaires. For it is not by any meanes likely that it was the minds of those which made the decree, that considering the long iourneys and hard preparation of such affaires, and also the manifold impediments which may happen, that they would restraine so precise a time, euen at the first day, that if it were not then celebrated, it should not be holden at all: for by such subtill meanes it should also be holden euen in the first moment and very instant after the same yeere.

But forsomuch as words are ciuilly to bee vnderstood, this sense or vnderstanding is too far disagreeable. For if any man will say, then it is commanded to be prorogued, that is also forbidden in the chapter *Frequens*. He that doth so argue, doth not vnderstand himselfe, nor the force of the words. It is not prorogued if it bee begunne, the second or third moneth, but rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For if it were a prorogation, then forsomuch as a prorogation doth sauor of the nature of the first delay, it could not bee begun before the time prorogued; but this happeneth not in our case: for albeit it were not begun in the first moneth, but in the second and third, it is not thereby concluded that it could not be begun in the first: but if there had bin any prorogation made till the second moneth, then it could not haue been begun in ỹ first: as for example, I promise to giue an 100. pounds after Easter, afore Easter it cannot bee required, but by and by after Easter it may be required: and albeit that I bee not vrged for it, notwithstanding I doe not cease to be bound: and if so be I be demanded it in the 2. or 3. moneth after, it is not thereby vnderstood that there is any prorogation made: Neither doth it follow, but that it might haue beene demanded in the beginning, which could not haue beene done, if that there had bin any prorogation made. Also it is the nature of prorogation to be made before the first terme or day be passed. For otherwise it is no prorogation, but a new appointment. And albeit it may be said, that then it may be long delaied; it is answered, that in this point, we must stand vnto the iudgement of the church, which considering diuers circumstances would thinke the time meete. For the liberty of celebrating of councels was institute for the profit and fauor of the church. What if it should happen that when the time commeth, in the place where a councell should be kept, there be a great plague, or some siege, which should continue by the space of 3. or 4. moneths, and the pope in the meane time doth not change the place according to the forme of the chapter *Frequens*, and that through such impediments, the prelats did not come the first day vnto the place, or if any were comming and were taken by the way, which if they had not beene taken, had bene present at the first day in the place appointed: is it therfore to be said that the power of the councell is past? or that the impediment ceasing, and the prelats comming thither, the councell cannot be holden? that truely were greatly absurd and too much preiudicial to the church of God: but in this our case, the cause is probable why that the prelats did deferre to come at the beginning of the time appointed: for so much as when the time drew neere, pope Martine died the 20. of February. For which cause, the prelats might well doubt vpon some impediment of the councell. Also they taried looking that some should come thither in the name of the pope, because they would not tarie in that place in vaine without a president. As for the legate which was appointed for the councell, whose presence all men taried for, before hee would prepare himselfe to that iourney, he came not at the time appointed vnto the councell, but went vnto Norenberge, to persecute the Bohemians, according to the commandement of pope Martine, which had enioyned him to goe first thither before he went to Basill.

The cause of the long delay of the prelats.

And the same legate being oftentimes required at Norenberge, that he should goe to Basill to hold the councell, hee answered, that he would not goe before he had the consent of the new bishop. This was the cause of the prelats delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed vnto the prelats, which suspected that pope Martine would not haue holden the councell, and feared to bring themselues in trouble; and good cause had they so to feare, through those things which happened in the councell of Sene. For there were many things spoken which caused great suspition. It was reported vnto me that many had said, I came vnto Germany to disturbe the councell.

The councell of Sene.

Also this was pope Martines mind and intent, that albeit the councell was not begun at the beginning of March, notwithstanding the authority of holding the councell should not be void. For he whē as the time of the councel approched, willed me that I should first go vntō Boheme, before I went vnto the councell: whereof also mention is made in the bull of the consistory dissolution.

But what neede we any other proofe, then by your holines letters? which by your letters dated the 2. Kalends of Iune, and were deliuered vnto me long after the time, by the space of 3. moneths, you doe command me that my businesse being done in Boheme, I should take my way vnto Basill to hold the councell, and there to foresee vnto all things as it was enioyned me, and ordained in the councell of Constance. The same also yee repeate in the bull of the dissolution brought vnto me by the lord Parentine, the words wherof are these. Vnto your circumspection. Since your going into Germany no prelats haue assembled in Basill for the celebrating of the councell: wee gaue you in commandement that in the meane time you should be diligent about the expedition against the Bohemian hereticks, which is committed to your charge, and afterward you should come vnto Basill the place appointed for the councell, & there to rule in our place in the name of the church. What is more euidēt then this? If any thing were doubtful, by the tenor of these letters it were euidently taken away. If any man would say, that neither P. Martin nor Eugenius could confirme the councell by writing of such letters, because there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter *Frequēs*, it is answered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is not necessary to hold the councel precisely euen at the beginning. Also it is no prorogation. For a prorogation is made before the terme is expired & not after: for after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. And if any man will say that there can bee no new indiction made, then may this be obiected; How could the councell of Bononia be newly appointed? If they wil answere, that the appointment of the councell of Bononia was of force, because the councell of Basill was dissolued by your holines, then I haue my intent. For if it were dissolued; *Ergo*, it was a councell before, because it presupposeth the habit. If it were a councell before, then, as hereafter shal be proued, it could not be dissolued without the consent of the councell: what can bee more answered hereunto? For the greater declaration and euidence of the matter, the abbat of Virgilia euen vpon the same day of the time appointed or afore, gathering together the prelats of the great church and many other prelats and notable men, made a solemne protestation, how the time was come to celebrate and hold the councell, and that he was come vnto Basil for the same purpose, requiring them that they would conferre and intreate together, vpon matters touching the councell, and hereupon there is a publike instrument or a testimoniall.

Within a moneth after the ambassadors of the Vniuersity of Paris came thither, and began to entreate of matters touching the councell, writing also vnto the emperor, and to the other princes of Germany, that they should send vnto the councell; which letters I my selfe did see; neither doth the small number of men let; for where as authority is, a great number is not required, according to the saying of Christ, where as 2. or 3. are gathered

gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them. Vpon the which authority, the councels are grounded. Now therfore your holinesse doth manifestly see the said obiection to be but friuolous. For to what end should any dissolution be made, if it had not been a councel? Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that it was a lawful councell, and canonically congregate. And peraduenture it is scarsly found where any councell hath been confirmed by so many authorities as this, that is to say, by the two councels before passed, of Constance and of Sene, and confirmed by two bishops of Rome.

Besides this, I haue heard that some do report at Rome, that I could not call the prelats vnto the councell, because that clause was not added in the bull of pope Martin. I greatly maruell why this should be obiected, specially seeng that not I alone haue called them, but I together with the rest which are here assembled in the councell. It is a maruellous matter; pope Martin gaue me authority by the aduice of the councell to roote out heresies, to pacifie kingdomes, to reforme the manners of euery state of Christendome, and yet they will say that I cannot cite them. Power is giuen me to iudge and to condemne, and haue I not also power to cite? The law doth say; vnto whom any power or iurisdiction is committed, all things seeme to be committed vnto him, without the which he cannot exercise his iurisdiction; for how could all the premisses be done, if the prelats or others should not come hither? Also why is it said in the chapter, *Ego enim de iureiurando*, I will come vnto the synod if I be called, if he cannot be called? By whom then is it presupposed that he should be called, but only by the councell, or by him which ruleth the councell? Also the whole eighteenth distinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the bishops being called vnto the councell, if they come not, that they may bee excommunicat and suspended. Let these men reade the booke of councels of S. Isidore, and they shall finde how that in many councels, the prelats haue been called by the synod. Now it remaineth, that we should declare, whether the dissolution be of force or no. Wherein I doe agalne feare to moue your holinesse vnto anger. But charity forceth me thereunto; for peraduenture your holinesse doth thinke the dissolution to be effectuall, and therefore doe persuere in it; whereby, forsomuch as many offences may rise, my conscience doth moue me, not to hold my peace. First of all the chapter *Frequens*, declareth, that it is not of force; for if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is a small matter, much more is dissolution; which is a greater matter: for it is a greater matter to take away, then to defer; for by proroging, a thing is but deferred, and by dissoluing, it is vtterly taken away. Also these men say, that the said constitution in the chapter *Frequens*, may be made void, forsomuch as soone as the councell is begun, it may bee dissolued without any thing done, as it is said that it was done at Senes; and now they say also that your holinesse hath been peruersly informed touching the dissolution. They say also, that the said dissolution doth manifestly tend to the subuersion of faith, the ruine of the church, & the trouble of the christian people. Therefore it cannot be done, neither obeied.

They say moreouer, that the said dissolution could not be made, by meanes of a certaine decree of the councell of Constance in that behalfe prouided. That in such matters as appertaine vnto faith, the extirpation of sinne, and reformation of the church in the head and in the members, that all men of what estate or condition soeuer they be, yea the pope himself, should be bound to obey the statutes, precepts, and ordinances of euerie generall councell, and except they did obey, to punish them. Marke how that these things, to haue power to determine vpon any man, to command him and punish him, if he be not obedient, are signes of superiority, in those matters which he doth decree, command or punish: and to be bound to obedience, to be subiect and obey the same, are signes of inferiority in the said cases. *Ergo*, in the foresaid cases, seeing that the pope, as they say, is vnder the councell, which also hath been: in that for one of the said three cases, the councell did depriue Iohn, and for the other Benedict, neither could the pope dissolue the councell; in that he is inferior vnto the councell, cannot binde or compell the superior: As in the chapter *Cum inferior*, otherwise it should containe in it a contradiction, that hee is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, because he may dissolue; for how should he be obedient vnto the ordinance and decree of the councell, if he may annihilate and take away the same ordinance and decree? This councell is congregate for the rooting out of heresies, for the making of peace, and reformation of manners; and in the first session it did ordaine, that their whole intent and respect should be thereunto, and that he which should procure to let the councell, to prorogue or alter it, should be punished, and haue processe against him as against a common disturber of the peace, &c. If it may be dissolued, it is euident that they doe not obey the said ordinance, whereby this also must of necessity be granted, that if it may be dissolued, the decree of the councel of Constance is of no force.

This is also proued by another reason. No man doubteth but if any controuersie of heresie should be moued against any bishop of Rome, that he could not dissolue the councell: For if he might dissolue the councell, he could not be iudged, which were contrary to the chap. *Si Pa. dist.* 40. *Ergo*, like as it is in heresie, so is it in the two other cases. For these three were pacified by the councell of Constance: for thus speaketh the councell: as it is in the chapter, *Si Papa in illo vno*. And as I haue before said, the councell of Constance allowed this decree, throgh the which they depriued Peter de Luna, for making of a schisme, and pope Iohn for the deformity of his life.

And albeit there be certaine lawes that say, the principall seat cannot be iudged of any man: and againe, no man iudgeth the chiefe seat: and, no man saith vnto himselfe, why doest thou so? There are to be vnderstood in these three cases: first, that there was prouiso made for the faith in the chapter *Si Papa*: and in the other two points, by the decree of Constance. Otherwise it should be vnderstood, without any exception, that the first seat, &c. and then the chapter *Si Papa*. 40. *distinct.* and the said decree of Constance should be false. If the chapter *Si Papa* had added causes of heresies, no man would haue doubted vpon these two cases, touching the said sentence; so likewise no man ought to doubt of the decree of the councell, that it was made by the authority of the pope, and representeth the vniuersall church. And if any man would say, that in all councels the authority of the pope is excepted: I answer, that it is true, when as the person of the pope is not specially included. But if he be specially included, he cannot be excepted, because it should sauor of contradiction. Most blessed father, God is my witnesse, that I haue spoken these things with great anguish and sorrow of mind, but I am forced so to speake, that your holinesse may cease from the said dissolution, lest there might happen infinite euils in the church of God. If your holinesse did see my pure mind, my vpright conscience, and entire affection towards you, whereby I am moued to write those things, euen for verie loue you would imbrace and kisse me, and without doubt loue me as your owne sonne. I haue often said, and now do say and protest before God and man, that you will be the cause of schisme and infinite mischieses, if you doe not alter and change your mind and purpose. Almighty God preserue your holinesse in the prosperity of a vertuous man. Vnto whose feet I doe most humbly recommend me. From Basil the 5. day of Iune.

Thus endeth the epistle of cardinall Iulian, written vnto pope Eugenius. Wherein, forsomuch as mention is made, how that the Bohemians had promised to send their ambassadors vnto the councell, and as before is partly touched in the Bohemian story, their comming into Basil, and propounding of certaine articles, wherein they dissented from the pope, we doe not thinke it any thing differing from our purpose, to annex a briefe epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their ambassage, their articles, disputations and answers which they had at the said councell of Basil, with their petitions and answers vnto the same. Faithfully translated out of Latin by F. W.

In like maner Aeneas Syluius also with his own hand and writting, not only gaue testimony to the authority of this councell, but also bestowed his labor and trauell in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding, the same Syluius afterward being made pope, with his new honor, did alter & change his old sentence. The epistle of which Aeneas, touching the commendation of the said councell, because it is but short, and will occupy but little rome, I thought hereunder, for the more satisfying of the readers mind, to insert.

✻ An epistle of Aeneas Syluius, to the Rector *of the Vniuersitie of Colen.*

An epistle of Aeneas Syluius, in defence of the councell of Basil.

TO a christian man, which will be a true christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, then that the sincerity and pureneſse of faith, giuen to vs of Christ by our fore-fathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the Gospell, the people ought with one consent to prouide lawfull remedy, and euery man to bring with him some water to quench the generall fire: neither must we feare how we be hated or enuied, so we bring the truth. We must resist euery man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walke not directly to the truth of the Gospell. Which thing I am glad, and so are we all, to heare that your Vniuersity hath done in this councell of Basil. For a certaine treatise of yours is brought hither vnto vs, wherein you reprehend the rudenesse, or rather the rashnesse of such, which do deny the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his iudgement, to be subiect vnto the generall councell, and that the supreame tribunall seat of iudgement, standeth in the church, and in no one bishoppe. Such men as deny this, you so confound with liuely reasons and truth of the scriptures, that neither they are able to slide away like slippery Eeles, neither to cauill or bring any obiection against you. These be the words of Syluius.

The tribunall seat standeth not in one bishop.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the foresaid councell, this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigismund the emperor, no man resisted this councell. Also, continuing the time of Charles the seuenth, the French king, the said councell of Basil was fully and wholly receiued thorow all France. But after the death of Sigismund, when Eugenius was deposed, and Felix duke of Sauoy was elected pope, great discords arose, and much practise was wrought.

The authority of the councell of Basil maintained by the emperor and the French king, so long as they liued.

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The practise of pope Eugenius, to vndoe the councell of Basil.

wrought. But especially on Eugenius part, who being now excommunicat by the councell of Basil, to make his part more strong, made eighteen new cardinals. Then he sent his Orators vnto the Germans, laboring by all perswasions to dissolue the councell of Basil. The Germans at that time were so diuided, that some of them did hold with Felix, and the councell of Basil: other some, with Eugenius and the councell of Ferraria: and some were Neuters. After this, the French king being dead, which was Charles the seuenth, about the

The pope stirreth vp war.

yere of our Lord 1444. the pope beginneth a new practise, after the old guise of Rome, to excite (as is supposed) the Dolphin of France by force of armes, to dissipate that councell collected against him. Who leading an army of fifteene thousand men into Alsatia, did cruelly waste and spoile the country: after that, laid siege vnto Basil, to expell and driue out the prelats of the councell. But the Heluetians most stoutly meeting

The Dolphin driuen away by a few Germans.

their enemies with a small power, did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight: like as the Lacedemonians only with three hundred did suppresse, and scattered all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

Although Basil thus by the valiantnes of the Heluetians was defended, yet notwithstanding the councell through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the princes ambassadors, which shrunke away and would not tary: So that at length Eugenius brought to passe, partly through the helpe of Frederike (being not yet emperor, but laboring for the empire)

The dissolution of the councell of Basil.

partly by his orators (in the number of whom was Eneas Syluius aboue mentioned (amongst the Germans) that they were content to giue ouer both the councell of Basil, and their neutrality.

Fredericke of Austrich crowned emperor, great grandfather to this Ferdinando.

This Fredericke of Austrich being not yet emperor, but towards the empire, brought also to passe, that Felix, which was chosen of the councell of Basil, to be pope, was contented to renounce & resigne his papacy to Nicolas the fifth, successor to Eugenius, of the which Nicolas, the said Fredericke was confirmed at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, anno 1451.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the meane season, pope Eugenius brought to passe in his conuocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarke of Constantinople, with the rest of the Grecians there present, were perswaded to

The legats of the Greeks condele end first to the popes law.

receiue the sentence of the church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost: also to receiue the communion in vnleauened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yéeld themselues to the authority of the Romish bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding, the other churches of Grecia would in no wise assent at

The Greeke churches refuse the popes doctrine.

their comming home: Insomuch, that with a publike execration, they did condemne afterward all those legats which had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in christian buriall: which was, anno 1439. Ex Casp. Peucer.

And thus endeth the story, both of the councell of Basil, and of the councell of Florence, also of the emperor Sigismund, and of the schisme betweene pope Eugenius, and pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians. The which Bohemians notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults aboue said, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at

The inconuenience of discord.

length through discord, partly betweene the two preachers of the old and new citie of Prage, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captaines, taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselues. Albeit afterward, in processe of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could neuer yet to this day, remoue the Thaborites and citie of Prage, from the communion of both the kinds, nor could euer cause them to keepe the conditions, which in the beginning of the councell was enioyned their priests to obserue, as testifieth Cochleus, lib. 8. hist. Huss. With whom also recordeth Antoninus, who in 3. part. hist. saith; That the doctrine of the Bohemians,

Ex Cochleo. lib. 8. hist. Hussit.

which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take so déepe roote with them, and grew so fast, that afterward, neither by fire nor sword, it could be extinct. Anton. 3. part. hist. tit. 22. cap. 10.

Ex Antonin. 3. part. tit. 22. c. 10.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a generall sum, to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they in their owne defence, and in the quarrell of John Hus, and Jerome of Prage, prouoked by their catholike aduersaries to war, fighting vnder Zisca their captaine, had eleuen battels with the popes side, and euer went away victors.

Ex hist. Caspari Peucer. lib. 5.

Ex Paral. Abb. Vrsp. in Epitaphio Ioan. Zisc. Moreouer, in the history of Peucer it is testified that pope Martin 5. sending for the bishop of Winchester then cardinall, had leuied 3. maine armies, intending to ouerrun all the Bohemians: one army of the Saxons vnder the prince elector, the second of the Frankones, vnder the marquesse of Brandenburge, the third of Renates, Bauarians, and Suechers, vnder Otto archbishop of Treuers. With these, Sigismund also the emperor and cardinall Iulian the popes legat (who at last was slaine in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) ioyned all their force. Who ioyning together fiue times (saith the story) with fiue sundry battels, assailed and inuaded the Bohemians: at euery which battell, fiue times the said aduersaries stricken and danted with a sudden feare, ran away out of the field, leauing their tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was giuen. Ex Casp. Peuc. lib. 5. Whereby it may appeare, the holy angels of God to fight for them which imbraced the sincere doctrine of Christs Gospell.

Marueilous feare fallen vpon the popes army.

Gods holy Angels pitch their tents about them which feare him. Psal. 34.

Thus the Bohemians through the mighty protection of almighty God, continued a long time inuincible, during all the life of Zisca, and also of Procopius, till at length through discord growing betweene them and their captaines Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued vnto their enemies.

And here by the way, is not to be omitted the wicked and cruell fact of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realme of Boheme of those chiefe and principall souldiers, which had béen long expert and trained vp in wars, found meanes by a proclamation made, as though he would war against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to traine all them which were disposed to take wages, into certaine barnes or houels prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doores vpon them, the wicked dissembler set fire vpon them, and burnt of them diuers thousands, and so brought the rest by that meanes vnder subiection to the emperor during his life time, which after that continued not long. Ex Aene. Syl. The which souldiers, if they had fought so much for the catholike liberties of the pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is maruell if the pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruell deceit of Mainardus, is worthy of all men to detested.

The cruell deceit and wicked fact of Mainardus against the souldiers of Boheme.

Certaine thousands of the Bohemian souldiers burnt.

Ex Aenea Syl. lib. de hist. Bohem. cap. 56.

During this businesse among the bishops beyond the sea, in the meane time our bishops here also in England were not vnoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the country that so giueth, or whether the great liuings and wealthy promotions of the clergy doe draw with them a more insensible vntowardnesse in Gods religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all them which wil reade and marke our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning & slaying for religion and for all other matters; more blood shed among vs, then in any other land or nation in Christendome besides. After the burning of Richard Houeden, of Nicolas Canon, and of Thomas Bagly priest, aboue recorded, pag. 612. whom the bishops condemned to death, anno 1431. not long after, about the yére of our Lord, 1439, which was the eighteenth of the raigne of king Henry the sixth, they had another poore man by the backe named Richard Wiche priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English chronicle borowed of one Perminger. What his opinions were, they doe not expresse. This they record, that this Richard Wiche first was degraded, then burned at the tower hill for heresie. Some do affirme, that he before his death reuolted, but that séemeth by his burning not to be true.

England noted of cruelty.

Burning and slaying in England.

Anno 1439. Richard Wiche priest, martyr. Ex Fabian. part. 7. Ex antiquo alio Chronico.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophecying) that the posterne of the tower should sinke; which also afterward came as he said to passe, wherefore of many of the people he was counted for an holy man: Insomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations & praiers, and areared a great heape of stones, and set vp a crosse there by night: so that by this meanes a great clamor ran vpon the church-men, and especially vpon such as put him to death. Then to cease the rumor, the king gaue commandement to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage. The copie whereof is here to be séene as followeth.

Richard Wiche after his death taken for a saint.

Rex vicecomitibus London. & Midd. salutem. Albeit Richard Wiche late clerke, who heretofore long sithence heretically did hold, teach, and publikely preach certaine heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realme of England: And for the same many yeeres now past being iudicially conuicted, did before a Iudge in that behalfe sufficiently abiure all heresie generally, and afterward as a dogge returning to his vomit, did presume to maintaine, teach, and publikely preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adiudged a Relapse: And againe, being impeached for the same before the reuerend father in God Robert bishoppe of London, his lawfull Ordinary, was called forth to iudgement, and being before him, did iudicially confesse his errors and heresies: for the which cause the said reuerend father, vpon mature deliberation by him the said reuerend father first had with the aduice of the learned in the law, his assistants lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did by his sentence definitiue, pronounce and adiudge him to be a Relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all priestly ornaments, and depriued him of all priestly function and priuiledge (according to iustice) and last of all, turned him ouer to the secular power as the manner is: and afterwards you, by our princely commandement and warrant, did according to the law of our realme for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a Relapse conuict, and degraded as a notorious traytour, not onely against God, but also against vs and our

crowne

crowne and dignity. All which notwithſtanding, certaine our ſubiects (as we haue been ſundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolicall ſpirit, practiſing of all likelihood not only ſedition, but alſo idolatry within our realme, are not afraid publikely to affirme, that the ſaid Richard was altogether innocent of hereticall prauity. Nay rather they doe moſt ſhamefully with their vaine deuices, and wickedly conceiued imaginations, blaze abroad that he was, and died, a good, iuſt, and an holy man, and that he doth many miracles, (whereas indeed no ſuch miracles be done by him.) Which diſordinate perſons, we may well and vpon probable cauſes repute and deeme culpable, not only of hereticall prauity, but alſo of high treaſon, and as rebels to our perſon, Maieſtie, and violators of the peace and dignity of our realme, as with all breakers and treſpaſſers againſt the ſacred canons of the church, who dare ſo preſumptuouſly aduenture to worſhip the ſaid Richard as a Saint, whereas it is not lawfull to worſhip any manner of perſon, be he neuer ſo holy, before he be canoniſed by the authority of the biſhop of Rome. We therefore being very carefull for the good preſeruation of our peace, and deſirous to aboliſh from out al the coaſts of the ſame all maner idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certaine places within your liberties, where you ſhall thinke moſt conuenient; you cauſe forthwith proclamations to be made on our behalfe, ſtraitly charging, that no perſon from henceforth preſume to reſort to the place where the ſaid Richard was executed vnder colour of Pilgrime, or for any other cauſe of deuotion whatſoeuer, nor ſend any offering thither, nor worſhip him hereafter openly or ſecretly, nor adiudge, eſteeme, repute, name, or talke of him, as otherwiſe iuſtified or innocent, then ſuch as the ſaid reuerend father by his former definitiue ſentence hath pronounced him to be, vpon paine and penalty to be taken and reputed for an heretike, or a fauorer of heretikes, and to receiue condigne puniſhment prouided for heretikes. And that you arreſt all and euery perſon whom you ſhall finde to doe any thing contrary to this our proclamation, and the ſame ſo arreſted, commit to our priſon, there to remaine vntill wee ſhall thinke good to ſend countermaund for their deliuerance. Witneſſe the king at his Manor of Eſtampſted, the 15. day of Iuly, in the 18. yeere of his raigne.

Per ipſum Regem.

Like writs, and to the ſame effect were directed to all the Sheriffes thorow all the realme, bearing all one and the ſame date. By the vertue of which letter, the Maior and Sheriffes did vſe ſuch diligence, that ſhortly after, that concourſe and reſting of the people was left off.

Ex Regiſt. Henr. Chicheſtel.

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the ſame yeere about Nouember, a conuocation was called by Henry archbiſhop of Canturbury, wherein was propounded among the clergy, to conſult with themſelues what way were beſt to be taken, for the remouing away the law of Premuniri facias; for ſo were the hearts then of the temporalty ſet againſt the eccleſiaſticall ſort, that where any vantage might be giuen them by the law, they did nothing ſpare, by reaſon whereof, the churchmen at that time were greatly moleſted by the ſaid law of Premuniri, and by the kings writs, and other inditements, to their no ſmall annoiance. By long cõſultation and good aduiſement, at laſt this way was taken, that a petition or ſupplication ſhould be drawne and preſented to the king, for the abolifhing of the foreſaid law of Premuniri facias, and alſo for the reſtraining of other briefes, writs, and inditements, which ſeemed then to lie heauy vpon the clergy. This bill or ſupplication being contriued and exhibited by the archbiſhop of Canturbury and of Yorke, vnto the king ſtanding in need the ſame time, of a ſubſidie to be collected of the clergy: this anſwer was giuen to their ſupplication on the kings behalfe: That forſomuch as the time of Chriſtmas then drew neere, whereby he had as yet no ſufficient leaſure to aduiſe vpon the matter, he would take therein a farther pauſe. In the meane time, as one tendering their quiet, he would ſend to all his officers and miniſters within his realme, that no ſuch briefes of Premuniri, ſhould paſſe againſt them or any of them, from the ſaid time of Chriſtmas, till the next parliament, anno 1439. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

The kings anſwer to the bill of the clergy, touching the law of Premuniri.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments, ſo haſtily raſhed vp at that preſent, in ſuch ſhortneſſe of time, as in the ſaid booke thou maieſt ſee (gentle reader) declared and ſignified: among many other matters therein contained, there is a ſhort note made of one Eleanor Cobham, duchelle of Glocelter, and of ſir Roger Orley knight (prieſt, it ſhould haue been printed,) which two perſons, about the yeere of our Lord 1440. or the next yeere following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetuall priſon. Of this little ſhort matter, maſter Cope the popes ſcout, lying in priuy wait to ſpie faults in all mens workes, whereſoeuer any may appeare, taketh pepper in the noſe, and falleth againe vnto his old barking againſt me, for placing theſe foreſaid perſons in my booke of Martyrs; but eſpecially he thinketh to haue great vantage againſt me, for that in the ſame ſtory, I doe ioyne withall one Margaret Iourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned alſo with them the ſame time, and burned for practiſing the kings death by an image of wax, &c. To anſwere hereunto, firſt I ſay (as I before ſaid) that I profeſſe no ſuch title to write of Martyrs, but in generall to write of acts and monuments paſſed in the church and realme of England. Wherein, why ſhould I be reſtrained from the free walke of a ſtory writer, more then other that haue gone before me?

A briefe anſwer to Cope, concerning lady Eleanor Cobham.

Secondly, touching my commendation of ſir Roger Orley, and the lady Eleanor, if maſter Alane be therewith offended: I anſwere, that I commended them for fauoring and fauoring of the truth of Chriſts doctrine: For the fact, if any ſuch were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarying vpon it, nor yet altogether vpon mine owne head, without ſome ſufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as wel beleeue John Bale, as M. Alane beleeue M. Fabian: eſpecially ſeeing I doe know, and was priuy, that the ſaid John in recogniſing his centuries, followed altogether the hiſtory of Leland. De Catalogo virorum illuſtrium; which booke being borrowed of maſter Cheeke, I my ſelfe did ſee in the hands of the foreſaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the houſe of the noble lady ducheſſe of Richmond. Wherfore if he thinke me ſo leaud to ſpeake without mine authors, he is deceiued. And if he thinke mine authors not to be beleeued, then let this Nomothetes, or iolly Dictator, come forth and preſcribe vs a law, what authors he would haue vs to take, and what to refuſe. For elſe why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale, and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian, and Edward Hall, eſpecially ſeeing they had ſeene his bookes and workes left behind him, whereupon they might better iudge, and ſo did neuer theſe?

To the third obiection.

Thirdly, for the name of Roger Orley; if Cope deny that there was any ſuch name in ſtories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke, &c. hereby it may appeare, that either his prompter out of England deceiued him, or elſe that he going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect ſycophant. And admit the ſaid name of Orley could not be found in thoſe writers, yet were it not impoſſible for a man to haue two names, eſpecially if he were a religious man, to beare the name of the towne where he was borne, beſide his owne proper ſurname. But now what if I (maſter Cope) can auouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Orley out of ſufficient record, which you ſeeme not to haue yet read? Haue ye not then done well, and properly (thinke you) ſo bitterly to flie in my face, and to barke ſo eagerly all this while at mine ſhine in the water, hauing no more cauſe almoſt againſt me, then againſt the man in the mone? And now leſt you ſhould thinke me ſo much vnprouided of iuſt authority for my defence, as I ſee you vnprouided of modeſty and patience: write you to your prompter or ſubornor (whereſoeuer hee lurketh here in England) to ſend you ouer vnto Louane the booke of John Harding a chronicler, more ancient then either Fabian or Hall, printed in the houſe of Richard Grafton, anno 1543. where turne to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there ſhall you finde and reade theſe words:

Againe, the Church and the king curſedly,
By helpe of one maſter Roger Orley, &c.

By the which words, ye muſt neceſſarily confeſſe Roger Orley to be the name of the man, either elſe muſt ye needs deny the author. For otherwiſe, that maſter Roger Bolingbroke was the onely helper to the ducheſſe in that fact, by no wiſe it can ſtand with the ſtory of theſe authors, which ſay, that foure other beſides him were condemned for the ſame crime, &c. And moreouer, though the ſaid ſir Roger Orley was no knight (as I haue ſaid in my former edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the teſtimony of them that haue ſeene his workes, but that he was a prieſt, which you will grant to be a knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of maſter Roger Orley.

Vid. Conſtar. 8. Bal. cap. 4.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Iourdeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to ſay that I make her a martyr, which was a witch: whereas I here profeſſe, confeſſe, and aſcertaine both you, and all Engliſh men, both preſent, and all poſterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Iourdeman I neuer ſpake of, neuer thought of, neuer dreamed of, nor did euer heare of, before you named her in your booke your ſelfe. So far is it off, that I either with my will, or againſt my will, made any martyr of her.

To the fourth obiection.

Furthermore, I profeſſe and denounce in like maner, that neither haue you any iuſt or congrue occaſion in my booke ſo to iudge, much leſſe to raile of me. For where in erpreſſe words I doe ſpeake of the mother of the lady Young, what occaſion haue you thereby to ſlander me and my booke with Margaret Iourdeman: which Margaret, whether ſhe was a witch or not, I leaue her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I meane of her now. But becauſe I couple her in the ſame ſtory, you ſay. To this I ſay, becauſe ſhee was the mother of a lady, I thought to ioyne her with another lady in the ſame ſtory, as in one pew together, although in one cauſe I will not ſay. And yet notwithſtanding I doe ſo couple the ſaid mother with the ducheſſe, in ſuch diſtinct difference of yeeres, that you maſter Cope might eaſily haue vnderſtood, or beſide you, no man elſe would haue thought

M. Cope raileth without a cauſe.

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thought the contrary, but that Margaret Iourdeman was neither here in my booke, nor yet in my memento. For the words of my story are plaine, where as the condemnation of the lady Eleanor, and of the mother of lady Young, being referred to the yeere of our Lord, 1441. I doe also in the same story (through the occasion of that lady) inferre mention of the mother of the lady Young, declaring in expresse words, that she followed certaine yeeres after, and in the end of that chapter, doe name also the yeere of her burning to be 1490. which was fiftie yeeres after the death of Onley, and Margaret Iourdeman: by the computation of which yeeres it is plaine, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the lady Youngs mother.

See the former edition, pag. 371.

But M. Cope continuing still in his wrangling mode, obiecteth againe, for that in my Calendar the said lady Youngs mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, which day pertaineth properly to Margaret Iourdeman, which was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the ladies mother, &c.

What order was taken in placing the names and daies, what is that to me? If he which had the disposing of the Catalogue, did place them so in moneths, as he saw them ioyned in chapters, not perusing peraduenture nor aduising the chapters, that doth nothing preiudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth cleere it selfe in distincting them rightly in names and also in yeeres, as is afore declared.

The fifth obiection.

Fifthly and lastly, hauing thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times (M. Cope) I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime obiected to the lady Duchesse, and to the rest: with this protestation before premised vnto the reader, that if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I did not here deale withall, nor speake of the matter, but vtterly to haue pretermitted, and dispuncted the same. But forsomuch as the deed and offence laid and giuen forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of euill will compacted, rather then true indeed: therefore I doe but only moue a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only mouing the question, whether it is to be iudged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged, and so hauing briefly propounded certaine coniecturall suspicions or suppolals concerning that matter, to passe it ouer, neither medling on the one side nor on the other.

The story of the lady Eleanor and Roger Onley here pretermitted.

A question whether Eleanor the duchesse was culpable of treason against the king.

Certaine coniectures of the crime not to be true.

1. Coniecture.

The first coniecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason laid to the charge of the Duchesse, and Roger Onley, against the king, may be vntrue, is this: that the said Onley (otherwise named Bolingbroke) tooke it vpon his death, that they neuer intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

2. Coniecture.

The second coniecture: for that the lady Eleanor, and Onley seemed then to fauor and sauor of that religion set forth by Wickliffe, and therefore like enough that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practise of papists can doe, it is not vnknowne.

3. Coniecture.

The third coniecture: for that the said master Roger Onley falsly noted and accused of Necromancy, wrote a booke in purgation of himselfe, entituled, de Innocentia sua. Also another booke entituled, Contra vulgi superstitiones, recorded in Centu. 8. Bal. cap. 4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was ouertaken with that filth of Necromancy himselfe.

4. Coniecture.

The fourth coniecture: because this accusation against the Duchesse of Glocester, duke Humfreies wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled betweene the cardinall of Winchester, and duke Humfrey her husband.

5. Coniecture.

Another coniecture may be hereof, for that, if the duchesse had intended any such hainous treason against the kings life, as by burning of a wax candle to consume him, it is not like (neither was there any such need) that she would haue made so many priuy to such a pernicious counsell, as the witch of Eye, master Roger Bolingbroke, master Thomas Southwel, and John Hume.

6. Coniecture.

Sirthly, it is not to be supposed, if any such hie treason had been wrought or pretended against the kings person by these, that either the duchesse should so escape with bearing a taper and banishment, or that John Hume should be pardoned his life, the fact being so hainous, that neither any durst aske his pardon, nor if it had been asked, it had not been like to bee granted.

7. Coniecture.

To these we may also adde another suppolall, rising vpon the words & forme of their acculation, as it standeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and other moe, wherein they were accused for working sorcery and inchantments against the church and the king. Now what sorcery can be wrought against the church, that is, the whole multitude of christians, let the reader iudge, and by the truth of this consider also the truth of the other, which was against the king. Furthermore, if by this church is ment the cardinall of Winchester, as like it is, then it may be coniecturall, that all this matter rose of that cardinall, who was then a mortall enemy to the house of Glocester, &c.

8. Coniecture.

Eighthly: and that all this was done and wrought by the said cardinall of Winchester, the witch concerning Eye, maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that towne of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was neere beside Winchester, and see of that bishop.

9. Coniecture.

Moreouer, for so much as Polydore Virgil, among other story authors, being a man as may be supposed, rather fauoring the cardinals part then the dukes, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence thereof may minister matter not only to muse, but also to coniecture, that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is vnlikethat hee would haue so mewed vp the matter, and passed it ouer without some mention.

10. Coniecture.

Finally and breefly: the frequent practises and examples of other times, may make this also more doubtfull, considering how many subtill pretences, after the like sort haue bin sought, and wrongfull accusations brought against many innocent persons. For (not to repeate the like forgeries against the lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.) why may not this accusation of the duchesse and Onley, be as false as that in the time of king Edward the fifth, which was laid to the charge of the queene and Shores wife by the protector, for enchanting & bewitching of his withered arme: which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarrell made, only to oppresse the life of the lord Hastings, and the lord Standley, &c. And thus maiest thou see, gentle reader, according to the Wise mans saying: Nihil nouum esse sub sole: Nihilque dictum, quod non sit dictum prius, &c.

Although these with many mo coniectures, may be alledged in some part of defence of this duchesse, and of her chaplaines and priests, yet because it may not be vnpossible againe, the matter laid against them to be true, I leaue it therefore at large as I finde it: saying as I said before, that if it be true which the stories say in this matter, thinke I beseech thee gentle reader, that I haue said nothing hereof. Only, because y matter may be disputable, and not vnpossible to be false, I haue but moued thereof a question, and brought my coniectures, leauing the determination and iudgement hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments, I durst name the lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Onley: let him take this for a short answer, because my leasure serueth not to make long brawles with him, that if I had thought no imperfections to haue passed in my former edition before, I would neuer haue taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to sponge away such motes, as I thought would seeme great stumbling blocks in such mens walks, which walke with no charity to edifie, but with malice to carpe and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amisse in others, neither tarying while other men reforme themselues, and finally finding quarrels where no great cause is iustly giuen. And here an end with M. Cope for this time.

A briefe answere to master Copes cauillations, concerning duke Humfreys wife.

Forsomuch as in the processe before, mention was touched concerning the grudge betweene the cardinall, called the rich cardinall of Winchester, and the good duke Humfrey duke of Glocester, the kings vncle, and protector of the realme, order of story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large. Wherein this first is to be vnderstood, that long before great flames of grudge and discord did burst out between these two. For as the noble heart of the duke could not abide the proud doings of the cardinall, so much against the cardinall in like maner sore enuied and disdained at the rule of the duke of Glocester. Notwithstanding, by the means of the duke of Bedford, the breaking out betweene them was before appeased and cured: yet not so, but that vnder imperfect amity, priuy hatred, as sparkles vnder the imbers, did still remaine: So that the cardinall, ioyning with the archbishop of Yorke, attempted many things of their owne presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the king (being then vnder age) but also of the protector and gouernor of the realme. Wherewith the duke (like a true hearted prince) being not without iust cause offended, declared in writing to the king certaine complaints contained in 21. articles, wherein the cardinall and archbishop had transgressed, both against the king and his lawes. The tenor whereof more at large is in other stories expressed, the briefe abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seene.

The contention between the cardinall of Winchester and duke Humfrey, lord protector.

{Anno 1440}

Ex Polychron.

¶ Certaine points or articles obiected by duke Humfrey, against the cardinall of Winchester.

Winchester presumeth to be cardinall against the mind of his king.

FIrst, complained to his soueraigne prince his right redoubted lord duke Humfrey, his vncle & protector of the realme, that the bishop of Winchester, in the daies of his father king Henry the fifth, tooke vpon him the state of a cardinall, being denied by the king, saying, that hee had as liefe set his owne crowne beside him, as to see him weare a cardinals hat; and that in parliaments, he not being contented with the place of a bishop among the spirituall persons, presumed aboue his order; which the said duke desired to be redressed.

Winchester incurreth the law of præmunire.

2. Item, whereas he being made a cardinall, was voided of his bishoprieke of Winchester, hee procured from Rome the popes

popes bull, vnknowing to the king, whereby he toke againe his bishoprick, contrary to the common law of this realme, incurring thereby the case of prouision, and forfetting all his goods to the king, by the law of premuniri facias.

Winchester intermedleth himselfe to be the kings gouernor.

3. Item, hee complained that the said cardinall, with the archbishop of Yorke, intruded themselues to haue the gouernance of the king, and the doing vnder the king of temporall matters, excluding the kings vncle, and other temporall lords of the kings kinne, from hauing knowledge of any great matter.

The Cardinall defraudeth the king of his iewels.

4. Item, whereas the king had borowed of the cardinall foure thousand pounds, vpon certaine iewels, and afterward had his mony ready at the day to quit his iewels: the cardinall caused the treasure to conuert that mony to the paiment of another army, to keepe the iewels still to his owne vse and gaine.

The Cardinall deliuereth the King of Scots vpon his owne authoritie.

5. Item, he being then bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, deliuered the king of Scots vpon his owne authority, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his neece afterward to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should haue paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the cardinall procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

The Cardinall playeth the marchant.

6. Item the said cardinall, for lending notable sums to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he, setting his seruants to be the customers, woll and other marchandise was, vnder that cloke, exported, not so much to his singular vantage, being the chiefe merchant, as to the great preiudice of the king, and detriment to his subiects.

7. Item, the cardinall in lending out great sums to the king, yet so deferred and delaied the loane thereof, that comming out of season, the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinderance.

The Cardinall a defrauder of the king.

8. Item, where iewels and plate were prised at eleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall forfetted to the king: the cardinall for loane of a little peece, gat him a restorement thereof, to the kings great dammage, who better might haue spared the commons, if the summe had remained to him cleere.

9. Item, where the kings father had giuen Elizabeth Berchamp three hundred marks of liuelode, with this condition, if shee wedded within a yeere, the cardinall, notwithstanding she was married two or three yeeres after, yet gaue her the same, to the kings great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

The Cardinall taketh vpon him like a king.

10. Item, the cardinall hauing no authority nor interest to the crowne, presumed notwithstanding to call before him, like a king to the kings high derogation.

11. Item, that the cardinall sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all dismes, due to the king by the church of Winchester, giuing thereby example to the clergy, to withdraw their dismes likewise, and lay all the charge only vpon the temporaltie and poore commons.

12. 13. Item, by the procuring of the said Cardinall & Archbishop of Yorke, great goods of the kings were lost and dispended vpon needles Ambassades, first to Arras, then to Calice.

14. Item, it was laid to the charge of the said Cardinall and Archbishop, that by their meanes, going to Calice, the two enemies of the king, the Duke of Orleance, and Duke of Burgoyne, were deduced together in accord and alliance, who being at warre before betweene themselues, and now confederate together, ioined both together against the kinges townes and countreys ouer the sea, to the great danger of Normandy, and destruction of the kings people.

The Cardinall traitor to the crowne.

15. Item, by the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Cardinall, perswasions were moued openly in the kings presence, with allurements and inducements, that the king should leaue his right, his title, and honour of his crowne, in nominating him king of France, during certaine yeares, and that hee should vtterly abstaine, and bee content onely in writing, with Rex Angliæ, to the great note and infamy of the king, and all his progenitours.

16. 17. Item, through the sleight and subtlety of the said Cardinall and his mate, a new conuention was intended betweene the king, and certaine aduersaries of France, also the deliuerance of the Duke of Orleance was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dishonour and inconuenience was like to fall, rather of the kings side, then of the other.

The Cardinall a purchaser of the kings lands.

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchased great lands and liuelodes of the king, the Duke being on the other side the sea occupied in warres, which redounded little to the worship and profite of the king; and moreouer had the king bound, to make him assure estate of all those lands by Easter next, as could be deuised by any learned counsell, or else the said Cardinall to haue and enioy to him and his heyres for euer, the lands of the Duchie of Lancaster in Northfolke to the value of 7. or 8. hundred markes by the yeare.

Peruerse counsell of the Cardinall.

19. Item, where the Duke the kings vncle, had often offered his seruice for the defence of the Realme of France, and the Duchie of Normandie, the Cardinall euer laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after this singular affection: whereby a great part of Normandy hath been lost.

20. Item, seeing the Cardinall was risen to such riches and treasure, which could growe to him, neither by his Church, nor by inheritance (which he then had) it was of necessitie to be thought, that it came by his great deceites, in deceiuing both the king, and his subiects, in selling offices, preferments, liuelodes, captaynships; both heere, and in the realme of France and in Normandy, so that what hath bene there lost, he hath bene the greatest causer thereof.

The Cardinall a deceiuer of the king, and a briber.

21. Furthermore, when the said Cardinall had forfeited all his goods by the statute of prouision, he hauing the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realme, purchased from the Pope a charter of pardon, not onely to the defeating of the lawes of the Realme, but also to the defrauding of the king, who otherwise might and should haue had wherewith to sustaine his warres, without any tallag of his poore people, &c.

The Cardinall purchaseth a pardon against his *premuniri.*

When the king heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his Counsell, whereof the most part were spirituall persons. So, what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was wincked at, and dalied out, and nothing said thereunto, and a fayre countenance was made to the Duke, as though no displeasure had bene taken, nor malice borne in these spirituall stomaches. But shortly after, the smoke hereof, not able to keepe in any longer within the spirituall brests of these charitable churchmen, brast out in flames of mischiefe: For vpon the necke of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall which followeth Polychronicon, first ensued the condemnation of Lady Elianour the Duches and her Chaplaines, as ye haue heard before. Whereby it may appeare, the said Duches more of malice then any lust cause, thus to haue bene troubled. Also within vi. yeares after, followed the lamentable destruction of the Duke himselfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Prelates hold one with other.

Walter burnt out.

About which time, or not long after, An. 1443. the Steeple of Paules was set on fire by lightning, and at last by diligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

Paules steeple set on fire by lightning.

And after the condemnation of Lady Elianour the Duches aforesaid, within few yeares, An. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chichelley Archbishop of Cant. by whome she was condemned in S. Stephens chappell at Westminster, for penance to beare a taper through cheapside three sundry times, and afterward outlawed to the Ile of Man, vnder the custody of Syr John Standley knight. This Henry Chichelley builded in his time 2. Colledges in the vniuersitie of Oxford, the one called Allsoule Colledge, the other named Barnard Colledge.

Anno 1445

The death of Henry Chichelley Archbishop of Canturbury.

The building of Allsoule Colledge and Barnard Colledge in Oxford.

Proceeding now to the yeare, wherein suffered Humfrey that good Duke of Gloucester, which was ỳ yeare of our Lord 1447. first we will begin in few words to intreate of his life and conuersation: then of the manner and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this Duke: first, hee was the sonne of Henry the fourth, brother to king Henry the fift, and vncle to king Henry the first, assigned to be the gouernour and protector of his person. Of maners he seemed meeke and gentle, louing the common wealth, a supporter of the poore commons, of wit and wisdoume discreet and studious, wel affected to religion, and a friend to veritie, and no lesse enemie to pride and ambition, especially in haughty Prelates, which was his vndoing in this present euill world: And which is seldome and rare in such princes of that calling, he was both learned himselfe, and no lesse giuen to studie, as also a singular fauourer and patrone to them which were studious and learned. And that my commendation of him may haue the more credit, I will produce the testimonie of learned writers, who liuing in his time, not onely doe commend his famous knowledge, and ripenes of learning in him, but also commit and submit their workes to his iudgement to be examined. Of which writers, one is Petrus de Monte, writing De virtutum & vitiorum differentia: who in his Epistle dedicatory beginning with the singular commendation of this Duke, & afterward speaking De optimarum artium, liberaliumque scientiarum peritia, sayeth thus: Cui tu quidem omni conatui omni ingenio, atque studio incumbis: adeo & nihil tibi sine librorum lectione, iucundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur, &c. And in further processe of his worke, thus hee further declareth, saying: Delectaris autem non vna tantum arte, aut scientia, quanquam & id quidem esset satis: verùm ferè omnibus, earumque codices magna quadam auiditate legisti, &c. Besides this Petrus de Monte, let vs heare also the iudgement of another writer of the same age, named Lapiscastellius, who likewise dedicating to the said Duke Humfrey, his booke intituled Comparatio studiorum & rei militaris, Amongst diuers other wordes commendatory, hath these as follow: Ad te potissimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, & sapientissimum iudicem fore existimo, qui vt ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Baiocensi episcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidissimo, accepi: ita in his humanitatis studiis inuigilares, vt nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps, nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus sit, &c. Many other arguments and places may bee brought to declare what is to bee esteemed of the learning and studious wit of this noble Prince.

Anno 1447

The story and death of Humfrey, Duke of Glocester.

Duke Humfrey commended for his learning.

Petrus de Monte, De vertutum & vitiorum differentia, ad D. Humfredum.

Lapiscastellius De comparatione studiorum & rei militaris ad D. Humfredum.

Furthermore, as the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreete wisedome and singular prudence in him no lesse to be considered: as for the more manifest

ſelf proue thereof, I thought here good amongſt many other his godly doings, to recite one example reported as wel by the pen of ſir Thomas More, as alſo by M. William Tindall, the true Apoſtle of theſe our latter daies, to the intent to ſee and note, not only the craftie working of falſe miracles in the clergy, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this high and mighty prince, the foreſaid duke Humfrey, may giue vs the better to vnderſtand what man he was. The ſtorie lieth thus.

In the young daies of this king Henry the firth, being yet vnder the gouernance of this duke Humfrey his protector, there came to S. Albons a certaine begger with his wife, and there was walking about the towne begging, fiue or ſix daies before the kings comming thither, ſaying that he was borne blinde, & neuer ſaw in his life, and was warned in his dreame, that he ſhould come out of Barwicke, where he ſaid he had euer dwelled, to ſeeke ſaint Albon, and that he had been at his ſhrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would goe and ſeeke him at ſome other place: for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince he came, that S. Albons body ſhould be at Colen, and in deed ſuch a contention hath there been. But of truth as I am ſurely informed he lieth here at S. Albons, ſauing ſome reliques of him, which they there ſhew ſhrined. But to tel you forth my tale, when the king was come, and the town full, ſuddenly this blind man at S. Albons ſhrine had his ſight againe, and a miracle ſolemnly rung, and Te Deum ſung, ſo that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So hapned it then, that duke Humfrey of Gloceſter, a man no leſſe wiſe then alſo well learned, hauing great ioy to ſee ſuch a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and firſt ſhewing himſelfe ioyous of Gods glory, ſo ſhewed in the getting of his ſight, and exhorting him to meekneſſe, and to no aſcribing of any part of the worſhip to himſelfe, nor to be proud of the peoples praiſe, which would call him a good and godly man thereby: at laſt, he looked well vpon his eyne, and aſked whether he could ſee nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himſelfe affirmed faſtly no, then he looked aduiſedly vpon his eyne againe, and ſaid: I beleeue you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot ſee well yet. Yes ſir, quoth he, I thanke God and his holy martyr, I can ſee now as well as any man. Yea can (quoth the duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anon the begger told him. What colour (quoth hee) is this mans gowne? He told him alſo, and ſo forth without any ſticking, he told him the names of all the colours that could be ſhewed him. And when the duke ſaw that, he bad him walke traitor, and made him to be ſet openly in the ſtockes: for though he could haue ſeene ſuddenly by miracle the difference betweene diuers colours, yet could he not by the ſight ſo ſuddenly tell the names of all theſe colours, except he had knowne them before, no more then the names of all the men that he ſhould ſuddenly ſee.

A falſe miracle eſpied.

Diſſimulation well puniſhed.

By this may it be ſeene how duke Humfrey had not only an head to diſcerne and diſſeuer truth from forged and fained hypocriſie, but ſtudy alſo and diligence likewiſe was in him, to reforme that which was amiſſe.

Commendation of duke Humfrey.

The good duke of Gloceſter.

And thus much hitherto for the noble proweſſe and vertues, ioyned with the like ornaments of knowledge, and literature ſhining in this princely duke. For the which, as he was both loued of the poore commons, and well ſpoken of all men, and no leſſe deſeruing the ſame, being called the good duke of Gloceſter, ſo neither yet wanted he his enemies and priuy enuiers, whether it was through the fatall and vnfortunate lucke of the name of that houſe, which is but a vaine and friuolous obſeruation of Polydor and Hall which followeth him, bringing in the examples of Hugh Spenſer, of Thomas of Woodſtocke, ſonne of king Edward the third, of this duke Humfrey, and after of king Richard the third, duke likewiſe of Gloceſter: or whether it was that the nature of true vertue commonly is ſuch, that as the flame euer beareth his ſmoke, and the bodie his ſhadow, ſo the brightneſſe of vertue neuer blazeth, but hath ſome diſdaine or enuy waiting vpon it: or elſe whether it was rather for ſome diuorcement from his wife, or for ſome other vice or treſpaſſe done (as ſeemeth moſt like truth) which God as well in dukes houſes correcteth, as in other inferior perſons, eſpecially where hee loueth. But howſoeuer the cauſe is to vs vnknowne, this good duke of Gloceſter, albeit being both the kings ſole vncle, and hauing ſo many ſtelwillers thorow the whole realme, yet lacked not his ſathan, lacked not his ſecret maligners. Of whom, ſpecially was Henry Beuford cardinall, biſhop of Wincheſter, and chancellor of England, who of long time diſdaining and enuying the rule & authority of this duke, firſt had diſpoſed and appointed himſelfe, to remoue the kings perſon from Eltham vnto Windſor out of the dukes hands, and there to put in ſuch gouernors as him liſted. After that, intending the dukes death, he ſet men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge, and fore-barring the high way with a draw-chaine, ſet men in chambers, cellers and windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the purpoſed deſtruction both of the duke and his retinue, if God had not ſo diſpoſed to turne his tourney another way. Beſide other manifold iniuries and moleſtations, the ambitious Cardinall ſeeking by all meanes to be pope, procured ſuch trouble againſt him, that great diuiſion was thereby in the whole realme: inſomuch that all the ſhops within the city of London were ſhut in, for feare of the fauourers of theſe two great perſonages, for each part had aſſembled no ſmall number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the archbiſhop of Canturbury, & the duke of Quinber, called the prince of Portingale, rode 7. times in one day betweene thoſe two aduerſaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diuiſion within the realme, and all by the excitation of this vnquiet cardinall.

Polyd. Hiſt. lib. 23. Hall in 25. Henr. 6.

The enemies of the duke of Gloceſter.

The malicious working of the cardinall againſt the duke of Gloceſter.

Duer and beſide this cardinall afore mentioned, an other capitall enemy to the ſaid duke, was William de la Pole, firſt earle, then marqueſſe, at laſt duke of Suffolke, a man very ill reported of in ſtories, to be not only the organ and inſtrument of this good mans death, but alſo to be the noyance of the common wealth, and ruine of the realme. For by him and his onely deuice, was firſt concluded the vnprofitable and vnhonorable mariage betweene the king and lady Margaret daughter of the duke of Angeow: where as the king had concluded and contracted, a mariage before with the daughter of the earle of Arminik, vpon conditions ſo much more profitable and honorable, as more conuenient it is for a prince to marrie a wife with riches and friends, then to take a maid with nothing, and diſherit himſelfe, and his realme of old rights, and ancient inheritance; which ſo came to paſſe. And all this the good duke did well foreſee, and declared no leſſe; but his counſell would not be taken. Wherupon followed firſt the giuing away the duchy of Angeow, and the city of Maine, with the whole countrey of Maine, to Reiner duke of Angeow and father of the damſell, called then king of Sicile, and of Jeruſalem, hauing therof no peny profit, but only a vaine name to play withall.

Wil. de la Pole duke of Suffolk, the cauſe of the duke of Gloceſters death.

The vnprofitable mariage betweene king Henry the 6. and queene Margaret.

An other ſore enemy and mortall plague to this duke, was the quéene her ſelfe, lately before married to the king: Who being of hautie ſtomacke, and all ſet vpon glory, of wit and wiliues, lacking nothing, and perceiuing hir huſband to be ſimple of wit, and eaſie to be ruled, tooke vpon her to rule and gouerne both the king and kingdome. And becauſe the aduice and counſell of Humfrey duke of Gloceſter, was ſomewhat a ſtay that her authority and regiment could not ſo fully proceed, and partly becauſe the ſaid duke before did diſagree from that mariage, this manly woman and couragious quéene ceaſed not by all imaginations and practiſes poſſible, to ſet forward his deſtruction, hauing alſo for her helper herein the duke of Buckingham, &c.

Queene Margaret mortall enemy to the duke of Gloceſter.

The malice of a woman.

Theſe being his principall enemies and mortall foes, fearing leſt ſome commotion might ariſe, if ſuch a prince ſo neere the kings blood, and ſo deare to the people, and of all men ſo beloued, ſhould be openly executed and put to death, deuiſed how to trap him, and circumuent him vnknowing and vnprouided. For the more ſpeedy furtherance whereof, a parliament was ſummoned to be kept at Bury, Anno 1447. farre from the citizens of London, as William Tindall in his booke of practiſe writeth, where reſorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongſt them the duke of Gloceſter, thinking no harme to any man, and leſſe to himſelfe. Who on the ſecond day of the Seſſion, was by the lord Beamond high conſtable then of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham and other, arreſted, apprehended, and put in ward, and vpon the ſame all his ſeruants diſcharged and put from him, of whom 32. of the principall being alſo vnder arreſt, were diſperſed into diuers priſons, to the great murmuring and grieuance of the people. After this arreſt thus done, and the duke put into ward, the night after (ſaith Hall) ſixe nightes after (ſaith Fabian and Polychron) hee was found dead in his bed the 24. of Februarie, and his body ſhewed to the lords and commons, as though he had beene taken naturally with ſome ſudden diſeaſe. And although no wound in his body could be ſeene, yet to all indifferent perſons it might well be iudged, that he died of of no naturall pang, but of ſome violent hand. Some ſuſpected him to be ſtrangled, ſome that a whole ſpit was priuily forced into his body; ſome affirme that he was ſtifled betweene two fetherbeds. After the death of this duke, and his body being interred at ſaint Albones, after hee had politickly by the ſpace of 25. yéeres gouerned this realme, fiue of his houſhold, to wit, one knight, 3. eſquires, and a yeoman, were arraigned, and conuict to be hanged, drawne and quartered. Who being hanged and cut downe halfe aliue, the marques of Suffolke there preſent ſhewed the charter of the kings pardon, and ſo they were deliuered. Notwithſtanding, all this could not appeaſe the grudge of the people, ſaying that the ſauing of the ſeruants, was no amends for the murthering of the maſter.

A ſnare to catch the innocent.

Anno 1447.

A parliament at Bury.

The cruell death or martyrdome of the good duke of Gloceſter.

In this cruell fact of theſe perſons, which did ſo conſpire and conſent to the death of this noble man, and which thought thereby to worke their owne ſafety, the maruellous worke of Gods iudgement, appeareth herein to be noted, whs as in all other like cruell policies of man, ſo in this alſo turned all their policies cleane contrary. So that where the quéene thought moſt to preſerue her huſband in honor, and her ſelfe in ſtate, thereby both ſhe loſt her huſband, her huſband loſt his realme, the realme loſt Angeow, Normandy, the duchy of Aquitane, with all her parts beyond the ſea, Calice onely except, as in the ſequell of the matter, who ſo will reade the ſtories, ſhall right well vnderſtand.

The iudgement of God vpon them which perſecuted the duke of Gloceſter.

The

{Anno 1448} The death of the cardinall, and maner of the same.

The nert yeere following, it followed also, that the cardinall, who was the principall artificer and ringleader of all this mischiefe, was suffered of God no longer to liue. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in Edward Hall, I omit here to speake. What he himselfe spake on his death bed for example to other, I thought not best to pretermit. Who hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedie, murmured and grudged, wherefore hee should die hauing so much riches, saying: that if the whole realme would saue his life, he was able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it: adding and saying moreouer; Fie (quoth he) will not death be hired? nor will money doe nothing? when my nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the wheele, but when I saw mine other nephew of Glocester deceased, then I thought my selfe able to be equall with kings, and so thought to encrease my treasure, in hope to haue worne the triple crowne, &c. Ex Edouar. Hallo. And thus is the rich bishop of Winchester, with all his pompe and riches gone; with the which riches, he was able not onely to build scholes, colledges, and vniuersities, but also was able to sustaine the kings armies in warre (as is specified in stories) without any taxing of the commons.

The words of the cardinall of Winchester at his death.

William Wainflet bishop of Winchester. Magdalen colledge in Oxford builded.

In whose seate nert succeded William Wainflet, preferred to the bishoprieke of Winchester, who though he had lesse substance, yet hauing a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the colledge of Mary Magdalen in Oxford. For the which foundation, as there haue beene, and bee yet many students bound to yeeld gratefull thankes vnto God, so I must needes confesse my selfe to be one, except I will be vnkind.

Gods punishment vpon the Marques of Suffolke.

Among the other mischieuous aduersaries which sought and wrought the death of Humfrey duke of Glocester, nert to the cardinall of Winchester (who, as is said, died the nert yeere following) was William de la Pole, marques of Suffolke, who also liued not long after, nor long escaped vnpunished. For although he was highly exalted, by the meanes of the queene (whose mariage he onely procured) vnto the fauour of the king, and was made duke of Suffolke, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole swaie in the realme, whose acts and facts his vaineglorious head caused also by the assent of the commons, to be recorded, and substantially to bee registred in the rolles of the parliament, for a perpetuall renowne to him and all his posterity for euer: yet notwithstanding the hand of Gods iudgement still hanging ouer him, he enioyed not long this his triumphant victorie. For within 3. yeeres after the death and ruine of the cardinall, the voices of the whole commons of England, were vtterly turned against him, accusing him in the parliament at the blacke friers, for deliuerie of the duchie of Angeow, and the earledome of Maine: also for the death of the noble prince Humfrey duke of Glocester. They imputed moreouer to him the losse of all Normandie, laying vnto him that he was a swallower vp and consumer of the kings treasure, the expeller of all good and vertuous counsellors from the king, and aduancer of vitious persons, apparant aduersaries to the publike wealth: so that he was called in euery mans mouth a traitor, a murtherer, and a robber of the kings treasure.

The blithe glory of mans heart forgetting himselfe in honour. The commons vnconstant. The duke of Suffolke accused by the commons.

The queene, albeit she tenderly loued the duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower; where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a moneth, which being expired, hee was deliuered and restored againe vnto his old place, and former fauour with the king: whereat the people more grudged then before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbrard, that the parliament was for that time adiourned to Leicester, thinking to the queene, by force and rigor of law to repelle there the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appeare. Wherefore it was againe retourned vnto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole companie, and a full appearance with the king and queene, and with them the duke of Suffolke, as chiefe counsellor. The commons not forgetting their old grudge, renewed againe their former articles and accusations against the said duke, against the bishop of Salisburie, and sir James Fines, lord Say, and other. When the king perceiued that no glosing nor dissimulation would serue to appease the continuall clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first hee sequestred from him the lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices. Then hee put in exile the duke of Suffolke, for the terme of fiue yeeres, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would asswage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltlesse blood of Humfrey duke of Glocester, to bee vnreuenged, or that flagitious person further to continue. For when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to be transported into France; he was encountred with a ship of war belonging to the Tower: whereby he was taken, and brought into Douer rode, and there on the side of a ship boate, one strake off his head: which was about the yeere of our Lord, 1450.

The duke of Suffolke againe accused.

Example of Gods iudgement and of blood reuenged. The duke of Suffolke beheaded.

And thus haue ye heard the fully story and discourse of duke Humfrey, and of all his aduersaries; also of Gods condigne punishment vpon them for their bloodie cruelty. But before I remoue from the said storie of the foresaid duke, and of the proud cardinall his enemie, I will here by the way, annex a certaine instrument by the king and aduice of his counsell, made against the said cardinall, taking vpon him to enter into this realme, as legate from the pope, contrary to the old lawes and customes of this realme, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latine may well appeare.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter, quod An. Dom. 1428. Indictione septima pontificatus Sancti in Christo pat. & D. nostri D. Martini, &c. Publicum instrumentum in forma Regia.

Ego Richardus Candray procurator & nomine procuratorio christianissimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & domini Hiberniæ, domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter & aduisamento Illustris & potentis principis Humfridi ducis Glocestriæ, Comitis Penbrochiæ, protectoris & defensoris regni Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, & cæterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suæ Regiæ celsitudinis, ac consilium eiusdem facientium & hac vice representantium, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod dictus Christianissimus princeps, dominus meus supremus, suique inclytissimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ reges, fuerunt & sunt, tam speciali priuilegio, quam consuetudine laudabili legitimeque prescripta, nec non a tempore & per tempus (cuius contrarij memoria hominum non existat) pacifice & inconcusse obseruata, sufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus Apostolicæ sedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Angliæ, aut alias suas terras & dominia, nisi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, inuitationem, seu rogatum: Fueruntque & sunt dicti Christianissimus princeps dominus meus supremus ac sui inclyti progenitores huiusmodi Reges Angliæ, in possessione quasi iuris & facti priuilegij, & consuetudinis prædictorum, absque interruptione quacunque, toto & omni tempore supradicto, pacifice & quiete Romanis pontificibus per totum tempus supradictum, præmissa omnia & singula scientibus, tolerantibus, & ijsdem consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem & omnimodam possessionem; quasi iuris & facti, Legatum huiusmodi (vt præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias suas terras & dominia mittendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, et rogatum Regis Angliæ, pro tempore existentis. Et quia reuerendiss. in Christ. pat. & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia, &c. Sancti Eusebij presbyter, Cardinalis sanctæ sedis Romanæ, Legatum se affirmans, more legati, insignijs apostolicæ dignitatis vtens, absque vocatione, petitione, requisitione, inuitatione, aut rogatu Christianissimi domini nostri regis prædicti, inclytum regnum Angliæ de facto est ingressus, protector igitur palam, & publico in his scriptis nomine & vice quibus supra, ac omnium ipsius Domini nostri regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis, præfati christianiss. principis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de consilio in derogationem legum, iurium, consuetudinum, libertatum & priuilegiorum dicti D. nostri regis ac regni, ingressum huiusmodi dicti reuerendiss. patris, vt legati in Angliam, authoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum vt Legatum sedis apostolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, iura, consuetudines, libertates & priuilegia prædicta quouismodo admittere seu recognoscere: aut exercitio legationis seu huiusmodi, aliquibusque per ipsum, vt Legatum sedis apost. actis, seu agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis aduersus premissa, leges, iura, consuetudines, libertates, & priuilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire: sicque dissentit dictus dominus noster rex, atque dissentiunt dicti domini mei de consilio, per presentes, &c.

An instrument by the king against the admitting the popes legate.

The sum and effect whereof in English is this, that in the yeere of our Lord 1428. as the king with duke Humfrey lord protector, and the rest of the councell, were in the dukes house in the parish of S. Bennets by Pauls wharfe, one Richard Candray procurator, in the kings name and behalfe did protest and denounce by this publike instrument, that wheras the king and all his progenitors, kings before him of this realme of England haue beene heretofore possessed time out of mind, with speciall priuiledge and custome vsed and obserued in this realme from time to time, that no legate from the apostolike see should enter into this land or any of the kings dominions, without the calling, petition, request, inuitement or desire of the king, and forsomuch as Henry bishop of Wint. and cardinall of S. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired by the king: therefore the said Richard Candray in the kings name doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the kings mind or intent, by the aduice of his councell, to admit, approue, or ratifie the comming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights, customes and lawes of this his realme: or to recognise, or assent to any exercise of this his authority legantine, or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect contrary to the foresaid lawes, rightes, customes, ind liberties of this realme, by these presents, &c.

And thus much as an appendix, annexed to the story of D. Humfrey, and the cardinall of Winchester extract out of an old written volume, remaining in the hands of master William Bowyer.

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The benefit and inuention of printing.

Anno 1450

The art of printing inuented.

Ex Typographia per Matthæum Indicem.

IN following the course, and order of yeeres, wee find this foresaid yéere of our Lord 1450. to be famous and memorable, for the diuine and miraculous inuention of printing. Nauclerus, and Wymselingus following him, referre the inuention thereof to the yéere 1440. In paralip. Abbatis Vrsp. it is recorded this facultie to be found, An. 1446. Auentinus and Zieglerus doe say, Anno 1450. The first inuenter thereof (as most agrée) is thought to be a Germaine, dwelling first in Argentine, afterward cittizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a Goldsmith. The occasion of this inuention first was by engrauing the letters of the Alphabet in metall: who then laying blacke inke vpon the metall, gaue the forme of letters in paper. The man being industrious and actiue, perceiuing that, thought to proceed further, and to proue whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceiued to come well to passe, hee made certaine other of his counsell, one John Guttenberge and Peter Schaffard, binding them by their oth, to kéepe silence for a season. After ten yéeres, John Guttemberge compartner with Faustus, began then first to broch the matter at Straushrough. The art being yet but rude, in processe of time, was set forward by inuentiue wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, John Mentell, John Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latine called Gallus, first brought it to Rome. Whereof the epigram was made:

Carmen Ant. Campani.

Anser Tarpeij custos, vigilando quòd alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit, vltor adest
Vlricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in vsum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Printing came of God.

Printing likened to the gifts of tongues.

Notwithstanding, what man soeuer was the instrument, without all doubt God himselfe was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, then he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turne the Iewes; so now, when the holy Ghost speaketh to the aduersaries in innumerable sorts of bookes, yet they will not bee conuerted, nor turne to the Gospell.

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath giuen this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great vtility and necessity it serueth, it is not hard to iudge, who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequell which thereof ensueth.

The time considered when printing was found.

And first, touching the time of this faculty giuen to the vse of man, this is to be marked: that when as the bishop of Rome with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarkes, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, lawyers, doctors, prouosts, deanes, archdeacons, assembled together in the councell of Constance, had condemned poore John Hus, and Hierome of Prage to death for heresie, notwithstanding they were no heretickes, and after they had subdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world vnder the supreme authority of the Romish sée: and had made all christian people obediencia-ries and vassals vnto the same, hauing (as one would say) all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past not onely the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recouered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where mans power could doe no more, there the blessed wisedome and omnipotent power of the Lord began to worke for his church, not with sword and target to subdue his exalted aduersary, but with printing, writing, and reading to conuince darkenes by light, errour by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this meanes of printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped vpon that proud kingdome a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Hus before, and Hierome of Prage, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacie, nor yet his popish masse, but said masse, and heard masse themselues, neither spake against his purgatorie, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but onely exclaimed against his excessiue and pompous pride, his vnchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickednesse onely of life to be touched, but made it heresie, or at least mattet of death, whatsoeuer was spoken against his detestable conuersation and maners, God of his secret iudgement, séeing time to helpe his church, hath found a way by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conuersation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast downe the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, lawes, & institutions most detestable in such sort, that though his life were neuer so pure: yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind, but may sée, that either the pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is nére cosin to the pope: And all this doth, and will hereafter more and more appeare by printing.

Double confusion vpon the pope by printing.

The fruit and profit of printing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are knowne, knowledge groweth, iudgement encreaseth, bookes are dispersed, the Scripture is séene, the doctours be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falshood detected, and with finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must séeke a new world to reigne ouer: for else, as this world standeth, printing doubtlesse will abolish him. But the pope, and all his colledge of cardinals, must this vnderstand, that through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to haue eyes to sée, and heads to iudge: He cannot walke so inuisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of John Hus before, and of Hierome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdome sure: yet in stead of John Hus and other, God hath opened the presse to preach, whose voice the pope is neuer able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crowne. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organe of the holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospell soundeth to all nations and countries vnder heauen: and what God reuealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and that is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

God counsell to the pope.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learne and know the truth. If hee will not, let him well vnderstand, that printing is not set vp for nought. To striue against the streame, it auaileth not. What the pope hath lost since printing and the presse began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was giuen to all friers and monkes in the world! And who séeth not, that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus and set forward by writting, hath set the triple crowne so awry on the popes head, that it is like neuer to be set straight againe?

Wherfore, if there were no demonstration to leade, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might vnderstand the counsell and purpose of the Lord to worke against him, hauing prouided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many blockehouses there be against the high castle of saint Angell: So that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will roote him out. For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus hee may repute with himselfe, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lacke of knowledge and ignorance of simple christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacie so much as reading, preaching, knowledge and iudgement, that is to say, the fruit of printing: Whereof some experience we sée already, and more is like (the Lord before) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speake, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) bee instructed through this benefit of printing. And though the pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all vnder his possession: yet neither must he thinke, that violence will alwaies continue, neither must he hope for that now, which he had then: forsomuch as in those former daies, bookes then were scarce and also of such excessiue price, that few could attaine to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof: which bookes now by the meanes of this art, are made easie vnto all men. We heard before, pag. 611. how Nicolas Belward, bought a new Testament in those daies for foure markes and fortie pence, whereas now the same price will serue well fortie persons with so many bookes.

So preacheth the vicar of Croiden in king Henry the 8. daies, at Pauls crosse; saying, that either we must roote out printing, or else printing will roote out vs.

Moreouer, in the pag. 379. col. 1. it was noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authours, both Vniuersities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friers scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped vp all bookes that could be gotten, into their owne Libraries: where either they did not diligently applie them, or else did not rightly vse them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would haue perused them.

Triple commodity by printing.

In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good bookes, when neither they which could haue bookes, would well vse them, nor they that would, could haue them to vse, what marueil if the greedinesse of a few prelats did abuse the blindnes of those daies, to the aduancement of themselues? Wherefore almighty God of his mercifull prouidence, séeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedie the same, for the aduancement of his glory, gaue the vnderstanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all bookes diminished. Secondly, the speedy helpe of reading more furthered. And thirdly, the plentie of all good authors enlarged: according as Aprutinus, doth truely report:

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno. i.
The presse in one day will doe in printing,
That none in one yéere can doe in writting.

When Gunnes were first inuented.

By reason wherof, as printing of bookes ministred matter of reading: so reading brought learning, learning shewed light, by the brightnesse wherof blind ignorance was suppressed, errour detected, and finally Gods glory, with truth of his word aduanced. This faculty of printing was after the inuention

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tion of Guns, the space of 130. yeares: which invention was also found in Germany an. 1380. And thus much for the worthie commendation of printing.

The lamentable losing of Constantinople.

Anno 1453 Anno 1453. Constantinus Paleologus, being Emperour of Constantinople, the 29. day of the moneth of May, the great citie of Constantinople was taken by the Turke Mahometes, after the siege of 54. daies, which siege began in the beginning of April. Within the citie, beside the citizens were but onelie 6000. rescuers of the Greekes. And 3000. of the Venetians and Genues. Against these, Mahometes brought an armie of 400. thousand, collected out of the countries and places adioyning neere about, as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgants, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cecilia, and such other: which places had the name yet of christians. Thus one neighbor for lucres sake, helped to destroy another.

The losing of Constantinople

The citie was compassed of the Turkes, both by the Sea and land. Mahometes the Turke divided his armie into three sundrie parts, which in three parts of the citie, so beat the wals and brake them downe, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the citie. But the valiantnesse of the christians therein wan much commendation, whose duke was called John Justinianus, of Genua. But for so much as the assaults were great, and the number of the christian souldiors dailie decreased, fighting both at the walles and at the hauen, against such a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long to hold out. Beside, the armies which laie battering at the walles, the Turke had vpon the sea his nauie of 200. and 50. saile, lying vpon the hauen of the citie, reaching from the one side of the hauens mouth vnto the other, as if a bridge should be made from the one banke to the other. Which hauen by the citizens was barred with yron chaines, whereby the Turkes were kept out a certaine space. Against which nauie 7. ships there were of Genua, within the hauen, and three of Creta, and certaine of Chio, which stood against them. Also the souldiors issuing out of the citie, as occasion would serue, did manfullie gainstand them, and with wilde fire, set their shippes on fire, that a certaine space they could serue to no vse. At length the chaines being brast, and a waie made, the Turkes nauie entred the hauen, and assaulted the citie, whereby the Turke began to conceiue great hope, and was in forwardnesse to obtaine the citie. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, Mahometes the tyrant stood by vpon an hil, with his warriours about him, crying and howling out vnto them to scale the walles and enter the towne; otherwise, if any reculed, he threatened to kill them, and so he did. Wherfore a great number of his souldiers in their repulse and retire, were slaine by the Turkes men, being sent by his commandement to slay them: and so they were iustlie serued, and well payed their hire.

The tyranny of the Turke toward his owne men.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the citie, the Turkes retinue so consumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after by rage of warre, it happened Justinian the Duke aboue named, to be hurt, who notwithstanding that he was earnestlie desired by Paleologus the emperour, not to leaue his tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could hee not be intreated to tarrie, but left his standing, and his fort disfurnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughtie duke, hurt more with his false heart, then with force of weapon, gaue ouer and fledde to Chius, where shortly after for sorrow, rather then for sorenes of his wound, he died. Many of his souldiers seeing their Captaine flee, followed after, leauing their fort vtterly destitute without defence. The Turkes vnderstanding that vantage, some brast into the citie. The emperor Paleologus seeing no other way but to flie, making toward the gate, either was slaine, or else troden downe with the multitude. In the which gate eight hundred dead mens bodies were found and taken vp.

The towardnes of duke Justinia

The Emperour of Constantinople slaine.

The citie of Constantinople thus being got, the Turkes sacking and ranging about the streetes, houses, and corners, did put to the sword most vnmercifullie, whomsoeuer they found, both aged and young: matrons, virgins, children and infants: sparing none, the noble matrons and virgins were horriblie ravished: the gods of the citie, the treasuries in houses, the ornaments in Churches were all sackt and spoyled, the pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoyle and hauocke of the citie lasted three daies together, while the barbarous souldiers murdered and rifeled what them lusted.

Constantinople won of ye Turks. The bloudy deeds of the Turkes.

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three daies, Mahometes the Turke, entreth into the citie, and first calling for the heads and ancients of the citie: such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in peeces. It is also (saith my author) reported, that in the feasts of the Turkes, honest matrons and virgins, and such as were of the kings stocke, after other contumelies, were hewen and cut in peeces for their disport.

The horrible tyranny of the Turks.

And this was the end of that princelie and famous citie of Constantinople, beginning first by Constantinus, and ending also with Constantinus: which for the princely royaltie thereof, was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the citie of Rome, and called also by the name thereof new Rome, and so continued the space of 1120. yeares. I pray God that old Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heed and beware betime.

Constantinople called new Rome.

This terrible destruction of the citie of Constantinople; the Queene of cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the barbarous crueltie of these filthie rakehelles and merciless murderers: as specially for this, that we being admonished by the doleful ruine and miserie of these our euen christened, may call to minde the plagues and miseries deserued, which seeme to hang no lesse ouer our owne heads, and thereby may learne betime to invocate and call more earnestlie vpon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that hee for his sonnes sake will keepe vs, and preserue his Church among vs, and mitigate those plagues and sorrowes, which we no lesse haue deserued, then these aboue minded, before vs. Christ grant it. Amen. Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peucer.

A warning to all Christendom by Constantinople.

The historie of Reynold Pecocke bishop of Chichester, afflicted and imprisoned for the Gospell of Christ.

The story of Reinold Pecocke.

After the death of Henry Chicheley before mentioned, pa. 647. next succeeded John Stafford, anno 1445. who continued eight yeares. After him came John Kempe, anno 1453. who sate but three yeares. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which archbishop, fell the trouble of Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the popes prelats for his faith and profession of the Gospell. Of this bishop, Hall also in his Chronologie toucheth a little mention, declaring that an ouerthwart iudgement (as he termeth it) was giuen by the fathers of the spirituaitie against him. This man (saith he) began to moue questions not priuatelie, but openlie in the Vniuersities, concerning the Annates, Peter pence, and other iurisdictions and authorities pertaining to the see of Rome, and not onlie put forth the questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abiured at Pauls crosse: Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This bishop, first of saint Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as duke Humfrey liued (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) diuers bookes and treatises. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye haue heard) made away, this good man lacking his backstaie, was open to his enemies, and matter soon found against him. Wherupon he being complained of, and accused by priuie and malignant promoters vnto the archbishop, letters first were directed downe from the archbishop, to cite all men to appeare that could say any thing against him. The forme of which citation here ensueth.

The Copie of the citation sent by the Archbishop.

The citation of the archb. Tho. Bowcher, alias Bourcher.

THomas by the permission of God, archb. of Canturburie, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolicke see, to all and singuler, parsons, vicars, chaplaines, curates, and not curates, clerkes and learned men, whatsoeuer they be, constitute and ordained in any place throughout our prouince of Canturbury, health, grace, and benediction.

We haue receiued a greeuous complaint of our reuerend fellow brother, Reinold Pecocke bishop of Chichester, conteining in it, that albeit our said reuerend fellow brother, the bishop, deliuered vnto vs certaine bookes written by him in the English tongue, by vs and our authoritie to be examined, corrected, reformed and allowed: notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the saide bookes depending and remaining before vs vndiscussed) haue openly preached and taught at Pauls crosse in London, and in diuers other places of our prouince of Canturburie, that our said fellow brother the bishop, hath propounded, made and written, or caused to be written in the said bookes, certaine conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the pretence of which preaching & teaching, the state and good name and fame of the said Lord Reynold the bishop, are greeuously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion maruellously burdened. Wherfore we charge you all together, and seuerally apart do command you, firmely enioyning you, that openly and generally you do warn or cause to be warned, all and singuler such persons, which will obiect any thing contrary & against the conclusions of our said reuerend fellow brother the bishop, had or conteined in his books or writings: that the 20. day after such monition or warning had, they do freely of their own accord appeare before vs & our commissaries in this behalfe appointed, whersoeuer we shall then be in our city, dioces, or prouince of Canturburie, to speake, propound, alledge, & affirme fully & sufficientlie in writing, whatsoeuer heretical or erroneous matter they will speake, propound, or obiect against the said conclusions contained in his sayd books: and both to satisfie and receiue, whatsoeuer shal seeme

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meete and right in this behalfe by the holy institutions and ordinances.

And forsomuch as this matter depending yet vndetermined and vndiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed: we charge you that by this our authoritie, you inhibit and forbid all and euery one so to preach and teach hereafter. Vnto whom also we by the tenour of these presents, do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the conclusions & books aforesaide, depending before vs and our Commissaries vndiscussed, they doe not presume by any meanes, without good aduice and iudgement, to preach, iudge, and affirme any thing to the preiudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold the bishop: and if so be you doe finde any in this behalfe, gainesaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you doe cite or cause them peremptorilie to be cited, to appeare before vs or our Commissaries, in this behalfe appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, wheresoeuer we shall then be, in our citie, dioces, or prouince of Canturbury, to make further declaration by forme of lawe of the cause of their disobedience, and to receiue such punishment as iustice and equitie shall determine in that behalfe: and that by your letters you doe dulie certifie vs or our Commissaries, what you haue done in the premisses at the day and place aforesaide: or that he which hath so executed our commandement, doe so certifie vs by his letters. Dated at our Manour of Lambeth the xxii. day of October, an. 1457. and in the fourth yeare of our translation.

Pecock appeareth at Lambeth before the archb.

This citation being directed, the bishop vpon the summon thereof, was brought, or rather came before the iudges and bishops, vnto Lambeth, where the foresaid Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishops court. In which conuention also the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishops of Rochester, and of Lincolne. What were the opinions and articles against him obiected, after in his reuocation shall be specified. In his answering for himselfe in such a companie of the popes friends, albeit he could not preuaile: notwithstanding he stoutlie defending himselfe declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could haue preuailed.

Great labour to reduce Pecocke from his opinions.

But they on the contrarie part, with all labour and trauell, extended themselues, either to reduce him, or els to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terrour and threatning, so also manie faire flattering words and gentle perswasions, were admixt withall. Briefly, to make a short narration of a long and busie trauerse, here was no stone left vnturned, no waies vnprooued, either by faire meanes to intreate him, or by terrible menaces to terrifie his minde, till at the length, hee being vanquished and ouercome by the bishops, began to faint and gaue ouer. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put vnto him by the Bishops, which hee should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

The forme and manner of the retractation of Reynold Pecocke.

The retractation of Bishop Pecocke.

IN the name of God, Amen. Before you the most reuerend Father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canturbury, primate of England and Legate of the Apostolicke sea, I Reynold Pecocke, vnworthy Bishop of Chichester, doe purely, wilfingly, simply, and absolutely confesse and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twentie yeares last past and more, haue otherwise conceiued, holden, taught and written, as touching the sacraments and the articles of the faith, then the holy church of Rome and vniuersall Church: & also that I haue made, written, published and set forth many and diuers pernitious doctrines, bookes, workes, writings, heresies, contrary and against the true catholicke and apostolicke faith, containing in them, errours contrary to the Catholicke faith, and especially these errours and heresies here vnder written.

Ex regist.

His articles.

1 First of all, that we are not bound by ỳ necessitie of faith, to beleeue that our Lord Iesus Christ after his death descended into hell.

2 Item, that it is not necessarie to saluation to beleeue in the holy catholike church.

3 Item, that it is not necessarie to saluation, to beléeue the communion of saints.

4 Item, that it is not necessary to saluation, to affirme the body materially in the sacrament.

5 Item, that the vniuersall church may erre in matters which perteine vnto faith.

6 Item, that it is not necessarie vnto saluation, to beleeue, ỳ that, which euery generall councell doth vniuersallie ordeine, approue, or determine, should necessarilie for the helpe of our faith, and the saluation of soules, be approoued and holden of all faithfull Christians.

Wherfore I Reynold Pecocke wretched sinner which haue long walked in darknesse, and now by the mercifull disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought againe vnto the light and way of truth, and restored vnto the vnity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errours and heresies aforesaid.

Notwithstanding (godly reader) it is not to be beleeued that Pecocke did so giue ouer these opinions, howsoeuer the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policie and play of the bishops, that when they doe subdue or ouercome any man, they carrie him whither they list, as it were a yong steere by the nose, and frame out his words for him before hand, as it were for a Parat, what he should speake vnto the people: not according to his owne will, but after their lust and fantasie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that this bishop repented him afterward of his recantation: which may easilie bee iudged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captiue, whereas it is vncertaine, whether he was oppressed with priuie and secret tyrannie, and there obtained the crowne of martyrdome, or no.

The Dictionarie of Thomas Gascoigne, I haue not in my hands present. But if credit be to be giuen to such as haue to vs alledged the booke, this we may finde in the 8. Centurie of Iohn Bale, chapter 19. that the said Thomas Gascoigne in his third part of his said Dictionarie, writting of Reynold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles conteining in them matter of sore heresie. First (saith he) Reynold Pecock, at Pauls crosse preached openlie, that the office of a christian prelate, chiefly aboue all other things is, to preach the word of God. That mans reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the old and new Testament. That the vse of Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse then the vse of the law of nature. That bishops which buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sinne. That no man is bound to beléeue and obey the determination of the church of Rome. Also that the riches of bishops, by inheritage, are the goods of the poore. Item, that the Apostles themselues personallie were not the makers of the Creed; and that in the same Créed, once was not the article he went down to hell. Item, that of the foure senses of the Scripture, none is to be taken, but the verie first and proper sense. Also, that he gaue little estimation in some points, to the authoritie of the olde Doctors. Item, that hee condemned the wilfull begging of the Friers, as a thing idle and needlesse. This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also adding this moreouer, saith: that he, not contented to follow the catholicke sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not thinke soundlie (as he iudged it) of the holy Eucharist.

The articles of Reynold Pecocke mentioned by Thomas Gascoigne. Ex Tho. Gascoig. lib. de Dictionis. Theolog. part. 3.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Pecocke, was condemned for an heretike, by the archbishops and bishops of Roffe, Lincolne, and Winchester, with other Diuines moe. Whereupon he being driuen to his recantation, was notwithstanding detained still in prison. Where some saie, that he was priuilie made away by death.

B. Pecocke detained in prison.

Hall addeth, that some say, his opinions to be, that spirituall persons by Gods law, ought to haue no temporall possessions. Other write, that he said, that personall tithes were not due by Gods law. But whatsoeuer the cause was, he was caused at Pauls crosse to abiure, and all his bookes burnt, and hee himselfe kept in his owne house, during his naturall life. I marueil that Polydore, of this extremitie of the bishops handling, and of his articles, in his history, maketh no memoriall. Belike it made but little for the honestie of his great master the Pope.

Polydore noteth.

From persecution and burning in England, now out of the way, to digresse a little, to speake of forraine matters of the church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter ende of the councell of Basill, how Eugenius was deposed. Of whose conditions and martiall affaires, how he made warre against Sforcia a famous captaine of Italie, and what other warres he raised beside, not onelie in Italie, but also in Germanie, against the citie and councell of Basill, I shall not need to make any long rehearsall. After his deposition, ye heard also how Fœlix duke of Sauoy was elected Pope. Whereupon another great schisme followed in the church, during all the life of Eugenius.

Eugenius warred against Sforcia and diuers other.

Pope Foelix

After his death, his next successor was pope Nicolas the fift, who (as you before haue heard) brought so to passe with the Emperour Frederike the third, that Fœlix was contented to renounce and resigne his papacie to Nicolas, and was therefore of him afterward receiued to the roome of a cardinall, for his submission: & Frederike for his working was confirmed at Rome to be full Emperor, & there crowned, an. 1451. For emperors before they be confirmed and crowned by the pope, are no Emperors, but only called kings of Romaines.

P. Nicolas 5.

Emperors are but kings of Romans before they be crowned by the Pope.

This pope Nicolas here mentioned, for to get and gather great sums of money, appointed a Iubile in the yeare of our Lord 1450. at which time there resorted a greater number of people vnto Rome, then hath at any time before béene seene. At which time, we reade in the storie of Platina to haue happened, that I thought here not vnworthie to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people resorting vp to the mount Vaticane to behold the image of our Sauior, which there they had to shew to pilgrimes, the people being thick going to and fro betweene the mount & the citie, by chance a certaine Mule of the Cardinals of Saint Marke, ca-

Ex Platina in vitis.

The example of Iubelites then.

came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to auoide the way, one or two falling vpon the mule, there was such a preasse and throng vpon that occasion on the bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men, and three horses, were there strangled, and on each side of the bridge many besides fell ouer into the water and were drowned.

The fruit of Idolatrie.

By meanes of which occasion, the pope afterward caused the small houses to be plucked downe, to make the way broder. And this is the fruit that commeth by idolatrie. Ex Platin.

Mat. Palmerius, a Florentine martyr.

In the time of this pope, one Mat. Palmerius wrote a booke De Angelis, in defending whereof, he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Coma, An. 1448. Ex Tritemio.

Tolling of Aues.

After him succeeded Calixtus the third, who amongst diuers other things ordained, both at noone and at euening, the bell to tole the Aues, as it was vsed in the popish time, to helpe the souldiers that fought against the Turks: for the which cause also he ordained the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnising it with like pardons and indulgences, as was Corpus Christi day.

S. Edmund of Canturbury canonized.

Also this pope proceeding contrary to the councels of Constance and Basill, decreed that no man should appeale from the pope to any councell. By whom also saint Edmund of Canturbury with diuers other, were made saints.

Pope Pius 2.

Next after this Calixtus, succeeded Pius secundus, otherwise called AEneas Syluius, who wrote the two bookes of Commentaries vpon the councell of Basill before mentioned. This AEneas, at the time of the writting of those his bookes, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tollerable iudgement and doctrine, from the which hee afterward being pope, seemed to decline and swarue, seeking by all meanes possible, how to deface and abolish the bookes which heretofore he had written.

Promotion choketh religion.

Sentences atributed vnto this Pius.

The Prouerbs of Pius.

THe diuine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, then by disputation.

Christian faith is to bee considered, not by what reason it is proued, but from whom it procedeth.

Neither can a couetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poore men, in stead of siluer, to noble men in stead of gold, and to princes in stead of precious stones.

An artificiall oration moueth fooles, but not wise men.

Suters in the law, be as birds, the court is the baite, the iudges be the nets, and the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to be giuen to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a bishop is heauie, but it is blessed to him that doth well beare it.

A bishop without learning may be likened to an Asse.

An euill physition destroyeth bodies, but an vnlearned priest destroyeth soules.

Mariage of priests allowed by Æneas Siluius.

Mariage was taken from priests, not without great reason, but with much greater reason it ought to bee restored againe.

The like sentence to this he vttereth in his second booke of the councell of Basill before specified, saying, Peraduenture it were not the worst, that the most part of priests had their wiues: for many should be saued in priestly mariage, which now in vnmaried priesthood are damned. The same Pius also, as Celius reporteth, dissolued certaine orders of nunnes, of the order of saint Bridget and saint Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burne no more, nor couer a harlot vnder the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godlines, as he brought learning vnto his popedome, had excelled many popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Eneas, called Pius, the pope, writeth touching the peace of the church, vnto Gasper Schlick, the emperors Chancellor, in his 54. Epistle.

Ex epist. 54. Æneæ Secund. ad Gasparum Schlick.

All men do abhor and detest schisme. The way to remedy this euill Charles the French king hath shewed vs both safe and briefe, which is, that Princes or their Orators should conuent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude vpon matters amongst themselues. To bring this to passe, it were needfull, writings to bee sent againe to all Kings and Princes, to send their Oratours to Strawesborow, or to Constance, with their full authoritie, there to entreate of matters appertaining to the peace of the church. Neither would it require so great expenses: Forasmuch as wee see the yeere before 300. gilderns to be sufficient. Constantine the emperour bestowed not much more in the congregation of the councell of Nice. And this way could not be stopped: neither could the pope or the councell withstand it, or make excuse: as though this might not easily bee done without them. For why? the secular princes may conuent and assemble together, will they, nill they: and yet notwithstanding, vnity may there bee concluded: For hee shall bee an vndoubted pope, whom all princes would obey. Neither doe I see any of the clergie so constant to death, which will suffer martyrdome either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold; which if they would worship Idols, we would also do the same, and not only denie the pope, but God also, if the secular power straine vs thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. Howsoeuer it be, let vs all desire and seeke for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a councell, or by assemblie of princes, call it what you will, I care not, for wee stand not vpon the terme, but vpon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you giue it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a councell or a conuenticle, or an assemblie, or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schisme may be excluded & peace established. Thus much out of the Epistle of Pius.

The way to exclude schisme, is concord of princes.

The popes clergie will not abide the fire, either for prince or pope.

By this it may appeare, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the councell of Basill, before he was made pope. But as our common prouerbe saith, Honors change maners; so it happened with this Pius, who after he came once to be pope, was much altered from that he was before. For when as before hee preferred generall councels before the pope, now being pope, hee did decree that no man should appeale from the high bishop of Rome, to any generall councell.

The breath of this pestilent seate corrupteth all that sit in it, whatsoeuer they were before.

And likewise for priests mariage, whereas before he thought it best to haue their wiues restored, yet afterward hee altered his mind otherwise: Insomuch that in his booke intreating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of August, by occasion he inueyed against a certaine epistle of Huldericke once bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests. Whereby it appeareth, how the mind of this Pius was altered from that it was before. This epistle of Huldericke, is before expressed at large in the pag. 124.

Æneas Syluius now puffed vp with worldly pompe and glory, impugneth the truth which he did before both know and professe.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this AEneas Syluius and Diotherus, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred vp in Germany vpon the same between Fredericke the Palatine, and the duke of Wittenberge, with others, by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free before, lost their freedome and became seruile.

Discord betweene pope Pius and the archbishop of Mentz.

The causes of the discord betwixt pope Pius and Diotherus were these:

First, because that Diotherus would not consent vnto him in the imposition of certaine tallages and taxes, within his countrey.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not bee bound vnto him, requiring that the said Diotherus being prince Elector, should not call the other electors together, without his licence, that is, without the licence of the bishop of Rome.

And thirdly, because Diotherus would not permit to the popes Legats, to conuocate his clergie together after their owne lust. This pope Pius began his see, about the yeere of our Lord 1458.

Anno 1458

After this Pius secundus, succeeded Paulus secundus, a pope wholly set vpon his bellie and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, which because he saw her to be had in reproch, for that she was gotten in fornication, began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of priests, and went about to reforme the same, had not death preuented him. Ex Stanislao Rutheno.

P. Paulus 2. Ex Stanistao Rutheno. vide Cent. 8. Bal.

After this Paulus, came Sixtus the fourth, which builded vp in Rome a stewes of both kindes, getting thereby no small reuenewes and rents vnto the church of Rome. This pope amongst his other acts, reduced the yeere of Jubily from the fiftie vnto the twentie fiue. Hee also instituted the feast of the conception, and of the presentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Joseph. Also he canonised Bonauenture and saint Francis for saints.

The feast of the conception and presentation of our Ladie.

By this Sixtus also, beads were brought in, and instituted to make our Ladies psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse: Hi filo insertis numerant sua murmura baccis: That is, These men putting their beades vpon a string number their praiers. This Sixtus the pope made two and thirtie cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who for that time that he was cardinall, which was but two yeeres, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed two hundred thouland florens, and was left 60000. in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certaine treatise of his de indulgentijs papalibus, writing of this pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the request of the foresaid Peter cardinall, and of Hierome his brother, the said pope Sixtus permitted and granted vnto the whole familie of the cardinall of saint Lucie, in the three hote monethes of Summer, June, July, and August, (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leaue and libertie to vse Sodomitrie, with this clause, Fiat vt petitur: That is, Be it as it is asked.

Beads brought in.

Wesselus Groningensis.

The pope licenceth the whole family of a certaine cardinall, to play the Sodomites three monethes in the yeere.

Next after this Sixtus, came Innocentius the eight, as rude and as farre from all learning, as his predecessour was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this pope, this was one, that in the towne of Polus apud AEquicolos, he caused 8. men and fiue women, with the lord of the place to bee apprehended

Pope Innocentius 8.

8. men and 6. women condemned of heresie by pope Innocentius 8.

prehended and taken, and iudged for heretickes, because they said that none of them was the vicar of Christ which come after Peter, but they which followed onely the pouerty of Christ. Also he condemned of heresie, George the king of Boheme, and deprined him of his dignity, and also of his kingdome, and procured his whole flocke to be vtterly reiected and put downe, giuing his kingdome to Matthias king of Panonia.

George king of Boheme condemned of heresie.

Now from the popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the emperours incident to this time, with matters and grieuances of the Germaines, as also of other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the ouerthrow of this king Henry and his seate, now following to bee shewed. And briefly to contract long processe of much tumult and businesse, into a short narration, here is to bee remembred, which partly before was signified, how after the death of the duke of Glocester, mischiefes came in by heapes vpon the king and his realme. For after the giuing away of Angeow and Maine, to the Frenchmen, by the vnfortunate mariage of queene Margaret aboue mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiuing now by the death of the duke of Glocester, the stay and piller of this common-wealth to bee decayed, and seeing moreouer the hearts of the nobility, among themselues to bee diuided, forslacked no time, hauing such an open way into Normandie, that in short time they recouered the same, and also gat Gascoine, so that no more now remained to England, of all the parts beyond the sea but only Calis. Neither yet did all the calamity of the realme onely rest in this: For the king now hauing lost his friendly vncle, as the stay and staffe of his age, which had brought him vp so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldened, to set vpon him: As appeared first by Iacke Cade the Kentish captaine, who encamping first on Blackheath, afterward aspired to London, and had the spoile thereof, the king being driuen into Warwickshire. After the suppressing of Cade, ensued not long after the duke of Yorke, who being accompanied with three earles, set vpon the king neere to saint Albones, where the king was taken in the field captiue, and the duke of Yorke was by parliament declared protectour, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1453. After this followed long diuision and mortall warre betweene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke, continuing many yeeres. At length about the yeer of our Lord, 1459. the duke of Yorke was slaine in battell by the queene neare to the towne of Wakefield, and with him also his sonne earle of Rutland. By the which queene also shortly after, in the same yeere, were discomfited the earle of Warwicke, and duke of Northfolke, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the duke of Yorke, and so the queene againe deliuered her husband.

Mischiefes to England after the death of the duke of Glocester.

Angeow, Main, Normandy, and Gascoine, recouered of the Frenchmen.

Iacke Cade.

The D. of Yorke against king Henry.

Anno 1459

After this victorie obtained, the northren men aduanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take vpon them great attempts, not onely to spoile and robbe churches, and religious houses, and villages, but also were fully intended partly by themselues, partly by the inducement of their lords and captaines, to sacke, walke, and vtterly to subuert the citie of London, and to take the spoile thereof: and no doubt (saith my history) would haue proceeded in their conceiued greedie intent, had not the opportune fauour of God prouided a speedy remedie. For as these mischiefes were in bruing, suddenly commeth the noble prince Edward vnto London, with a mighty army, the 27. day of February, who was the sonne and heire to the duke of Yorke aboue mentioned, accompanied with the earle of Warwicke, and diuers moe. King Henry in the meane time, with his victorie, went vp to Yorke: when as Edward being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certaine articles concerning his title to the crowne of England, which was the second day of March.

The Northern men intended the subuersion of London. *Ex historia manuscripta, cui titulus, Scala mundi.*

London rescued by prince Edward.

Whereupon the next day following, the lords both temporall and spirituall being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approued. The fourth day of the said moneth of march, after a solemne generall procession (according to the blind superstition of those daies) the bishop of Exceter made a sermon at Pauls crosse, wherein he commended and proued by manifold euidences, the title of prince Edward to be iust and lawfull, answering in the same, to all obiections which might be made to the contrarie.

Anno 1461

The title of Edward to the crowne proued at Pauls crosse.

This matter being thus discussed, prince Edward accompanied with the lords spirituall and temporall, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, toke his possession of the crowne, and was called king Edward the fourth.

King Edward taketh possession of the crowne.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being ministred of the people and commons, with most readie and willing minds, for the necessarie furniture of his warres: he with the duke of Northfolke, and earle of Warwicke, and lord Fauconbridge, in all speedie wise, toke his iourney toward king Henry: who being now at Yorke, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge onely reposed in the Northren men.

When king Edward with his army had passed ouer the riuer of Trent and was come neere to Ferebridge, where also the host of king Henry was not far off, vpon palme sunday, betweene Ferebridge and Tadcaster, both the armies of the Southern and Northern men ioyned together in battell. And although at the first beginning, diuers horsemen of king Edwards side, turned their backes, and spoiled the king of carriage and victuals: yet the courageous prince, with his captaines little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their aduersaries. The which battell on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slaine to the number, as is reported, beside men of name, of 30000. of the poore commons. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on king Edwards part, so that king Henry hauing lost all, was forced to flie into Scotland, where also he gaue vp to the Scots the town of Warwicke, after he had reigned 38. yeeres and d halfe.

The fierce and cruell battell betweene king Henry the firth and king Edward the fourth.

King Henry the firth conquered.

Warwicke giuen to the Scots, by king Henry the firth.

The claime and title of the duke of Yorke, and after him, of Edward his son, put vp to the lords and commons, whereby they challenged the crowne to the house of Yorke, is thus in the story of Scala mundi, word for word, as hereunder is conteined.

The title of the house of Yorke to the *crowne of England.*

EDward the third right K. of England, had issue first prince Edward the 2. W. Hatfield. 3. Lionell, 4. Iohn of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the second, which died without issue, W. Hatfield died without issue. Lionel duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot, Philip his only daughter and heire: the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, earle of March, and had issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer earle of March and heire: Which Roger had issue Edmund earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor; Edmund and Alienor died without issue, and the said Anne by lawfull matrimony was coupled vnto Richard earle of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet now duke of Yorke; Iohn of Gaunt gate Henry, which vnrightfully entreated king Richard: then being aliue Edmund Mortimer earle of March, son of the said Philip, daughter to Lionell. To the which Richard duke of Yorke and son to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, son and heire to the said Philip, daughter and heire to the said Lionell, the third son of king Edward the third, the right & dignity of the crown appertained and belonged, afore any issue of the said Iohn of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the said title of dignity of the said Richard of Yorke, the said Richard desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that king Henry the sixth, should be had and taken for king of England during his naturall life, from this time without hurt of his title.

The title of the house of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet.

Wherefore the king vnderstanding the said title of the said duke to be iust, lawfull, true and sufficient, by the aduice and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in the parliament, and by the authority of the same parliament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for iust, good, lawfull and true, and thereto giueth his assent and agreement of his free will and libertie. And ouer that, by the said aduice and authority, declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of Yorke very true and rightfull heire to the crowne of England and France: and that all other statutes & acts made by any of the Henries late, contrarie to this aduice, bee annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, voide, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented, that the said duke and his heires shall after his naturall life enioy the crowne, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the duke of Yorke shall be high treason, and all acts of parliaments contrary to this principall act be voide and of none effect, &c. *Ex Scala mundi.*

And thus much for the reigne of king Henry the firth. Who now lacked his vncle and protector, duke of Glocester, about him. But commonly the lacke of such friends, is neuer felt before they be miſſed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in London called Leaden hall, founded by one Simon Eyre, Maior once of the said city of London, An. 1445.

Leaden hall builded.

Also the standard in Cheap builded by Iohn Wels, An. 1442. The conduit in Fleetstreet by William Calfield, An. 1438. Item Newgate builded by goods of Ri. Whittington, An. 1422.

The standard in Cheape. The conduit in Fleetstreet. Newgate builded.

Moreouer the said Henry the 6. founded the colledge of Eton, and another house, hauing then the title of S. Nicolas, in Cambridge, now called the kings colledge. Ex Scal mundi.

The colledge of Eton, and the kings colleage in Cambridge founded.

In the reigne of this Henry the 6. it is not to be passed ouer in silence which we find noted in the parliament rolles, how that Lewis archbishop of Rhoen, after the death of the late bishop of Ely, had granted vnto him by the popes buls, during his life, all the profits of the said bishoprick, by the name of the administrator of the said bishoprick. Lewis the aforesaid archb. sheweth his buls to the king, who vtterly reiected his buls. Notwithstanding for his seruice done in France, the K. granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents at the petition of the said Lewis, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties and habilitie.

The king reiecteth the popes bulles.

Neither againe is here to be ouerpast a certaine tragicall act

Ex vetusto codic. cui initium, Nomina custodum, &c. & ex Fabiano.

act done betweene Easter and Whitsontide of a false Britton, anno 1427. Which murdered a good widow in her bed, (who had brought him vp of almes, without Algate in the suburbes of London) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he tooke succor of holy church at S. Georges in Southwarke: but at the last he toke the crosse and forswore the kings land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and canell dung, and there made an end of him in the high street, so that he went no further: notwithstanding the Constables and other men also which had him vnder gouernance to conduct him forward: for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

Example of Gods rod and iudgement.

King Edward the fourth.

Anno 1461

King Edward the fourth.

KIng Edward, after his conquest and victory atchieued against king Henry, returned againe to London, where, vpon the Vigil of S. Peter and Paul, being on Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and raigned twenty two yeeres, albeit not without great disquietnesse, and much perturbation in his raigne.

Queene Margaret hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also faine to flie the land, and went to her father duke of Angeow: from whence the next yeere following she returned againe to renew warre against king Edward, with small succour and lesse lucke. For being encountred by the earle of Warwicke, about Nouember she was driuen to the seas againe, and by tempest of weather, was driuen into Scotland.

Queene Margaret fled the land.

Anno 1462

King Edward sitteth his own person in the kings bench iudging.

In this yeere we reade that king Edward in the cause of a certaine widow for rape, sate his own person in Westminster hall vpon his owne bench, discussing her cause. Ex Scal. mundi.

Anno 1463

King Henry the sixth againe repulsed in the battell of Exham.

The yeere following, king Henry issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the North country to recouer the crowne, vnto whom the lord Radulph Percie, & lord Radulph Gray flying from king Edward, did adioyne themselues: but the Lord so disposing, king Henry with his power was repulsed in the battell of Exham by the lord Mountacute, hauing then the rule of the North: where the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Rosse, with certaine other were taken. The lord Radulph Percie was slaine, the residue fled. Albeit the history of Scal. mundi, referreth this battell to the yeere 1464. the fiftéenth day of May. In the which month of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Rosse, lord Philip Wentworth, lord Thomas Hussy, lord Thomas Findern, beside twenty one other belonging to the retinue and houshold of king Henry the sixth. Queene Margaret finding no resting place here in England, tooke her progresse againe from whence she came, learning in her owne country to drinke that drinke, which she her selfe had brewed here in England.

King Henry 6. taken, arrested, and committed to the tower.

Anno 1465

And not long after, the next yeere, an. 1465. on the day of Saint Peter and Paul, king Henry being found and knowne in a wood by one Cantlow (as they say) was arrested by the earle of Warwicke, and at last, of a king made prisoner in the tower of London.

In this meane time, king Edward (after the motion of marriage for him being made; and first the lady Margaret sister to James the 4. king of Scots thought vpon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward y lady Elizabeth sister to Henry king of Castile, being intended; but she being vnder age, the earle of Warwicke turning then his legation and voyage to the French king Lewes the eleuenth, to obtaine lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Sauoy, and sister to Carlot the French queene, and obtaining the same) had cast fauor vnto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of sir John Grey knight, slaine before in the battell of S. Albons, daughter to the duchesse of Bedford, and lord Riuers, and first went about to haue her to his concubine: But she, as being vnworthy (as she said) to be the wife of such an high personage, so thinking her selfe to be too good to be his concubine, in such sort wan the kings heart, that incontinent before the returne of the earle of Warwicke, he married her: at the which marriage, were no mo then onely the duchesse of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest and clerke. Vpon this so hasty and vnlucky marriage, ensued no little trouble to the king, much bloudshed to the realme, vndoing almost to all her kindred, and finally confusion to king Edwards two sonnes, which both were declared afterward to be bastards, and also depriued of their liues. For the earle of Warwicke, who had been the faithfull friend and chiefe maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so greeuously moued and chafed in his mind, that he neuer after sought any thing more, then how to worke displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathfull mode, till he might spie a time conuenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat seruing to his mind, he breaketh his hart to his two brethren; to wit, the marquesse Montacute, and the archbishop of Yorke, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to proue a farre off, the mind of the duke of Clarence, king Edwards brother, and likewise obtained him, giuing also to him his daughter in marriage.

King Henry 6. taken, arrested, and committed to the tower.

The kings sudden marriage with Queene Elizabeth.

The first falling out betweene King Edward and the earle of Warwicke.

Conspiracy against king Edward.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of this conspiracy began to appeare in the North country. Where the Northerne men in short space gathering themselues in an open rebellion, and finding captaines of their wicked purpose, came downe from Yorke toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, W. lord Yarbert earle of Penbroke, with the lord Stafford, and certaine other captaines to encounter. The Yorkshire men giuing the ouerthrow first to the lord Stafford, then to the earle of Penbroke and his company of Welchmen at Banbery field, at last ioyning together with the army of the earle of Warwicke, and duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night, secretly stealing on the kings field at Wolney by Warwick, killed the watch, and tooke the king prisoner, who first being in the castell of Warwicke, then was conueied by night to Middleham castell in Yorkshire, vnder the custody of the archbishop of Yorke, where he hauing lose keeping, and liberty to goe on hunting, meeting with sir William Standley, sir Thomas of Borough, and other his friends, was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to Yorke, where he was well receiued: from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, well accompanied, by whose helpe he came safe to London.

King Edward taken prisoner by the earle of Warwicke.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to a perfit peace and vnity, although much labor was made by the nobility, the earle of Warwicke raiseth vp a new war in Lincolnshire, the captaine whereof was sir Robert Wels knight, who shortly after being taken in battell with his father, and sir Thomas Dunocke, were beheaded; the residue casting away their coates, ran away and fled, giuing the name of the field, called Losecoat field. The earle of Warwicke after this put out of comfort and hope to preuaile at home, fled out of England, anno 1470. first to Calice, then to Lewes the French king, accompanied with the duke of Clarence. The fame of the earle of Warwicke and of his famous acts, was at that time in great admiration aboue measure, and so highly fauored, that both in England and France, all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the comming of this earle and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little gratefull to the French king, and no lesse opportune to queene Margaret, king Henries wife, and prince Edward her sonne, who also came to the French court to meete and conferre together touching their affaires: where a league betweene them was concluded, and moreouer a marriage betweene Edward prince of Wales, and Anne the second daughter of the earle of Warwicke was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily vpon the earles part, beside the large offers and great promises made by the French king, on the best manner to set forward their purpose, the earle hauing also intelligence by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sore for his presence, so that there lacked now but onely haste with all speed possible to returne; hee with the duke of Clarence well fortified with the French nauy, set forward toward England: for so was it betweene them before decréed, that they two should proue the first venture, and then queene Margaret with prince Edward her sonne, should follow after. The arriuall of the earle was not so soone heard of at Dartmouth in Deuonshire, but great concourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receiue and welcome him: who immediately made proclamation in the name of king Henry the sixth, charging all men able to beare armor, to prepare themselues to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, vsurper of the crowne. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policie conuenient for such a matter.

The earle of Warwicke and the duke of Clarence flie into France.

The earle of Warwicke and the duke of Clarence returne into England.

The returning of the earle of Warwicke into England.

King Henry againe proclaimed king.

When king Edward (who before not pausing for the matter, nor séeking how either to haue stopped his landing, or else straightwaies to haue encountred with him, before the gathering of his friends, but pausing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly repaired more and more daily about the earle and the duke, began now to prouide for remedy, when it was too late. Who trusting too much to his friends and fortune before, did now right well perceiue what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially here of England, whose nature is neuer to be content long with the present state, but alwaies delighting in newes, séeketh new variety of changes, either enuying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, & wauering with the reed, did well appeare in the course of this kings story. For hee, through the fauor of the people when hee was down, was exalted: now being exalted of the same, was forsaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firme and stable: so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the fauor of God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ his sonne, whose only

The inconstant lewity of the people of England.

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only kingdome shall neuer haue end, nor is subiect to any mutation.

The constant heart and truth of the Lord Hastings.

These things thus passing on in England on the earles side against king Edward, he accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, and the lord Hastings, who had married the earle of Warwicks sister, and yet was neuer vntrue to the king his master: and the lord Scales, brother to the queene, sent abroad to all his trusty friends for furniture of able souldiers for defence of his person to withstand his enemies. When little rescue and sew in effect would come, the king himselfe so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he perceiuing his enemies daily to increase vpon him, and all the countries about to be in a roare, making fires and singing songs, crying, King Henry, king Henry, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, and hearing moreouer his enemies the Lancastrians to be within halfe a daies iourny of him, was aduised by his friends to flie ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne, which not long before had married king Edwards sister.

King Edward forsaken of his people in his need.

The weake state of king Edward.

Whether godly simplicity, or mans policy be stronger.

¶ Here might be thought, by the common iudgement and policie of man, peraduenture that king Edward, as he had in his hands the life of king Henry, of his Queene and Prince: so if he had dispatched them out of the way, when as he might, hee had not fallen into this misery: but because he tooke not the vantage, which time rather then godly reason gaue him, therefore that sparing pity of his turned now to his confusion and ruine. And certes, I suppose no lesse, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitilesse daies, in which charity now waxeth vtterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let vs here note and learne, how godly simplicitie alwaies in the end of things gaineth more then mans policie, forsomuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

The double case of these two kings considered.

And so farre is it off, that euent and successe of things be gouerned by mans aduised policie, or vnaduised affection in this world, that that is iudged to be weaker that flourisheth in man, then that which is cast downe in the Lord: as in the double case of both these kings may well appeare. And first let vs consider the case of king Edward, who being so beset and compassed with euils and distresses on euery side, first was compelled to take the Washes betweene Lincolnshire and Linne (which was no lesse dangerous to his life, then it was vnseemly for his estate.) Being come to Linne, in what perill was he there, through the doubtfull mutability of the townes men, if he had been knowne to his enemies? And how could hee be but knowne, if he had taried any space? But though men and friends forsake him, yet the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him which shewed mercy vnto other, so prouided, that at the same present there was an English ship, and two hulks of Holland ready to their iourny. Thus king Edward without prouision, without bagge or baggage, without clothsacke or maile, without store of mony, without raiment, saue only apparell for warre, also without all friends, except only his brother duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, and lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seuen or eight hundred persons, tooke shipping toward Holland: at which time he was in no lesse ieopardy almost on the sea, then hee was on the land. For certaine Easterlings hauing many ships of warre, which lay rouing the same time on the sea, and had done much damage the yeere before, as well to the English merchants, as to the French nation, spying the kings ship, with seuen or eight gallant ships, made saile after the king and his company. The kings ship was good of saile, and gat some ground, albeit not much, of the Easterlings, that she came to the coast of Holland before Alquemare, and there cast anker: for otherwise, being an ebbing water, they could not enter the hauen. The Easterlings with their great ships approched as neere as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the flood to obtaine their pray, and so were like to doe, if the Lord had not there also prouided Mounsieur de Grounture, gouernor for duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the towne of Alquemare, who hearing of the ieopardy of the king, being there at anker, prohibited the Easterlings on paine of death, not to meddle with any Englishmen which were the dukes friends and allies.

The deuision betweene the two kings.

God prouideth.

God againe prouideth.

King Edward taketh the Washes.

King Edward taketh shipping.

King Edward neere taken of the Easterlings.

King Edward deliuered from the Easterlings.

Thus king Edward well chastised of God for his wantonnesse both by sea and land, but not vtterly giuen ouer from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company, who there well refreshed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to Hage.

Charles duke of Burgoyne, king Edwards brother in law.

Duke Charles at the hearing of the vnprosperous case and condition of king Edward his brother in law, was greatly amazed and perplered in himselfe, much casting and doubting what hee should doe. For being then in warre with the French king, he could not well prouoke the English nation against him, without his manifest greeuance and decay: neither yet could he without great shame and obloquie, leaue the king his brother in that necessitie. Notwithstanding, so he demanured himselfe through faire speech, pretending to the Englishmen to ioyne part with the house of Lancaster, being himselfe partly descended of the same family by his grandmothers side: that he both was his owne friend openly, and the kings friend couertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tidings was spread in England of king Edwards flying, innumerable people of all hands resorted to the earle of Warwicke, to take his part against king Edward, a few onely except of his constant friends which toke sanctuarie. Among whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who desperate almost of all comfort, tooke also sanctuary at Westminster, where she in great penury forsaken, was deliuered of a faire sonne called Edward, which without all pompe was baptised like another poore womans child, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Westminster, the godmother was ladie Scrope.

Queene Elizabeth taketh sanctuary.

Prince Edward borne in sanctuary.

To make the story short, the earle of Warwicke hauing now brought all things to his appetite, vpon the twelfth day of October, rode to the Tower, which was then deliuered to him, and there tooke king Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the kings lodging. The 25. day of the same month, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earls of Warwicke, Shrewsbury, and the lord Standley, with a great company, brought him in a long gowne of blew veluet thorow the high streets of London, first to Pauls church to offer, then to the bishops palace of London, and there he resumed againe the crowne royall, an. 1471. which he did not long inioy.

King Henry 6. brought out of the tower.

King Henry restored againe to his kingdom.

After this followed a parliament, in the which king Edward with all his partakers were iudged traitors. Queene Margaret with her sonne prince Edward, all this while was tarrying for a faire wind, thinking long belike till she came to an euill bargaine, as it proued after. For king Edward within six months after his departure out of England vnto the duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his friends sollicitate, or whether by his aduenturous courage incited, made instant sute to duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such power as he would bestow vpon him, for he was fully resolued to defer the matter and to protract the time no longer.

King Edward returneth again into England.

The duke damped in double feare, in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding ouercome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be deliuered to him 50000. Florence, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in a hauen in Zeland, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same duke had for him hired fourteene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, taking band of them to serue him truly till hee were landed in England, and fiftéene daies after.

King Edward only with 2000. souldiers commeth to Rauenspur, alias Rauenspore.

Thus king Edward being furnished but onely with two thousand men of war, with more lucke then hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Rauenspur in the coast of Yorkshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of souldiers to doe any good, yet to vse policie, where strength did lacke, first he sent forth certaine light-horsemen to proue the country on euery side, with perswasions, to see whether the vplandish people would be stirred to take king Edwards part. Perceiuing that it would not be, king Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claime the crowne and kingdome, but only to claime the duchy of Yorke, which was his owne title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more, but only his iust patrimony and lineall inheritance, they began to be moued with mercy and compassion toward him, either to fauor him or not to resist him: and so iourning toward Yorke, he came to Beuerly. The marquesse Mountacute, brother to the earle of Warwicke, was then at Pomfret, to whom the earle had sent strait charge, with all expedition to set vpon him, or else to stop his passage: and likewise to the citizens of Yorke and all Yorkshire, to shut their gates and take armor against him. King Edward being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding neere to Yorke without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant vnto him, but contrary sent him word to approch no neerer, as he loued his owne safegard. The desolate king was here driuen to a narrow strait, who neither could retire backe, for the opinion of the country and losse of his cause; neither could goe further, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore vsing the same policie as before, with louely words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare vnto the citizens, that his comming was not to demand the realme of England, or the title of the same, but only the duchy of Yorke, his old inheritance, and therefore determined to set forward, neither with army nor weapon. The messengers were not so soone within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soone as they.

The deuision betweene the two kings.

King Edward only with 2000. souldiers commeth to Rauenspur, alias Rauenspore.

The dissembling policie of king Edward.

King Edward commeth to Yorke.

King Edward repelled by the citizens of Yorke.

King Edward changeth his title.

The gentle and faire words of king Edward.

The citizens hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the preiudice of the king, nor of the realme, were something mitigated toward him, and beganne to commune with him from the walles, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they would be the more ready to aid him, at least he should haue no damage by them.

Notwithstanding he againe vsed such lowly language, and deliuered so faire speech vnto them, intreating them so courteously, and saluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at

at their hands no more, but onely his owne towne whereof hee had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talke, and debating vpon the matter, partly also inticed with faire and large promises, fell to this conuention, that if hee would sweare to be true to king Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receiue him into the citie.

Two conditions put to king Edward.

This being concluded, the next morning, at the entring of the gate, a priest was readie to say masse, in the which after receiuing of the Sacrament, the king receiued a solemne oth, to obserue the two articles afore agreed. By reason of which oth so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after punished (as it may well be thought) in his posteritie, hee obtained the citie of Yorke. Where hee, in short time forgetting his othe, to make all sure, set in garrisons of armed souldiers. Furthermore, perceiuing all things to bee quiet, and no stirre to bee made against him, hee thought to forslacke no opportunitie of time, and so made forward toward London, leauing by the way the Marques Mountacute, which lay then with his armie at Pontfret, on the right hand, not fully foure miles distant from his campe: and so returning to the high way againe, went forward without any stirring to the towne of Nottingham: where came to him, sir William Parre, sir Thomas of Borough, sir Thomas Mountgomerie, and diuers else of his assured friends, with their aides, which caused him by proclamation, to stand to his owne title of king Edward the fourth, saying that they would serue no man, but a king. At the same hereof being blowne abrode, as the citizens of Yorke were not a little offended (and that worthilie) so from other townes and cities, lords and noble men began to fall vnto him, thinking with themselues, that the Marquesse Mountacute either fauoured his cause, or was afraide to encounter with the man. Howsoeuer it was, king Edward being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the towne of Leicester, and there hearing that the earle of Warwicke accompanied with the earle of Oxford, were together at Warwicke, with a great power, minding to set on the earle, he remoued from thence his armie, hoping to giue him battell. The duke of Clarence in the meane time about London had leuied a great host comming toward the earle of Warwicke as he was by the earle appointed. But when the earle saw the duke to linger the time, hee began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that hee was altered to his brethrens part. The king aduancing forward his host, came to Warwicke, where hee found all the people departed. From thence he moued toward Couentrie, where the earle was: vnto whom the next day after, hee boldlie offered battell. But the earle expecting the duke of Clarence his comming, kept him within the walles. All this made for the king. For hee hearing that his brother, duke of Clarence, was not farre off, comming toward him with a great armie, raised his campe, and made toward him, either to intreate, or else to encounter with his brother. When each host was in sight of the other, Richard duke of Glocester, brother to them both, as arbitrour betweene them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is vncertaine. But hereby both the brethren, laying all armie and weapon aside, first louingly and familiarly commoned: after that, brotherlie and naturallie ioyned together. And that fraternall amitie, by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspition.

King Edward put to his oth.

Victorie got by periurie, punished at length in posteritie.

King Edward falsely commeth to Nottingham.

King Edwards friends resort vnto him.

King Edward resumeth the name of a king.

King Edward commeth to Leicester.

King Edward commeth to Warwicke.

The earle of Warwicke sleeth to Couentrie.

The duke of Clarence commeth with a great armie.

Concord of brethren.

Then was it agreed betweene the three brethren to attempt the earle of Warwicke, if he likewise would be reconciled: but hee crying out shame vpon the duke of Clarence, stood at vtter defiance. From thence king Edward so strongly furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to London. Where, after it was knowne that the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much feare fell vpon the Londoners, casting with themselues what was best to doe. The suddennesse of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London the same time, the archbishop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Somerset, with other of king Henries counsell, to whom the earle had sent in commandement a little before, knowing the weaknesse of the citie, that they should keep the citie from their enemies two or three dates, and he would follow with all possible speed, with a puissant armie. Who, according to their commandement, defended the citie with all their power, but yet to little purpose: For the citizens consulting with themselues for their owne most indemnitie, hauing no walles to defend them, thought best to take that way, which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with king Edward. This was not so sone knowne abroad, but the communaltie ranne out by heapes to meete king Edward, and to salute him as their king. Whereupon the duke of Somerset, with other of king Henries counsell, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the world, to shift for themselues, fled away and left there king Henrie alone: Who the same day being caused by the archbishop of Yorke, to ride about London like a king, was before night made captiue, and reduced againe to the Tower.

The earle of Warwicke reconciled.

King Edward commeth to London.

Londoners take part with king Edward.

King Henries counsellers flie away.

King Henrie againe taken and committed to prison.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the comming of the earle of Warwicke was heard of, who thinking to preuent mischiefes with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the earles armie were John duke of Exceter, Edmund earle of Somerset, John earle of Oxford, and Marques Mountacute the earles brother. The earle had now passed a great part of his iourny, when hee hearing newes of the world so changed, and of the captiuitie of king Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind: wherefore he staied with his armie at S. Albons, to see what way further to take. And forsomuch as there was no other remedie, but either hee must yeeld, or one conflict must finish the matter; hee remoued to Barnet ten miles from S. Albons.

The earle of Warwicke commeth to Barnet.

Against him set forth king Edward, well appointed with a strong armie of picked and able persons, with artillerie, engines and instruments meete for the purpose: bringing with him also king Henry. On Easter euen hee came to Barnet, and there he embattelled himself. In the morning vpon Easter day the battell began, and fiercely continued almost till none, with murder on eche side much doubtfull, till both parts were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then desirous to see an end, ofr or on, with a great crew of new fresh souldiers, set vpon his wearied enemies. Whereby the earles men, although encouraged with words of their captain, stoutly fought, but they sore wounded and wearied, could not long hold out. The earle rushing into the middest of his enemies, ventured so farre, that hee could not be rescued: where he was stricken downe and slaine, and there lay hee. Marques Mountacute thinking to succour his brother, whom hee saw to be in great ieopardie, was likewise otherthrowne and slaine. After that Richard Neuill, earle of Warwicke, and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this field slaine, are iudged about tenne thousand, as Polydore Virgil recounteth, Fabian numbreth of them that were slaine, but fifteene hundred. The duke of Somerset and earle of Oxford thinking to flie to Scotland, returned to Jasper earle of Pembroke in Wales. The duke of Exceter hardly escaped to Westminster, and there tooke sanctuarie. For the death of the earle of Warwick the king was not so glad, as hee was sorie for the Marques Mountacute, whom he tooke to be his friend. The corps of these two were brought to the Church of Pauls, where they lay open in two coffins two daies, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

The battell at Barnet.

The earle of Warwicke and his brother slaine.

¶ In the narration of this historie, Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deale differ from Robert Fabian. Neither doe I doubt, but both these had their authors, by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I maruell, that Polydore writing of so many things which hee neuer saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite vnto vs those writers of whom he borrowed. And more doe I maruell, or rather lament, if it be true that I haue heard, that he not only nameth no author vnto vs, but also burned and heape of our English stories vnknowne, after the finishing of his, in the dayes of king Henry the 8. But now to our text againe.

Difference betweene Polydore and Fabian.

Hall followeth Polydore.

Polydore is said to haue burned a number of our English writers.

All this while yet Queene Margaret with young Prince Edward her sonne, was scarce come ouer, being long let with contrary windes, who at length in the moneth of Aprill arriuing at Waimouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowfull tidinges of these things lately happened to her husband, and to the earle of Warwicke and his brother, and of the prosperous successe of king Edward: was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things contrarie to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with her selfe, lamenting her husband, bewayling her sonne, cursing her comming, and crying out of Fortune, as though blinde Fortune were she that gouerneth times and tides, rewarding iust punishments to vniust deseruings of men, and not the secret power and terrible iustice of almightie God. Such was then the impatiency of that Queene, being not able to beare the vehemencie of her passion (who rather should haue sorrowed the dolorous death of duke Humfrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked) that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speach decaied, and life almost gone, she fell to the ground as one that would rather die then liue. In this desolate case, Queene Margaret learning now to know her friends from her foes, when it was too late, straught full of heauinesse, without solace, or hope of remedie, she with her sonne and her companie departed for the next refuge, to a Monasterie of Monkes called Beaulie in Hamphire, there to take sanctuarie, and priuiledge of the house.

The returne of Queene Margaret into England.

Queene Margaret for sorrow swoundeth.

Ex Polyd. lib. 24.

Queene Margaret taketh sanctuarie.

Yet all hearts were not found nor subdued in England, especiallie Edmund duke of Somerset, with Lord John his brother, Thomas Courtney, earle of Deuonshire, Jasper earle of Pembroke, Lord Menlocke, John Longstrother, being Prior of the knights of Rhodes in Saint Johns. These hearing of the queenes returne, with speede resorted to her; by whom she being somewhat quickned in her spirites, and animated to warre, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsell: which was, in all the hote haste, to renew warre against king Edward, being now vnprouided, by reason his armie was now dispersed, and chiefest of his souldiors wasted.

Queene Margaret moued by her friends to renue warres against king Edward.

Here

Here great hope of victorie was shewed, great promises made. Although the queens mind was, being more carefull for the yong prince, then for her selfe, to send him ouer into France, before some proofe or triall made: yet following the contrarie counsell of them, and partly cut off by shortnesse of time, which required hast, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Jasper earle of Pembroke, posted into Wales to do the same.

K. Edward hasteth against queene Margaret.

King Edward hauing intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certaine light horsemen, to espie abrode through the West parts, what waies his enemies did take. In the meane time, he vsing all celeritie to meete them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as hee could make about London, and first commeth to Abingdon, from thence to Marlebridge, hearing that the queene was at Bathe, thinking to encounter with them, before they diuerted into Wales to the earle of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the queene vnderstanding the king to be so nigh, remoueth from Bathe to Bristow, sending word in the meane while to the citizens of Glocester, that they would grant her leaue safely to passe by their citie. Which when it could not bee obtained, with her armie she departed from Bristow to Tewkesburie: where the duke of Somerset knowing king Edward to be at hand at his verie backe, willed the queene there to stay, and in no wise to flee backward for certaine doubts that might bee cast. Although this counsell was against the consent of many other captaines, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the earle of Pembroke with his armie were with them associate: yet the mind of the duke preuailed. The place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battell came, the king was looked for: who being within one mile of Tewkesburie, with like industrie and policie, as his enemies had done, disposed his armie likewise in their array. The celeritie of the king taking the time, was to him great aduantage: who otherwise if hee had deferred, till they had conioyned with the earle of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Queene Margaret debarred from Glocester.

The battell of Tewkesburie.

A great matter to take a thing in time.

Of this battell Hall thus reporteth, adding more then Polydore, that the duke of Somerset, although hee was strongly intrenched, yet through the occasion or policie of the duke of Glocester, which had the forewards of the kings part, a little reculing backe, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord Wenlocke, who had the middle ward, would haue followed hard at his backe. The duke of Glocester, whether for shame rather then of policie, espying his aduantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrarie part was eftsones discomãted, and so much the more, because they were separated from their companie. The duke of Somerset not a little agreeued at this so vnfortunate case, returneth to the middle ward, where he seeing the lord Wenlocke abiding still, reuileth him, and calleth him traytor, and with his axe striketh the braines out of his head.

Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydor; but sheweth not his author where he had it. Polydor writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that the queenes armie being ouerset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and she hauing no fresh souldiers to furnish the field, was at last ouermatched, and for the most part slaine or taken. In which battell were named to bee slaine, the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Wenlocke, lord John duke of Somerset his brother, beside other. Among them that were taken, was queene Margaret found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, prince Edward, Edmund duke of Somerset, John Prior of Saint Johns, with twentie other knights: all which were beheaded within two daies after, the queene onlie and the yong prince excepted. Which prince Edward being then brought to the kings presence, was demanded of him, how he durst be so bold to stand in battell against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith: that after the field was finished, the king made proclamation, that whosoeuer would bring prince Edward to him, should haue annuitie of an hundred pound during his life, and the princes life to bee saued. Whereupon sir Richard Crokes not misliking the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuouslie enter this realme with his banner displaied against him, he answered, saying: that hee came to recouer his fathers kingdome and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending: whereat (said Polydor) the king with his hand disdainfullie thrust him from him. Other say that the king stroke him on the face with his gauntlet.

Queene Margaret taken in battell.

Prince Edward brought to the king. The stout answere of the prince to the king.

Prince Edward slaine to king Henrie slaine.

Queene Margaret ransomed for a great sum of money.

At the speaking of these words was present George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, and the earle lord William Hastings. Who vpon the same, vncourteously falling vpon the prince did slay him. Queene Margaret being brought prisoner to London, was afterward ransomed of her father duke of Angeow, for a great summe of money which hee borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof, was faine to yeeld vnto him the title of the kingdome of Sicile, and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous warres, rendred to God his heartie thankes, and caused publikelie through his realme, solemne processions to be kept three daies together. And thus much, and too much, touching the warres of king Edward the fourth, which was done anno 1471. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

Publike processions for victorie got.

Anno 1471

The same yeere, and about the same time, vpon the ascension euen, king Henrie being prisoner in the tower, departed, after he had raigned in all xxx viij yeres, and vj. moneths. Polydor and Hall following him, affirme that hee was slaine with a dagger by Richard, duke of Glocester, the kings brother, for the more quiet and safegard of the king his brother. In the historie intituled Scala mundi, I finde these words: Quod in turri, in vigilia ascensionis Dominicæ ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam nauicula vsq; ad Abbatiam de Chertesey deductus, ibi sepultus est: That is, that king Henrie being in the tower vpon the ascension euen, there happilie, or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boate, to the abbey of Chertesey, and there buried.

The death of king Henry 6.

Ex Scala mundi.

King Henry buried at Chertesey.

Polydore, after he hath described the vertues of this king, recordeth that king Henrie the seuenth did afterward translate the corps of him from Chertesey to Windsore; and addeth moreouer, that by him certaine miracles were wrought. For the which cause the said king Henry the seuenth (saith hee) laboured with pope Julius, to haue him canonized for a Saint; but the death of the king was the let, why that matter proceeded not. Edward Hall writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why king Henries saincting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees of canonizing of a king, were of so great a quantitie at Rome (more then of another, bishop or prelate) that the said king thought it better to keepe the monie in his chests, then with the emponerishing of the realme to buy so deare, and pay so much for a new holie day of S. Henrie in the Kalendar, &c. Ex Hallo. Which if it be true, it might bee replied then to pope Julius, that if popes be higher then kings in the earth, and especiallie in heauen, why then is a pope-Saint so cheape in the market place of Rome, and a king Saint so deare? Againe, if the valuation of things in all markets and burses, bee according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought, what reason is it, seeing the saincting of a king beareth a bigger sale then the saincting of any pope in heauen, but that kings should be aboue popes also vpon the earth? Sed extra iocum, as I doe not doubt, but that king Henry was a good and a quiet prince, if hee had not otherwise been abused by some: so touching the ruins of his house, I thinke not contrarie, but it came not without the iust appointment of the Lord, either for that the Henries of Lancasters house were such enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the lord Cobham and many other: or else for the vniust displacing of king Richard 2. or else thirdly for the cruell slaughter of Humfrey the good duke of Glocester his vncle: whereof sufficientlie hath been said before.

A king Saint, is deare ware in the popes market.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

The cause examined of the fall of Lancaster house.

Example of Gods iust rod of correction.

¶ During the time of these doings, being about the yeare of our Lord 1465. there was here in England a certaine frier Carmelite, who about the terme of Michael the archangell preached at Pauls in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in pouertie, and did beg: To whose opinion and doctrine, the prouinciall of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctours moe and brethren of the same order: vnto whom also adioyned certaine of the Iacobites, and stiffely did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their publicke lectures and preaching, to the vttermost of their cunning, did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendant part was driuen for a while to keepe silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our dayes now present, with our tumultuous contention of formes and fashions of garments. But I put my selfe here in Pythagoras schole, and keepe silence with these Friers. In the storie moreouer it followeth, that this beggerly question of the begging friers, whether Christ did begge, or no, went so farre, that at length it came to the popes eares Paulus 2. who was no begger ye may be sure. After that the fame of this doctrine, mounting ouer the Alpes, came flying to the court of Rome, which was about the assumption of the virgin Mary, the yeare next following, ann. 1465. it brought with it such an euill smell to the fine noses there, that it was no need to bid them to sticke: for begging to them was worse then hie heresie. Wherefore the holy father pope Paulus the 2. to represse the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might haue set his whole kitchin on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftsoones directeth down his Bull into England, intimating to the prelates here, Hæresim illam pestiferè asserentem, quod Christus publicè mendicauit, esse antiquitus à Romanis Pontificibus, cum suis Concilijs damnatam, & eam pro damnata, vndique declarandam, & conculcandam, &c. That is, that this heresie, which pestiferously doth affirme that Christ did openly begge, was condemned of old time by the Bishops of Rome, and his Councels, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be trodden downe vnder all mens feete, &c. This was in the same yeare when prince Edward, king Edwards sonne

A sore heresie preached at Pauls crosse.

Contention in the church whether Christ was a begger or not.

Times compared.

Ex hist. Scalæ mundi. fol. vlt. The popes determined solution, that Christ was no begger.

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King Edward vanquished nine battels, being himselfe present at them all.

sonne was borne in the sanctuary at Westminster, an. 1465.

As touching the rest of the doings and affaires of this king, (which had vanquished hitherto nine battels, himselfe being present) how afterward he, through the incitement of Charles duke of Burgoyne his brother in law, ventured into France with a puissant army, and how the duke failed him in his promise; also how peace betweene the two kings was at length concluded in a solemne meeting of both the said kings together (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white doue sitting the same day of meeting vpon the top of king Edwards tent) also of the marriage promised betweene the young Dolphin, and Elizabeth king Edwards eldest daughter; but afterward broken off on the French kings part: moreouer, as touching the death of the duke of Burgoyne slaine in war, and of his daughter Mary, neece to king Edward, spoiled of her lands and possessions wrongfully, by Lewes the French king, and married after to Maximilian. Furthermore, as touching the expedition of king Edward into Scotland, by reason of king James, breaking promise in marrying with Cecily the second daughter of king Edward, and of driuing out his brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recouery againe of Warwicke: of these (I say) and such other things mo, partly because they are described sufficiently in our common English stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the church, I omit to speake, making of them a supersedeas. Two things I finde here among many other, specially to be remembred.

Charles duke of Burgoyne failed his promise with the king.

Peace betweene the two kings bought with the French kings mony.

Marriage betweene the French kings sonne, and king Edwards daughter, made and broken.

King James of Scotland goeth from his promise of marriage.

Warwicke recouered.

{Anno 1473}

The first is concerning a godly and constant seruant of Christ, named Iohn Gwse, which in the time of this king was vniustly condemned and burnt at the tower hill, an. 1473. in the month of August. Thus had England also his Iohn Hus as well as Boheme. Wherein moreouer this is to be noted, that since the time of king Richard 2. there is no raigne of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the paines of fire, for the religion and true testimony of Christ Iesus. Of this said Iohn Gwse, or Iohn Hus; this moreouer I finde in another English monument recorded, that the said Iohn being deliuered to Robert Belisdon, one of the sheriffes, to see him burnt the after noone; the sheriffe like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his errors. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, desired the sheriffe to be content, for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this he desired of the sheriffe, for Gods sake to giue him some meat, saying that he was very sore hungred. Then the sheriffe commanded him meat; whereof he tooke and did eat, as he had been toward no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him: I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall passe a little sharpe shower ere I go to supper. And when he had dined, he gaue thanks, and required that he might shortly be lead to the place, where he should yéeld vp his spirit vnto God. Ex Polychron.

Iohn Goose marty.

Iohn Goose in English, is as much as Iohn Hus in the Bohemian tongue.

Iohn Goose taketh his dinner before he went to martyrdome.

The burning of Iohn Goose.

The second thing herein to be noted, is the death of George duke of Clarence, the kings second brother: of whom relation was made before, how he assisted king Edward his brother, against the earle of Warwicke at Barnet field, and helped him to the crowne, and now after all these benefits, was at length thus requited, that (for what cause it is vncertaine) he was apprehended and cast into the tower, where he being

The vnworthy death of the duke of Clarence.

adiudged for a traitor, was priuilie drowned in a butte of Malmsey. What the true cause was of his death, it cannot certainly bee affirmed. Diuers coniectures and imaginations there be diuerslie put forth. Some partly imputed to the Quenes displeasure. Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his seruant, which was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery, or inchantment. Another faine there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise vpon the vaine feare of a foolish prophecie, comming no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Sathan, as it doth many times else happen among Infidels and Gentiles, where Christ is not knowne: where among high princes and in noble houses, much mischiefe groweth, first murther and parricide, and thereby ruine of ancient families, and alteration of kingdomes. The effect of this prophecie (as the faine goeth) was this, that after king Edward, should one raigne, whose name should begin with G. And because the name of the duke of Clarence, being George, began with a G. therefore he began to be feared, and afterward priuily (as is aforesaid) was made away.

The duke of Clarence drowned in a butte of malmsey.

The causes of his death expended.

The mischiefe that Sathan worketh by false prophecies.

The prophecie of G.

¶ By these experiments and mischéeuous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soone to bee séene from what fountaine or author they procéed: that is, (no doubt) from Sathan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and prince of this world: against whose deceitfull delusions, christian men must be well instructed, neither to maruell greatly at them, though they séeme strange, nor yet to beléeue them, though they happen true. For Sathan being the prince of this world, in such worldly things can foresée what will follow, and can say truth for a mischéeuous end, and yet for all that is but a Sathan. So the dreame of Astyages, séeing a vine to grow out of his daughter, which should couer all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdome, proued true in the sequell thereof, and yet notwithstanding of Sathan it came, and caused cruell murther to follow, first of the shepheards childe, then of the sonne of Harpagus, whom he set before his owne father to eate. Ex Iust. lib. 1. Likewise Cyrus was prophetically admonished by his dreame, to take him for his guide, whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dreame fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blinde Oracles of the Idolatrous Gentiles, which although they procéed of a lying spirit, yet sometime they hit the truth to a mischéeuous purpose. The like iudgement also is to be giuen of Merlines prophecies. The sorceresse mentioned 1. Reg. 28. raising vp Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, there was a damsell hauing the spirit of Pytho, who said truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The vncleane spirits in giuing testimony of Christ, said the truth, yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Prophecies not rashly to be beleeued.

Sathan can say truth for a wicked end.

Diuellish prophecies, although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Ex Iust. lib. 1.

Merlines prophecies. 1. Reg. 18. Acts 16.

a A spirit of diuination which could ghesse and foredeeme things past, present, and to come; which knowledge God many times permitteth to the diuell.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valence the emperor that he also had a blinde prophecie, not much vnlike to this of king Edward, which was, that one should succéed him in the empire whose name should begin with *o.* and *s.* Whereupon one Theodorus, trusting vpon the prophecie, began rebelliously to hope for the crowne, and for his labor felt the paines of a traitor. Notwithstanding, the effect of the prophecie followed: For after Valence, succéeded Theodosius. Wherefore christian princes and noble men, and all Christs faithfull people must beware and learne.

Ex Paulo Diac.

1. First, that no man be inquisitiue or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, beside those things onely which are promised, and expressed in the word.

Three things to be noted concerning false prophecies.

2. Secondly, to vnderstand what difference there is, and how to discerne the voice of God from the voice of Sathan.

3. Thirdly, how to resist and auoid the danger of false and diuellish prophecies.

Many there be, which being not contented with things present, curiously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giuing thanks to God for their life which they haue, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end will come, how long princes shall raigne, and who after shall succéed them, and for the same, get vnto them soothsaiers, astrologers, sorcerers, coniurers, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitiue to search or aske, but the diuell is as ready to answer them, who either falsly doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to worke them perpetuall care and sorrow. Thus was pope Siluester the sorcerer circumuented by the diuell, who told him that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out. For as hee was saying his masse at a chapell in Rome, called Jerusalem, there hee fell sicke, and within thrée dáies after died: vide sup. pag. 151. To king Henry the fourth also it séemeth it was propheried, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem, who being brought to the abbats chamber of Westminster, and hearing of the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died: pag. 513.

Vid. sup. pag. 151

Vid. sup. pag. 513

By such deceitfull prophecies, it cannot bee lamented enough to see what inconuenience both publike and priuatly groweth

False trust by diuelliſh prophecies.

growth to the life of men, either tauſing them falſly to truſt where they ſhould not, or elſe wickedly to perpetrate that they would not: as may appeare both by this king, and alſo diuers moe. So was Pompeius, Craſſus, and Ceſar, (as writeth Cicero) deceiued by the falſe Chaldeis, in declaring to them that they ſhould not die but in their beds, and with worſhip, and in their old age. Of ſuch a falſe truſt, riſing vpon falſe prophecies, S. Ambroſe in his booke of Exameron writeth, ſpeaking of raine, which being in thoſe parts greatly deſired, was promiſed and prophecied of one certainly to fall vpon ſuch a day, which was at the changing of the new moone: but (ſaith S. Ambroſe) there fell no ſuch raine at all, till at the praiers of the church, the ſame was obtained: giuing vs to vnderſtand, that raine commeth not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the moone, but by the prouidence and mercy of our Creator. Ex Ambroſ. in Examer.

Ambroſius in Exameron.

Ioan. Picus earle of Mirandula, in his excellent bookes written againſt theſe vaine ſtar-tellers and Aſtrologers, lib. 2. writeth of one Dardelaphus a prince, to whom it was prognoſticated by a famous cunning mã in that ſcience, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he ſhould inioy long continuance of health, and proſperous life; who notwithſtanding the ſelfeſame yeere, and in the firſt yeere of his marriage, deceaſed: and after diuers other examples added moreouer vpon the ſame, he inferreth alſo mention, and the name of a certaine rich matron in Rome, named Conſtantia, who in like maner departed the ſame yeere, in which ſhe receiued great promiſes by theſe Soothſaiers and Aſtrologers, of a long and happy life, ſaying to her huſband theſe words: Behold (ſaith ſhe) how true be the prognoſtications of theſe Sooth-tellers: If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whoſe names I would in no caſe to be blemiſhed with any ſpot, otherwiſe I could recite the names of certaine, eſpecially one, which taking his iourney, in a certaine place, after diligent calculation and forecaſting of the ſucceſſe and good ſpeed of his iourney, was notwithſtanding in the ſame iourney, apprehended and brought where he would not, after that, neuer inioying good day, in ſhort time he departed. In Baſill this I my ſelfe heard of one which knew and was conuerſant with the party, who hauing a curious delight in theſe ſpeculations of chances and euents to come, by his calculation noted a certaine day, which he miſtruſted ſhould be fatall vnto him, by ſomething which at that day ſhould befall vpon him. Whereupon he determined with himſelfe, all that day to keepe him ſure and ſafe within his chamber, where he reaching vp his hand to take downe a booke, the booke falling downe vpon his head, gaue him his deaths wound, and ſhortly after hee died vpon the ſame. Of theſe and ſuch like examples the world is full, and yet the curioſitie of mans head will not refraine, ſtill to plucke the apple of this vnlucky and forbidden tree.

Ioan. Pic. Mirandul. contra Aſtrolog. li. ca. 9.

Experience of falſe prophecies.

This man by falſe diſſemblers, was taken, betraied, and brought into England.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

Beſide all this, what murther and paricide commeth by the feare of theſe prophecies, in great bloods and noble houſes, I referre it vnto them which reade and well aduiſe the ſtories, as well of our kings here in England, as in other kingdomes mo, both Chriſtened and Turkiſh, whereof another place ſhall ſerue as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to intreat, and particularly to diſcourſe. To this pertaineth alſo the great inconuenience and hinderance that groweth by the feare of ſuch prophecies in the vocation of men, forſomuch as many there be, which fearing, ſome one danger, ſome another, leaue their vocations vndone, and follow vnordinate waies. As if one hauing a blind prophecy, that his deſtruction ſhould be on the day, would walke and doe all his buſineſſe by night and candle light: and ſo forth in other ſeuerall caſes of men and women, as euery one in his owne conſcience knoweth his owne caſe beſt.

The ſecond thing to bee conſidered in theſe prophecies, is rightly to diſcerne and vnderſtand, as neere as wee can, the difference betweene the prophecies proceeding from God, and the falſe prophecies counterfetted by Sathan. For Sathan ſometime plaieth Gods Ape, and tranſformeth himſelfe into an Angell of light; bearing ſuch a reſemblance and colour of truth and Religion, that vneth a wiſe man is able to diſcerne the one from the other, and the moſt part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which bee of God, which bee not, three things are to bee obſerued.

The ſecond part, how prophecies are to be diſcerned.

In the ſecond part three things to be conſidered.

1. Firſt, whether they goe ſimply and plainly, or whether they be doubtfull and ambiguous: whereof the one ſeemeth to taſte of Gods ſpirit, ſuch as be the prophecies of the ſcripture: the other to come otherwiſe, hauing a double or doubtfull interpretation. Although the time of Gods prophecies, as alſo of miracles is commonly and ordinarily expired: yet if the Lord in theſe daies, not vertraordinarily doe ſhew any prophecie, by the ſimpleneſſe and plainneſſe thereof, partly it may be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in prophecies.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be priuate, tending to this family or that family, or publike. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the prophecies of God haue no priuat interpretation, but generall: forſomuch as the care of Gods holy ſpirit is not reſtrained partially to one perſon more then to another, but generally and indifferently reſpecteth the whole church of his elect in Chriſt Jeſus his Sonne. Wherefore ſuch prophecies as priuatly are touching the armes of houſes or names of men, riſing or falling of priuat and particular families, are worthily to be ſuſpected.

The 3. thing to be conſidered in prophecies.

3. The third note and ſpeciall argument to deſcry the true prophecies of God, from the falſe prophecies of ſatan and his falſe prophets, is this, to conſider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpirituall, or whether they tend to any glory or ſtate of this preſent world, or whether they tend to the ſpirituall inſtruction, admonition, or comfort of the publike church.

The 3. part, how to auoid the danger of ſinniſter prophecies.

Two remedies againſt diuelliſh prophecies.

The firſt remedie.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be inſtructed next how to eſchew the feare and perill of all diuelliſh prophecies which make againſt vs. Wherein two ſpeciall remedies are to be marked of euery chriſtian man, whereby he may be ſafe and ſure againſt all danger of the enemy. The firſt is, that we ſet the name of Chriſt Jeſus the Sonne of God againſt them, through a true faith in him: knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared, to diſſolue the workes of the diuell. And againe, this is the victory (ſaith the ſcripture) that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith. Whatſoeuer then ſatan worketh, or can worke againſt vs, be it neuer ſo forcible, faith in Chriſt will vanquiſh it. Such a maieſty is in our faith, beleeuing in the name of the Sonne of God.

The ſecond remedy againſt dangerous prophecies.

The other remedy is faithfull praier, which obtaineth in the name of Chriſt, all things with the Lord. So that wicked feend, which had killed before ſeuen huſbands of Tobias wife could not hurt him, entring his matrimony with earneſt praier: ſo no more ſhall any ſiniſter prophecie preuaile, where praier out of a faithfull heart, doth ſtriue againſt it. Neither am I ignorant, that againſt ſuch temporall euils and punihments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth alſo in this, when Sathan findeth nothing, wherein greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to flie to repentance, with amendement of life. For many times where ſinne doth raigne in our mortall bodies, there alſo the operation of Sathan is ſtrong againſt vs, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternall ſaluation, neither worke nor merit hath any place, but onely our faith in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touching the two ſpeciall remedies, whereby the operation of all diuelliſh prophecies may bee auoided and defeated.

Mans policie can nothing do againſt the diuell.

Now many there be, which leauing theſe remedies aforeſaid, and the ſafe protection which the Lord hath ſet vp in Chriſt, take other waies of their owne, ſeeking by their owne policie, how to withſtand and eſcape ſuch prophecies, either in eſchewing the place and time ſubtilly, or elſe cruelly by killing the party whom they feare: whereof commeth inury, murther, and parricide, with other miſchiefes in commonwealths vnſpeakeable. To whom commonly it commeth ſo to paſſe, that whereby they thinke moſt to ſaue themſelues, by the ſame meanes they fall moſt into the ſnare, being ſubuerted and confounded in their owne policie, for that they truſting to their owne deuice, and not vnto the Lord, which onely can diſſolue the operation of Sathan, the Lord ſo turneth their deuice into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they thinke moſt ſurely to eſcape. Examples whereof wee ſee not onley in Aſtyages, king of the Medes aforeſaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other like euents, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our eies. So Queene Margaret thought her ſelfe cockeſure, when duke Humfrey was made away; when nothing elſe was her confuſion ſo much, as the loſſe and lacke of that man.

No power can withſtand Sathan, but only Chriſt, and our faith in him.

So if king Richard the ſecond had not exerciſed ſuch cruelty vpon his vncle Thomas, duke of Glocester, he had not receiued ſuch wrong by king Henry the fourth as hee did, pag. 473. Likewiſe this king Edward the fourth, if he had ſuffered his brother George, duke of Clarence to haue liued, his houſe had not ſo gone to wracke by Richard his other brother, as it did. What befell vpon the Student of Aſtrology in the Vniuerſity of Baſil, ye heard before, who if he had not mewed himſelfe in his chamber for feare of his diuination, had eſcaped the ſtroke that fell. Now in auoiding ſuch prophetical euents which hee ſhould not haue ſearched, hee fell into that which hee did feare. Theſe few examples for inſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to inferre, not as though theſe were alone; but by theſe few to admoniſh the Reader of infinite other, which daily come in practiſe of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in priuate houſes, as in weales publike.

A briefe rehearſall of the matter of prophecies before paſſed.

Wherefore briefly to repeat what before ſimply hath been ſaid touching this matter, ſeeing that ſathan through ſuch ſubtile prophecies, hath and yet doth daily practiſe ſo manifold miſchiefes in the world, ſetting brother againſt brother, nephew againſt the vncle, houſe againſt houſe, and realm againſt realme, gendring hatred where loue was, and ſubuerting priuily the ſimplicity of our chriſtian faith; therefore the firſt thing and beſt is, for godly men not to buſie their braines about ſuch phantaſies, neither in delighting in them, nor in harkening

to

to them, nor in searching for them, either by southsaier, or by coniuration, or by familiar, or by astrologer: knowing and considering this, that whosoeuer shall be desirous or readie to search for them, the diuell is as readie to auiswere his curiositie therein. For as once in the old time of Gentilitie, he gaue his Oracles by Idols, and Priests of that time: so the same diuell, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet hee craftilie can giue now answere by Astrologers, and coniurers in these our dayes, and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceiue men when he hath said. Wherefore, leauing off such curiositie, let euery Christian man walke simply in his present vocation, referring hid things not in the word expressed, vnto him which saith in his word: Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta temporum, &c. It is not for you to knowe the times, and seasons of times, which the father hath kept in his owne power, &c.

The diuell readie to answere in matters of diuination.

Curiositie of prophecies to be auoyded.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for euery Christian man to learne, how to discerne and distinct the true prophecies, which procéde of God, and the false Prophecies, which come of Sathan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned: so necessarie it is, that euery good man doe rightly vnderstand the same, to the intent that he knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certaine and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, because it is not sufficient that the deceitfull prophecies of the diuell be knowen, but also that they be resisted, I haue also declared, by what meanes the operation of Sathans works and Prophecies are to be ouercome: that is, not with strength and policie of man, for that there is nothing in man, able to counteruaile the power of that enemie. Under heauen there is nothing else that can preuaile against his works, but only the name of the Lord Iesus the sonne of God, not outwardly pronounced onely with our lips, or signed in our foreheads with the outward crosse, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a stedfast faith, firmely and earnestly trusting vpon the promises of God, giuen and sealed vnto vs in his name: For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisedome, to set him vp, to be both our righteousnesse before himselfe, and also to be our fortitude against the enemie, accepting our faith in his sonne, in no lesse price, then he accepteth the works and worthinesse of the same his sonne, in whom we doe beléeue.

The strength of a Christian mans faith in Christ.

Such is the strength and effect of faith both in heauen, in earth, and also in hell: In heauen to iustifie, in earth to preserue, in hell to conquere. And therefore when any such Prophecie, or any other thing is to vs obiected, which séemeth to tend against vs, let vs first consider whether it sauour of Sathan, or not. If it doe, then let vs séeke our succour not in our selues, where it doth not dwell, neither let vs kill, nor slay, nor chaunge our vocation therefore, following vnordinate wayes: but let vs run to our Castle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Iesus, remembring the true promise of the Psalme: Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur. That is, Who so putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall haue the God of heauen to his protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalme: Ipse liberabit te à laqueo venantium, & à verbo aspero. That is: And he shall deliuer him from the snare of the hunter, and from all euill words, and Prophecies, be they neuer so sharpe or bitter against him, &c. And thus much by the occasion of king Edward, of Prophecies.

Onely Christ able to withstand the power of Sathan. Psal. 90.

Now hauing long taried at home in describing the tumultes and troubles within our owne land, wée will let out our storie more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christes Church, as well here in Europe vnder the Pope, as in the East parts vnder the Turke, first deducing our storie from the time of Sigismund, where before we left: Which Sigismund, as is aboue recorded, was a great doer in the Councell of Constance against John Hus, and Hierome of Prage. This Emperour had euer euill lucke, fighting against the Turkes. Twice he warred against them, and in both the battailes was discomfited and put to flight: once about the Citie of Mysia, fighting against Baiazetes the great Turke, an. 1395. the second time fighting against Celebinus the sonne of Baiazetes, about the towne called Columbacium. But specially after the Councell of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned those two godly Martyrs, more vnprosperous successe did then followe him, fighting against the Bohemians, his owne subiects, an. 1420. by whom he was repulsed in so many battailes, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Ziska, and of Procopius, as is afore more at large expressed: who was so beaten both of the Turkes, and at home of his owne people, that he neuer did encounter with the Turkes after. Then followed the Councell of Basill, after the beginning whereof within fiue yéeres, this Sigismundus, which was Emperour, king of Hungarie, and king of Bohemie, died in Morauia, an. 1437.

Sigismundus Emperour.

Sigismundus vnprosperous in his warres.

Sigismundus ouercome of the Turkes.

Sigismundus ouercome of the Bohemians.

¶ Albertus Emperour.

THis Sigismund left behinde him one onely daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, Duke of Austrich: by reason whereof, he was aduanced to the empire, and so was both Duke of Austrich, Emperour, king of Hungary, and king also of Boheme. But this Albert (as is afore declared) being an enemie and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Thabor, as hee was preparing and setting forth against the Turkes, in the meanetime died, in the second yeare of his Empire, an. 1439. leauing his wife great with childe, who lying then in Hungarie, and thinking to be great with a daughter, called to her the Princes and the chiefetaines of the Realme, declaring to them that shee was but a woman, and vnsufficient to the gouernance of such a state: and moreouer how she thought her selfe to be with childe of a daughter, and therefore required them to prouide among them, such a Prince and gouernour, (reseruing the right of the kingdome to her selfe) as were fit and able vnder her, to haue the regiment of the land committed. The Turke in the meane while being eleuated and incouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismundus aforesaid, began then more fiercely to inuade Hungarie and those parties of Christendome. Wherefore the Hungarians making the more haste, consulted among themselues, to make duke Uladislaus, brother to Casimirus king of Polonie, their king.

Albert duke of Austrich, Emperour, king of Hungarie, king of Boheme.

Albertus Emperour but two yeares.

Elizabeth daughter to Sigismund, wife to Albert Emperour.

The Turk beginneth to inuade Hungarie.

Uladislaus brother to Casimirus king of Polonia, made king of Hungarie.

But while this was in working betweene the Hungarians and Uladislaus the duke, in the meane space Elizabeth brought forth a sonne called Ladislaus, who being the lawfull heire of the kingdome, the queene calleth backe againe her former word, minding to reserue the kingdome for her sonne, being the true heire thereof, and therefore refuseth marriage with the said Uladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Uladislaus ioyning with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not giue ouer: by reason whereof, great contention and diuision kindling among the people of Hungarie, Amurathes, the great Turke, taking his aduantage of their discord, and partly surprised with pride of his former successe against Sigismund aforesaid, with his whole maine and force, inuaded the Realme of Hungarie: where Huniades surnamed Uaiuoda, Prince of Transiluania, ioyning with the newe king Uladislaus, did both together set against the Turke, an. 1444. and there Uladislaus the newe king of Hungaria, the fourth yeare of his kingdome was slaine. Elizabeth with her sonne, was fled in the meane while, to Frederick the Emperour. Of Huniades Uaiuoda the noble captaine, and of his actes, and also of Ladislaus (Christ willing) more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

Elizabeth Q. of Hungarie brought to bed of a man child.

Ladislaus prince of Hungarie borne.

Diuision and discord in Hungarie.

The Turk warreth against Hungarie.

Huniades Uaiuoda.

Uladislaus K. of Hungarie, slaine in warre.

¶ Fredericus the third Emperour.

AFter the decease of Albert, succeeded in the Empire Fredericus the third, duke of Austria, an. 1440. By whom it was procured (as we haue before signified) that Pope Felix elected by the Councell of Basill, did resigne his Popedome, to Pope Nicolas the fift, vpon this condition, that the said Pope Nicolas should ratifie the actes decréed in the said Councell of Basill. In the dayes of this Emperour, much warre and dissension raged almost thorough all christian realmes, in Austria, Hungaria, Polonia, in France, in Burgoine, and also héere in England, betweene king Henrie the sixth, and king Edward the fourth, as yée haue alreadie heard, whereby it had bene easie for the Turke, with little maistrie, to haue ouerrunne all the Christian Realmes in Europe, had not the prouidence of our mercifull Lord otherwise prouided to keepe Amurathes the Turke, occupied in other ciuill wars at home in the meane while. Unto this Fredericke came Elizabeth (as is aforesaid) with Ladislaus her sonne: by whom he was nourished and entertained a certaine space, till at length, after the death of Uladislaus aforesaid, king of Hungarie (which was slaine in battaile by the Turkes) the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulricus Etzingerus and of Ulricus earle of Cilicia rising vp in armour, required of Fredericke the Emperour, either to giue them their young king, or else to stand to his owne defence.

Fredericus 3. Emperour.

Uladislaus K. of Hungarie slaine in battaile by the Turke.

When Fredericke heard this, neither would he render to them a sodaine aunswere, neither woulde they abide any longer delay: and so the matter growing to warre, the new Citie was besieged, where many were slaine, and much harme done. At length the Emperours part being the weaker, the Emperour through the interuention of certaine Nobles of Germanie, restored Ladislaus vnto their hands, who being yet vnder age, committed his three kingdomes to three gouernours. Whereof John Huniades the worthie captaine aboue mentioned, had the ruling of Hungarie: George Pogiebracius had Boheme: and Ulricus the Earle of Cilicia, had Austria. Which Ulrice, hauing the chiefe custodie of the king, bare the greatest authoritie aboue the rest, a man as much full of ambition and tyrannie, as hee was hated almost of all the Austrians, and shortly after by the meanes of Etzingerus, was excluded also from the king and the court, but afterward restored againe, and Etzingerus thrust out. Such is the vnstable condition of them which be nert in place about Princes. But this contention betweene them I ouerpasse.

Joh. Huniades gouernour of Hungary vnder the king.

George Pogiebracius gouernour of Boheme.

Ulricus gouernour of Austria.

Not long after, Ladislaus the yong king went to Boheme,

there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius (as is sayd) had the gouernance. But Ladislaus during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor heare the seruice of them, which did draw after the doctrine of Hus. Insomuch that when a certaine Priest in the high tower of Prage, was appointed and addressed, after the manner of Priests, to say seruice before the king, being knowen to hold with John Hus and Rochezana, the king disdaining at him, commaunded him to giue place and depart, or else he would send him downe headlong from the rocke of the tower: and so the good minister repulsed by the king, departed. Also another time the said Ladislaus, seeing the sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called then Hussites, would doe thereunto no reuerence. Ex Aene. Syluio.

Ladislaus a young popish king.

Ladislaus could not abide the doctrine of Hus.

At length the long abode of the king, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly disposed to bee longer then they wished: and that was not to the king vnknowen, which made him to make the more haste away: but before he departed, hee thought first to visite the noble Citie Uratislauia in Schlesia. In the which Citie, the foresaid king Ladislaus being there in the high church, at seruice, many great princes were about him: Among whom was also George Pogiebracius, who then stood nearest to the king, vnto whom one Chilianus, playing the Parasite about the king (as the fashion is of such as faine themselues fooles, to make other men as very fooles as they) spake in this wise as followeth: With what countenance you doe behold this our seruice, I see right well, but your heart I doe not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion seeme vnto you decent and comely? Do you not see how many and how great princes, yea the king himselfe, doe follow one order and vniformitie? And why doe you then follow rather your Preacher Rochezana then these? Doe you thinke a few Bohemians to be more wise then all the Church of Christ besides? why then doe you not forsake that rude and rusticall people, and ioyne to these Nobles, as you are a noble man your selfe?

Chilianus a parasite about king Ladislaus.

The words of a popish Parasite vnto Pogiebracius.

Unto whom thus Pogiebracius sagely againe doth answere. If you speake these words of your selfe, saith he, you are not the man whom you faine your selfe to be: and so to you I answere, as not to a fole. But if you speake this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfie them. Heare therefore. As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, euery man hath a conscience of his owne to follow. As for vs, we vse such ceremonies, as we trust doe please God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to beleeue what we will our selues. The mind of man being perswaded with great reasons, is captiuated, will hee nill he: and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawen, in some one way, and in some another. As for my selfe, I am fully perswaded in the religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy religion, I might perchance deceiue men, going contrary to mine owne conscience, but I cannot deceiue God, who seeth the hearts of all: Neither shall it become mee to frame my selfe like to thy disposition. That which is meete for a iester, is not likewise conuenient for a noble man. And these words either take to thy selfe, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man, or else I referre them to those which set thee a work. Ex Aen. Syl. in Hist. Bohem.

An aunswere proceeding of a heauenly wisedome.

After the king was returned from the Bohemians againe to Austria, the Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come vnto them. The gouernour of Hungarie (as yee before haue heard) was Joannes Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulricus Earle of Cilica, did all he could with the king, to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send for him vp to Vienna, and there priuily to worke his death. But Huniades hauing thereof intelligence, offereth himselfe within Hungarie to serue his Prince, to all affaires: Out of the land where he was, it was neither best (said hee) for the king, nor safest for himselfe, to come. The earle being so disappointed, came downe with certaine Nobles of the Court, to the borders of Hungarie, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or there to dispatch him. Huniades without in the fieldes, said he would commune with him, within the towne he would not be brought. After that, an other traine also was laid for him, that vnder pretence of the kings safe-conduct, hee should meete the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades suspecting deceit, came indeede to the place appointed, where hee neither seeing the king to come, nor the earle to haue any safe-conduct for him, was moued (and not without cause) against the earle, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, which went about to seeke his blood, but for the reuerence of the king, hee would spare him and let him goe.

Ulricus seeketh the death of Huniades.

Huniades spareth his enemie.

Not long after this, the Turke with a great power of fighting men, to the number of an hundred and fiftéene thousand, arriued in Hungarie, where he laid siege to the Citie Alba. But through the mercifull hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus a certaine Minorite, with a small garrison of Christian souldiours, gaue him the repulse and put him to flight, with all his mightie host: Wherevpon more (Christ willing) hereafter. Ex hist. Bohemic. Aen. Sylui. Huniades shortly after this victorie, deceased. Of whose death when the king and the earle did vnderstand, they came the more boldly into Hungarie, where he being receiued by Ladislaus Huniades sonne, into the towne of Alba: there viewed the places where the Turkes before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was comming first toward the towne, obediently he opened to him the gates. Foure thousand onely of armed souldiours hee debarred from entring the Citie.

Alba besieged of the Turke. The power of God by the meanes of Huniades and Capistranus against the Turks.

King Ladislaus commeth into Hungarie.

Ladislaus Huniades sonne.

In the meane time while the king was there resident in the Citie, the earle with other Nobles did sit in counsaile, requiring also Ladislaus to resort vnto them: who first doubting with himselfe what he might doe, at length putteth on a priuy coate of male, and commeth to them. Whether the earle first began with him, or he with the Earle, it is not knowen. The opinion is of some, that Ulricus first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the kings souldiors. Howsoeuer the occasion began, this is vndoubted, that Ulricus taking his sword from his page, let fite at his head. To breake the blow, some putting vp their hands, had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber brake it vpon them, and there incontinent slew Ulrick the earle, wounding and cutting him almost all to peeces: The king hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his minde: yet seeing there was then no other remedie, dissembled his griefe for a time.

Debate betweene Ulricus and Ladislaus Huniades son.

Ulricus earle of Cicilia slain.

From thence the king tooke his iourney againe to Buda, accompanied with the foresaid Ladislaus, who passing by the towne, where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many faire words to comfort her: and after he had there sufficiently repasted himselfe, with such pretence of dissembled loue, and fained fauour, that they were without all suspition and feare: from thence he set forward in his iourney, taking with him the two sonnes of Huniades, Ladislaus and Mathias, who were right readie to wait vpon him. The king being come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by sinister counsell set on) when he had them at a bauntage, caused both the sonnes of Huniades; to wit, Ladislaus and Mathius, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus the elder sonne, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded: where meekely he suffered, being charged with no other crime, but this, published by the voyce of the crier, saying: Thus are they to be chastened, which are rebels against their Lord. Peucerus writing of his death, addeth this moreouer, that after the hangman had three blowes at his necke, yet notwithstanding the said Ladislaus hauing his hands bound behind him after the third stroke, rose vp right vpon his féete, and looking vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and protested his innocencie in that behalfe: and so laying downe his necke againe, at the fourth blow was dispatched. Mathius the other brother was led captiue with the king vnto Austria. The rest of the captiues brake the prison and escaped.

The cruell dissimulation of Ladislaus the king.

The two sons of Huniades Ladislaus and Mathias.

Ladislaus Huniades sonne, innocently put to death.

A miraculous token at the death of Ladislaus.

Ex Peucer. Chron. lib. 5.

It was not long after this crueltie was wrought vpon Ladislaus, the king being about the age of twentie and two yeeres, that talke was made of the kings marriage, with Magdalene daughter to the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prage, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the king into the Citie of Prage, Rochezana with a companie of ministers, such as were fauourers of John Hus, and of sincere religion, came with all solemnitie to receiue the king, making there his oration to gratulate the kings most ioyfull and prosperous accesse into the same his owne realme and countrey of Boheme. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, scarce the king would open his mouth to giue thanks to him, or any chearefull countenance vnto his companie, but fiercely seemed to frowne vpon them. In the next Pagent after these, came forth the Priests of the high Minister, after the most Popish manner, meeting him with procession, and with the Sacrament of the altar: For as Panacea among Physitions serueth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the Popes altar, serueth for all pompes and pagents. First it must lie vpon the altar, then it must be holden vp with hands, then it must hang in the pire, it must serue for the quicke, it must also helpe the dead, it must moreouer visite the sicke, it must walke about the Churchyard, it must goe about the streets, it must bee carried about the fieldes to make the grasse to grow, it must be had to the battaile, it must ride on horsebacke before the pope: And finally, it must welcome kings into Cities. Wherein these Catholike Fathers doe séeme somewhat to forget themselues. For if the pope, being inferiour to the Sacrament of the altar, at the comming of kings, doe vse to sit still while the kings come and kisse his féete, what reason is it that the Sacrament of the altar, which is (I trow) aboue the pope, should méet kings by the way, and welcome them to the towne? But this by the way of parenthesis: Let vs now continue the text.

Preparation to the kings marriage.

Ladislaus the king receiued in Boheme.

Ladislaus the king, an infest enemie against the Hussians.

The Sacrament of the altar vsed to many purposes.

When Ladislaus this catholicke king, who had shewed himselfe before so stout and stern against Rochezana and his companie, had séene these catholicke priests with their procession, and

Ex Aenea Siluio in Histo. Bohem.

and especially with their blessed Sacrament, to come: with all reuerence and much deuotion, he lighted downe from his horse, he embraced the crosse and kissed it, and with chearefull countenance saluted the Priests in order. All this while his young wife was not yet come out of France, but Legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise, to conduct her. Other Legates also were sent the same time, to the Emperour Fredericke, for conclusion of peace. The third Legacie was directed likewise to Pope Calixtus about Religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The author of this storie (which was Pope Pius himselfe) declareth further the opinion of some to bee, that king Ladislaus the same time had intended, to make a finall end and destruction of all that sect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of John Hus, and Hierome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholicke Princes, and Popish Prelates, which were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prage. For there should be first the Emperour Fredericke, Elizabeth the kings mother, and his sisters, Elizabeth, and Anna, the Princes of Saxonie, Baioria, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other Princes of Rhene: many also of the Lords of France, besides the Popes Cardinals, Legats, Prelats, and other potestates of the Popes Church. Who if they had all together conuented in Boheme, no doubt but some great mischiefe had beene wrought there against the Hussites: against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismundus his grandfather, and Albertus his father, was euer an vtter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him.

A great concourse of catholicke princes intended against the Hussites.

Man purposeth and God disposeth.

Eneas Siluius.

And therefore, truely it is written of Aeneas Syluius in the same place, saying: De regimine Ciuitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est, quod homines possint (tum verò De religionis constitutione multo minus) magna magnus disponit Deus. That is: In regiment of Cities, in alteration of kingdomes, in ruling and gouerning the world, it is lesse then nothing that man can doe: it is the high God that ruleth high things. Whereunto then I may well adde this moreouer, and say: that if the gouernance of worldly kingdomes standeth not in mans power, but in the disposition of God, much lesse is it then, that mans power can doe in the regiment and gouerning of religion. Example whereof in this purposed deuice of Princes, doth euidently appeare. For as this great preparation and solemnitie of marriage was in doing, and the princes readie to set forth, with a little turne of Gods holy hand, all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this businesse, about the 21. day of Nouember, An. 1461. this great aduersarie of Christs people, king Ladislaus, king of Boheme, of Hungarie, and prince of Austria sickned, and within 36. houres died, some say of a Pestilent sore in his grine, some say of poyson. But howsoeuer it was, as it came not without the iust iudgement of God, reuenging the innocent blood of Ladislaus Huniades sonne, wrongfully put to death before: so by the opportune death of this king, the poore Churches of Boheme were gratiously deliuered. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all Europe: in whom three mightie kingdomes were conioyned and combined together, Austria, Hungaria, and Bohemia: which countries doe lie Southeast from England, in the farthest parts of all Germanie, toward Constantinople, and the dominion of the Turkes, and containe these principall townes in them.

Gouernance of Empires and kingdomes, is not in mans power, much lesse the gouernance of religion.

The great worke of God in defending his poore seruants.

The death of king Ladislaus.

Blood reuenged by God.

The large dominion of Ladislaus.

- **Austria**, called once Pannonia superior.
  - Vienna, which was besieged of the Turke, ann. 1533.
  - Meleck.
  - Neustat, noua Ciuitas.
  - Gretz.
  - S. Hypolit.
  - Lintz.
  - Stein.
  - Haynberg.
  - Kremsz.
  - Karolsburg.
  - Toben.
  - Rotzo.
  - Raba.
  - Lindenburg.
  - ¶ To Austria bee adioyning alls certaine Prouinces and Earledomes, as:
  - Stiria, Carinthia, Croatia. } Prouinces.
  - Cilicia, Tyrolentz. } Earledomes.
- **Hungaria**, which was once called Pannonia inferior.
  - Buda. Ofen.
  - Strigonium.
  - Kalachia.
  - Varadinum.
  - Nitria. { Noua. Nicopolis. { Vetus.
  - Agria.
  - Orszaw.
  - Bossen.
  - Sabaria.

  ¶ This Hungaria, was first called Pannonia, or Pœnia. After the cõming of ỳ Huns it was called Hungaria. Of which came Attila, which destroyed Italy, about the yere of the Lord 440. Thorough Hũgaria, rũneth Danubius, hauing on the West side, Austria, and Bohemia, on the East, Seruia, on the South side Polonia, &c. The most of this Hungary, is now vnder the Turk: which Turks first came into Europe. An. 1211.
- **Bohemia.**
  - Praga.
  - Pilzen.
  - Thabor.
  - Buduuis.
  - Kolm, or Kœlu.
  - Egra.
  - Kuttenberg.
  - Leimiritz.
  - Laun.
  - Raconicke.
  - Glataw.
  - Bern. or Beraun.
  - Bruck. Most.
  - Gretz. Hradetz.
  - Aust.
  - Maut. Myto.
  - Hos.
  - Iaromir.
  - Dub. Biela.
  - Lantzhut.
  - Gilowy.
  - Krupka.
  - Krumaw.
  - Pardubitz.
  - Chunitaun.
  - Loket. Teplitz.
  - Hantzburg. Zbraslau.
  - Labe. Vltawa.

After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdome of Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboue mentioned, whom Pope Innocent the eight, did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is afore declared.

George Pogiebracius.

Furthermore the kingdome of Hungarie, was giuen to Matthias son of Huniades, who was in captiuity (as is said) with king Ladislaus, and should haue beene put to death after his brother, had not the king before beene preuented with death, as is aboue recorded. Moreouer, heere is to be noted that the said king Ladislaus, thus dying without wife and issue, left behinde him two sisters aliue, to witte, Elizabeth, which was married to Casimirus king of Polonia: and Anna, married to William, duke of Saronie; Elizabeth by her husband Casimirus, king of Polonia, had Uladislaus, who at length was king both of Boheme and Hungarie. This Casimirus, first was married to Beatrix, wife before to Matthias. Then being diuorced from her by the dispensation of pope Alexander married a new wife a countesse of France, by whom he had two children, Lewes, and Anna; Lewes which was heire of both kingdomes of Boheme, and Hungarie, was slaine fighting against the Turkes, Anna was married to Ferdinandus, by whom he was Archduke of Austria king of Boheme, &c.

Matthias Huniades.

- Sigismundus left onelie one daughter,
- Elizabeth, wife to Albertus Emperour: Who had 3. children,
  - Ladislaus, king of Hungarie, Boheme, and Austria.
  - Elizabeth, wife of Casimirus, king of Polonie: Who had
  - Anna, wife to William duke of Saxon.
    - Vladislaus, king of Boheme and Hungary: Who by his second wife, Countesse of France, had
      - Ludouicus, king of Boheme, and Hungary.
      - Anne, wife to Ferdinandus, father to this Maximilian now Emperour.

War betweene Matthias and Fredericke the Emperour.

We heard before, how after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians by their election preferred Mathias, surnamed Corninus, which was sonne of Huniades, to the kingdome of Hungarie. For which cause dissension fell betweene Fredericke the Emperour and him, for that the said Fredericke was both nominated himselfe by diuers vnto that kingdome, and also because he had the crowne of Hungarie then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth mother to king Ladislaus, had brought to the Emperour, as was before declared. But this warre betweene them, was ceased by the intercession of the princes of Germany, so that Matthias ransomed that crowne of Fredericke for eight thousand Florences.

George Pogiebracius by the Pope deposed from his kingdome, for fauouring of I. Hus.

Not long after, Pope Innocent being displeased with George Pogiebracius (or Boiebracius) king of Bohemia, for fauouring of John Hus, and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdome to Matthias. But forsomuch as Fredericke the Emperour would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaide George, when the Emperour and the Bohemians, leauing out Matthias, did nominate Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, to be king of Boheme, therefore great warre and trouble kindled betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour: Wherein the Emperour had vtterly gone to ruine, had not Albertus duke of Saxonie rescued the Emperour, and repressed the vehemencie of Matthias.

Albert duke of Saxonie.

The noble acts of John and Matthias Huniades against the Turkes. Sirmium and the borders of Illyrica, recouered from the Turkes.

The noble actes of John Huniades, and of this Matthias his sonne, were not onely great stais to Hungarie, but almost to all Christendome, in repelling backe the Turke. For beside the other victories of John Huniades the father, aforementioned, this Mathias also his sonne succeeding no lesse in the valiantnesse, then in the name of his father, did so recouer Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turkes, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahometes, and also Baiazetes his sonne, were inforced to seeke for truce.

Jaitza recouered. The subtle practise of Sathan to stop good procedings.

Ouer and besides, the same Matthias, conducting his armie into Bosna (which lieth South from Hungarie) recouered againe Jaitza, the principall towne of that kingdome, from the Turkes possession. Who, if other Christian Princes had ioyned their helpes withall, would haue proceeded farther into Thracia. But behold heere the malitious subtiltie of Sathan, working by the Pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turkes, wherein hee should haue bene set forward and aided by Christian Princes, and Bishops: the Bishop of Rome, wickedly and sinfully misstreth matter of ciuill discord betweene him and Pogiebracius aforesaid, in remouing him from the right of his kingdome, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon, not onely the course of victorie against the Turkes was stopped, but also great warre and bloodshed followed in Christian realmes, as well betweene this Matthias, and Pogiebracius, with his two sonnes Victorinus and Henricus, as also betweene Casimirus, Uladislaus, and Matthias warring about Uratislauia, till at length the matter was taken vp by the Princes of Germanie.

The popes excommunication not obeyed of diuers in Bohemia.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the Pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Boheme would not be remoued from the obedience of their king, whom the Pope had cursed, and deposed: yet Matthias tooke from him Morauia, and a great portion of Slesia, and adioyned it to his kingdome of Hungarie, An. 1474.

Matthias adioyned Morauia and part of Slesia vnto Hungarie.

Anno 1474

¶ Where this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Hus, could not be extinct or suppressed with all the power of foure mightie Princes, Uincelaus, Sigismundus, Albertus, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they with the popes, did therein what they possibly could: but still the Lord maintained the same, as yee see by this Pogiebracius king of Boheme, whom the pope could not vtterly remoue out of the kingdome of Bohemia.

The religion of the Bohemians, defended by God against the 4. greatest princes in Europe.

Matthias a great louer of learning and of learned men.

This forementioned Matthias, beside his other memorable acts of Chiualrie, is no lesse also commended for his singular knowledge and loue of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends, procured into Pannonia: where by the meanes of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in short space the barbarous rudenesse of that countrey, into a flourishing common wealth. Moreouer such a Librarie hee did there erect, and replenish with all kind of Authors, Sciences, and Histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greeke into Latin, as the like is not thought to bee found, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which Librarie we haue receiued diuers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before. Ex Peucer.

The noble Librarie of Matthias king of Hungarie. Ex 5. lib. Peuc.

The constant fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius king of Boheme, is not vnworthy of commendation: of whom also pope Pius himselfe, in Descriptione Europæ, doth honestly report (as a pope may speake of a protestant) in these words writing: Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus, &c. Who although pope Innocent did execrate with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the veritie and knowledge which he had receiued. Moreouer, the Lord so prospered his sonnes, Victorinus, and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies, and kept their estate: Insomuch, that when Fredericke the Emperour at Vienna was in Custodie enclosed by the Citizens, Victorinus did rescue and deliuer him out of their hands: Wherefore the Emperour afterward aduanced them to be dukes. Also God gaue them sometimes prosperous victory against Mathias, as at the Citie of Glogouia, &c.

Commendation of George Pogiebracius. Ex Pij pont. Descriptione Europæ.

Gods fauour to the sonnes of Pogiebracius.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Boheme, Fredericke the Emperour assigned that kingdome, not to Matthias, vpon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but vpon Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperour Albert, and sister to Ladislaus. For the which, Matthias being discontented, and for that the Emperour had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislaus out of Boheme, and also proclaimed warre against Fredericke. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death preuented him, who without issue departed, An. 1490.

The death of Pogiebracius.

Uladislaus Casimirus son, made king of Hungarie.

After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and sister to king Ladislaus, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungarie, with this condition made betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour, that if he died without lawfull issue, then the kingdomes of Hungarie and of Boheme, should returne to Maximilian, sonne to Fredericus. But Uladislaus not long after, did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriuing her of her kingdome, caused the said Beatrix to sweare and to consent to the marrying of another woman, which was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from Pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this Anne, Uladislaus had Lewis, and Anne, which Anne afterward was married to Ferdinandus.

Uladislaus forsaketh his first wife. Dispensation from pope Alexander to forsake his first wife, and to marry another.

Ludouicus Uladislaus sonne, king of Hungarie and Boheme.

Lewis, succeeding after his father, had both the said kingdomes of Boheme and Hungarie; An. 1492. and married Marie sister to Charles the 5. Emperour. Anne, as is sayd, was coupled to Ferdinandus, &c.

Of Charles duke of Burgoine, somewhat was before touched, who had married king Edwards sister: and what troubles by him were stirred vp in France, partly was before notified. This Charles after he had besieged the Citie Nullis, or Nouasium, the space of a whole yeere, went about to alienate the territorie of Colen, from the Empire to his owne dominion: wherefore warre began to bee moued betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed betweene Mary the onely daughter of Charles, and Maximilian the Emperours sonne: Anno 1475. Then from Nouasium, Charles leadeth his armie toward Heluatia, against Renatus or Reinhardus duke of Lotharing: then against the Heluetians. Where hee being thrice ouercome, first at Granson, then at Moratum or Murta, in the higher part of Heluetia, at last at the towne of Nanse, was ouerthrowne and slaine: Anno 1477. The procurer of which warres, was chiefly Lewis the 11. the French king, to the intent he might compasse the dominion of Burgundie, vnder his subiection: which afterward by open wrong and priuie fraud, he brought about, defrauding Marie the daughter of Charles, of her rightfull inheritance: for the which cause the Burgundians were the more willing to ioyne her in marriage with Maximilian, sonne of Fredericke the Emperour: by reason whereof the title of Burgundie, was first ioyned to the house of Austria.

Warres betweene Charles Duke of Burgoyne and Fredericke the Emperour.

Anno 1475

Charles duke of Burgoyne slaine in warre.

Anno 1477

Mary daughter of Charles of Burgoine married to Maximilian.

And thus haue you the miserable vexations and contentions among our Christian princes heere in Europe described, vnder the raigne of this Fredericke the third emperour, so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendome (whether we consider the state of the Church, or ciuill gouernment) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worme of ambition so mightily creepeth, and euery where preuaileth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in common weales, nor peace in the Church, nor any sparkle of charitie almost to remaine in the life of men. And what marueil then, if the Lord seeing vs so farre to degenerate, not onely from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, vncle with nephew, blood with blood cannot agree, in striuing, killing, and fighting for worldly dominions, doe send therefore these cruell Turkes vpon vs so to scourge and vexe vs: Of whose bloodie tyrannie and daily spilling of Christian blood, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) wee will discourse more at large, when wee come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the meane time, this shall be for vs to note and obserue, not so much the scourge how grieuous it is: but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip vpon vs, which is our owne miserable ambition and wretched warres among our selues.

Warre and dissension among Christian Princes.

The discord of Christians scourged by the Turkes.

And yet if this Christian peace and loue, left and commended so heartily vnto vs by the mouth of the sonne of God, being now banished out of Christian Realmes and ciuill gouernance, might at least finde some refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuarie among men professing nothing but Religion, lesse cause wee had to mourne. Now so it is, that as wee see little peace and amitie among ciuill Potentates: so lesse wee finde in the spirituall sort of them, which chiefly take vpon them the administration of Christs Church. So that it may well bee doubted whether the scourge of the Turke, or the ciuill sword of Princes haue slaine moe in the fieldes, or the Popes keyes haue burnt moe in townes and Cities. And albeit such as bee professed to the Church, doe not fight with sworde and Target for Dominions and reuenewes, as Warlike Princes doe: yet this ambition, pride and auarice, appeareth in them nothing inferiour vnto other worldly potestates:

Discord and dissension in the Church vsed.

Ambition and auarice of the Church of Rome.

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potestates: especiallie if wee behold and aduise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great argument and proofe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be sought. What realme almost through all Christendome hath not onlie seene with their eyes, but haue felt in their purses the ambition intollerable, and auarice insatiable of that deuouring Church, and also haue complained vpon the greeuance thereof, but neuer could be redressed? What exactions and extortions haue bene here in England out of bishoprickes, monasteries, benefices, deanries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the popes coffers? and when they had all done, yet euery yeare brought almost some newe inuention from Rome, to fetch in our English money: and if all the flouds in England (yea in all Europe) did runne into the sea of Rome, yet were that Ocean neuer able to be satisfied.

¶ In France likewise, what flouds of money were swallowed vp into this sea of Rome? it was openly complained of in the councell of Basill as is testified by Henry Token, Canon and Ambassadour of the archbishop of Maidenburge, written in this booke intituled Rapularium, where as hee writeth that in the councell of Basill, An. 1436. the archb. of Lions did declare, that in the time of pope Martine, there came out of France to the court of Rome, 9. millions of golde, which was gathered of the Bishops and Prelats, besides those which could not be counted of the poore Clergie, which daily without number, ran vnto the court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance: The archbishop of Turonne said also at Basill, in the yeare of our Lord 1439. that three millions of gold came vnto Rome in his time, within the space of 14. yeares, from the prelates and prelactes, whereof no account could be made, besides the poore clergie, which daily runne to that court. Let the man which feareth God, iudge what a deuouring gulfe this is. A million containeth x. C. M.

And what made pope Pius the 2. to labour so earnestlie to Lewes the 11. the French king (who as is aforesaide was a great enemie to the house of Burgoin) that hee would (according to his former promise) abolish and vtterly extinct the constitution established before at the Councell of Bitures, by king Charles the 7. his predecessor, called Pragmatica Sanctio, but onlie the ambition of the see, which had no measure, & their auarice which had no end? The storie is this. K. Charles 7. the French king, willing to obey & follow the councell of Basill, did summon a Parliament at Bitures: where by the full consent of all the states in France, both spirituall and temporall, a certaine constitution was decreed and published, called Pragmatica Sanctio: wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and decrees concluded in the councell of Basill. The which constitution the said king Charles willed and commaunded through all his realme, inuiolably to be obserued and ratified for the honor and increase of Christian religion for euer. This was An. 1438.

It followed, that after the decease of this foresaid Charles the 7. succeeded king Lewes 11. who had promised before, being Dolphine to Pope Pius, that if he euer came to the crowne, the foresaid Sanctio Pragmatica should be abolished. Whereupon Pope Pius hearing him to be crowned, did send vnto him John Baluus a Cardinall, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindfull of his promise made. The king either willing, or els pretending a will to performe, and accomplish what he had promised, directed the popes letters patent, with the said Cardinall to the councell of Paris, requiring them to consult vpon the cause.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the Parliament house, the kings Atturney named Ioannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularlie witted, and wel reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence, and no lesse boldnesse, proued the said Sanction to be profitable, holie, and necessary for the wealth of the realme, and in no case to be abolished. Vnto whose sentence the Vniuersitie of Paris adioyning their consent, did appeale from the attempts of the pope to the next generall Councell. The Cardinall vnderstanding this, tooke no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatning manie terrible things against them: but all his minatorie words notwithstanding, he returned againe to the king, his purpose not obtained, An. 1438. Ex Ioan. Mario.

Thus the popes purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germany had come to the like effect, if Fredericke the Emperor had there done his part likewise toward the Germaines: who at the same time bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suite to perswade the Emperour that he should no longer be vnder the subiection of the Popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the charter of Appeales, declaring their estate to be far worse (although vndeserued) then the Frenchmen or Italians: whose seruants (and especiallie of the Italians) they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and communaltie of Germany, did instantly intreate with most waighty reasons and examples, both for the vtilitie and profit of the Empire, to haue the emperours aid and helpe therein, for that which hee was bound vnto them by an othe: alledging also the great dishonour and ignominie in that they alone had not the vse of their owne lawes, declaring how the French nation had not made their suite vnto their king in vain against the exactions of popes: by whom they were defended; which also prouided decrees and ordinances for the libertie of his people, and caused the same to be obserued: the which thing the Emperour ought to foresee within his Empire, and to prouide for his people and states of his empire, aswell as other kings doe. For what shall come to passe thereby, if that forrain nations hauing recourse vnto their kings, being relieued and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germaines, and states of the Empire flying vnto their Emperour, be by him forsaken or rather betraied and depriued of their owne lawes and decrees? The Emperour being moued, and partly ouercome by their perswasions, promised that hee would prouide no lesse for them, then the king of France had done for the Frenchmen, & to make decrees in that behalfe. But the graue authoritie of Aeneas Syluius, as Platina writeth in the historie of Pius the second, brake off the matter, who by his subtile and pestiferous perswasions did so bewitch the emperor, that he contemning the equall, iust, and necessarie requests of his subiects, chose the said Aeneas to be his Ambassadour vnto Calixtus then newlie chosen pope, to sweare vnto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germanie, as the onlie countrie (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their countrie, as before he had done vnto Eugenius the 4. being Ambassador for the said Frederick, promising that he & all the Germains would be obedient vnto him from henceforth in all matters, aswell spirituall as temporall.

Thus twice Frederick of Austrich contemned and derided the Germains, & frustrating them of their natiue decrees and ordinances, brought them vnder subiection and bondage of the Pope: which partlie was the cause that 7. yeares before his death, he caused his son Maximilian, not only to be chosen, but also crowned king of Romains, and did associate him to the ministration of the empire, lest after his death (as it came to passe) the empire should be transported into another familie, suspecting the Germains, whom hee had twice contrarie to his lawes made subiect and in bondage vnto the Popes exactions: first before he was crowned in the time of Eugenius the 4. and againe the second time after his coronation, and death of Pope Nicolas the 5. denying their requests. Whereupon Germanie being in this miserable pouertie and grieuous subiection vnder the Popes tyrannie and polling, with teares and sighes lamenting their estate, continued so almost vnto Luthers time, as the histories hereafter following do testifie.

And heere ceasing with the storie of Fredericke, we will now proceed to the raigne of Maximilian his sonne, omitting diuers things else incident in the time of this Emperour: as first touching the vnbrotherlie contention and conflicts betweene this Frederick and Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus his vncle, for the dukedome of Austria, after the death of Matthias afore mentioned: Omitting also to speake of the long and cruell warre betweene the Prussians, and Polonians, with the religious sect of them, which were called Tentones fratres sanctæ Mariæ, in the time of Uladislaus: Omitting also the strife and variance for the dukedome of Millain, betweene Fredericus the Emperour, Alfonsus, Carolus duke of Orleance, and Franciscus Sforzia: And how the said Princedome being after giuen to Sforzia, great warres were kindled and long continued betweene Sforzia and the Milleners, then betweene the Milleners and Venetians, and after betweene the Frenchmen and the Milleners. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatlie to the purpose of this storie, I referre to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

This as more properly belonging to the storie of the church I thought good not to passe ouer touching such as were condemned, & suffered the paines of fire for testimonie of Christ and his truth. Of whom one was John a Pasor or a neteheard, which was a keeper of cattell: The other was Ioannes de Wesalia, although not burned, yet persecuted neere to death vnder the raigne of this Emperour Fredericus the 3.

And first touching this John the Neteheard; thus writeth Sebast. Munsterus. That the bishop of Herbypolis, condemned and burned for an heretike one John, which was a keeper of cattell at a town called Niclas Hausen in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergie was ignominious & abominable before God: An. 1476. Ex Munstero. Anno 1476

The other was doctor Ioannes the Wesalia, who was complained vpon vnto Dietherus the archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, vpon certaine articles and opinions, gathered out of his bookes. Wherefore the said Dietherus, fearing els to be deposed againe from his Bishoprick, directeth forth commission to the Vniuersities of Heidelberg and Colen, to haue the matter in examination, who conuenting together the yeare aboue mentioned, called this doctor de Wesalia before them, making him to sweare that he should present and giue vp all his treatises, workes and writings, whatsoeuer he had made or preached: that being done, they diuided his bookes amongst themselues, seuerallie euerie man to finde out what heresies and errors they could. His articles and opinions were these,

Ex Rapulario Henrici Token.

The sea of Rome is turned into an Ocean, that hath no bottome.

What a million is. Concilium Biturense.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Ioan. Mario Belgâ. de Schism. & Concil. cap. 24.

Pope Pius laboureth that Pragmatica Sanctio should be abolished.

The Councell of Paris appealeth from the Pope to the generall councell. Vid. supra, pag. 616.

The complaint of the Germaines to the Emperour, for helpe and aid against the oppression of the Pope.

Frederick made the Germaines twice subiect vnto the pope.

Frid. Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus striue for the dukedome of Austria.

War betweene Franciscus Sforzia and the Venetians about Millaine.

War betweene Lewes the French king, and the citie of Millaine.

John a Neteheard of Franconia, Martyr.

John de Wesalia persecuted.

Anno 1479

The articles and opinions of John de Wesalia.

That all men be saued freely, and through meere grace by faith in Christ. Free will to be nothing. Only that we should beleeue the word of God, and not the gloſſe of anie man, or fathers. That the word of God, is to bee expounded with the collation of one place with another. That prelats haue no authoritie to make lawes, or to expound the scriptures by any peculiar right, giuen them more then to another. That mens traditions, as fastings, pardons, feasts, long praiers, peregrinations and such like, are to be reiected. Extreame vnction and confirmation to be reproued: confession and satisfaction to be reprehended. The primacie of the pope also he affirmed to be nothing.

Free will nothing.

Prelates haue no more power ouer scriptures, then other men.

Extreme vnction reproued.

Against the primacie of the Pope.

Certaine other articles also were gathered out of him by his aduersaries, but in such sort, that they may seeme rather to follow their owne malicious gathering, then any true intelligence of his minde: whereof more is to be vnderstood in this processe hereafter.

Thus when Wesalianus was commaunded to appeare, there conuented together, first the archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Colen, and the doctors of Heidelberge, with the maisters of the same, & the Rector of the Vniuersitie of Mentz, the Deane of faculties, Bachelors of diuinitie, and many other maisters of the same Vniuersitie, Canons, Doctours, with the Bishops Chancellor, and his Counsellers, besides many religious prelates, schollers, with a doctour of Franckfort, the sumner and bedels, which all met together in the great hall of ỹ Minorites, for the examination of this Io. de Wesalia.

Frier Elton the Inquisitour, first sitteth in the highest place, then after him others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, first the Inquisitor beginneth with these words: Most reuerend father and honourable doctors, &c. Our reuerend father and prince Elector hath caused this present conuocation to be called, to heare the examination of M. John de Wesalia, in certaine suspected articles concerning the catholike faith. But something I will say before, that may doe him good, and desire that two or three of them that fauour him, or some other, will rise vp and giue him counsell, to forsake and leaue his errours, to recognise himselfe, and to aske pardon; which if he will doe, he shall haue pardon: if hee will not, we will proceed against him without pardon. And thus Wesalianus being cited and brought in the midst betwixt two Minorites, being verie aged, and hauing a staffe in his hand, was set before the Inquisitor. Who beginning to answer for himselfe with a long protestation, could not be suffered to prosecute his oration, but was cut off & required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in fewe words whether hee would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the Church. To this he answered, that he neuer spake any thing against the determination of the church, but said that hee had written diuers and sundry treatises, in the which if he had erred, or were found to say otherwise then well, he was content to reuoke and call back the same, and do all things that was requisite. Then said the Inquisitor, doe you aske then pardon? The other answered, why should I aske pardon, when I know no crime or error committed? The Inquisiteur said: well we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceede to the examination.

The Inquisitor speaketh.

John de Wesalia brought before the prelats.

The answer of Wesalianus reasonable.

In the meane time, others called vpon him instantlie to aske pardon. Then said Wesalianus, I aske pardon. Notwithstanding the Inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two instruments, declaring that hee had authoritie from the Apostolicke sea: after this cited the said John to appeare to his examination. Thirdly hee commaunded him vnder paine of disobedience, in the vertue of the holy Ghost, and vnder paine of excommunication of the greater curse, (from the which no man could absolue him, but only the pope, or ỹ Inquisitor, except only at the point of death) to tell plainly the truth vpon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and sophistication of words. And so being demanded first whether he did beleeue vpon his othe taken, that he was bound to tell the trueth, although it were against himselfe or any other: to this hee answered, Scio, that is; I know: Then the Inquisitour biddeth him say, Credo, that is, I beleeue. To the which he answered againe, what neede I say that I beleeue that thing I know? There the Inquisitor something stirred with the matter, as hote as a toste (as they say) cried out with a loud voyce, maister Joannes, maister Joannes, maister Joannes, say Credo, say Credo. Then he answered, Credo.

The cruel proceeding of the Inquisitor.

The greater curse of the pope declared.

Scio. Credo.

After this, being demanded whether hee had written anie treatise, concerning the binding of humaine lawes, to one Nicolas of Boheme, and whether he had written any treatise of the Ecclesiasticall power of indulgences and pardons, and of fasting and other treatises: he beleeued that he had so written, and had conferred with diuers learned men: Also that he had sent to the bishops of Mozmes, a certaine treatise of fasting.

Many other interrogatories were ministred vnto him, whereof some were vain, some false. Such as were more principall, here we will briefly touch, leauing out superfluities.

His opinion of the sacrament.

Being demanded whether he was a fautor of the Bohemians, he said he was not. Also being demanded concerning the sacrament of the holy body and blood of our Lord, whether he thought Christ there to be contained reallie, or only diuinely, and whether he did beleeue in the said sacrament the substance of bread there to remaine, or onlie the forme thereof: to this he answered, not denying but the body of Christ was there reallie contained, and also with the body of Christ, the substance of bread to remaine.

His opinion of Monkes and Nunnes.

The vow of chastitie.

After this he was demaunded his opinion concerning religious men, as Monkes, Nunnes, or Begwines, whether hee thought them to be bound to the vow of chastitie, or to the keeping of any other vow, and whether he said to the Friers Minorites any such word in effect: I cannot saue you in this your state and order. This he confessed, that he had said, how that not your religion saueth you, but the grace of God, &c. not denying but they might be saued.

Mortall sinne found by the pope, beside that which is expressed to be mortal in the scripture.

Item, being required whether he beleeued or had written, that there is no mortall sin, but which is expresse to be mortall in the canon of the holy Bible: to this he answered, that hee did so beleeue as he hath written, till he was better informed. Likewise being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ in earth, he answered, that hee beleeued that Christ left no vicar in earth: For the confirmation whereof he alledged and said, that Christ ascending vp to heauen, said: Ecce ego vobiscum sum, &c. Behold I am with you, &c. In the which words he plainly declared, that hee would substitute vnder him no vicar here in earth; and said moreouer, if a vicar signified any man, which in the absence of the principall hath to doe the works of the principall, then Christ hath no vicar here in earth.

What is this article, but to make the pope a God: Christ left no vicar in earth.

Pardons and indulgences be of no effect.

In like maner, concerning indulgences and pardons, such as the church doth vse to giue, they demaunded of him, whether they had any efficacie, and what hee thought thereof: who answered again that he had written a certain treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that treatise, hee would persist therein, which was thus: that he beleeued, that the treasure bore of the merits of Saints could not be distributed of the pope to others, because that treasure is not left here in earth: for so it is written in the Apocalyps: Opera enim illorum sequuntur illos, &c. that is: their works follow them.

The treasure of saints merites is not in earth.

Item, that their merits could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of their paine due vnto them, and therefore that the pope and other prelates cannot distribute that treasure to men.

This saying was taken out of one Cantor Parisiensis, which was wont to say, that pardons were holy deserts, because that lay men there were prouoked, by naughtie deserts, to giue good almes.

It was obiected to him moreouer, that in the said his treatise, he called pardons and indulgences, Pias fraudes fidelium, that is, holie fraudes and deceits of the faithfull.

Also being demanded what hee thought of the hallowing & blessing of altars, chalices, vestiments, wax candels, palms, herbes, holie water, and other diuine things, &c. he answered that they had no spirituall vertue and power in them to driue away diuels, and that holy water hath no more efficacie then other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of venniall sins, and driuing away diuels and other effectes, which the schole doctors doe attribute to it.

Degrees in scripture forbidden to marie.

Item, for degrées of mariage forbidden in the scriptures, he beleeueth that all christian men vnder deadlie sinne, are bound vnto the same.

Item, that hee beleeueth that God may giue grace to a man hauing the vse of reason, without all motion of free will. Also he thinketh that S. Paul in his conuersion, did nothing of his owne free will for his conuersion. He beleeueth moreouer, that God may giue such grace to a man hauing the vse of reason, not doing that which in him is.

Nothing to be beleeued, but that which is in scripture conteined.

Item, he affirmed that nothing is to be beleeued, which is not conteined in the canon of the Bible.

Also, that the elect are saued onely by the grace of God.

Besides all these, moreouer he was charged with the old opinion of the Grecians, which they did holde contrarie to the Romaine church, vnto the time of the councell of Ferraria aboue mentioned, concerning the processing of the holy ghost.

The church giueth witnesse who were the writers of the scriptures, but hath no authoritie aboue that which is written.

The Wednesday next following, three doctours, the Suffragane, Herwicus and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent vnto him with persuasions to exhort him; and when hee would not stand to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why hee would beleeue rather the 4. Euangelistes, then the Gospell of Nicodemus. To whom he answered, because he would. Being asked again why he beleeued the 4. Euangelists, he said: because he so receiued of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not beleeue the doctors: because (said he) their doctrine is not canonicall scripture. Againe, it was to him obiected, why he would be credited himselfe, when he preached, seeing he would not beleeue the holy doctors? To whom he answered in this wise, saying, that he did preach as his dutie was, but whether they gaue credite to his words, he did not care.

By this inquisition, Christ himselfe might be condemned.

This examination being ended, after these articles were condemned by the Inquisitor and his assistance, then said he after this maner: As you do with me, if Christ himselfe were here, he might be condemned as an hereticke. After this they sent diuers to him to haue communication with him, & to perswade him, sending also to him with his articles a forme of asking pardon: at length within 3 or 4 daies after, he was content to

to condescend vnto them, and to submit himselfe to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. In the booke of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adioyned to Abbas Vrspergensis, we reade these words written of this Ioannes de Wesalia: Dempto solo articulo de processione spiritus sancti, in alijs videtur non ita graui censura, &c. That is: except onely the article of the proceeding of the holy Ghost, in other articles it seemeth that he was not to bee chastened with so sharpe censure, if respit and space had beene giuen him, if good counsellors had been about him, if all they which did accuse and molest him, had not beene de via realium, as Thomists, that is, of the sect of Thomas: which Thomists were set at that time, against the other sect of the seculars, which were called Nominales, and therefore, they so spited this Doctour, because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whom otherwise (had it not beene for that cause) they would neuer haue beene so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witnesse, which knoweth all things, that this processe which was made against him for his reuoking and burning of his bookes, did greatly displease master Engeline of Brunswike, a great Diuine, and also master John Ketzersberge, being both learned, and famous men; but namely master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashnesse was shewed in handling of that same man, and did not feare to say, that many of his articles, and the greater part thereof might be holden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantasticall dissention of the Thomists, seeking by all maner of waies, how to get the triumph ouer the secular Diuines, &c. Hæc ille.

Ex Orth. Grat. Ex Paralip. ab Vsper.

Discord betweet Reals & Nominals.

Ex Orth. Grat.

Although this aged and feeble old man, by weaknes was constrained to giue ouer vnto the Romish clergie, by outward profession of his mouth: yet notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what iudgement hee was if feare of death present had not otherwise enforced him to say, then he did thinke. Againe, although hee had reuoked after their minds, yet we reade no such forme of recantation to bee prescribed to him to reade openly vnto the people, as the vse is here in England. The storie of this man is more fully to bee found in the bookes of Orth. Gratius, &c.

Doctor John de Wesalia reuoketh his opinions.

As touching the reigne of this Fredericke emperor, seeing we haue comprehended hitherto sufficiently the most principall matters in his time incurrent, wee will now passe forward (the Lord guiding vs) to Maximilian, after I haue first giuen a briefe memorandum of three valiant princes and captaines, flourishing in the same time of this Fredericke, in Germanie: Of the which, one was Albert duke of Saxonie, who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by publike voice, Dextera manus Imperij, The right hand of the empire. The other was Albert, marquesse of Brandenburge, to whom also the name was attributed, named of pope Pius to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Fredericke earle Palatine, surnamed Victoriosus, who manfully defended the freedome and maiestie of the empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the popes tyrannie.

Albert duke of Saxonie, called Dextra manus Imperij.

Albert marques of Brandenburge, called Achilles Germanicus.

In the yeere of our Lord 1484. in this emperours time died pope Sixtus the fourth a little before touched, a monster rather of nature, then a prelat of the church. Of him writeth Platina, that vnluckily he vexed all Italie with warre and dissension. Agrippa writing of him, saith, that among all the bawdes of these other latter daies, which were builders of brothel houses, this pope Sixtus the fourth surmounted all other: who at Rome erected a stewes of double abomination, not only of women, but also, &c. whereupon no small gaine redounded to his coffers: For euery such common harlot in Rome, paid to him a Julie piece, the summe whereof grew in the yeere, some while to 20000. at length to fortie thousand duckets. Whereunto accordeth right well the epitaph of Iohn Sapidus, which in the end hereof we will annex.

Anno 1484

The Abomination of pope Sixtus.

Ex Declamatione Agrippæ ad Louanienses.

John Carion also speaking of this bishop, witnesseth him to be a man rather borne to war, then to religion: For he warred against Vitellius Tiphernates, against the Florentines, the Venetians, whom he excommunicated, and did not absolue till he died: also against Columnenses, against Ferdinandus king of Apulia, and duke of Calabria: also against other nations and princes moe. Ex Ioan. Laziardo.

The warres of pope Sixtus.

Ex Ioan. Laziardo, bb. hist. Vniuers. cap. 84.

Of the said pope it is recorded, that he was a speciall patron and tutor to all begging friers, granting them to haue and enioy reuenues in this world, and in the world to come euerlasting life. Among the which friers there was one named Alanus de rupe, a blacke frier, which made the Rosarie of our Ladies Psalter (so they terme it) and erected a certaine new fraternitie vpon the same, called Fraternitas Coronatiorum, pertaining to the order of the Dominickes, of the which order Iacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Ioannes de Wesalia aboue mentioned, was a great aduancer, and especially this pope Sixtus the fourth, who gaue to the said fraternities large graces and priuiledges.

A large gift of the pope to the begging friers.

Alanus, author of our Ladies Psalter.

Concerning the institution of this Rosarie, there was a booke set forth about the yeere of our Lord 1480. in the beginning whereof is declared, that the blessed virgin entred into the cell of this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that not only she did espouse him to her husband, but also kissed him with her heauenly mouth, and also for more familiarity, opened to him her paps, and powred great plentie of her owne milke into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the said Alanus, this holy babe (saith the storie) did sweare deepely, cursing himselfe, if it were not thus, as he had made relation.

Then had the blessed virgin Marie two husbands.

An old knaue, to sucke his wiues breast.

This fabulous figment, when I read in the centuries of John Bale, I began with my selfe to mistrust the credit thereof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with such incredible forgeries. But as the prouidence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in this, that the very same booke came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this selfesame narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in John Bale is expressed, but also found in like manner, another wonder as prodigious as this: where in another place not farre off, is stored in the same book, how that about the time of saint Dominicke, there was a certaine matron in Spaine, named Lucia, which being taken captiue by the Saracens, hauing her husband killed, was carried great with child into the Turkish land.

When the time of her labour came, shee being left desolate among beasts and hogs, and remembring this twice holy Rosarie, (first instituted, saith the booke, by saint Dominicke, and afterward reuiued by Alanus) eftsoones the holy virgine was readie and stood by her, and receiued the child at her trauell, supplying all the parts of a diligent midwife: and moreouer causing a priest suddenly to appeare, gaue the child to be christened, calling it after her owne name, Marianus: and so was she wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Marianus. Which storie if it be true, then is the popes Canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth midwiues in time of necessitie to baptise, seeing the blessed virgin, playing the part her self of a midwife, durst not baptise this child without a priest.

The detestable impietie and blasphemie of the popish lying religion.

Mendacem memorem esse oportet.

It followeth more in the storie, that by the helpe of the said blessed virgin, this Lucia our ladies gossip, after her purification, was restored with her child safe to her countrie againe. This booke being in Latine and printed, beareth this title: Rosacea Augustissimæ Christiferæ Mariæ corona: and in the front it sheweth the name of Iodocus Bisselaius a noble man of Aquine. And this by the occasion of pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind superstition he was, partly by that afore spoken, partly by the end following it may be seene. For we read in certaine writers, that after this pope had vnderstanding that Hercules Estensis, duke of Ferraria, had ioyned peace with the Venetians against his will, he was so grieued therewith, that for rancour of mind, within fiue daies after, hee died: whereunto his Epitaph following, giueth sufficient record. About whose time also died Platina, a man not vnlearned, but yet a shamefull flatterer and bearer with the wicked liues of the popes.

Ex Latino Codice impresso, cui titulus: Rosacea Mariæ Corona.

The death of pope Sixtus the fourth. Here endeth Platina.

The Epitaph of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit sæuum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum,
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

Another Epitaph of the same Pope.

Sixte iaces tandem, nostri discordia secli,
Sæuisti in superos, nunc Acheronta moue.
Sixte iaces tandem, deflent tua busta cinædi,
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

Another.

Gaude prisce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic scelus omne simul clauditur, & vitium.

But leauing here pope Sixtus with his verses and vices, let vs now proceed, as we before promised, to enter the storie of Maximilian, keeping notwithstanding the order of our kings here in England: For a little before the reigne of Maximilian, king Edward the fourth reased his life, an. 1483. after he had raigned twentie and two yeares. In the time of which king Edward, this also is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a marchant dwelling in Chepeside, at the signe of the crowne, which is the signe now of the Flower deluce, merilie speaking to his sonne, said that he would make him inheritor of the crowne, meaning indeed his owne house. For the which words, when king Edward caused to be misconstrued, and interpreted, as though he had ment the crowne of the Realme, within lesse space then foure houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawne, and quartered in Chepeside.

The death of k. Edward 4.

Anno 1483

Burdet. Tyrannie in misconstruing a mans words.

The lawes of the realme misconstrued for the princes aduantage.

King Edward the 5.

K. Edward 5.

THis king Edward left behinde him by his wife Elizabeth two sonnes, Edward & Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cicelie. Which two sonnes Edward and Richard, for so much as they were vnder age and not ripe to gouerne, a consultation was called among the peeres to debate whether the foresaid yong prince and king, should be vnder the gouernment of his mother, or else that Richard Duke of Glocester, brother

brother to king Edward the fourth, & vncle to the child, should be gouernour of the king, and protectour of the realme, there hath beene and is an old adage, the words whereof rather then the true meaning, is wrested out of Salomon: Væ regno cuius Rex est puer, &c. i. Woe to the kingdome, the king whereof is a child, &c. But if I may find leaue herein to thrust in a glosse, I would adde this, and say: Væ illi puero, qui sui regni Rex non est. i. Woe to that child, which is a king in a kingdome vnrulie and ambitious. There was the same season among other noble peeres of the realme, the duke of Buckingham, a man of great authoritie, who had maried king Edwards wifes sister. Because the duke being so neere allied to the king, had beene vnkindly (as he thought) of the king entreated, hauing by him no aduancement nor any great friendship shewed, according to his expectation, tooke part therefore with Richard duke of Glocester, both against the queene and her children, to make the foresaid duke, the chiefe gouernour and protector. The which thing being brought to passe, by the aide, assistance, and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen tooke sanctuarie with her yonger sonne: the elder brother, which was the king, remained in the custodie of the duke of Glocester his vncle. Who being now in a good towardnesse to obtaine that which he long looked for, sought all the meanes, and sone compassed y matter, by false colour of dissembled words, by periurie, and labour of friends, namely of the duke of Buckingham, and the cardinall archbishop of Canturburie, that the other brother also should be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious protector and vnnaturall vncle, hauing the possession of his two nephewes, and innocent babes, thought himselfe almost vp the wheele where he would climbe: although he could not walke in such mists and clouds, but his deuised purposes began to be espied: which caused him more couertly to goe about to remoue from him all suspition and to blind the peoples eies. But before hee could accomplish his execrable enterprise, some there were, whom he thought first must be rid out of the way, as namely the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley; who as they were sitting together in counsell within the Tower, the protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, hee suddenly hasted out againe: his mind belike, being full of mischiefe and furie was not quiet. Who within the space of an houre, returned againe into the chamber with a sterne countenance and a frowning looke, and so there set him downe in his place. When the lords were in great maruell and muse at the meaning hereof: then he out of a rankered hart, thus began to bray, asking them, What are they worthie to haue, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so neere to the kings blod, and protectour of the realme? At the which question, as the other lords sate musing, the lord Hastings, because he had bin more familiar with him, thus answered, that they were worthie of punishment, whatsoeuer they were. Which when the other lords also had affirmed: that is (quoth the Protector) yonder sorceresse, my brothers wife, meaning the queene and other with her: adding moreouer, and saying; that sorceresse and other of her counsell, as Shores wife, with her affinitie, haue by their witchcraft, thus wasted my bodie, and therewith shewed forth his left arme a wearish withered thing, as it was neuer otherwise, as was well knowne.

This Shores wife had bin before a concubine to king Edward, and afterward was kept by the same lord Hastings. Moreouer, heere is to be noted, that by the consent of the said lord Hastings, the cruell Protector had deuised about the same time, the kindred of the queene, innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of meere despite and hatred. Wherefore, this punishment not vndeseruedly, by the iust hand of God, fell vpon the said lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the storie, that when the lord Hastings had heard these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be vntrue: certainly (my lord) said he, if they haue so done, they be worthie of hainous punishment. Why quoth the Protector, doest thou serue me with if and with and: I tell thee, they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy bodie traitor: and therewith giuing a great rap on the bord (for a token or watchword) one cried treason without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The Protector then approching to the lord Hastings, arrested him as a traytor. Another let flie at the lord Stanley: who to auoid the blow shrunke vnder the table, or else his head had bin cleft asunder: notwithstanding he receiued such a wound, that the blod ran about his eares. There were in that counsell the same time the archbishop of Yorke, and doctor Morton bishop of Elie (by whose procurement afterward king Henrie the seuenth was sent for into England, and he made archbishop after that of Canturburie) these with the lord Stanley diuersly were bestowed in diuers chambers. The lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shriue him apace, for before dinner the Protector sware by Saint Paul that he should die: and so incontinently, without further iudgement, his head was stricken off, by whose counsell the queenes kindred were at the same time and day, beheaded at Pomfret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischieuous protectour aspiring still to the crowne, to set his deuices forward, first through gifts and faire promises, did subordinate doctour Shaw a famous preacher then in London, at Pauls crosse to insinuate to the people, that neither king Edward with his sonnes, nor the duke of Clarence were lawfullie begotten, nor the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfullie by other persons in adulterie on the dutches their mother, and that hee alone was the true and onelie lawfull heire of the duke of Yorke. Moreouer, to declare and to signifie to the audience, that king Edward was neuer lawfullie married to the Queene, but his wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucie, and so the two children of king Edward to bee base and bastards, and therefore the title of the crowne most rightlie to pertaine to the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer, and loud lying preacher, to serue the protectours humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reuerend auditorie, the sacred word of God, taking for his theame: Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas, &c. which he most impiouslie did applie against the innocent children and right heires of the realme. Wherupon such grudge and disdaine of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that for shame of the people crying out of him, in few daies after he pined away.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector vnmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within few daies after, excited the duke of Buckingham first to breake the matter in couert talke, to the maior and certaine of the heades of the citie, picked out for the purpose: that done, to come to the Guildhall, to moue the people by all flattering and lying perswasions to the same, which shamelesse Shaw before had preached at Pauls crosse. Which the duke with all diligence and helpes of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeuoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificiall oration, supposing no lesse, but that the people allured by his craftie insinuations would crie, king Richard, king Richard. But there was no king Richard in their mouthes, lesse in their hearts. Whereupon the duke looking to the lord maior, and asking what this silence meant, contrarie to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other: it was then answered of the maior, that the people peraduenture well vnderstood him not: wherefore the duke reiterating his narration in other words, declared againe that hee had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration againe and againe. Then the commons which before stood mute, being now in a maze, seeing this importunitie, began to mutter softly among themselues, but yet no king Richard could sound in their lips, saue onely that in the neather end of the hall, certaine of the dukes seruants with one Nashfield, and other belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the preasse, began suddenlie at mens backes to crie king Richard, king Richard, throwing vp their cappes; whereat the citizens turning backe their heads, marueled not a little, but said nothing.

The Duke and the Lord Maior with that side, taking this for sufficient testimonie, incontinent came blowing for hast to the protector, then lying at Baynards castle. Where the matter being made before, was now so contriued, that forsooth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons and that with three sundrie suites, to the humble and simple protector, that he, although it was vtterlie against his will to take it: yet would of his humilitie stoope so low, as to receiue the beanie kingdome of England vpon his shoulders. At this their tender request and suite of the lords and commons made (ye must know how) the milde Duke seeing no other remedie, was contented at length to yeeld, although sore against his will (ye must so imagine) and to submit himselfe so low, as of a protector to be made king: not much herein vnlike to our prelats in the popish church, who when they haue before well compounded for the popes Wals, yet must they for maner sake make courtesie, and thrice denie that for which they so long before haue gaped, and so sweetlie haue paied for.

The beastly protector accuseth his owne mother.

Doctor Shawes impudent sermon at Pauls crosse.

Sapi. 4. Example for al flattering preachers to beware.

The duke of Buckingham another minister for the protectors furie.

The duke of Buckingham speaketh for the protector in the Guildhall.

An hard thing to make the tongue speake against the heart.

A stonie consent in the Guildhall.

Ficol hipocrisie.

The hypocrisie of the protector in refusing the crowne thrice before he would take it.

King Richard the third vsurper.

King Richard 3 vsurper.

And thus Richard D. of Glocester tooke vpon him to be made and proclaimed king of England, the yeare aforesaid, an. 1583. in the month of June. Who then comming to the Tower by water, first made his sonne, a childe of ten yeare old, prince of Wales, and John Hayward (a man of great industry and service) he aduanced to be duke of Northfolke, and sir Thomas Hayward his sonne, he ordained earle of Surrey. Also William Lord Barkeley was appointed Earle of Nottingham. Frances lord Louell, was made Vicount Louell. L. Stanley for feare of his sonne, was deliuered out of the Tower, & made Steward of the kings houshold. Likewise the archbishop of Yorke was set free: but Morton bishop of Ely was committed to the byke of Buckingham, by who was wrought the first deuice to bring in Henry erle of Richmond into England, and to conioine mariage betweene Elizabeth king Edwards

Eccle. 10.

Væ puero regi in suo regno.

Richard D. of Glocester made protector.

The yong king committed to the duke of Glocester.

The duke of Buckingham a great doer for the protector.

Both king Edwards children in the possession of the protector.

The diuellish Protector picketh quarels.

The queene and Shores wife, falsely accused of the protector to bewitch his arme.

Adulterie punished of God.

Murder iustly punished of God.

Lord Hastings arrested for a traytor.

Lord Stanley wounded.

Bishop Morton.

The tyrannie of the protector.

The lord Hastings beheaded.

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wards daughter and him, wherby the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster were vnited together.

After the kingdome of England was thus allotted to king Richard the vsurper, as in maner aboue remembred, hee taried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the moneth next ensuing, the sixth day of Julie.

King Richard crowned.

The triumph and solemnitie of his vsurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this vnquiet tyrant yet could not thinke himselfe safe, so long as yong Edward the right king and his brother, were aliue: wherefore the next enterprise which he did set vpon was this, how to rid those innocent babes out of the way, that he might reigne king alone.

In the meane time while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherlesse and friendlesse children were in, what little ioy of themselues, what small ioy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous, for tender hearts to vnderstand. As the yonger brother lingred in thought and beautinesse, so the prince which was 11. yeere old, was so out of heart and so fraught with feare that hee neuer tied his points, nor ioyed good day, till the traitorous impietie of their cruell vncle had deliuered them of their wretchednesse, which was not long in dispatching. For after king Richard their vncle, first attempting to compasse his diuelish deuice by Robert Brakenburie constable of the tower, and could not win him to such a cruell fact (to die therefore) then, hee got one James Tyrill, ioyning with him J. Dighton, & Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this hainous murther. Which Dighton and Forrest about midnight entring into their chamber, so bewrapped and intangled them amongst the clothes, keeping downe the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while, they smothered and stifled them pitiouslie in their bed.

The truth of Robert Brakenburie to his prince.

James Tyrill. John Dighton. Miles Forrest, cruell traitors and murtherers of their prince. Yong princes. These children of king Edward murthered.

And thus ended these two yong princes their liues, through the wretched crueltie of these forenamed tormentors, who for their detestable and bloodie murther committed, escaped not long vnpunished by the iust hand of God. For first Miles Forrest, at saint Martins le graund, by peecemeale miserably rotted away: John Dighton liued at Calis long after so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great miserie. Sir James Tyrill was beheaded at Tower hill for treason. Also king Richard himselfe within a yeere and a halfe after, was slaine in the field hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, torne and tugged like a cur dog.

The punishmẽt of God vpon the murtherers of them two.

The punishmẽt of God vpon king Richard.

Furthermore, the said iustice of Gods hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free: which was a great maintainer and setter vp of this butcherlie vsurper: for lesse then within a yeare after so God wrought, that he was himselfe beheaded for treason by the said king, whom he so vniustly before had aduanced and set vp.

The punishment of God vpon the duke of Buckingham.

In the same catalogue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we haue also to comprehend two other, as well worthie of memoriall, as the best or rather as the worst. The name of the one was doctor Shaw aboue rehearsed: The other doctor Pinkie, prouinciall of the Austen friers: both famous preachers, and both doctors in Diuinitie, both of more learning then vertue (saith the storie) of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the Protector, before his coronation. Pinkie preached after his coronation. Both were so full of tedious flatterie, that no good eares could abide them. Pinkie in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was faine to leaue off and came downe in the middest. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honestie, and soone after his life, for verie shame of the world, so that he neuer durst after that, shew his face againe. But as for the frier, he was so far past shame, that the losse thereof did little touch him.

Doctor Shaw and doctor Pinkie, two flattering preachers.

Gods iudgement vpon flattering preachers.

Mention was made a little before of doctor Morton bishop of Elie, by whose meanes the deuice was first broched, for the coniopning of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster together. This deuice was first broken to the Duke of Buckingham, which soone after cost him his life. But that bishop more craftie to saue himselfe, incontinent fled into Britaine. Notwithstanding, the deuice once being broched was so plausible, and took such effect, that message was sent ouer ỳ sea to Henrie earle of Richmond, by his mother and by the quéene, mother to the ladie Elizabeth, that if he would make his returne, and promise to marrie with the said ladie Elizabeth king Edwards daughter, he should be receiued. To make a longer discourse of this matter, which is sufficiently set forth by sir Thomas More so ornately, it néedeth not.

The first motion of ioyning the two houses, Yorke and Lancaster together.

Briefely (to contract that in a small compasse of words, which was not so small a thing in doing) after that the Earle Henrie, with such other banished men, as fled out of England at the taking of the duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the quéene, and other friends moe out of England, how the case of the realme stood, and how it was heere purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all conuenient spéed, haste his returne ouer into England, promising to marrie with ladie Elizabeth: he with all diligence as time and preparation would serue, aduanced forward his iourney, being well helped and furnished by Francis duke of Britaine, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voiage sped not, for that the winds turning contrary; by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France againe. His second voiage was more prosperous. Who taking the seas at Harflet, in the moneth of August, anno 1485. accompanied onlie with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arriued at Milford Hauen in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Harford west, where hee was ioyfully receiued, and also by the comming in of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, was in power encreased. From thence he remoued by Cardigan to Shrewesbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Lichfield, his armie still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood by comming in of many small riuers, gathereth more abundance of water: so to this earle diuers noble captaines and men of power adioyned themselues, as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rice ap Thomas, then sir George Talbot, with the young earle of Shrewesburie his ward, sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At last the said earle hearing of the kings comming, conducted his whole armie to Tamworth.

The arriuing of Henry earle of Richmond in Wales.

King Richard hearing of the arriuall of the earle Henrie in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did giue little, or no regard vnto it. But after, vnderstanding that hee was come to Lichfield, without resistance or incombrance, he was sore moued, and exceedinglie toke on, cursing and crying out against them which had so deceiued him, and in al post spéed, sent for John duke of Northfolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thom. earle of Surrey, with other his friends of speciall trust. Robert Brankenburie also lieutenant of the tower was sent for, with sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, with certaine other knights and esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspitious ielousie. Thus king Richard, after most forceable manner well fortified and accompanied, leauing nothing vndone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The earle by this time was come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the euening resorted sir John Sauage, sir Bryan Sanford, sir Simon Digby, and many other, forsaking the part of king Richard, whom all good men hated, as hee no otherwise deserued. The king hauing perfect knowledge the earle to bee encamped at Tamworth, embattelled himselfe in a place néere to a village called Bolworth, not farre from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his aduersaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning the lord Stanley (which was the earles father in law and had married his mother) to what part he would encline. For although his hart went (no doubt) with the earle, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his sonne and heire George lord Strange, being then in the hands of king Richard, lest the king should attempt any preiudicall thing against him, durst not be séene openly to goe that way, where in heart he fauoured, and therefore closely kept himselfe betweene both, till the push came that his helpe might serue at a pitch.

King Richard gathered his power to encounter with earle Henry.

King Richard taketh the field of Bosworth. This L. Stanley was he, which was hurt at the tower when the lord Hastings was arrested. vide pag. 668.

The number of the earles part exceeded not to the one halfe of the side of king Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battailes should encounter and ioyne together, sore stripes and great blowes were giuen on both sides, and many slaine. If number and multitude might gouerne the successe of battell, king Richard had double to the earle. But God is he, not man, that giueth victorie, by what meanes it séemeth to his diuine prouidence best. In what order and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certaine intelligence we haue not certainely expressed, but onely by the historie of Polydore Virgil, whom sir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which historie it doth appeare, that as these two armies were coupling together, K. Richard, vnderstanding by his espials where the Earle of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and séeing him to approch more néere vnto him, he rather caried with courage, then ruled with reason, set spurres to the horse, and ranging out of the compasse of his rankes, pressed toward the earle, setting vpon him so sharpely, that first he killed sir William Brandon, the earles standard bearer, father to the lord Charles Brandon D. of Suffolk, then after ouerthrew sir John Cheinie, thinking likewise to oppresse the earle. But as the Lord by his secret prouidence disposeth the euent of all things, as the earle with his men about him being ouermatched, began to despaire of victorie, suddenly and opportunely came sir William Stanley with three thousand well appointed able men, whereby king Richards men were driuen backe, and hee himselfe cruelly fighting in the thicke of his enemies, was there slaine, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserued.

Bolworth field.

The historie of sir Thomas More word for word taken out of Polyd. Virgil.

sir W. Brandon. Charles Brandon.

The death of king Richard.

In the meane time the Earle of Oxford, who had the guiding of the forward, discomfited the forefront of king Richards host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slaine, of noble men especially aboue other, John duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Brakenburie lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Hayward earle of Surrey, there submitted himselfe, & although hee was not receiued at first to grace, but long remained in the

D. of Northfolke slaine. Lord Thomas Hayward Earle of Surrey aduanced by king Henry the 7.

the Tower, yet at length for his fidelitie, was deliuered and aduanced to his recouered honour and dignitie againe.

K. Richards son punished for the wickednesse of his father.

This king Richard had but one sonne, who shortly after the cruell murder of king Edwards sonnes, was taken with sickneſſe and died. The wife of the said king Richard (whether by poyson or by sickneſſe) died also a little before the fielde of Bosworth: after whose decease, the storie of Polydore and of sir Thomas More affirmeth; that he intended himselfe to marie the ladie Elizabeth his owne brothers daughter, and so to preuent the earle of Richmond.

K. Richard purposed to marry Elizabeth his brothers daughter.

L. Stanley husband to king Henries mother forsooke king Richard.

Moreouer, as touching the lord Stanley, thus reporteth the storie, that king Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the lord Stanley by a pursеuant, to aduance forward with his company, and come to his presence: otherwise hee sware by Christs passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before dinner. The lord Stanley sent word againe, that if he did, he had more sonnes alive. Whereupon the king immediatly commanded the lord Strange to be beheaded: which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to ioyne together. Wherefore the kings counsellors pondering the time and the case perswaded the king, that it was now time to fight, and not to doe execution, aduising him to delay the matter till the battell were ended. And so (as God would) king Richard breaking his oth, or rather keeping his oth, for he himselfe was slaine before dinner, the lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the kings tent: who then after the victorie gotten, was sought out and brought to his ioyfull father. And thus haue ye the tragicall life and end of this wretched king Richard.

The Lord Strange marueilously preserued.

Henrie the Erle of Richmond, after heartie thankes giuen to almightie God, for his glorious victorie obteined, proceeded to the towne of Leicester, where was brought to him by the lord Strange, the crowne, and put on the Earles head.

In the meane time the dead corps of king Richard was shamefully carried to the towne of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin, and being trussed behind a pursеuant of armes, was carried like a hog or a dog, hauing his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legges on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blod. And thus ended the vsurped reigne of king Richard, who reigned two yeeres, and two moneths. Ex Polydo. & Th. Moro.

The shamefull toting of king Richards dead corps.

Anno 1485

King Henry the vij.

King Henrie 7.

When king Henrie, by the prouidence of God had obtained this triumphant victorie and diademe of the realme, first sending for Edward Plantaginet earle of Warwike, sonne to George Duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the tower, from Leicester remoued to London, and not long after, according to his oth and promise made before, espoused to him the yong ladie Elizabeth, heire of the house of Yorke: whereby both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster were conioyned together, to the no little reioycing of all English hearts, and no lesse quiet vnto the realme, which was, an. 1485. This king reigned 23. yeeres, and eight moneths, and being a Prince of great policie, iustice and temperance, kept his realme in good tolerable rule and order. And here interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the storie aboue promised, of Maximilian the emperour, and matters of the empire, especially such as pertaine to the Church.

K. Henry marieth with Elizabeth. The two houses of Yorke & Lancaster ioyned together.

Maximilian the Emperour.

Anno 1486 Maximilianus Emperour.

In the yeere of our Lord 1486. Fredericus waring aged and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germains, who had complained before of their greeuances, and could not be heard; and therefore mistrusting that his house after his decease, should haue the lesse fauour among them, for that cause in his life time did associate his sonne Maximilian to be ioyned emperour with him: with whom he reigned the space of 7. yeeres till the death of the said Frederick his father, who departed an. 1494. after he had reigned ouer the Empire 53. yeeres, lacking onely but three yeeres of the raigne of Augustus Cæsar, vnder whom was the birth of our Lord and Sauiour Christ.

The reigne and death of Fredericus emperour. Anno 1494

This Maximilian, as he was a valiant Emperour, prudent and singularly learned: so was his reigne intangled in many vnquiet and difficill wars: first in the lower Countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the said Maximilian was taken captiue, but shortly after rescued and deliuered againe by his father, an. 1487. It was signified before how this Maximilian by the aduice of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary the onely daughter of Charles duke of Burgundie afore mentioned, by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, an. 1477. Which Mary not long after, about the yeere of our Lord, 1481. by a fall from her horse, fell into an ague, and departed. Other wars many moe, the same Maximilian also atchieued, both in France, in Italy, in Hungarie, and diuers besides.

Maximilian marieth the Dutches of Burgoyne. This Marie was neece to king Edward the fourth.

So happie was the education of this Emperour in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexteritie and promptnesse in the Latin stile, that he imitating the example of Iulius Cæsar, did write and comprehend in Latin histories, his owne acts and feates done, and that in such sort, that when he had giuen a certaine tasse of his historie, to one Pircamerus a learned man, asking his iudgement how his warlike stile of Latin did like him, the said Pircamerus did affirme and report of him to Iohn Caron (the witnesse and writer of this storie) that he did neuer see nor read in any Germaine storie, a thing more exactly (and that in such haſt) done, as this was of Maximilian. Moreouer, as he was learned himselfe, so was he a singular patrone and aduancer of learned students, as may well appeare by the erecting and setting vp the Vniuersitie of Wittenberge. By this Emperour many in those dayes were excited to the embracing as well of other liberall artes, as also namely to the searching out of old antiquities of histories, wherby diuers were then by him first occasioned in Germanie, to set their minds and to exercise their diligence, in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of histories, as well of ancient as also of latter times, as namely Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

Maximilian writer of his owne storie. Ex Ioā. Carione. Maximilian first ordeiner of the vniuersitie of Wittenberg.

Here now it began right well to appeare, what great benefite was broched to the world, by the arte and facultie of Printing, as is before mentioned. Through the meanes of which printing the church and cōmon wealth of Christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as both may appeare by this Emperour, being so indued himselfe with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by diuers other famous and worthie wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to encrease and multiplie; as Baptista Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciscus his cosine, Rodol. Agricola; Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marsillius, Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Learned men begin to grow in Christendome.

Among whom is also to be numbred Wesselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius, who was not long after Ioan de Wesalia aboue recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This Wesselus died the yeere of our Lord, 1490. After that Ioannes doctor De Wesalia aforesaid was condemned, this Wesselus being familiar with him, thought that the Inquisitour would come and examine him also, as he himselfe in a certaine Epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthie a man, that of the people he was called Lux mundi: That is: the light of the world.

Doct. Wesselus Groningensis.

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papists, as touching repentance, which they diuided into three parts, of the which three parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow. Likewise Purgatorie and supererogation of workes and pardons he did disproue, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the popes indulgences, by the occasion whereof diuers of the popes court perswaded by him, began to speake more freely against the same matter, then hee himselfe had done.

Wesselus called Lux mundi.

The doctrine of Wesselus Groningensis.

The abuses of masses and praying for the dead he disalloweth: and likewise the supremacie of the pope he vtterly reiected (as appeareth in a booke of his, De sacramento pœnitentiæ) denying vtterly that any supreme head or gouernour ought to be in the world ouer all other: affirming also and saying many times, that the pope had no authoritie to doe any thing by commandement but by truth: that is, so farre as truth goeth with him, so farre his sentence to stand: neither that he ought to preuaile by commanding, but onely by teaching, so as euery true Christian bishop may preuaile ouer an other. Also in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that popes and their spirituall Prelates, proceeding against Christs doctrine, be plaine Antichrists. Such as were infirme and not able to performe the bond of chastitie taken vpon them, he said they might well breake their vow.

Ex lib. D. Wesselli De sacramento pœnitentiæ. The popes supremacy written against.

Also the said Wesselus witnesseth, that the forefathers which were before Albert and Tho. did resist and withstand the popes indulgences, calling them in their writings plaine Idolatrie, meere fraud and errour: adding moreouer, that vnlesse the seueritie of some good Diuines had not withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope; innumerable errors had ouerflowne the Church.

Amongst these workes of Wesselus, there is a certaine Epistle of one written to him, in which the author of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certaine learned man at Paris called maister Thomas de Curselis a Deane: who being in the councell of Basill, where as diuers began to aduance the power of the pope too farre, declared and affirmed, to be said to him of Christ: Quicquid ligaueris super terram erit ligatum & in cœlo, &c. Et non, quicquid dixeris esse ligatum. That is: Whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth shall be bound in heauen, but not, Whatsoeuer thou saiest to bee bound. As who should say, the pope cannot nor doth not binde therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousnesse goe also with him: then he doth so bind in deed. There is a certaine booke of this man amongst diuers others, which he intituleth, De subditis & superioribus, in the which hee disputeth greatly against the pope & his prelates: affirming that the pope vnlesse his faith and doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may erre, and when he erreth, men

Ex epist. cuiusd. in opere Wesseli. Christs answer to Tho. de Curselis touching this place, Quicquid ligaueris. Not whatsoeuer is said to be loosed on earth.

is looked in heauen: but what soeuer is looked in very deed in earth, that is also looked indeed in heauen.

Against riches in the Church.

The precepts of the pope and prelates how they bind.

men ought by all manner of meanes to resist him. Item, that great and superfluous riches in the clergie doe not profite, but hurt the church. That the Pope doth wickedly distribute the rents of the church, and the church it selfe, to vnworthie ministers by Simony, for his owne profite and gaine, whereby it may appeare that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the church. Item, that the precepts and commandements of the pope and prelats bee no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of Physitions, binding no further then they are found to be wholesome and standing with the truth of the word. Item, that the pope can command no man vnder paine of deadly sinne, except God command him before. He saith that the keyes of the pope and of the prelats be not such, wherewith they open the kingdome of heauen, but rather shut it, as the Pharisies did. Concerning bowles, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible, ought to be broken: that the hearers ought to discerne and iudge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receiue euery thing that they say, without due examination.

The Popes keyes.

Bowes.

Doctrine not to be receiued without examination.

Excommunication.

He sheweth moreouer that the sentence or excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true, godly, honest, simple and learned man, then from the pope; as in the councell of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed then Eugenius. Also if the pope with his prelats, gouerne and rule naughtilie, that the inferiors, be they neuer so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreouer of two popes, Pius the second and Sixtus the fourth, he saith, that Pius the second did vsurpe vnto himselfe all the kingdomes of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did suspense with all manner of oths in causes temporall, not only with such othes, as haue bin already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter: which was nothing else but to giue libertie and licence for men to forsweare themselues and deceiue one another.

This Weselus being a Physian borne, and now aged in yeers, vpon a certaine time, when a yong man called M. Joannes Ostendorpius, came to him, said these words: Well my child, thou shalt liue to that day, when thou shalt see the doctrine of these new and contentious diuines, as Thomas and Bonauenture, with others of the same sort, shall be vtterly reiected and exploded from all true christian Diuines. And this which Ostendorpius then being young, heard Weselus to speake, he reported himselfe to Nouiomagus, which wrote this storie, an. 1520. and heard it of the mouth of the said Weselus, an. 1490. Martij 18.

Ex Nouiomago. A prophecie of Weselus. This Ostendorpius was a man well learned and Canon of the minster of Lubecke.

Philippus Melanchon writing of the life of Rodulphus Agricola, saith: that Iosquinus Groningensis, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodulphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darkenesse of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the masse: and of the single life of Priests. Item, that they disputed oftentimes of the righteousnesse of faith, why Saint Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be iustified by faith and not by workes. The same Iosquine also reported, that they did openly reiect and disproue the opinion of Monkes, which say that men be iustified by their workes. Item, concerning mens traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceiued, whosoeuer attributed vnto those traditions any opinion of Gods worship, or that they could not be broken. And thus much for the storie of doctor Wesellianus and Weselus.

Here it appeareth that this Rodulphus Agricola was of good iudgment though the Friers afterward buried him in a Friers weed.

Rodul. Agricola, Weselus lamenteth the darknesse of the Church.

By this it may be seene and noted, how by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning: by learning came light to iudge and discerne the errors of the pope from the truth of Gods word, as partly by these abouesaid may appeare, partly by other that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seene.

About the very same time and season, when as the Gospell began thus to branch and spring in Germanie: the host of Christs Church began also to muster and to multiplie likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appeare. For not long after the death of this Weselus in the yeere of our Lord 1494. and in the ninth yeere of the raigne of king Henrie the 7. the 28. of Aprill, was burned a very old woman named Joane Boughton widow, and mother to the Ladie Young, which Ladie was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of foure scoure yeeres of age or more, and held eight of Wicklifs opinions (which opinions my author doth not shew) for the which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abouesaid. My author saith, she was a disciple of Wicklifke, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmely eight of his ten opintons, that all the doctours of London could not turne her from one of them: and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacie and false beleefe, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said she was so beloued of God, and his holy Angels, that she passed not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soule into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a loue vnto the doctrine that she died for.

Anno 1494

Joane Boughton mother to the lady Young martyr.

Shortly after the martyrdome of this godly aged mother, in the yeere of our Lord, 1497. and the 17. of Januarie, being Sunday, two men, the one called Rich. Wilderale, and the other James Sturdie, bare fagots before the procession of Pauls, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his Sermon. And vpon the Sunday following, stode other two men at Pauls Crosse all the Sermon time: the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other hauing a fagot on his necke. After that in Lent season vpon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glouer bare a Fagot before the procession of Pauls, & after with the Fagot stod before the preacher all the Sermon while at Pauls Crosse. And on the Sunday next following foure men stod, and did there open penance at Pauls as is aforesaid, in the sermon time many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Crosse.

Ric. Wilderale. James Sturdy.

Hugh Glouer.

Foure other beare Faggots.

FVrthermore the next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1498. in the beginning of May, the king then being at Canturbury, was a priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the clerkes and doctors then there being, could not remoue him from his faith: whereof the king being informed, caused the said priest to be brought before his presence, who by his perswasion caused him to reuoke, and so hee was burnt immediatly.

Anno 1498

A priest burnt.

IN the same yeere aboue mentioned, which was the yeere of our Lord 1498. after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwicke, and sonne to the Duke of Clarence, the king and Queene being remoued to Calis, a certaine godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Northfolke, was burnt in the moneth of Julie, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copie which I haue written. Albeit in the booke of Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next yeere following, which is, an. 1500. Ex Fabiano, & alio scripto codice.

The Queene was remoued to Calis at the beheading of her cousin Edward Plantaginet.

Babram burnt in Northfolke Martyr.

The burning of Babram.

ABout which yeere likewise or in the yeere next following, the twentie day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.

An old man burned.

IN the same yeere also, which was of the Lord, 1499. fell the martyrdome and burning of Hieronymus Sauonarola, a man no lesse godly in heart, then constant in his profession. Who being a Monke in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached sore against the euill life and liuing of the spiritualty and specially of his owne order, complaining sore vpon them as the springs and authors of all mischiefes and wickednesse. Whereupon by the helpe of certaine learned men he began to seeke reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiuing, and fearing that the said Hierome, which was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or ouerthrow his authoritie, he ordained his vicar or prouinciall to see reformation of these matters: which vicar with great superstition began to reforme things, but the said Hierome did alwayes withstand him, whereupon he was complained of to the pope, and because that contrarie vnto the popes commandement, he did withstand his vicar, he was accursed. But for all that Hieronymus left not off preaching, but threatned Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied before vnto them, that the land should be ouerthrowen for the pride and wickednesse of the people, and for the vntruth, hypocrisie and falshood of the clergy, which God would not leaue vnreuenged, as afterward it came to passe, when as king Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straitly beset the pope Alexander that he was forced to make composition with the king.

Anno 1499

Hieronymus Sauonarola, with two Friers Martyrs.

Prophecie of Hie. Sauonarola against Italy.

Pope Alexander besieged by Charles the French king.

Note

Sauonarola cited to appeare before the pope.

Now forsomuch as the said Hierome would not leaue off preaching, he was commaunded to appeare before the Pope, to giue account of his new learning (for so then they called the truth of the Gospell) but by meanes of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he againe forbidden by the Pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false and seditious.

The doctrine of Sauonarola condemned because he would not come before the Pope.

This Hieronymus, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come vnto him, for feare lest of preaching. But when as the people, which sore hungred and longed for Gods word, were instant vpon him that hee would preach againe, he began againe to preach, in the yeare of our Lord 1496. in the citie of Florence; and albeit that many counselled him that he should not so doe without the Popes commaundement, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his owne good will. When as the pope and his shauelings heard newes of this, they were greeuously incensed and inflamed against him, and now againe cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked heretike. But for all that, Hieronymus proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profite, whereby the people should be learned and amended, Christs kingdome enlarged, and the kingdome of the diuell vtterly ouerthrowen.

Sauonarola preacheth contrarie to the Popes commandement.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing then the onely pure and simple Word of God, making often protestation that all men should certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for vpon his own conscience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may easily iudge by his bookes that he hath written.

Hiero. with 2. other friers committed to prison.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1498. hee was taken and brought out of Saint Marks cloyster, and two other Friers with him, named Dominicke and Siluester, which fauoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where as hee wrote a godly meditation vpon that most comfortable thirtie and one Psalme, In te Domine speraui, non confundar in æternum, sed in iustitia tua libera me. Wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth, the continuall strife betweene the flesh and the spirit.

The commentary of Hierom Sauon. vpon the Psalme beginning: *In te domine speraui.*

After this the popes Legates came to Florence, and called forth these three good men, threatning them marueilously, but they continued still constant. Then came the chiefe counsellers of the citie, with the Popes Commissioners, which had gathered out certaine articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death: the tenour of which Articles hereafter ensue.

Articles obiected against Hierome and the two Friers.

1 The first article was as touching our free iustification through faith in Christ.

2 That the communion ought to be ministred vnder both kinds.

3 That the indulgences and pardons of the pope, were of no effect.

4 For preaching against the filthy and wicked liuing of the Cardinals and spiritualitie.

5 For denying the popes supremacie.

6 Also that he had affirmed, that the keyes were not giuen vnto Peter alone, but vnto the vniuersall Church.

7 Also, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, for that he did attribute more to his owne pardons and traditions, then to Christs merits, and therefore he was Antichrist.

8 Also, that the popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flie them, is excommunicate of God.

9 Item, that auricular confession, is not necessarie.

10 Item, that he had moued the citizens to vprore & sedition.

11 Item, that hee had neglected and contemned the Popes Citation.

12 Item, that he had shamefully spoken against, and slandered the Pope.

13 Item, that he had taken Christ to witnesse of his naughtinesse and heresie.

14 Also, that Italy must be clensed through Gods scourge, for the manifold wickednesse of the princes and clergie.

These and such other like articles, were laid vnto them and read before them. Then they demaunded of the said Hierome and his companions, whether they would recant and giue ouer their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through Gods helpe, they would stedfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another, by the bishop of Vasion, and so deliuered ouer to the secular rulers of Florence, with straight commandement to carrie them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked heretickes.

Hierome with his 2. companions hanged and burnt for the Gospels truth.

Thus was the worthie witnesse of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged vp openly in the market place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered vp, and cast into the riuer of Arum, the foure and twentie day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred ninety and nine. Ex Catal. testium Illyrici.

The Martyrdome of Hierome and his two companions.

This man foreshewed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renuing of the Church: which three things, haue happened in these times within our remembrance. Also he foreshewed that the Turkes and Mores in the latter dayes, should be conuerted vnto Christ. He also declared that one should passe the Alpes into Italy, like vnto Cyrus, which should subuert and destroy all Italy. Whereupon Iohannes Franciscus Picus, earle of Mirandula, called him a holy Prophet, and defended him by his writings against the Pope. Many other learned men also, defend the innocencie of the said Sauonarola. Marsilius Ficinus also in a certaine Epistle doth attribute vnto him the spirit of prophecie, greatly commending and praysing him. In the like manner Philippus Comineas a French Historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecie, forsomuch as he had foreshewed vnto him so many things, which in euent had proued true.

The prophecies of Hierom Sauonarola.

Ex Ioan. Francisc. Mirandula.

Ex Marsilio Ficino.

Ex Phi. Camineo.

There were besides these, many other, not to be passed ouer or forgotten: as Philip Norice an Irishman, professour at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) hee was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that such as haue occupied themselues in writing of histories, and haue so diligently committed vnto memorie all other things done in forreine common wealthes, had bestowed the like diligence and labour, in noting and writing those things, which pertaine vnto the affaires of the Church: whereby the posteritie might haue had fuller and more perfect vnderstanding and knowledge of them.

This Sauonarola aboue mentioned, suffered vnder Pope Alexander the first, of which pope, more leisure and opportunitie shall serue hereafter (Christ willing) to entreat, after that we shall first make a little digression to entreat of certaine cases and complaints of the Germaines, incident in the meane time, which as they are not to be ouerpast in silence, so can they haue no place nor time more conuenient to be inserred. What complaints of the Germaines were made and moued vnto the Emperour Fredericke against the popes suppressions and exactions, mention was made before pag. 665. where also was declared, how the said Germaines at that time, were twice put backe and forsaken of the Emperour: whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage, vntill the time of Luther. Wherfore it commeth now to hand, and we thinke it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germaines, in the time of Maximilian the Emperour; renuing their complaints againe, deliuered vnto the Emperour, ten principall greeuances, whereby the Germaines haue beene long time oppressed: shewing also the remedies against the same, with certaine aduisements vnto the Emperours maiestie, how he might withstand and resist the popes subtilties and crafts: The order and tenour whereof here ensueth.

The cõplaints of the Germans against the popes greeuances remued.

The ten greeuances of the Germaines.

Ten greeuances complained of by the Germains.

1 That the Bishops of Rome, successours one vnto another, doe not thinke themselues bound to obserue & keepe the Bulles, couenants, priuiledges, and letters, granted by their predecessours, without all derogation: but by often dispensation, suspension and reuocation, euen at the instance of euery

euery vile person, they doe gainesay and withstand the same.
2. That the elections of prelates are oftentimes put backe.
3. That the elections of Presidentships are withstood, which the chapter houses of many churches haue obtained with great cost and expence, as the Church of Spire and Hasell do well know: whose bull, touching the election of their president, is made frustrate, he being yet aliue which graunted the same.
4. That benefices, and the greatest ecclesiasticall dignities, are reserued for Cardinalls and head notaries.
5. That expectatiue graces, called vowsons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes vnto one man: whereupon continuall contentions do rise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the Bulles of those vowsons which neuer take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this prouerb is risen, Whosoeuer will get a vowson from Rome, must haue C. or CC. peces of gold laid vp in his cheste, for the obtaining of the same, which hee shall haue neede of, to prosecute the law withall.
6. That Annates or yearely reuenewes, are exacted without delay or mercy, euen of the bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted then ought to be, through new offices and new seruants, as by the examples of the churches of Ments and Strausburgh, may be seene.
7. That the rule of the churches are giuen at Rome vnto those that are not worthy, which were more fit to keepe and feede Mules, then to haue the rule and gouernance of men.
8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspension and reuocation of the old, are graunted to gather and scrape money together.
9. That tenthes are exacted vnder the pretence of making warre against the Turke: when as no expedition doth follow thereupon.
10. That the cause which might be determined in Germany, where as there are both learned and iust iudges, are indistinctly caried vnto the Court of Rome; which thing S. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, seemeth wonderfully to reproue.

Here ensueth the remedy against the said greeuances.

Remedies against the foresaid greeuances.

IF it shall seeme good vnto the Emperors maiesty, let it be declared vnto the bishop of Rome, how greeuous and intolerable a thing it is vnto the Germaines, to suffer continually so great charges and greeuances, to pay so great Annates for the confirmation of the Bishops and Archbishops, and especially in such Bishoprickes, where as the Annates by succesle of time, are enhansed, and in many (as it is said) doubled.

The Archbishops Palle of Ments what it costeth.

For the Archbishops see of Ments (as it is said) sometime paid only 10000. floreines: which summe, when as one which was chosen there, refused to giue, and so continued euen vnto his death, he which was afterward elect, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the Apostolicke see, offered the old summe of 10000. floreines: But notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10000. which his predecessour before him had not paid.

By this meanes he was compelled to pay 20000. floreines. Which being enrolled in the register of the chamber, hath bene exacted of euery Archbishop since, vntill these our dayes: and not only 20000. but also 25000. for their new offices, and new seruants. At last, the summe drew to 27000. floreines, which Iames the Archbishop of Ments was compelled to pay, as his Commissary did report. So by this meanes, in a little time there was seuen times 25000. floreines paid out of the Archbishoprick of Ments vnto Rome, for the confirmation of the Archbishop. And when this Archbishop Iames had kept the Archbishoprick scarce foure yeares, the Lord Uriel was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24000. or 25000. floreines. Whereof a part he borowed of Merchants: but to satisfy and pay them againe, he was forced to exact a subsidy of his poore subiects and husbandmen, whereof some haue not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the Bishops palle; so that by this meanes, our people are not onely tormented and brought to extreme pouerty, but also are moued vnto rebellion to seeke their liberty by what meanes soeuer they may, greeuously murmuring against the cruelty of the Clergy.

The Popes Palle dearely bought.

The pope also should be admonished, how that through diuers and sundry warres and battels, the lands of Germany lie desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that for the scarcenes of husbandmen, the fields for the most part, lie vntild, the tolles are by diuers meanes diminished, the mines consumed, and the profities daily decay, whereby the Archbishops and Bishops should pay their Annates vnto the Apostolicke see, besides their other necessary and honest charges: insomuch that not without iust cause, Iames the Archbishop of Ments being euen at the point of death, said, that he did not so much sorrow for his owne death, as for that his poore subiects should be againe forced to pay a grieuous exaction for the Palle. Wherefore let the high Bishop, as a godly father and louer of his children, and a faithfull and prudent pastor, deale more fauourably with his children the Germaines, lest that persecution happen to rise against the Priests of Christ, and that men follo-

The people polled for the Popes Palle.

wing the example of the Bohemians, do swarue from the church of Rome.

At the least, let him be more fauorable, as often, as any Archbishop or Bishop happeth to rule his Church but a few yeares: as it happened to the Bishops of Bamberge, whereof three died within few yeares. The like also might happen by other bishoprickes, whereof (as Aeneas Syluius witnesseth) there are in Germany to the number of 50. besides Abbats, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

Aboue 50. Bishoprickes in Germanie.

And admit that in Germany there were greater profits and reuenewes rising of the ground, mines and toles: notwithstanding the Emperour and the other Princes, should lacke treasure and munition of warre against their enemies, and specially the infidels, and to preserue Germany in peace & quietnesse, and to minister iustice vnto euery man: for which purpose, the Councell of the chamber being most holily instructed and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serue. Besides that, the Emperour hath neede of treasure, to suppresse the rebelles in the Empire, to banish and driue away theeues and murtherers, whereof a great number are not ashamed to spoyle churches onely, and to robe them of their goods, but also to assaile the Clergy themselues. Finally, our nation and countrey of Germany, hath neede of great riches and treasure, not onely for the repayring of Churches and Monasteries, but also for Hospitals for children that are laid out in the streets, for widowes, for women with child, for orphans, for the mariage of the daughters of poore men, that they be not defloured, for such as haue neede and necessitie, for the old and weak, for the sicke and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled.

Aduertisements vnto the Emperours Maiesty.

The Emperor aduertised of the subtle practises of the Pope, and popish prelats.

LEt the Emperours Maiesty foresee and prouide, that the begging Friers do not preach against his Maiesty, which are wont to complaine gladly vnto the Apostolicke see, fearing to lose their priuiledges, which I would to God, were as well grounded vpon Christ, as they are vpon profite. Let the Emperours Maiesty also beware, that the Pope do not giue commandement vnto the Electours, to proceede to the election of a new king of Romains, as he did against Frederick the second, when as the Lantgraue of Thurin, and William Earle of Holland, were elect by the commandement of the Pope. Let the Emperours Maiesty also feare and take heed of all the prelats of the Churches, and especially of the Presidents, which by their oth are bound to aduertise the Pope. Let the Emperours Maiesty also feare and beware that the Pope do not take away from his subiects their obedience, and prouoke the people boldring vpon him, to make inuasion into the Emperours dominions and Archduchie of Austrich: which those men, vnder colour of shewing obedience vnto the Popes commandement, be ready to do.

Let the Emperours maiesty also take heed of the Apostolicke censures, from which the Pope will in no case refraine. Finally, let the Emperours maiesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the Pope do not perswade the people with most subtle arguments, contrary to the pragmaticall sanction, excusing himselfe, and getting the good will of the simple, alledging that with great costs and charges, he will repaire the Church of S. Peter in Rome, & build in certaine places against the Turks, and recouer againe the lands and patrimony pertaining vnto the church of S. Peter, as he is bound by his office. Therfore, let your maiesty diligently foresee and deliberat, how through your most wise and discrete counsell, if neede shall require, you will answere to those subtleties of the Pope.

The Popes pretence of building S. Peters Church in Rome.

A certaine godly exhortation vnto the Emperours Maiesty.

A supplication or exhortation to Maximilian Emperour, for redresse of the Church.

YOur Maiesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembrance, then to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the Germains: to take away all occasion from the laitie, to persecute the Clergy: also to take away the benefices out of the hands of courtisans, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counsell any man (of which benefices, as Aeneas Syluius writeth, some are equall to the Bishoprickes of Italy) to encrease Gods honour and worship: and so to bridle the auarice and vngodlines of those courtisans, whereby your maiesty may the better prouide for the children of many noble and famous men and Citizens in Germany; which being brought vp from their youth in the Vniuersities, learning both the Scriptures and other humane letters, may without vniquet vexations, and most superfluous charges and contentions, aspire to the Ecclesiasticall promotions, who by their counsell and prayers, may be helps vnto the whole Church: For there is no small occasion, why the realme of Fraunce should so flourish, hauing so many notable learned men in it. If the Emperour would abolish this impietie, and restore Germany vnto their auncient libertie, which is now oppressed with grieuous tributes, and would make way for learned and honest men vnto Eccles-

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Ecclesiasticall promotions: then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the restorer of Germany to his auncient libertie, and the father of his countrey, and should obtaine no lesse glory thereby vnto himselfe, and profite vnto Germany, then if he had by force of armes, subdued any prouince vnto them: And so shall Germany render no lesse thanks vnto the said Maximilian, then vnto all the rest, which hauing translated the Empire from the Grecians vnto Germany, haue raigned many yeares before.

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certaine letter of the Emperour Maximilian, giuen out in maner of a decree or commandement, against certaine abuses of the Clergy. Whereunto we haue also annexed the answere of Iacobus Selestadiensis, vnto the Emperours letters, wherein he seemeth also to haue sought aduice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

An Edict of Maximilian the Emperour.

WE according to the example of our dearely beloued father Fredericke Emperour of Rome, reuerencing the chiefe Pastour of the Church, and all the Clergy, haue suffered no final reuenewes of the Ecclesiasticall dignities, to be caried out of our dominion by the Prelats and Clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by humaine frailtie, with Constantine our predecessor, we haue not disdained to hide and couer. But for so much as through our liberalitie, the decay of Gods honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect vnto the Empire, without any desert) that amongst all other affaires of peace and warre, the Churches do not decay, Religion quaile not, or Gods true worship be not diminished: which we haue manifestly experimented, and daily do perceiue by the insatiable couetousnesse of some, which are neuer satisfied in getting of benefices: through whose absence (being but resident only vpon one) Gods honour & worship is diminished, houses decay, churches decrease, the Ecclesiasticall libertie is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroied, hospitalitie and almes diminished, and by their vnsatiable greedinesse, such of the Clergie as for their learning and vertue were worthie of Benefices, and their wisedome, profitable in common wealthes, are hindered and put backe. Wherefore according to the office and duety of our estate, for the loue of the encrease of Gods honour, we exhort & require, that no man from henceforth hauing any Canonship or Vicarage in one City of our Empire, shall occupie or possesse a prebend in an other Church of the same City, except he giue ouer the first within a yeares space vnto some person fit and profitable for the Church: neither that he do by vniust quarels, vexe or trouble any man in getting of benefices, neither that any man doe falsely faine himselfe to haue beene of the Emperors household, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any lay man, or aggrauate the small prebends of Curates of Churches, with pensions, neither that they do vse in getting of benefices and Bulles, any fraude, deceite, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked Simonie, neither that any man presume to obtaine any regresse, or other thing cõtrary to the sacred Canons, right, honesty, equity and reason, vpon paine of the most greeuous offence of treason: the which we will, that not only they, going so contrary to God and all honesty: but also all their fauourers, which do helpe, counsell, harbour or giue them any thing, all their messengers and writers, proctours, sureties, and other their friends, shall incurre, and receiue condigne punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandement. From Oenopont, &c.

No man to haue two Canonships or prebends at once.

* Here ensueth the copy of a letter writen vnto the Emperour Maximilian.

¶ To our most victorious Lord Maximilian the Emperour, Iacobus Selestadiensis, most *humble commendations*.

MOst victorious Emperour, when I had read your Maiesties Epistle, and receiued instructions of your Secretary, I prepared my selfe with al my whole endeuour, to satisfie your Maiesties desire: For euen from my youth hitherto, I haue applied all my care & study, first for the honour of your Maiesty, & consequently for the amplifying of the Germaine nation, and sacred Romaine Empire. Albeit I know my selfe farre vnable to satisfie your desire and purpose, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which haue greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other Princes, and in the Senates of common wealthes, many excellent learned men, which can exornate and beautifie Germanie, and perswade to reduce all the Clergy vnto a christian discipline, & to an vnitie and peace of the vniuersall church. Wherin not onely your Maiestie, but also your predecessors, as Charles the great, and his sonne Ludouicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Fredericks, and Henrickes, and last of all, Sigismundus, haue with all labour and diligence trauelled, being stirred thereunto, vndoubtedly through the zeale and charity which they bare vnto almighty God, and thankefulnes vnto Christ, for his benefites which he hath bestowed vpon mankinde, and specially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poore for vs, that we should liue in all riot and wantonnes vpon his patrimony, and shew forth our ambition and couetousnesse: neither did he suffer hunger that we should glut vp our selues: or suffered labors, chastity, and grieuous torments, that we should liue in idlnesse, wantonnes, and all kind of voluptuousnesse. Neither they which were contributers, and benefactours to Churches, induing the ministers thereof with their temporall riches, had any such respect herein, that the Clergy should liue onely in idlenesse, hauing all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause why that they in times past did empouerish themselues and theirs to endow the Church: verily that they might the better attend vnto diuine seruice, without care of want of liuing (which they might easily get & gather out of the fields, woods, medowes, and waters) and to the intent that they should liberally giue almes vnto the poore Christians, Widows, Orphans, aged and sicke persons. For in the institutions of the canonicall profession, which we suppose was written by the commandement of Ludouicus Pius the Emperour, and allowed by the counsell of the Bishops, thus it is read: The goods of the Church (as it is alledged by the fathers, and contained in the chapters before) are the vowes of the faithfull, and patrimony of the poore. For the faithfull, through the feruentnesse of their faith, and loue of Christ, being inflamed, hauing an earnest desire of that heauenly kingdome, haue enriched the holy Church with their owne goods, that thereby the souldiors of Christ might be nourished, the Church adorned, the poore refreshed, and captiues according to the opportunitie of time, redeemed. Wherefore such as haue the administration of those goods, ought diligently to be looked vpon, that they do not conuert them vnto their owne proper vse, but rather, according to their substance and possibility, they do not neglect them in whom Christ is fed and clothed. *Prosper* is also of the same minde, affirming, that holy men did not challenge the church goods to their owne vse, as their owne proper goods, but as things commended vnto the poore, to be diuided amongst them: For that is to contemne that which a man possesseth, not to possesse a thing for himselfe, but for others, neither to couet the church goods with couetousnesse, to haue them himselfe, but to take them with a godly zeale to help other. That which the church hath, is common to all them which haue nothing, neither ought they to giue any thing of that vnto them (saith he) which haue of their owne: for to giue vnto them which haue enough, is but to cast things away. Ex Illyrico.

Pope Alexander 6.

To returne now to the order of Popes where we left before, speaking of Innocentius the 8. After the said Innocentius, next succeded Pope Alexander the 6. In which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus named him Demes) brother to Baiazetes the great Turke, was committed by the Rhodians, to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the 6. for whose keeping, the Pope receiued euery yeare 40000. crownes; yet notwithstanding, when Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles the eight the French king for a pledge, because the French king should not procure the great Turkes fauour, by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slaine, he being hired by the Turke, caused the said Gemes to be poysoned, who in his iourney going toward the French king, died at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

The Pope poysoneth Gemes the Turks brother, being committed to his custodie. Ex Paul. Iouio lib. 2. Ex Peucero lib. 5. Ex Hieronym. Mario.

Moreouer, in the said Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander taking displeasure with the foresaid Charles the French king, about the winning of Naples, sent to Baiazetes the Turke, to fight against the foresaid Charles. Ex eodem.

The Pope seeketh the great Turke against the French King.

Munsterus lib. 4. Cosmog. declaring the foresaid historie of Gemes, somthing otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king. And when as Ieannes Huniades afore mentioned, did labour to the French king to haue him, thinking by that meanes to obtaine a noble victory against the Turke, as it was not vnlike: this Alexander the Pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king, into his owne hands, by whose meanes the said Gemes afterward was poysoned, as is in maner before expressed. Ex Seb. Munstero lib. 4. Cosmograph.

Vnto these poisoned acts of the Pope, let vs also adioine his malicious wickednes, with like fury exercised vpon Antonius Mancinellus; which Mancinellus being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against his wicked maners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as Antonius the tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life: at length, as one poyson requireth another, this poysoned Pope, as he was sitting with his Cardinals, and other rich Senatours of Rome at dinner, his seruants bringing to him a wrong

Mancinellus writing against the wickednes of the Pope, lost his hands and tongue.

Poyson requited with poyson.

The high Angel of the popes palace throwne downe.

Pope Pius 3.
Pope Julius 2.

wrong bottle, wherewith he was poysoned, and his Cardinals about him.

In the time of this Pope Alexander, also it happened (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the Angell which stode in the high top of the Popes Church, was beaten downe with a terrible thunder: which thing seemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedome. After this pope, next succeeded Pius the third, about the yeare of our Lord 1503. After whom, came next Julius the second, a man so farre passing all other in iniquitie, that Vlcelius, and such other of his owne friends writing of him, are compelled to say of him, Marti illum quam Christo deditiorem fuisse: that is, that he was more giuen to warre and battaile, then to Christ. Concerning the madnesse of this man, this is most certainly knowne, that at what time he was going to warre, he cast the keyes of S. Peter into the riuer of Tibris, saying, that for as much as the keyes of Peter would not serue him to his purpose, he would take himselfe to the sword of Paul. Whereupon Philip Melanthon, amongst many other writting vpon the same, maketh this Epigramme.

Cùm contra Gallos bellum papa Iulius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet,
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & vrbem
Egressus sæuas edidit ore minas.
Iratusque sacras claues in flumina iecit
Tibridis, hic vrbi pons vbi iungit aquas.
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat ista Petri.

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigramme.

In Gallum, vt fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Iulius vrbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claues in Tibridis amnem
Proiecit, & sæuus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claues,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.

¶ The sense of these Epigrammes in English is this.

VVhen Iulius Pope against the French
determined to make warre:
As fame reports, he gathered vp
great troupes of men from farre.
And to the bridge of Tibur then,
marching as he were wood:
His holy keyes he tooke, and cast
them downe into the floud.
And afterward into his hand,
he tooke a naked sword:
And shaking it, brake forth into
this fierce and warlike word:
This sword of Paul (quoth he) shall now
defend vs from our foe:
Since that this key of Peter doth
nothing auaile thereto.

The popes law giueth leaue to kill all that be accursed of him.

The warres and bloudshed of Pope Julius 2.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his warres, partly with his cursings, within the space of 7. yeares, as good as 200000. Christians were destroyed. First he besieged Rauenna against the Venetians, then Seruia, Imola, Fauentia, Forolivium, Bononia, and other cities, which he gate out of Princes hands, not without much bloudshed. The Chronicles of John Sleidan maketh mention, that when this Julius was made Pope, he toke an oath, promising to haue a councell within two yeares: but when he had no leasure thereunto, being occupied with his warres in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferraria, and in other countreyes; nine of his Cardinals departing from him, came to Millaine, and there appointed a Councell at the City of Pise, amongst whom, the chiefe were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Prenestinus, Franciscus Constantinus, with diuers others: amongst whom also were adioyned the Procuratours of Maximilian the Emperour, & of Charles the French king. So the Councell was appointed the yeare of our Lord 1511. to begin in the Kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this Councell, was thus alledged, because the Pope had so broken his oth, and all this while he gaue no hope to haue any Councell, and also because there were diuers other crimes, wherupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remoue him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius hearing this, giueth out contrary commandement vnder great paine, no man to obey them, and calleth himselfe another Councell against the next yeare, to be begun the 19. day of Aprill. The French king vnderstanding Pope Julius to ioyne with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, conuented a Councell at Thurin in the moneth of September; in the

A Councell called to depose Pope Julius.

The Pope periured.

which Councell these questions were proposed.

VVhether it was lawfull for the Pope to moue warre against any Prince without cause.

VVhether any Prince in defending himselfe, might inuade his aduersary: and deny his obedience.

Vnto the which questions it was answered, that neither the bishop ought to inuade, and also that it was lawfull for the king to defende himselfe. Moreouer, that the Pragmaticall sanction was to be obserued throw the realme of France: Neither that any vniust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be vniust. After this, the king sent vnto Julius the answere of his Councell, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a generall Councell some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of both these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdome. At the length, at Rauenna, in a great warre, he was ouercome by the French king, and at last, after much slaughter and great bloudshed, and mortall warre, this Pope died in the yeare of our Lord 1513. the 21. day of February.

The Pragmaticall Sanction stablished, mentioned before, page 665.

No vniust excommunication to be feared.

IF it were not that I feare to ouerlay this our volume with heapes of forreine histories, which haue professed chiefely to intreate of Acts and Monuments here done at home: I would adioine after these Popes aboue rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turkes story: of their rising, and cruell persecution of the saints of God, to the great annoiance and perill of Christendome: yet notwithstanding, certaine causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked procedings, their cruell tyranny, and bloudy victories, the ruine & subuersion of so many Christian Churches, with the horrible murders and captiuitie of infinite Christians, to be made plaine and manifest, as well to this our countrey of England, as also to other nations.

The Turkes, doing requisite to be knowne of Christians.

First, for the better explayning of the prophecies of the new Testament, as in S. Pauls epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Reuelation of S. John. Which Scriptures otherwhile, without the opening of these histories, can not so perfectly be vnderstood. Of the which Scriptures, we minde hereafter (Christ graunting) orderly, as the course of matter shall leade vs, to make rehearsall.

The first cause.

An other cause is, that we may learne thereby either with the publique Church, to lament with our brethren such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turkes: or els may feare thereby our owne danger.

The second cause.

The third cause, that we may ponder more deeply with our selues, the scourge of God for our sinnes, and corrupt doctrine, which in the sequele hereof, more euidently may appeare to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The third cause.

Fourthly, the consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turkes, rising chiefely by our discord and dissention among our selues, may reduce vs againe from our domesticall warres, in killing and burning one of an other, to ioyne together in christian patience and concord.

The fourth cause.

Fiftly, but chiefely, these great victories of the Turkes, and prosperous speede of our men fighting against them, may admonish & teach vs, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seeke for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, then hitherto we haue done. First we must consider, that the whole power of Sathan the prince of this world, goeth with the Turkes. Which to resist, no strength of mans arme is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Sonne of God, going with vs in our battels; as among the old Israelites, the Arke of Gods couenant and promise went with them also, fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in ỹ scripture, that we christian men haue no strength, but in Christ onely. Whether we warre against the diuell, or against the Turke, it is true that the Scripture saith: Sine me nihil potestis facere. i. without me you can do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the diuell or to conquer the world, Nisi fides nostra: that is, our faith onely: to which all the promises of God (touching saluation) be annexed, beyond which promises we must not go, for the word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth he can not tell whither. Neither must we appoint God, how to saue the world, but must take that way which he hath appointed. Let vs not set our God to schole, nor comprehend his holy spirit within our sculles. He that made vs without our counsell, did also redeeme vs as pleased him. If he be mercifull, let vs be thankefull. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let vs therefore not resist, but search his word, and thereunto apply our will: which if we will do, all our contentions will soone be at a point. Let vs therefore search the will of our God in his word, and if he will his saluation to stand free to all nations, why do we make merchandise thereof? If he haue graciously offered his waters to vs, without money or money worth, let vs not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace giuen vs.

Ammonition to fight against the Turke.

Christian faith necessary to be ioyned with outward forces against the Turke.

Gratis venum dati estis, gratis redimemini. Esay 52.

Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas, emite absque argento & commutatione. Esay 55.

And finally, if God haue determined his owne Sonne only to stand alone, let not vs presume to admire with his maiesty any of our trumpery. He ỹ bringeth S. George or S. Denyse as patrons to the field to fight against the Turke, leaueth

Christ (no doubt) at home. Now how we haue fought these many yeares against the Turke, though stories keepe silence, yet the successe declareth. We fight against a persecutour, being no lesse persecutours our selues. We warre against a bloudy tyrant, and our hands be as full of bloud as his. He killeth Christs people with the sword, and we burne them with fire. He obseruing the works of the law, seeketh his iustice by the same, the like also do we. But neither he nor we seeke our iustification as we should, that is, by faith onely in the Sonne of God.

And what maruell then, if our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conuersation worse, if Christ fight not with vs, fighting against the Turke? The Turke hath preuailed so mightily, not because Christ is weake, but because that Christians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with Images, our harts with idolatry are polluted: Our Priests stinke before God for adultery, being restrained from lawfull matrimony. The name of God is in our mouthes, but his feare is not in our harts. We warre against the Turke with our works, Masses, traditions and ceremonies: but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory, which if we did, the field were wonne.

Reformation of religion requisite before we fight with the Turkes.

Wherefore briefely to conclude, saying my iudgement in this behalfe, what I suppose: this hope I haue, and do beleeue, that when the Church of Christ with the Sacraments thereof, shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be receiued to be our iustifier, all other religions, merits, traditions, images, patrons and aduocates set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shal soone vanquish the Turkes pride and furie. But of this more largely in the processe of this storie.

Faith getteth victory.

The sixth cause.

The sixt and last cause, why I thinke the knowledge of the Turkes history requisite to be considered, is this: because that many there be, which for that they be farther from the Turkes, and thinke therefore themselues to be out of danger, take little care and study, what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherefore to the intent to excite their zeale and prayer to almighty God, in this so lamentable ruine of Christs Church, I thought it requisite by order of history, to giue this our nation also something to vnderstand, what hath bene done in other nations by these cruell Turkes, and what detriment hath bene and is like more to happen by them to the Church of Christ, except we make our earnest inuocation to almighty God, in the name of his Sonne, to stop the course of the diuell by these Turkes, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daily vnto them, and to reduce them againe to his faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Iesus of his grace grant with speede. Amen.

Earnest inuocation necessary in the Church of Christ.

Before we enter into this story of the Turkes and Saracens, first let vs call to remembrance the prophecy and forewarning of S. Paul writing to the Thessalonians, in his 2. Epistle, in these words: Be not moued nor troubled in your minds, either by preaching, or by writing, or by letter from vs, as though the day of the Lord were at hand: for the Lord will not come except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be reuealed, &c. Of this defection, sundrie mindes there be, of sundry expositours: some thinking this defection to meane a falling away from the Empire of Rome: some from the obedience of the Pope. But as Saint Paul little passed vpon the outward glory of the Romane Empire: so lesse he passed vpon the proud obedience of the Pope. What Saint Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling away of these Churches by him before planted, will soone declare.

2. Thess. 2.

The place of S. Paul expounded. 2. Thess. 2. speaking of the defection to come.

Another mystery there is in the Reuelation, Apocalyp. 13. where the number of the beast is counted 666. Whereby may seeme by all euidences, to be signified the first origine and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by sequele hereof may appeare by the first rising of this diuellish sect of Mahumet.

The number of the Apocalyps, cap. 13. expounded.

Moreouer, an other place there is, cap. 16. Apocal. where we reade, that by powring out of the Viall of Gods wrath, of the first Angell, the great floud Euphrates was dried vp, to let in the kings of the East: the opening of which prophecy, may also more euidently appeare, in considering the order and maner of the comming in of these Turkes into Europe.

Another place Apocal. 16. *Et sextus Angelus effudit phialam suam, &c.*

Some also apply to the Turkes certaine Prophecies of Daniel, Ezechiel, and other places of the old Testament more, which heere I omit, for so much as the Prophecies of the old Testament, if they be taken in their proper and natiue sense, after my iudgement, do extend no further, then to the death of our Sauiour, and to the end of the Iewes kingdome. Albeit herein I do not preiudicate to any mans opinion, but that euery man may abound in his owne sense.

As touching the yeare and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahumet first began, histories doe not fully consent: Some affirming that it began, An. 621. and in the 10. yeare of Heraclius the Emperour of Constantinople: in which minde is Ioannes Lucidus. As Munsterus counteth, it was in the yeare of our Lord 622. Martin Luther and John Carion referre it to the 18. yeare of the raigne of Heraclius, which is the yeare of our Lord 630. Vnto the which number, the computation of the beast signified in the Apocalyps, doth not farre dilagree, which numbreth the name of the Beast, with three Greeke letters ϰ ξ ϛ, which Greeke letters after the supputation of the Grecians make the number of 666.

The time of Mahumet the false prophet expounded.

The number of the beast.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahumet was borne in the countrey of Arabia, bordering on the East part of Iewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Persian, his mother was an Ismaelite; which Ismaelites being a people of Arabia were called then Agarens: Which terme Mahumet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahumet mention was made before, page 112. where we shewed, how he making himselfe the highest Prophet of all other, yet denieth not Christ to be an holie Prophet, and next to him, and Moses also to be an other. Moreouer, he denieth not Marie the mother of Christ to be a virgin, and to haue conceiued Christ by the holie Ghost: affirming further that Christ in his owne person was not crucified, but another called Judas for him. He greatlie commendeth also Iohn the sonne of Zacharie for a virgin: when he himselfe permitteth a man to haue foure wiues, and as manie concubines as he is able to finde: and saith, that whereas Christ & other Prophets had the gift giuen them to worke miracles, he was sent by force of sword, to compell men to his religion.

Mahumet of the stocke of the Ismaelites, dwelling in Arabia.

The prodigious lies and blasphemies of Mahumets Alchoran.

The prodigious vanities, lies and blasphemies conteined in his law called Alchoran, are rather to be laught at then recited.

Mahumets Alchoran mingled with diuers lawes.

It is thought, that Sergius a Nestorian was a great doer with Mahumet, in contriuing of this lying Alchoran, and so it doth well appeare by the scope and pretence thereof, which especiallie tendeth to this end, to take the diuinitie from the person of Christ, whom he graunteth notwithstanding to be a most holie man, and also that he is receiued vp to God, and shall come againe to kill Antichrist, &c.

Moreouer, this ridiculous Alchoran is so blanched and powdered with so diuers mixtures of the Christians, Iewes, and the Gentiles lawes, giuing such libertie to all wantonnesse of flesh, setting vp circumcision, abstaining from swines flesh, and Iudaicall lotions, and so much standeth vpon Father Abraham, that it is supposed of some, this filthie Alchoran not to be set out in the daies of Mahumet, but that certaine Iewes had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death: and so seemeth first to take his force about the number of yeares limited in the Apocalyps, as is afore said, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the Beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is fiue hundred, fiue score and fiue.

The numeration of the Apocal. 666.

After this diuelliih Mahumet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to giue his law, and that they which will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribut (for so be the words of the Alchoran;) and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebell against the Emperour, because their stipends were not paid them of Heraclius the Emperors officers: he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria bordering neere vnto him, and first subdued Mecha, then Damascus: and further increasing in power, entred into Egypt and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Cosroes the king of Persia encountring with a puissant army, ouerthrew the Saracens, and put Mahumet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turkes, which afterward ioyning with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians. Ex Munster.

Damascus subdued of the Saracens.

Mahumet put to flight by Cosroes king of the Persians.

After the death of this beast, which, as some say, was poysoned in his house, succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer his father in law, or as Bibliander affirmeth, his sonne in law, who tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Saracens, & got the City Gaza, and besieged also Hierusalem two yeares. He raigned two yeares, hauing for his chiefe City Damascus.

Hierusalem besieged.

After him, followed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

The fourth king of the Saracens after Mahumet, was Odmen, then followed Haly, and after him Muhanias: which after the siege of 7. yeares, obteined and got the Christian city of Cesarea: also ouercame the Persians, with their king Orimasda, and subdued that countrey to his law.

Cesarea got of the Saracens.

The kingdome of the Persians subdued to the Saracens.

Thus the wicked Saracens in the space of 30. yeares, subdued Arabia, got Palestina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the 666. yeares, prophesied of in the Reuelation of S. Iohn, as is afore said. And not long after, they proceeded further, and got Affrike, and then Asia, as in the processe of their story shall appeare the Lord willing.

Arabia, Palestina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia subdued of the Saracens.

Not long after Heraclius Emperour of Constantinople, succeeded Constance his nephew, who in the 13. yeare of his Empire, fighting vnluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was ouerthrowne of Muhanias afore said, in the yeare of our Lord 655. Which Constance, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his warres, it was no great maruell, considering that he had slaine his brother Theodosius before at home: moreouer, liued in incestuous matrimony: also, being inclined to certain new sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew them which admonished him therof. The said Constance going afterward to Italy, was also ouercome of the Lumbards, &c. The Saracens after this victory spoiled also Rhodes.

Constance the Emperor ouercome by the Saracens.

Murder commonly prospereth not with the Lord.

Rhodes spoyled of the Saracens.

Although

Although these cursed Saracens in these their great victories and conquests were not without domesticall seditions and diuisions among themselues, yet the princes of the Saracens, being called then Sultans, had in their possession the gouernment of Syria, Egypt, Afrike, and of a great part of Asia, about the tearme of 400. yeares (till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aide of the Turkes, to fight with him against the Sultan of Babylon. The which Turkes by little and little surprised vpon the Sultan of Persia, and not long after putting him out of place, vsurped y kingdom of Persia: which afterward went further, as ye shall heare the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turks dominion.

Sultanes first called.

The first rising of the Turkes.

These Turkes after they had thus ouercome great countreys and prouinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia, and Europa, began to diuide their kingdomes, and countreys amongst themselues. But when they could not agree, but with deadly warre contended for the bounds of those kingdomes and dominions, in the meane time 4. of the principall families conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole Empire amongst themselues. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruell hatred, contention, warre, and slaughter, (no doubt by the iust iudgement of God against his blasphemous enemies) that there was no end thereof, vntill the remnant of the ancient Turkes was vtterly roted out.

The Turkes dominions parted into 4. families.

For it is euident, that there are few now remaining, which are Turkes indeed by birth and bloud, and that the state of that great Empire is not vpholden, but by the strength and power of souldiors, which haue bene Christians, and now are turned to Mahumets religion: so that euen their owne naturall language is now out of vse amongst them, sauing in certaine families of their nobilitie and gentlemen.

These 4. families aboue mentioned, with their Captaines and armies, about the yeare of our Lord 1330. went raging throughout all Asia and Europa, and euery one of them conquered some part of the countreys where they passed.

The diuision of the Christians do make the Turke so strong.

The causes of these great inuasions and victories, were the dissention and discord, falsehood, idlenesse, vnconstancie, greedie auarice, lacke of truth, and fidelity among Christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilfull defection and backsliding of the Christians, the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many desiring the licentious life and liberty of warre, and allured with the prosperous successe of things, forsooke the Church of God, and made themselues bondslaues to Mahumet and his diuellish sect: both because that fleshly liberty is delighting to all men, and partly also because as fortune fauoureth, so commonly the willes of men encline: And againe, such as be prophane, and without the feare of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all ages, are wont commonly to iudge of religion, according to the successe of realmes and kingdomes. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diuersitie of euents and fortune amongst men, haue enquired and do inquire, whether there be any Church of God distinct from other nations: what it is, and where it is: especially, for so much as the greatest part of men, both in the old time, when as the foure Monarchies flourished in order, was ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the Church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahumet preuaileth and raigneth in the most part of the world. And how standeth this with mans reason, that a small number both miserable and also feebled and broken with many battailes, should be regarded and loued of God, and the other flourishing in all wealth, prosperitie, victories, authoritie and power, should be reiected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authoritie, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit therefore, the power of the Turkes hath bene for these two hundred yeares, of greater force, then any other Monarchy of the world besides, yet is there no Imperiall dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations onely, where the heauenly doctrine of the Gospell is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the Church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded; where the lawes of God, and other honest and ciuill ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reigne: where lawfull iudgement is exercised: where vertue is honoured and rewarded: where sinne and wickednes is punished: where honest families are maintained and defended.

No imperiall countrie in all the Turkish dominions.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turkes, the enemies of the Sonne of God, and all lawfull Empires: because they dissolue and reiect all godly societies, honest discipline, good lawes, policies, righteous iudgements, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the Empire of the Turkes beene hitherto, but most deadly, cruell, and perpetuall warre, to worke all mischiefe, destruction and desolation: to subuert good lawes, Cities, Kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge their cruell power and dominion: The stay and strength whereof, is not loue and fauour proceeding of vertue and iustice, as in lawfull and well gouerned Empires: but feare, violence, oppression, swarmes, and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satans malice and fury. Which kinde of dominion and tyranny hath bene condemned by the voyce of God many yeares agoe: the testimonies whereof, the Lord would haue to remaine in the Church, lest the godly being moued with the power and successe thereof, should fall away and forsake the Sonne of God.

The description of the Turkes vnordinate Empire.

Ezech. 38. Apoc. 20.

Wherefore, let vs not seeke for any Imperiall state in that barbarity: but let vs be thankefull, and acknowledge the great benefite of God, for that he hath reserued to vs certaine remnants of the Romaine Empire: And let vs call vpon him daily with heartie petitions and grones, and with zeale and loue to the house of God, that this Turkish power ioined with the malice of Sathan, against the Sonne of God, preuaile not against the poore congregations and little remnant of his Church, as it hath hitherto done against those strong and noble Christian kingdoms and churches, where now wee see the Turkish tyranny to raigne, and Sathan to haue taken full possession. Whose state was once farre better then ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible ouerthrowes and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth ouer our heads! For though the Turke seemeth to be farre off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that may some cause vs to feele his cruell hand and worse, if worse may be, to ouerrunne vs: to lay our land waste: to scatter vs amongst the Infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Sonne of God.

The Christian Kingdoms and churches destroyed by the Turkes, are a warning for vs, whom God hath yet spared.

Now, although these foure families aboue mentioned, long continued together in bloudie warres, and deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all crueltie and tyrannie, and subduing the other three families, tooke vpon him the gouernment alone, and so became the first Monarch, or Emperour, that reigned among them, called Ottomannus, of whom, all that raigned after him, were called Ottomanni. Who succeeding orderly of his line, haue occupied the same dominion and seate of the Turkes, from the yeare of our Lord 1306. vnto this present time, which haue been to the number of 12. Of the which 12. in such order as they liued and raigned, I intend (Christ so permitting) seuerally and compendiously something to intreate, briefely abstracting out of prolixe and tedious writers, such specialties, as for vs Christians shall be chiefely requisite to be knowne.

Foure principall families of the Turke.

The family of Ottomannus.

¶ Ottomannus the first great Emperour, or Tyrant of the Turkes.

Ottomannus the first Emperour of the Turkes.

THis Ottomannus was at the first of poore estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, comming of a base progeny, and of rusticall parents: but through his valiantnes and actiuitie in warre, he got him a great name amongst the Turkes. For he being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in warre, and gathering together by great subtiltie a multitude of common souldiers, began to make warre, and by conquests and victories, to aduance himselfe and his familie. First, hee began to rob and spoyle with a great band of rouers, and afterward he attempted to set vpon all men. Neither did he vexe and destroy the Christians onely, but set vpon his owne nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly vnto him. For now the Princes and Captaines of the Turkes, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselues, in so much that they fell to domesticall and inward warre, with all the power they could.

Inward warre among the Turkes.

Ottomannus hauing this occasion very fitte and meete to accomplish that, which he long had sought for, gathering vnto him all such as he thought to be giuen to robbing and spoiling, and set all vpon mischiefe, in short time began to grow in authoritie, and first set vpon certaine townes, as he saw opportunitie to serue him: Of which townes, some he tooke by force, some by yeelding, othersome he spoyled and ouerthrew, to terrifie the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the meane time, the discord which was among the Christians, was no small aduantage to this Ottomannus, by occasion whereof, he within tenne yeares space subdued Bythinia, and all the prouinces about Pontus: Also Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Grecians within Asia: Ancyra a City in Phrygia: Synope a City in Galatia: and Sabastia a City in Cappadocia: and thus still preuailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret iudgement of God against that nation, or els because God would haue them so farre and so cruelly to preuaile, for the punishment of the sinnes of other nations, like as it was prophecied before, that such a kingdome there should be of Gog and Magog.

The comming vp of Ottomannus

Bythinia, Natolia, Ancyra, Synope, Sebastia subdued.

Ezech. 38.

This Ottomannus, after he had raigned 28. yeares, in the yeare of our Lord 1327. died, and departed to his Mahumet, leaving behind him three sonnes, of whom Orchanes being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilest they were at variance betweene themselues.

¶ Orchanes the second Emperour after Ottomannus.

Orchanes the second Emperour of the Turkes, after Ottomannus.

ORchanes, the youngest of the sonnes of Ottomannus, after he had slaine his two brethren, tooke the regiment of the

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Turkes after his father. Who after he had drawne to him the harts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set vpon the licentious life of warre, conuerted his power further to enlarge his fathers dominion, winning and subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia and Caria: All which countreys, being within the compasse of Asia, vnto the sea side of Hellespontus, and the sea Euxinus, he added to the Turkish Empire. Also he wanne Prusia, which was the metropolitane city of Bithynia, which then he made the chiefe seate of the Turkes Empire. Besides these moreouer, he conquered Nicea, and got Nicomedia: all which were before Christian Cities and regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian Princes in Grecia, to cease their ciuill warres, and to ioyne and accord among themselues: Such debate, and variance was then betweene Cantacuzenus on the Grekes part, and Paleologus the Emperour of Constantinople. By reason whereof, the Turkes aide was sent for out of Asia, to helpe our Christians one to kill an other, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both. Who if they had according to their profession, so well ioyned in brotherly vnitie, as they did in cruell hostilitie dissent, neither had Orchanes so preuailed in getting Prusia from the Grecians, neither had the Turkes so sone presumed into Europe as afterward they did. Orchanes after these victories, when he had raigned 22. yeares, was stroken, as some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusia. The opinion of others is, that he fighting against the Tartarians, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slaine himselfe. An. 1349.

Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Caria, Prusia, Nicia, Nicomedia.

Christian cities subdued of the Turkes.

Ciuill warre among the Grecians.

By the discord of Christians the Turkes increase.

Amurathes the 3. after Ottomannus.

THe Greke writers doe holde that Orchanes had two sonnes, Solimannus and Amurathes. Of which two, first Solimannus raigned, albeit not long. After him, followed Amurathes, who after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all meanes and waies how to procede further, and to inuade Europe. To whose ambitious purpose the domesticall warres of the Christians gaue vnprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared: Certaine discord fell betweene the Princes of Grece (whose Captaine was Cantaguzenus) and Paleologus Emperor of Constantinople. Whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his partie good with the Grecians, most vnwisely sent for Amurathes to helpe him. Who being glad to haue such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aide him 12000. Turkes into Thracia: but first vsed all delayes he could of craftie policie, to the intent that the Grekes first should waste their strength and power vpon themselues, whereby he might be more able afterward to set vpon them, and to accomplish his conceiued desire.

Amurathes the third after Ottomannus.

Amurathes seeketh occasion to inuade Europe.

The Turkes thus being called into Europe, by the Christians, whether they talking the sweetnesse of the soyle, incensed Amurathes their Emperor to make inuasion, or whether Amurathes of his owne head thought good to vse the time, in the yeare of our Lord 1363. he came himselfe ouer into Europe with 60000. Turkes, falling vpon the Grecians, being wasted and spent with their long warres and battailes before. The pretence of the diuelish Turke was, to aide and to assist the Emperour Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian shippes of the Ligurians for money were hired to conduct them ouer, taking for euery souldiour a peece of gold. Ex Peucer. & alijs.

The first coming of the Turke into Europe.

The couetousnes of Christians brought ouer the Turkes.

Thus the Turkes armie being conueyed ouer by the Grecians sea called Hellespontus, first got Callipolis, with other townes and cities bordering about the sea, and there planting themselues, and preparing shippes of their owne for transporting their munitions out of Asia, aduanced their power further into Thracia, and there wanne Philippolis, then got Adrianopolis, which was not farre from Constantinople, and there Amurathes made his chiefe seate. Then began Paleologus the Emperour at length to bewaile his offer couenant made with Amurathes. When the Turkes had expugned thus a great part of Thracia, they extended forth their army vnto Mysia, which they sone subdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the Bellos and Triballos, they intred into Seruia, and Bulgaria, where they ioyning battaile with Lazarus Despota, Prince of Seruia, and with other Dukes of Dalmatia, & Epyrus, wanne of them the field, and put them to the worse: where Lazarus Despota being taken, and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certaine faithfull client or seruant, who to reuenge his masters death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventred his life so farre, that he came to the tyrant and thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurathes reigned 23. yeares, and was slaine in the yeare of our Lord 1372.

Callipolis.

Thracia gotten of the Turkes. Philippolis. Adrianopolis.

The Turkes enter into Mysia, and Bulgaria, and Seruia.

Lazarus Despota ouercome of the Turkes.

Example of a faithfull seruāt.

The death of Amurathes.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

THe power of the Turkes began to increase in Europe, what time Baiazetes, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entred the possession of the Turkes kingdome.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

This Baiazetes had two brethren, Solimannus, and Sauces. Which Sauces had his eyes put out by his father for striuing for the kingdome. Solimannus was slaine of his brother. Thus Baiazetes beginning his kingdome with the murther of his brother, reduced his Imperiall seate from Prusia a City of Bithynia, vnto Adrianople, intending with himselfe to subdue both Asia and Europe to his owne power. First he set vpon the Seruians and Bulgarians, thinking to reuenge his fathers death, where he gaue the ouerthrow to Marcus Despota, with all the nobilitie of the Seruians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts vnder his subiection, vnto the fines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreouer he brought likewise vnder his yoke, onely Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he inuaded the residue of Grecia, preuailing against the countreys of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocides, and Attica, spoyling and burning as he passed, without any resistance: and so returning with innumerable spoile of the Christians vnto Adrianople, laid siege to Constantinople the space of eight yeares, and had expugned the same, but that Paleologus being brought to extremitie, was driuen to craue aide of the Frenchmen, and of Sigismund the Emperour. Who being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen and Germaines, came downe to Hungaria, and toward Seruia, against the Turke. Baiazetes hearing of their comming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and with 60000. horsemen, came to Nicopolis, where he encountring with them, ouerthrew all the Christian army, take John the Captaine of the French power prisoner: Sigismundus, which before in the Councell of Constance, had burned John Hus and Hierome of Prage, hardly escaped by flying. Baiazetes after the victory got, carried away Duke John, with fiue other in bands, into Prusia, where before his face he caused all the other Christian prisoners to be cut in peces. Afterward the said John being ransomed with 200000. crownes, was deliuered. Some authors referre this story to the time of Calepinus, as followeth hereafter to be seene.

Marcus Despota slaine of the Turke.

Seruia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Phocides, Thracia, Attica, Thessalia, with other christian countreys conquered of the Turkes.

Constantinople besieged eight yeares by the Turkes.

The Christians ouerthrowne of the Turkes.

Sigismund Emperour put to flight.

The barbarous cruelty of the Turkes against the Christians.

Baiazetes the cruell tyrant after this victory wonne, and tyrannie shewed vpon the Christians, returned againe to his siege of Constantinople, fully bending himselfe to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the prouidence of God had found such a meanes, that Tamerlanes king of Parthia, with an hundred thousand horsemen, and swarmes of footmen, like a violent flood, ouerrunning Asia, and prelling vpon Syria and Sebastia, had taken Orthobules the sonne of Baiazetes, prisoner, and afterward slue him, exercising the like cruelties vpon his prisoners, as Baiazetes had done before vpon the Christians: insomuch that he spared neither sere nor age of the Turkish multitude: of whom, he cause xij. thousand at one time, to be ouerridden and troden downe vnder his horses feete. By reason whereof, Baiazetes the tyrant was enforced to raise his siege from Constantinople, and to returne his power into Asia: where he neere the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlanes.

Tamerlanes a Parthian, stirred vp of God to reuenge the cruell of the Christians.

Baiazetes sonne taken and slaine.

Cruelty iustly reuenged with cruelty.

Baiazetes raiseth his siege from Constantinople.

The fight betweene these two, was long and great on both sides, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1397. and the second yeare after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia; but the victorie of this battaile fell to Tamerlanes at length. In the which battaile, as Munsterus writeth, were slaine 2000000. Turkes. Among whom, Baiazetes the tyrant, hauing his horse slaine vnder him, was taken prisoner; and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, was bound in golden fetters, and so being inclosed in an iron grate (whom before all Grecia could not hold) was led about and shewed through all Asia, to be scorned and laught at: and moreouer was vsed in stead of a footestole to Tamerlanes, or a blocke, as often as he mounted vpon his horse. Some adde also, that he was made like a dog to feede vnder Tamerlanes table. The tyranny of which Baiazetes against the Christians, as it was not much vnlike to the cruelties of Valerianus the Romane Emperour aboue mentioned, pag. 61. so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for as Sapores King of the Persians did then with Valerianus in time of the eighth persecution of the primitiue Church, so likewise was Baiazetes this persecutor worthily handled by Tamerlanes King of the Parthians, as in manner aboue said.

Baiazetes ouercome of Tamerlanes king of Parthians.

The iust hand of God vpon a cruell persecutour.

Baiazetes made for a blocke for Tamerlanes to get vpon his horse.

Vid. supra pag. 61.

Tamerlanes after this conquest, passed with his army into Mesopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriously subduing the Cities and munitions of the Turkes, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in blacke: signifying thereby mercie the first day, to them that yelded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victories, and spoiles gotten of the Turkes, he returned into his countrey againe, and there died, anno 1402.

The great victories of Tamerlanes in Asia.

Sebast. Munsterus writing of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his army 200. thousand men: and that he ouercame the Parthians, Scythians, Hyrcanians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia: and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing ouer the riuer Euphrates with his

Ex Seb. Munstero lib. 4. Cosmographi.

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fyre hundred thousand footmen, and 4000000. of horsmen, he inuaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the floud Tanais vnto Nilus in Egypt, and was called terror orbis, the terrour of the world. He left behind him two sons, who falling in discord for their possessions, lost all againe that their father got.

Tanais is the vttermost floud in the North side: and Nilus the vttermost floud in the South side of Asia.

A generation of Vipers.

In the meane time Baiazetes in the second yeere of his captiuitie, died, leauing behind him diuers sonnes, Jesus or Josua the eldest, Mulsumanes, Moses, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Jesus the yonger, Mustaphas, and Hali, of whom first Jesus the eldest was ouercome and slaine of Mulsumanes: which Mulsumanes afterward was deliuered to Moses his brother, and by him was slaine likewise, which Moses had also the like end by his brother Calepinus, hauing his necke broken with a bowstring, which was then the vsuall maner among the Turkes in killing their brethren. The same Calepinus sparing only the life of Mustaphas his other brother, condemned him to perpetuall prison. Jesus the yonger was baptised, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and diuisions among the Turkes, what occasions were giuen to the Christians to haue recouered againe of the Turkes that they had lost, if they had not beene either negligent, or in their owne priuate wars otherwise occupied with themselues.

¶ Calepinus the 5. after Ottomannus.

Calepinus the fifth, after Ottomannus.

CAlepinus, or Celebinus was the sonne of Baiazetes, and of foure brethren, the eldest: who being all taken captiues of the Parthians, hee onely escaped and obtained his fathers kingdome. This Calepinus encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Grecians amongst themselues & other nations neere about them, long troub'ed and vexed the Bulgarians, Seruians, and Macedonians, euen to the time of Sigismundus. Which Sigismundus seeing now Baiazetes to be ouercome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turkes weakened in Europe, and hauing such occasion offered him, as it were from heauen to destroy and vtterly to rote out, not only out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruell enemies to the name and religion of Christ: and also to reuenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army fighting before with Baiazetes at Nicopolis a city in Mysia: with great power made warre against Calepinus at Columbatium a towne in Seruia, as is also before mentioned, pag. 661. but as vnluckelie & with as little successe as he did before against Baiazetes his father: For in that battell were slaine of the Christians to the number of twentie thousand, and the rest vtterly discomfited, the king himselfe escaping so hardly, that he entred not againe into his kingdome for the space of eighteene monethes after. Some write that this was done vnder Baiazetes, other some refer this battell to Amurathes; but howsoeuer it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians. He raigned but fyre yeeres and died very yong, an. 1404.

Vide supra, pag. 661.

The ouerthrow of Sigismund, fighting against the Turke.

Some stories record this conflict to be after the time of this Turke.

¶ Orchanes and Moses his vncle, the sixt after Ottomannus.

Orchanes and Moses his vncle.

Diuersitie in histories.

AFter the captiuitie of Baiazetes aboue mentioned, histories diuersly do dissent. The Greeke writers making no mention at all of Calepinus, only make mention of the sons of Baiazetes, and of the contention among them, vntill the time of Mahumetes. The Latine stories writing of the children of Baiazetes and of their succession, do not therein agree, some affirming that Baiazetes had two sons, Orchanes surnamed Calepinus, and Mahumetes his brother, which within two yeeres slew the said Calepinus, and entred his dominion. Other attribute to Baiazetes moe sonnes, as is aboue rehearsed. Some againe do giue to Baiazetes only these two sons, Celebinus and Mustaphas; and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had two sonnes, to wit, Orchanes and Mahumetes; and adde moreouer that the said Orchanes being somewhat yong, was slaine of his vncle Moses, who gouerned but two yeeres. For Mahumetes to reuenge his brothers death slew Moses, and inuaded his dominion. The Greeke stories make no mention at all of Orchanes,

Tyrannie betweene vncle and nephew. Murther reuenged with murther.

Mahumetes the seuenth after Ottomannus.

Mahumetes the seuenth after Ottomannus.

THis Mahumetes, whether he was the son of Baiazetes, or else of Calepinus, conuerted to himselfe alone the kingdome, or tyrannie rather of the murdering Turkes. Who afflicted the Christians with sore wars within Europe, especially the countrie called Wallachia, lying not far from the floud Danubius, betweene Hungarie and Thracia. From thence he remoued into Asia, where he recouered diuers parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turkes. This Mahumetes planted his chiefe Imperial seat in Adrianople not far from Constantinople, within the countrie of Thracia. In some writers the conflict betweene Sigismund and the great Turke, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahumetes, then to Calepinus: of which conflict mention is aboue made in the storie of Sigismundus, page 661. This

Wallachia assaulted by Mahumetes.

The Turkes seat at Adrianople.

Vide supra, pag. 605.

Mahumetes raigned, as some say, 14. yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord, 1419. Other affirme 17. yeeres.

¶ Amurathes the second, 8. after Ottomannus.

Amurathes the 8. after Ottomannus.

AMurathes, as Philelphus saith, was the sonne of Celebinus, as Laonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Mahumetes: whose sonne soeuer he was, a wretched tyrant he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct the sinnes of the Christians. In the story of Baiazetes, mention was made before of Mustaphas his sonne, who was condemned to perpetuall prison by Calepinus his brother. This Mustaphas escaping out of his brothers prison, was conueied to the Grecians, where he remained long in captiuity, till at length they vnderstanding the purpose of Amurathes, set him vp with sufficient habilliments and furniture of warre, to fight against the said Amurathes his nephew. But in conclusion, hee being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his enemy, and had his necke broke with a bowstring, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

Mustaphas murdered by Amurathes his nephew.

The Grecians then terrified with this smitter aduersity, required truce of the Turke; but when that would not be granted, they procured vnto them Mustaphas, the other brother to Amurathes, being of the age of xiij. yeeres: who likewise being armed of the Grecians, got the citie of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurathes his brother: Albeit it was not long but he was circumuented in the same citie, and brought to Amurathes: who caused him likewise to take of the same whip, as the other Mustaphas had done before. Amurathes being now out of all feare and doubt of brethren and kinssolke to rise against him, conuerted al his power against the Grecians: and first ranging throughout Thracia, where diuers cities yeelded vnto him, which before belonged to the emperor of Constantinople, from thence he set forward to the noble and famous citie Thessalonica, being then vnder the league and protection of the Venetians. This Thessalonica is a citie in Greece, bordering vpon Macedonia, to the Citizens whereof Saint Paul writeth somewhat vnto them in his 2. Epistle, of a defection to come before the comming of the day of the Lord, 2. Thes. 2. By the which apostasie or defection, what the holy Apostle doth meane, this storie of the Turkes may easily declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the countrie about Athens, Beotia likewise, Aetolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponesus, vnto the coast of Corinth, to whom S. Paul also wrote other two epistles, were brought in bondage and slauery vnto the Turke.

The Turke murthereth his brother.

Amurathes set against the Grecians.

Thracia subdued to the Turke.

Thessalonica subdued.

The defection spoken of saint Paul declared 2. Thes. 2.

In Epyrus, and in that quarter that adioyneth to Macedonia, named Albania, raigned then one Joannes Castriotus, who perceiuing himselfe too weake to match with the Turkes power, made with the Turke this conuention, that he should haue Croia, a famous city in Grecia, and also gaue to him his three sonnes for hostages, to wit, Constantinus, Repolius, and Georgius.

Joannes Castriotus.

Croia, giuen to the Turke.

The 3. sons of Castriotus, hostages with the Turke.

In this George, such towardnesse of noble courage, such vigour of minde, and strength of body singularly did appeare, that the Turk caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and maner in his owne court: where he being traced vp, did so shoote vp as well in feates of actiuitie, as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals: in so much that he was named Scanderbeius, which soundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

Georgius Scanderbeius, Alexander the great.

After this Alexander was growne vp to mature ripenesse of age, and was well trained vp in feates of warre, hee was sent out by the Turke, to warre against Caramanus of Cilicia, the Turkes enemy. In which expedition he sped himselfe most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footeman of Scythia, then with an horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with the other: whom he so valiantly ouerthrew, that he wan great renowme with the Turke: In so much that he trusting to the Turks fauor, when he heard of the decease of his father, durst aske of the Turke the grant of his fathers dominion to be giuen vnto him. Which request, although Amurathes the Turke did not deny him: yet notwithstanding he perceiuing the matter to be dallied out with faire words, by subtill meanes and policy slipt out of the Turkes Court, and came to Epyrus his owne inheritance, where first by forged letters he recouered Croia. The other Cities of their voluntary minde, yeelded themselues vnto him; who then gathering vnto him the people of Epyrus and Macedonia (which were not so many in number, as with good willing minds they flucke vnto him) so manfully and valiantly behaued himselfe, that against all the puissance both of Amurathes, and also of Mahumetes, he maintained his owne, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies, many yeares together. But to returne againe to the course of Amurathes victories, after he had thus preuailed (as is before signified) against the East parts of Europa and Grecia, and had conuented this for the dominion of Epyrus, he inuaded Illyricum, (otherwise called now Sclauonia) containing in it Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia: which countreys after he had spoyled and wasted, he continued his course

Georgius Scanderbeius stayeth away from the Turkish the country.

Croia recouered.

Epyrus and Macedonia recouered from the Turke.

The valiant acts of Georgius Scanderbeius against the Turkes.

Illyricum, or Sclauonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Liburnia.

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Albania, Bosna spoiled and wasted by the Turke.

course to Albania, and Bosna. In which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away innumerable multitude of captiues, he moued further to Walachia and Seruia, vpon hope to conquere all Pannonia.

Georgius Despota prince of Seruia.

There reigned at the same time in Seruia a certaine prince named Georgius Despota, who made great sute to the Turke for truce and peace, promising to giue his daughter to marriage: for by the Turkes law they may marrie as many wiues as they lust. It was not long after Amurathes had maried the daughter of Despota, but hee contrary to his league and promise, made warre vpon Despota his father in law, and expelled him out of his kingdome, taking from him diuers cities, as Scopia, Nouomonte, Sophia, and all Mysia. Georgius himselfe fled into Hungarie, leauing behind him his sonne to defend the towne of Sinderonia. Amurathes vnderstanding of the flight of Despota his father in law, compassed the city of Sinderonia with a strong siege, which when hee in few daies had expugned, he tooke his wiues brother, sonne of Despota, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous tyranny of ỳ Turkes, put out his eyes, with a basen red hot set before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in derision and despite of his cowardly father. Ex. Christof. Richerio Gallo, & Gasp. Peuc. et alijs.

An vngodly grant of a christian father to marrie his daughter to the Turke.

Scopia, Sophia, Nouomonte, Mysia, subdued of the Turke.

Georgius Despota fled into Hungarie.

The cruelty of the Turke vpon his wiues brother.

Belgradum besieged of the Turke.

Seruia being thus won and gotten, Amurathes thinking to go further into Hungarie, besieged the city called Belgradum, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the prouidence of God found meanes, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lacke of victuall and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

Ioannes Huniades, Uaiuoda.

In the meane time Ioannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before, pag. 662.) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recouered part of Seruia, and all Muldauia: against whom Amurathes the Turke, with a mightie armie, moued into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power and aide of Ladislaus king of Polonia (but specially by the power of the Lord) did soone infringe the puissance of the Turke, and gaue him the ouerthrow, recouering vnto the christians the greatest part of Seruia and Bulgaria.

Fiue victories of Iohn Huniades, against the Turke gotten in one day.

In this battell Huniades had fiue sundrie conflicts with the Turkes vpon one day, and with fiue victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and ouerthrow the great captaine of Amurathes, called Bassa, the duke of Anatolia (which is otherwise named Asia Minor) that he slew of the Turkes that day, to the number of thirtie thousand. Amurathes, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his feare, with stout countenance sent for Carambeius his principall stay and captaine, with a new power brought out of Asia, to assist him in his warres. This Carambeius, in the downes of Transiluania, Ladislaus the foresaid king of Polonie (the Lord so working) through the industrie of Ioannes Huniades, so receiued and with such celeritie oppressed him vnprouided, that all his stout and sturdie armie either was slaine downe right, or else put to flight and disparkled, Carambeius the captaine being himselfe taken prisoner in the same field.

The great Turke brought to a great distresse

These victories of Huniades stroke no little terrour to Amurathes, in so much that for distresse of mind he was ready to destroy himselfe (as some do write) but being confirmed by Helibeus Bassa his counseller, he kept himselfe within the straites of the mount Rhodope. Who then hearing that Caramannus inuaded the same time the countrie of Bithinia and Pontus in Asia: was glad to take truce with Ladislaus and Huniades vpon such conditions as they liked to make themselues: which conditions were these, that Amurathes should depart clearelie from all the region of Seruia, and should remoue from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the castles and forts of the same: Also he should restore George Despota (which is to say) prince of Seruia vnto his possession, and set his children free, whom he had in captiuitie, and restore them to their inheritance. Item, that hee should make no more claime nor title to the countrie of Moldonia aboue mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgraria which he had lost: and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and iniuries against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turke being agreed, so was truce concluded on both parts for ten yeeres, and with solemne oth betweene them confirmed.

Amurathes secketh truce of the christians.

The conditions betweene Ladislaus king of Polonie, and Amurathes.

Truse between the Christians and the Turkes for ten yeeres.

This done, Amurathes the tyrant addresseth himselfe toward Asia, to resist the inuasion of Caramannus aforesaid. At what time pope Eugenius so soone as he heard the Turke to be returned into Asia, sendeth Iulianus Cæsarianus his cardinall (whose storie is before touched, page 615.) vnto Ladislaus the foresaid king, with full dispensation and absolution to breake his oth and league with the Turke, promising moreouer great hope of aid, if he would go in armes stoutly against the tyrant.

Amurathes returneth into Asia.

The popes dispensation and absolution abused.

¶ Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there euer any war prospered, which was taken in hand by the popes counsell so was there neuer any counsell of the pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianitie, then this

The popes rash counsell pernitious to christendome.

But the pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully breake promise with John Hus, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to obserue any league or truce taken with the Turk: but it turned much otherwise then the popes blind braines imagined, as by the sequell is to be seene, For Ladislaus being thus excited by the vnaduised and sinister instigation of pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce stablished a little before, set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Walachia and Burgaria, came to Uarnã, a towne of Bulgary, where he fell sicke.

Nothing prospereth that is taken in hand by the popes setting on.

The pope breaketh truce made betweene the Christians and the Turke.

It was not long but the Turk hauing thereof intelligence, left his warres begun with Caramannus in Asia, and with great iournies made haste into Europe, passing ouer by the straits neere to Callipolis; where all the Italian nauie still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardlinesse, would not stirre one oze to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thracia, vsing such celeritie as no man loked for, within 8. daies he was in Burgaria, and there encamped himselfe against Ladislaus. The day of battell being set, the armies ioyned on both sides. Huniades was himselfe there present, but all the matter was ruled by Julianus the Cardinall, and the popes clergie. The fight continued three dates and three nights together, with great courage and much bloudshed on each side: insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of bloud. It seemed at the first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first rankes of the Turkes. But the priests and prelats which were at the field (which had been more fit to haue been in the Church) seeing the Turkes to begin to flie, vnskilfully left their array to pursue the enemie, so that they leauing the other standings of the Christians naked, gaue great aduantage to the Turkes, with their darts and shot to disturbe the Christian ranks. By the which occasion, Amurathes inclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victorie. In the which field, Ladislaus the young king of Polony, hauing his horse first killed vnder him, was stricken downe, and slaine. The popes bishops flying to saue themselues, fell into the marishes, and there were destroyed, sustaining a durtie death condigne to their filthie falshood and vntruth. Julianus the Cardinall, which with the pope was the chiefe doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skinne. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part was drowned in the marishes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold, watching and wandring in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the mercifull prouidence of God, being reserued to the further profit and commoditie of Christendome.

The pope moued Ladislaus to breake truce.

The false dealing of the Italian Nauie.

The battell of Uarna, betweene Ladislaus king of Polonia, and Amurathes.

The popish prelates were the cause of losing the field.

A iust punishment vpon the popish prelats for their vniust dealing.

Julianus the Cardinal slaine in the warre and spoiled.

Huniades escapeth.

This John Huniades the worthy warrior was borne in Walachia, being earle of Bistrice, of all captaines that euer went against the Turks, most famous and singular, prudent in wit, discreet in counsell, expert and politike in war, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike captaine. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lords might, hee defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terror of the Turks. Like as Achilles was vnto the Grecians, so was he set vp of God to be as a wall or bulwarke of all Europe against the cruell Turks and enemies of Christ, and of his Christians. Neither wes there any king or prince that euer atchieued such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the publike vtility of all Europe, as did he, and that not only in the daies of this Amurathes, but also of Mahumetes his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to bee seene. This battell of Amurathes against the Christians at Uarna in Bulgaria, was fought in the yeere of our Lord, 1404.

The worthy commendation of Iohn Huniades.

Amurathes taketh his voyage against the Grecians.

Amurathes by reason of this victorious ouerthrow against the christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his iourny incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was, otherwise called Scanderbeius. And first, comming to Peloponesus, and breaking downe the wall about the straits of Corinth, encountred with the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom with his sudden comming he oppressed, with all the Greeks army, ere they were prouided. Paleologus the emperor after that, did build vp the wall againe: but at the Turks bidding he was compelled to vndoe it againe: which wall afterward the Uenetians did repaire. After the demolition of the wall, Amurathes entring into Peloponelus, tooke diuers townes and cities, as Cycione, and Patris, and moreouer made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries vnto him.

Peloponesus Sycione, Patris, with all the parts of Thessalia & Achaia, brought vnder the Turke.

The nert yeere after this battell of Amurathes fought against the christians at Uarna, the Turke being now about the parts of Grecia, purposed to bend all his force and maine against the country of Epyrus belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how hee was brought vp in the Turkes court, from whence we declared also how subtilly he conueied himselfe, and came to the possession of his owne patrimony of Epyrus. [b] Which Epyrus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord also had raised vp the same time with

The memorable acts of Scanderbeius against Amurathes.

b This Epyrus is a country in Grecia, bordering neere to the parts of Macedonia.

Huniades,

Huniades to bridle the furie of the Turkes) valiantly defended against all the power of Amurathes: insomuch that he discomfited & vanquished 7. of the most expert Baßaes or dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most picked and chosen souldiers, dislodged them of their tents, and expulsed them vtterly out of all Epyrus. Also when Amurathes himselfe with his wholepuissance, had enuironed about the city of Croia, with cruell siege and ordinance out of measure, yet notwithstanding the said Scanderbeius (through the power and blessing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege.

Seuen captaines of the Turkes ouercome by Castriotus Scanderbeius.

Amurathes renounced his dominion, and made himselfe a Turkish monke.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurathes, to keepe his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gaue himselfe vnto a religious order, liuing a contemplatiue life with certaine other priests ioyned vnto him, in the forest of Bithynia, renouncing the gouernment of his realme to the hands of Haly one of his princes (for thou must vnderstand, good Reader, that the Turkes also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more then wee christians are without our friers and monks.)

Two christian warriers in Europe stirred vp of God to vanquish the Turkes.

In the meane time while Amurathes this Turkish tyrant was cloistered vp in his monkish religion, Ioannes Huniades in the kingdome of Hungarie, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great warre against the Turkes. By reason whereof Amurathes was taken againe from his monkish vow and profession, and brought againe into the field: For first Huniades had rescued the whole countrie of Hungary: and had propulsed moreouer all the might of the Turkes far from Seruia. And although the pæuish practise of Georgius prince of Seruia, had oftentimes disclosed his counsels vnto the Turkes, whereby twice hee was brought in danger, yet notwithstanding (through the Lords gratious protection) he was preserued and deliuered by the said George vnto the Hungarians againe, and after that manfully vanquished the Turkes, so that they had no resting place about those parts of Seruia and Bulgaria, so long as he liued.

This Iohn Huniades is reported of 20. battels with the Turke, to lose but two.

Epyrus and Macedonia, defended by Scanderbeius.

On the other side in Grecia, Castriotus Scanderbeius so foiled the Turke in defence of his countrie Epyrus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes so short, that not onely he was not able to winne any great towne in all Epyrus: but also comming from Epyrus in the straites, was so intangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to giue battell: In the which battell he was so vanquished, and most part of his armie slaine, that for griefe and sorrow conceiued, he falling into a rauing sickness, was transported out of his pauilion vnto Adrianople, and there in furie and madnes died, after he had raigned 34. yeeres, which was about the yeere of our Lord 1450.

Amurathes ouercome by Scanderbeius.

This Amurathes first ordained the order of the Janizarits. Which were the men children of such Christians as he conquered and tooke captiue: whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ, wherin they were baptized, and brought them vp in Mahumets law, and exercised them in the same feates of war as he did his own people, and after that they came to mens estate, he named them Janizari (that is to say) souldiers of a strange countrey, and made them to guard his person. They weare on their head in stead of an helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of woll, and in so many folds about their head, that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth downe on the backe with a taile, and before on the forehead it is garnished with gold and siluer. They were wont to vse bowes and launces in the field, but now they vse dagges as our horsemen do.

Janizari among the Turkes.

At the first institution there were but 8000. in their garrison, but now they be twice so many. This of all bondage and seruitude that the Christians suffer vnder the Turke is most intollerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their griefe, then to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saued, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and so be professed enemies of Christ and his church, to make war against heauen, and to perish euerlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our owne children borne of our owne bodies, to become our mortall and cruell enemies, and to cut our throats with their owne hands? This seruitude of mind is far greater then death it selfe: which if our princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruell enemie.

A lamentable slauerie of christian mens children vnder the Turke.

✻ Mahumetes second, the ninth after Ottomannus.

Mahumetes the ninth Turke after Ottomannus.

AMurathes left behind him three sonnes, Mahumetes borne of the daughter of Despota, prince of Seruia, being twentie yeeres of age, the second sonne called Turcines, the third named Calepinus. This Turcines being an infant, and but eighteene moneths old, was strangled at the commandement of the Turke, by his seruant Moses, himselfe being there present, and beholding the horrible murther. And when Moses the executor of the murther had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, hee answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turkes, that all the other brethren being destroyed, none should be left aliue but one to gouerne the empire. Wherefore Moses was commanded by the tyrant there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the child vnderstood, she crying out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her request, being desirous to be reuenged vpon the executor of her sonnes death, deliuered the said Moses bound into her hands, who then in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his side tooke out his liuer, and threw it to the dogges to be deuoured.

The tyranny of Mahumetes in murthering his brethren.

The third son called Calepinus, which was but fiue months old, the foresaid Amurathes his father commended to the custodie of Halibassa one of his nobles, who to gratifie and please the tyrant, betraied the infant, and brought him vnto him, and thereupon he at the tyrants commandement was strangled. Some affirme, that in stead of Calepinus, another child was offered vnto the tyrant, and that Calepinus was conueied to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople, was carried to Uenice, and then to Rome to pope Calixt, where he was baptized, and afterward came into Germanie to Frederike the emperor, and there was honorablie entertained, and kept in Austrich during his life. Where note how the mercifull prouidence of God, whom he list to saue, can fetch out of the diuels mouth. And note moreouer touching the foresaid Halibassa the betrayer of the infant, how he escaped not vnreuenged: For Mahumet vnderstanding him to be a man of great substance & riches, through forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to haue his riches: for this tyrant was giuen to insatiable auarice. Thus this bloudy Mahumet began his regiment with horrible murther, after the example of other cursed tyrants his predecessors.

Halibassa a traitor to his master.

Horrible parricide of the abominable Turk.

Gods prouidence can fetch out of the diuels mouth whom he list to saue.

Note here Gods punishment vpon the betrayer of innocent bloud.

Although this Mahumet, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian mother, being the daughter of Despota prince of Seruia, and by her was brought vp and instructed from his childhod in the precepts of Christian religion and manners, yet he some forgetting all, gaue himselfe to Mahumets religion, and yet so, that hee being addicted to neither religio, became an Atheist, beleeuing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddesse of good fortune, striuing and mocking the minds and iudgements of men, which beleeue that God by his prouidence, gouerneth and regardeth the state of humain things on earth.

After that this Mahumet heard of the victories and conquests of other his predecessors, and had vnderstanding how Baiazetes lay eight yeeres about Constantinople, and could not win it: he displaying Baiazets, and disdaining that so long time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his studie and deuice how to subdue the same. But first hauing a priuie hatred against the Citie of Athens, and hauing his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murthering Mahumet first of all taketh his voiage to subuert and destroy the citie aforesaid, being a famous Schole of all good learning and discipline. Against the which citie he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stand, because that city was a good nurse and kokerer of good Arts & Sciences: wherefore, he commaunded the citie to be raced and vtterly subuerted: and whersoeuer any monuments or bookes could bee found, he caused them to be cast into durty sinkes and the filthiest places of the citie, or put to the most vile vses that could be deuised, for extirping and abolishing of all good literature; and if he vnderstood any to lament the case, and ruine of that noble place, those hee greeuously punished and put to death.

Mahumet first setteth vpon Athens.

The fury of Mahumet the Turke against the city and schoole of Athens.

Athens destroyed.

Thus the famous and auncient Schole of Athens being destroied and ouerthrowne, he returned his army and power into Thracia, where in all haste he gathering his power together both by sea & by land, with a mighty multitude compassed the citie of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. and in the 54. day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperour Constantinus slaine. As touching the cruelty and fiercenesse of the Turkes in getting of this citie, and what slaughter there was of men, and women, and children, what calamitie and misery was there to be seene, forsomuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath beene made before, pag. 651. it shall be superfluous now to repeate the same. This only is not to be omitted touching three principall causes of the ouerthrow of this citie: whereof the first was the filthy auarice of those Citizens, which hiding their treasures in the ground, would not imploy the same to the necessary defence of their city. For so I find it in story expressed, that when the Turke, after the taking of the citie, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himselfe (as the truth was) the treasures & riches to be hidden vnder the ground, commanded the earth to be digged vp, and the foundations of the houses to be searched: where when hee had found treasures incredible, What (quoth hee) how could it be that this place could euer lacke munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great riches as heere is, and plenty of

The siege and taking of Constantinople.

Vide supra pag. 651.

Three causes specially noted in the winning of Constantinople.

Ex Ioanne Ramo lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.

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of all things: The second cause was the absence of the nauie of the Uenetians, which if they had beene ready in time, might haue beene a safegard against the inuasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered vpon occasion incident in stories, either for that the citie of Constantinople fiftéene yéeres before did yéeld to the bishop of Rome, as is before to bee séene pag. 644. or else because (as in some writers it is euident) that images were there receiued and maintained in their churches, and by the Turkes the same time destroyed.

Vide supra pag. 644.

Ex Ramo, An image of the Crucifixe in Constantinople.

Ioannes Ramus writing of the destruction of this citie, amongst other matters maketh relation of the image of the Crucifixe, being there in the high temple of Sophia; which image the Turke tooke, and writing this superscription vpon the head of it: Hic est Christianorum Deus. i. This is the God of the christians, gaue it to his souldiers to bee scorned, and commanding the said image with a trumpet to be caried through all his army, made euery man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast (good Reader) by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence wee christians giue vnto the barbarous Infidels by this our vngodly superstition, in hauing images in our temples, contrary vnto the expresse commandement of God in his word. For if saint Paul writing to the Corinthians, saith: We know Christ now no more after the flesh: how much lesse then is Christ to bee knowne of vs in blind stockes and images set vp in our temples, seruing for none other purpose, but for the Infidels to laugh both vs and our God to scorne, and to prouoke Gods vengeance: which by the like example (I feare) may also fall vpon other cities, where such images and Idolatrous superstition is maintained; whereof God grant Uienna to take heede betime, which hath beene so long, and yet is in such great danger of the Turke, and polluted with so many images, and plaine Idolatry.

What offences be giuen to the Infidels, by images in christian churches.

Uienna admonished.

In summa, to make the storie short, such was the cruelty of these Turkes in winning the city, that when Mahomet had giuen licence to the souldiers three daies together, to spoile, to kill, and to doe whatsoeuer they lusted, there was no corner in all Constantinople, which did not either flow with christian blood, or else was polluted with abominable abusing of maides, wiues and matrones, without all reuerence of nature. Of the which citizens, some they murthered, some they rosted vpon spits, of some they fleyed off their skin, hanging them vp to consume with famine, of othersome they put salt into their wounds, the more terrible to torment them, in so much, that one of them contended with another who could deuise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments, exercising such cruelties vpon them, that the place where the citie was before, séemed now to be no citie, but a slaughter house or shambles of Christian mens bodies. Among the dead bodies, the bodie also of Constantine the emperour was found; whose head being brought to Mahumet, hée commanded to be carried vpon a speare through the whole citie for a publike spectacle and derision to all the Turkish armie. And because he would diminish the number of the captiues, which séemed to him to be verie great, he neuer rose from his table, but hée put euerie day some of the nobles to death, no lesse to fill his cruell mind with blod, then his bodie was filled with wine: which he vsed so long to doe as any of the nobles of that citie was left aliue: And of the other sort also, as the stories doe credible report, there passed no day, in the which he did not orderlie slay more then three hundred persons, the residue he gaue to his rascall souldiers to kill, and to doe with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Constantinus the sonne of Helena was the first emperour of Constantinople, so Constantinus the sonne also of Helena, was the last emperour thereof.

The cruell murther by the Turkes in the city of Constantinople.

A lamentable destruction of the citie of Constantinople.

The bloodie cruelltie of the Turke against the christian captiues.

Not farre from the said citie of Constantinople, there was another little citie called Pera, and once called Gallatia, situated by the sea side: who hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and séeing the citie flaming with fire, sent certaine of the chiefe men with spéed to Mahumet, declaring vnto him that they neither had sent any helpe to the citie of Constantinople, neither yet wrought any detriment to anie of his armie: wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladlie yéeld vnto him, so he would be fauourable vnto them and spare them, and not to punish the guiltlesse with the guiltie. Mahumet although he was not ignorant that for feare, rather then of any good will, they submitted themselues, and that they would rather resist him if they had bèen able, yet he receiued for that time, the submission of the messengers: but sending with them his ambassadour into the citie, he commanded also his armie to follow withall, and to enter with him into the citie, which, although it was greatly suspected and misliked of the citizens, yet they durst no otherwise doe, but suffer them to enter: which being done, the ambassadour gaue a signe to the souldiours, euerie man to doe what soeuer he was bidden: of whom, some ran to the wals, some to the temples and churches, some to the stréetes and houses of the citie, plucking all things downe to the ground, sacking and ranging with no lesse furie and abominable filthinesse, then they had done at Constantinople before, sauing only that they abstained from murther: but the same day letters came from Mahumet to the Ambassadour, that hee should spare none, but destroy and murther all that euer were in the citie: which message because it seemed to the Ambassador to bee too cruell, forsomuch as they had yéelded themselues, he staied his hand a little vntill night came. In the meane time, drunken Mahumet comming something to himselfe (whom drunkennes had before ouercome) sent his second letters to reuoke the first. VVhere againe is to be noted the mercifull prouidence of God towards his people in their deserued plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedie.

The citie of Pera v eldeth it selfe for feare to the Turke.

The citie of Pera spoiled.

Drunken Mahumet false of promise.

The mercifull prouidence of God in sauing his people.

Mahumet thus being in himselfe not a little aduanced and eleuated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the imperiall seat of the Turkish dominion, the third yéere next following, to aduenture more matteries, he set out to the siege of Belgradum, a citie of Hungarie, lying nére to the banks of Danubius, thinking to haue the like successe there, as hee had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit through the Lords disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the Citie of Belgradum the same time of the siege thereof, was Ioannes Huniades, the valiant captaine, of whom in diuers places mention hath bèen made before, who with a sufficient strength of picked souldiers, albeit in number nothing equall to the Turks army, valiantly defended ꝑ city with great courage, and no lesse successe. In the which siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the Turks slaine. Among whom also Mahumet himselfe being strucken with a pellet vnder the left arme, was faine to bee caried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turks the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much vnder the number of 40. thousand, besides the losse of all their ordinance, which the Turks in hast of their flight, were forced to leaue behind them.

Constantinople made the imperiall seate of the Turke.

The siege of Belgradum in Hungary.

Iohn Huniades.

40000. Turks slaine at the siege of Belgradum.

Hieronymus Zieglerus writing of the siege of this Belgradum, addeth moreouer, that when Mahumet was at the siege thereof, séeing the towne to be so smal and weak of it selfe, that it could not be won with al his great multitude, he staring and faring like a mad man, commanded al his brasen péeces to to bee laid, to batter downe the walles and towers of the towne: So that the Christians within the walles were vehemently distressed, for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians which defended the towne, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certaine Bohemian, much worthie of his condigne commendation: Who being vpon the walles, and séeing a Turke with a banner or ensigne of the Turkes to bee gotten vp, by the sight whereof the whole towne was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth vnto the Turke, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to Iohn Capistranus standing beloW, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind, did cast himselfe with that dogge (so he termed him) downe headlong from the wall to be slaine with him: what should become of his soule, and whether he might be saued or not: To whom when the other had answered, that hee should be saued without doubt, hée eftsones tumbleth himselfe with the Turke, downe of the wall, where by his death he saued the same time, the life of all the Citie. Mahumet being so wounded and in despaire of winning the Citie, was caried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length comming againe to himselfe, partly for feare and partly for shame, was ready to kill himselfe. And thus was the towne of Belgradum at that time rescued through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of Ioannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

Ex Hier. Zieglero, in lib. de illustrib. viris Germa. cap. 98.

The noble act of a Bohemian in defence of his countrie.

The towne of Belgradum valiantly defended from the Turke.

This siege of Belgradum began in the yeare of our Lord, 1456. and endured 46. daies. At the which siege were numbred of the Turkes 200. thousand. Of whom more then 40. thousand (as is aforelaid) were slaine: where the victorie fell to the Christians through the prosperous successe giuen of God to Ioannes Huniades, and Capistranus. Which Huniades not long after the said victory, through the importune labour & trauaile in defending the said towne, was taken with a sore sickenes & thereof departed, to whose valiant prowesse and singular courage, stories do giue great laud and commendation.

200. thousand Turkes at the siege of Belgradum.

The decease of Ioannes Huniades.

Mahumetes the Turke after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to warre with Usumcassanes a Persian, one of the Turkes stocke, with whom he had three battailes. The first was about the Riuer Euphrates, where the Turke lost tenne thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third battaile was at Arsenga, where through the terrible noise of the brasen peeces the Persian horses disturbed the Campe, and so was Usumcassanes ouercome.

The Turkes warre against Usumcassanes.

The Turke again returned against the Christians.

From thence the Turk reduced againe his power against the Christians, and first subdued vnto him Synope and all Paphlagonia: Also the kingdome of Trapezunce, which he besieging both by land and water, wanne from the Christians, and sent Dauid the king of the same with his two sonnes and Calus his vncle, vnto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stocke of the Connent, which were of the kings stocke, by the Turke were destroyed. Which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1459. at which time this

Synope, Paphlagonia. Trapezuntus gotten of the Turkes.

Dauid Emperour of Trapezuntus with his two sonnes and vncle cruelly killed of the Turke.

this mischieuous Mahomet was first saluted emperor.

Corinthus, Mitylene, Lesbos, Lemnus subdued of the Turke.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians Corinthus and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of christian men: insomuch that the whole citie of Mitylene was vtterly to the ground almost destroyed. The iles also of Lemnus and Lesbos he wanne from the Venetians: in the which iland of Lesbos is the citie of Mitylene aforesaid.

Not farre from this ile of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a countrie in Asia toward the sea side bordering next to Europe, called Mysia, or of some called Moesia, wherein stood the citie of Troy. This countrie Mahomet coueting to winne rather by policie and falshood, then by doubtfull danger of warre, secretly sent for the prince thereof to come to speake with him for certaine causes (as hee pretended) which should concerne the profit and commoditie of them both. Which when the king of Mysia, either for shame would not, or for feare durst not denie, he came to him as to conferre vpon necessarie affaires in common to them appertaining. Mahomet when he had brought that to passe which he would, he caused the king to bee apprehended, and cruelly to bee slaine, or rather torne in peeces: and so inuading the land of Mysia, exercised the like tyrannie vpon all his kindred and affinitie.

The falshood of the wretched Turke against the prince of Mysia.

The cruelty of the Turke against the king of Mysia.

This Mysia by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet flieth againe toward Europe, where hee assailed the iland Euboia, otherwise called Nigroponte, making a bridge of a maruellous frame ouer the sea Euripus, to conuey ouer his armie out of Grecia, and there laid his siege to the citie Chalcis, which at length in thirtie daies he ouercame, not without a great slaughter of his armie: who in the siege thereof is said to haue lost 40. thousand of the Turkes. But the slaughter of the christians was greater: for when the citie was wonne, the tyrant commanded most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole citie, but to be put to the sword, whosoeuer was aboue the age of twentie yeeres. This cruelty was shewed of the barbarous tyrant for anger and furie, because such a number of his Turkes were slaine at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to 40. thousand. In the fierce siege of this citie, it is memorable that is in stories recorded, how that the women of that citie, seeing the men to beginne to faint, and the citie to lie in present danger, tooke the matter themselues in hand, and playing the men, went to the walles, and there defended the citie with no lesse trouble to the enemy, then the men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any mans strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the losse of this citie and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timiditie of the Venetians naue: who being there present, and hauing prosperous winde, yet durst not, or would not aduenture vpon the Turkes bridge, which if they had done, the Iland of Euboia and Chalcis, had not so soone been ouermatched of the Turkes.

The siege of Chalcis in Euboia.

The cruell tyrannie of the Turke against the citie of Chalcis. *Ex Ioanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis.*

The noble stratageme of women in defending that city.

Thus all the East parts of Grecia being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Euboia, shortly after followed also Peloponesus, brought in like subiection to the Turke. Within this Peloponesus were these prouinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica and Archadia, &c. The Venetians in this Peloponesus had great possessions, and had made vp the wall againe toward the sea side, neare to the straites of Corinth before mentioned, where for the more speed of the worke, they had thirtie thousand workmen to the building thereof: which when it came to the knowledge of the Turke, he brast into the countrie of Peloponesus with an armie of eightie thousand, and first wasting the regions of the Corcyreans, and Methoncans, and making a great slaughter of the Venetians, in short time hee brought the whole dominion of Peloponesus vnder his yoke and tribute.

Peloponesus, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia, christian prouinces in Grecia, subdued of the Turke.

Long it is and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahumet gotten against the christians both by land and sea: who after he had ouercome the Ile Lesbos aboue mentioned, and had cruelly slaine Nicolaus Catalusius the prince thereof, turning his armie toward the sea of Pontus Euxinus, got the countrie of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was taken betweene Georgius Scanderbeius, and the Turke for ten yeres: which truce being expired, Mahumet leaueth no time vnspent, no diligence vnsought, but maketh all his power to Epyrus and Albania, which he after long fatigation of siege, at length ouercame and subdued. In the which tract also he wanne from the Venetians, Scodra, Lyssen and Dinastrum. Notwithstanding, when Scanderbeius the valiant captaine had done against the Turk what in mans strength did lie, yet being ouermatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibilitie to make his partis good, was forced to depart his countrie as an exile, and went to Italie, and there being sent for by the popes letters, openly declared not to be possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turkes by the strength of any one king or prince, vnlesse all Europe, with one consent should ioyne their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius a man of puissant courage, being driuen out of his countrie, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and vehemencie is reported to haue been such; that in fighting against the barbarous enemie, for verie eagernesse of spirit, his blod was

Capha taken of the Turke.

The counsell of Scanderbeius how to fight against the Turke.

sceene to burst out of his lips. It is testified also of him, that being prouoked, hee neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, neuer turned his backe, neither yet was euer wounded, but onelie once with a light shaft in his foot, neither euer set against the Turke with moe then 6000. horsemen, and 3000. footemen: who is said with his owne hand to haue slaine aboue 2000. Turkes, whom with such violence hee did strike, that many of them he did cleaue asunder from the head to the middle.

A notable example of singular courage in a captaine.

The commendation of Scanderbeius against the Turkes.

Neither yet was the insatiable greedinesse of this Turkish helhound with all this satisfied, but still he conceiued greater things in his mind, thinking to conquere the whole world, and so passing forward towards Europe, subdued all Illyria, slaying Stephanus the king of Bosna, about the yeere of our Lord 1463. But afterward Matthias Coruinus, the sonne of Huniades afore mentioned, recouered againe the said kingdome of Bosna, with many other cities nere vnto Croatia and Dalmatia, and moreouer repulsed Mahumet the Turke in his second siege of Jaitza, taking his tents and munitions left behind him.

Matthias the son of Huniades.

Moreouer, the said Mahumet passing vnto Walachia, set vpon Dracula the prince thereof; which Dracula, although hee had no great power of souldiers, yet he so inclosed and enuironned the Turke, that he had almost lost his whole armie, of whom a great part notwithstanding was destroyed, and many of his ensignes taken. Into Dalmatia was sent two captaines of the Turke, who fighting against the prouinces of the Venetians, made great spoile and wast about the regions of Stiria and Carinthia: where also the Venetian power was discomfited, and Hieronymus Nouell their captaine slaine. At length truce was taken betweene the Turke and the Venetians, vpon this condition, that Scodra, Tenarus, and Lemnus should be yelded vnto him, and that they should pay to him yerely 8. thousand duckets for the free passage of their merchants.

Stiria and Carinthia taken of the Turke.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahumet himselfe saileth ouer into Asia, sending two of his great captaines abroad to sundrie places: of whom, Mesithes was sent against the Rhodes with a mightie naue. The other called Acomates Balla was sent into Italie to take Rome and all the West Empire. Concerning the voiage of which two captaines, this was the euent, that Mesithes after his great trauell and bloudie siege against the Rhodians, was faine to retire at length with great shame and losse. The other captaine Acomates (as is said) was sent into Italy, with a naue of a hundred ships, and fifteene thousand men, who by the way in his sailing got Leucadia (which now they call S. Maure) Cephalenia, and Zacynthus, and sayling by Fauelona, arriued in Apulia, and so passing along by the sea side, spoiled and wasted diuers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hydruntum a citie of Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he ouercame and subdued, and brought such a terrour into all Italy, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindfull of himselfe, with all haste fled out of Rome. After the Citie of Hydruntum was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was the yeare of our Lord 1481. Matthias Coruinus Huniades son was sent for by the Italians, to set vpon the said citie: vnto the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his returne with 25. thousand Turks, in the mean time newes came that Mahumet the great Turke was dead; by reason whereof the siege brake vp, & the citie was deliuered to the Italians againe, and so was Italy deliuered at that time out of that present perill and danger. This Mahumet wan from the Christians 200. cities and twelue kingdomes, and two Empires, which he ioyned both together. He died in the yeare aboueslad, an. 1481.

Rhodes besieged.

Leucadia, Cephalenia, Zacinthus, Fauelona taken of the Turke.

Hydruntum taken.

The pope flieth for feare of the Turke.

These two Empires were Constantinople and Trapezunce.

✠ Baiazetes second, the 10. after Ottomanus.

MAhumetes aforesaid had three sonnes; of the which, Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousnesse and carnall lust, died before his father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom, great controuersie arose amongst the Turkes, which of them should succéede in their fathers kingdome: For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahumetes died: Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Lycaonia; wherefore when great dissension was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloudshed for the matter, the Janizarites, which were the Turkes garde, did proclaime Baiazetes Emperour: others in the absence of Baiazetes the father, did choose Corcuthus his sonne. Baiazetes the father comming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yeelding, partly by corrupting with mony, got ỳ wils of the Janizarites, and was made Emperor. Demes the other brother being in Lycaonia more neare, although he made no lesse speede in his comming, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherfore he being put backe from all hope of his kingdome, incited by some of his friends, moued war against his brother, who being ouercome in three battailes by Acomates Baiazetes captain, who had got Hydruntum before,

Of these Janizarites, read before pag. 681.

Baiazetes slaieth his brother and mother, and his two nephewes.

did

did flie to the great maister of the Rhodes, leauing in a place called Carræ, his mother and two yong children, whom Baiazetes slue.

This Gemes being with the maister of the Rhodes, was desired first of pope Innocent the 4. then of Ludouicus the 2. French king, but especially of Matthias Coruinus, king of Hungarie intending by him to obtaine great victorie against Baiazetes. But in conclusion the knights of the Rhodes sent him to the bishop of Rome, where hee being kept, and afterwards sent to Charles the 8. French king, for an hostage of pope Alexander the 6. was poysoned by the way at Terracina, by the said pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death Baiazetes, to requite the foresaid Acomates for his good seruice, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to haue his treasure: Whose death redounded to the great profit of the christians, forsomuch as hee was euer an vtter enemie to the religion and name of Christ.

Reade before pag. 674.

False treason worthily recompensed.

Baiazetes thus being confirmed in his tyrannie, made his first expedition against Wallachia, wher he subdued two great forts, one called Lithoscomus, the other called Moncastrum. From thence he remoued his power, taking his voyage into Asia, thinking to be reuenged of the Sultane of Egypt, which had succoured and entertained before his Brother Gemes against him; where he lost two great battels, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus: but especially at the field at Tarsus the armie of the Turke tooke such a wound, that of a hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained vnslaine. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Gemes aforesaid, yet Baiazetes (whether for feare, or for subtiltie, abstained to prouoke them with war, but rather entred with them the league of peace; requiring the maister of the Rhodes to keepe his brother safe vnder his custodie, promising for his yeerly salary, to be payed vnto him euery yeere in the moneth of August, 45000. duckets.

Lithoscomus, Moncastrum, christian forts subdued of the Turke.

The Turke ouerthrowne at Tarsus.

Thus Baiazetes being ouerthrowne and terrified with euill lucke fighting against the Sultane of Egypt, remoued from Asia, and directed his armie into Europe, where hee got Dyrrachium neere vnto Uelona, and had a great victorie ouer the christian armie in the countrie of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians and Croatians ioyning their power together encountred with the Turke and lost the field, about the yeere of our Lord 1493.

Dyrrachium taken of the Turke.

From thence the Turke leading his army against the Uenetians had with them diuers and doubtfull conflicts, where the Turke sometimes was put to the worse, and sometimes again preuailing, out of Jadra and diuers other cities about Dalmatia, caried away great multitudes of christians into captiuitie, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1498.

The Turke against the Uenetians.

The christians carried away captiues.

Two yeeres after this, which was the yeere of our Lord 1500. Baiazetes with 150. M. armed men, entred into Peloponesus; which although Mahumet had expugned before, yet the Uenetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turkes. Which Methone the Turke besieged with three armies, hauing about the wals fiue hundred great brasen canons, whereof twentie two were most violent and hurtfull, wherewith he battered the citie both day and night: but the citizens, which were within the citie, committing themselues to God, defended their citie as well as they could, rather chusing to die then to yeeld vnto the Turks tyrannie. But the Turke preuailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the christians conuented together into a certaine house prepared for the purpose, both men, women and children; where they setting the house on fire, gaue themselues rather to bee burned, then to come into the tyrants hands. Certain women also with their children, cast themselues headlong into the sea, by that means to auoid the Turkish captiuitie. Some writers there be which affirme that the Methonians, seeing fiue great ships of the Uenetians comming with men and victuals toward them, issued downe from the wals to the sea side to receiue them; which were all taken captiues, being aboue the number of a thousand: which all being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slaine except certaine nobles, whom Cherseogles, son in law to Baiazetes, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto. The citie of Coron, and also Pilus, cities in Greece being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yeelded themselues to the power of the Turkes. Crisseum otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of guns.

Methone taken of the Turkes, and miserablie destroyed.

Coron, Pilus, Crisseum yeelded to the Turkes.

Peloponesus againe inuaded by the Turke.

These things thus atchieued, although Baiazetes went away victor vnto Constantinople, yet notwithstanding the Uenetians, through the help of the kings of France and Spaine, had won from the Turke Chephalenia an Iland very commodious for their trafficke: Also had gotten other two Ilands, Leucas and Nericus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the garrison of the Turkes. But afterward peace being taken betweene the Uenetians and the Turkes, by the counsell of Andreas Gritto aforesaid, the Turkes so agreed, that Leucas and Nericus the Ilands abouesaid, should be rendred vnto the Turkes, and the Uenetians should keepe still the possession of Chephalenia.

Chephalenia, Leucas, Nericus, Ilands recouered of the Turkes by the Uenetians.

Truce between the Uenetians and the Turke.

Vnto this league the Turke did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintaine warre against Ismael Sophus in Asia, king of Persia: Which Sophus was stirred vp by Gods prouidence to warre with this Baiazetes, whereby the Christian Churches in Europe might haue some breathing time, and freedome from the Turks cruell tyrannie and bloudshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turke, who with great power and victories had ouerrunne a great compasse of the East parts of Asia: then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning againe into Armenia, he made warre against the Albanians, Hiberians, and Scythians, and from thence comming vnto Asia Minor, encountred with Corcuthus Baiazetes son, and afterward comming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Bassa, Baiazets captaine, whom hee ouercame and put to flight, and afterward tooke him aliue and his wife prisoners. Afterward hee was encountred by Haliballa another captaine of the Turks, whom Techelles one of the said Sophus captaines meeting in the plaine of Galatia did withstand, and so by the way slue Caragius the captaine, and hanged him vpon a pole in the sight of Haliballa; which Haliballa shortly after was slaine in war, and his army scattered and put to flight.

War betweene Sophus and Baiazetes.

Caragius the Turks captain taken prisoner and slaine of Sophus.

Haliballa the Turks captain slaine.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods iustice and prouidence, were these Turkes kept occupied, and so came it to passe, that these Barbarians being blasphemous against the sonne of God, should thus horriblie run one to the destruction of another, being worthily punished with mutuall slaughter and bloudshed for their impietie and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby in the meane time some rest was giuen to the Christians.

Rest giuen to the Christians, by the discord of the Turks.

Baiazetes partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himselfe vnweldie to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdome, began to haue talke with his nobles about the chusing of one to succeede him. The occasion whereof ministred much matter of inward warres amongst the Turks. This Baiazetes had in all 6. sonnes, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left aliue, to wit, Acomates, Corcuthus and Zelymus: Baiazetes himselfe had most mind to Acomates, but the chiefest of his nobles did fauor rather Zelymus: who through their tratterous incitation prouoked him to stirre warre against his father: and notwithstanding that he was ouercome in warre, yet through intercession he was reconciled againe to his father, and afterward proclaimed againe Emperour against his fathers will, through the helpe and fauour of the souldiers, entring the first beginning of his kingdom, with the murthering of his owne father. The story whereof in some authors is thus declared.

Zelymus made emperour against his fathers will.

After that the Janizarites had perswaded with Baiazetes, for that he himselfe was vnweldy, therfore he should do well to constitute some successor, and that he had assigned Acomates to succeede him, the Janizarites being offended with the said Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends and bribe them, compassing about the kings palace with their priuy swords which they had vnder their garments, with a mighty crie, required Zelymus to be appointed for their Emperor. Vnto whom when Baiazetes had answered, that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him, because he was fat, grosse and vnable thereunto: but needes would haue Zelymus, which was stout and warlike, to bee made Emperour: and withall drew out their swords, crying Zelymus, Zelymus. Then Baiazetes giuing place to their fury, shewed himselfe content to giue them Zelymus: whom the Janizarites receiuing, brought him into the palace: vnto whom Baiazetes his father giuing place, willed him not to be so hastie and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heede what he did, and not to follow his fury but to giue place vnto time, which reueleth all things, and thinke himselfe to be a man subiect to dangers and iopardies as other men are: and thus speaking, he resigned his imperiall throne and seat vnto him, and went away all heauy, entring into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people saluting Zelymus as Emperor. Who then taking the rule vpon him, began with great cruelty to gouerne, destroying many of his Nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poyson, some by other cruel means, and aduancing his owne side with great honors and promotions.

What these Janizarites were, read pag. 681.

The counsell of Baiazetes to his sonne Zelymus.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus setled in his kingdome, Baiazetes his father intending to see and proue how he behaued himselfe in his gouernment, first entred into the treasure house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his armorie, where all the spoiles gotten by warre were likewise wasted: then entring into the iewell house, where all his plate and gifts sent from Kings and Princes were kept, which likewise were dispearsed and giuen away. At length he came into the stable, where also he seeing his principall horses to be lacking, sighing with himselfe, & crying vengeance vpon him, he prepared himselfe with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to saile ouer into Natolia vnto his eldest sonne, and passing by an Orchard neare to the sea side, where he had appointed to take ship, in the meane time whilest the ships were in furnishing he sate down vnder a tree, and began to curse his sonne, and to aske vengeance

The displeasure of Baiazetes against his sonne Zelimus.

ance vpon him, for that he had so despised his father and was become so impious a wretch.

Zelymus vnderstanding of his fathers departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very heauie, and much lamenting that his father would so priuilie depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the gouernment of the Empire, but was contented only with the title thereof. O father (said he) doe not thus priuilie depart away: do not procure this shame to your sonne, who so tenderlie loueth you. Let me haue but the name onelie, and be you the Emperour indeed. The end of your naturall life most patientlie I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue. And thus vsing many faire & flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet with many daintie iunkets to be brought vnto him, but tempered and infected with poyson. Which assone as Baiazetes had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poyson working in his bodie, he tooke his last farewell of his sonne, and going out of the citie accompanied with a great retinue of men yelling and crying out in the streetes, in the middle of his iourney fell downe and miserablie died, in the yeare of our Lord, 1512. Here mayst thou see, good Reader, a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in cursing the sonne, and the sonne raigneth by poysoning his father.

The diuelish words of Zelymus to his father.

Zelymus the son poisoneth his father.

Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus.

Zelymus the 11 after Ottomannus.

AFter that this wretched Zelymus had exercised his barbarous crueltie vpon his father, with like impietie he seeketh the destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murther with the fiue children his nephewes, which were the sonnes of his three brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet aliue, Acomates and Corchutus with their children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had three sons, whom the father sent to Zelymus his brother, and their vncle, with faire and gentle words to entreat him to be good vnto their father, offering to him their dutie and seruice in all things, honouring him also as Emperour. But cruell Zelymus commanded forthwith his said Nephewes to be strangled. The father hearing of the cruell murther of his sonnes, leauing house and home, went and hid himselfe in mountains, where he liued for a space with hearbes and wild honie, but being bewraied by one of his men, was brought to Zelymus, and so was strangled.

The crueltie of Zelymus against his father and his brethren.

The crueltie of Zelymus against his cosens.

Ex Christ. Rich.

Christopherus Richerius, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith, that Zelymus after the death of his brother Corchutus, came to Bursia, where he, vnder the colour of making a great triumph, ordeined a feast for his friends and kinsfolke, whereunto were called especiallie his nephewes: who then at the end of the feast calling his nephewes aside (as vnder the pretence of conferring with them secretlie about his necessarie affaires) committed them to his seruants to be strangled & put to death. All this while Acomates his other brother, through the helpe and instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrants hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certaine forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained that Acomates, to reuenge the great impietie and subdue the tyrannie of Zelymus his brother, should shew himselfe abroad. Which if he would doe, he should find friends enow to take his part. Acomates circumuented with these subtill traines, partly for hope of reuengement, partly for desire of the Empire, shewed himselfe abroad with such power and strength as he had: who being set vpon incontinent by Zelymus his brother, was ouercome in battell, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and grosse, and his horse falling vpon him, was so ouerpressed and slaine.

Zelymus the Turke warreth against his brother.

Touching the death of this Acomates, Munsterus somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreouer & saith, that he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all dismaied vpon a stone, and seeing no other remedie but death, desired the Captaine, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliuer the same to his brother, desiring him that hee might not be put to any extreme crueltie of death, but that he gentlie would suffer him to be let bloud in the bath, and so to die. But Zelymus being not ignorant of this, suborneth priuie tormenters, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet cast him downe vpon the ground, and so twiring his neck with a corde, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sons, who hearing of the death of their father, did flie for succour, the one to Sophus in Persia, and the other to the Sultane in Egypt.

The crueltie of Zelymus against his brother. The two sons of Acomates fly away from the tyrannie of Zelymus the Turke.

By the meanes whereof, new occasion of warre grew vnto Zelymus, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians: so that through the lords prouidence, Christendome by that meanes was deliuered from great danger and perill of the Turkes tyrannie: For otherwise, the Turke was wholly minded, with all his force and puissance to inuade the Christians, being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Pannonia, or else to set vpon Italie, being then at great discord within it selfe: but this cause occupied the Turks minde otherwise, and kept him at home. Such was then the prouidence of the Lord for the safegard of his people.

The prouidence of God in stirring vp occasions for his people.

Wherefore, forsomuch as the affaires and doings of this Turke were spent for the most part in the Turkish and Heathenish countries: it shall not be greatly necessarie to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a briefe summe, declaring superficially what vnquietnesse was amongst them there, which could neuer be quiet, but euer working some mischiefe either abroad, or at home. Amurathes the Turkes nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained aide of Sophus the king of the Persians, first inuaded Cappadocia: not long after whom followed Ismael Sophus the Persian king. By reason whereof a great battell was fought betwixt the Persians and Zelymus, in the fields of Armenia maior. In the which battell Ismael Sophus the Persian king was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being caried out of the field, left the victorie to Zelymus: who albeit had an armie of 150. M. men, yet he in the same field lost about 30000. of his Turkes. Which field was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1514. Zelymus after this victorie went to Tauricia the imperiall citie of the Persians, which he by yeelding subdued.

War betweene Zelymus & Sophus the Persian king.

In this meane time it happened that one Aladulus a king in Armenia the greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turke, whereupon Zelymus the Turke taking great indignation, the next yeare following, leauing the Persians, fought against the said Aladulus, and in the end ouercame him, & afterward being found in a cane in a wood, was taken out & brought to Zelymus and so beheaded: whose head being first caried about Asia for a triumph, was afterward sent to the Senate of Uenice for a terror vnto them. The eldest sonne of Aladulus scaping the hands of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battell thus fought and ended, Zelymus after he had diuided the kingdome of Aladulus into three prouinces, went to Lycoma, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the citie of Samandria, against the Christians in Hungarie. But the Hungarians being sone repressed by Juno Balla the Turks captaine, great preparation began to be made by the Turks against the confines of Seruia bordering vpon Hungarie: The terror whereof stirred vp Maximilian the emperour, and Ladislaus king of Hungarie, and Sigismundus king of Polonie, to consult together, & conioine their power for defence of christendome. But through new incumbrances incident, the Turke leauing Europe, made hast againe into Asia to renue againe his wars against the Persians, who had made a vow not to giue ouer that warre before Ismael was ouerthrowne.

War betweene Zelymus & Aladulus another Turk.

Preparation of warre betweene Zelymus & the Christians.

The Turke called away from the Christians.

A Turkish vow.

But before he entred that war, first he sent his messengers to the Sultane of Egypt, requiring him not to entermeddle in that warre; for this Sultane before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turke. The name of the Sultane which reigned then in Egypt, was Campson, set vp by the Mamaluci. These Mamaluci were a certaine order amongst the Egyptians much like to the Ianizarites about the Turke, being the children of Christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the Sultans court, & being growne into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbaritie, or rather became worse then Turks. This Campson vnto the messengers of the Turke gaue this answere againe, that vnlesse he would leaue off his warre against Ismael, and restore the sonne of Aladulus, otherwise he would not lay downe his armour.

Campson the Sultane or ruler of the Egyptians. Mamaluci.

Zelymus being incensed not a little with this insolent answere of the Sultane, leauing all other warres aside, with great celeritie aduanced his power against the Sultane. Which Sultan partlie through the falshood of his captaine Caierbeius, partly by the suddennesse of the Turkes comming, not farre from the citie of Damascus encountred with the Turke, and there ouerthrowne from his horse, being a fat and grosse bodie, and falling vnder his horse, and his horse also falling vpon him, was quashed in peeces and so died, which was the yere of our Lord, 1516.

Caierbeius falle to his matter.

Campson slain.

The Mamaluci, of whom more then a M. in this battell were slaine, flying from thence to Memphis, set vp Tomoumbeius in stead of Campson: whose captaine Gazelles was ouercome at the citie of Gaza, and he afterward himselfe driuen out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamaluci were destroyed. Then Tomoumbeius flying ouer the flood Nilus, renued his armie againe: but in the end was discomfited and chased into a marish, where he was found standing in the water vp to the chin, and so being brought to Zelymus, was put to the racke and great torments, to make him confesse where Campsons treasures were. But when he would not declare, he was caried about the towne with a halter about his neck, and hanged vp vpō a hie gibbet for a spectacle to all Egypt: which was the yeare of our Lord, 1517. And thus were the two Sultanes in Egypt destroyed with the Mamaluci, which there had borne the rule in Egypt the space of 243. yeares. The progenie of the which Mamaluci remaining of the warres, the Turke commanded in the prison gates of Alexandria to be cut in peeces. Zelymus from thence, triumphing departed to Cōstantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians: But in that meane space he was stricken with a cankred sore rotting inward, and died after he had raigned seuen yeares like a beast, in the yeare of our Lord 1520.

Tomoumbeius made Sultane of Egypt.

Tomoumbeius wrecked.

A worthie destruction of the Mamaluci forsaking their faith & religion. Note again the prouidence of God.

The death of Zelymus.

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The raigne of this Turke was but short in number of yeares: but in number of his murders and cruell bloudshed it might seeme exceeding long, which liued more like a beast then a man; for he neuer spared any of his friends or kindred. His father first he poysoned, his brethren and all his cosens he quelled, leauing none of all his kindred aliue. Moreouer, his cheefe and principall captaines for small occasions he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang his son inlaw, and Junobasta.

The beastly cruelty of Zelymus against his kinred.

It is said moreouer that he intended the poysoning of his owne sonne Solyman, sending vnto him a shirt infected with poyson, because he seemed something freely to speake against the cruell demeanor of his father: But by the meanes of his mother, the gift being suspected, was giuen to another which was his chamberlaine, who putting on the shirt, was strucken with the poyson thereof, and therewithall died.

The cruelty of Zelymus against his son Solyman.

As touching this Turke Zelymus, by the way here may be noted how the secret prouidence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish warres at home, while that the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietlie take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the dayes of this Zelymus, Martin Luther first began to write against the popes indulgences, which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1516.

A note of Gods prouidence for the reformation of religion.

Solymannus the 12. after Ottomannus.

SOlymannus the only sonne of Zelymus succeded after his fathers death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meete for the Turkish gouernment. Wherefore certaine of his nobles consulting how to depose him, intended to set vp another Emperour. In which conspiracie, especiallie are named Caierbeius and Gazelles. This Caierbeius was he that betrayed before Campson the Sultan of Egypt to Zelymus, as is aforesaid: who now also being in consultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them also vnto Solyman. Wherefore the said Gazelles and his fellowes being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be, and as also by his acts afterward did more appeare.

Solymannus the 12. after Ottomannus. Read in the pa. 677.

Belgradium again besieged of the Turke. Read before pa. 682.

Solymannus, after this execution done vpon the conspiratours, taking his voyage into Europe, first besieged Belgradum: which being a citie in Hungarie, was the strongest fort of all the Romaine Empire, and the chiefe defence at that time, of all Christendome; which also being assaulted before time by Amurathes the 2. was valiantly defended by Joannes Huniades as is aboue specified. But here now lacked such a one as Huniades was: For the kingdome of Hungarie at that time, was vnder the gouernment of Ludouicus a yong king, vnexpert and of a simple wit. Whom other Princes, and specially the couetous churchmen did so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but onlie the bare name and title of his kingdome: whereby he being vnfurnished both of men and money, was vnable to match with such an enemie.

Another vantage also the Turkes had in besieging of Belgrade: For the christian princes at that time were in ciuill dissension and variance amongst themselues: and the pope with his churchmen also were so busie in suppressing of Luther, and of the gospell then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintaine the wealth of their owne bellies. Which pope if he had set his care (as his dutie was) so much in stirring vp princes against the common enemie, as he was bent to deface the Gospell, and to persecute the true professors thereof: some might he haue brought to passe, not only that Belgrade might haue beene defended against the Turk, but also that to be recouered againe which was lost before: and moreouer might haue stopped the great dangers and perilles which now are like to fall vpon the religion & church of Christ: which the Lord of his great mercy auert and turne away.

Discord amongst christiã princes, what mischiefe it bringeth.

The pope so busy against Luther, that he neglecteth the ruine of Christendome.

Certes whatsoeuer the pope then did, this had been his dutie, setting all other things apart, to haue had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost captiues, which were fallen from their faith and religion, vnto the miserie and slauerie of the Turke, and thraldome of the diuell, and to haue sought all meanes possible to haue reduced them, as lost sheepe into the folde againe: Which then might some haue been done, if prelates and princes ioyning together in christian concord, had loued so well the publicke glorie of Christ and soules of christians, as they tendered their owne priuate, worldly, and friuolous quarels. And admit that the pope had conceiued neuer so much malice against Luther, his quarell also being good: yet the publike church standing in such danger, as it then did by the inuasion of the Turke, reason would, nature ledde, religion taught, time required, that a good prelate forgetting lighter matters, should rather haue laid his shoulder to the excluding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himselfe, and the vniuersall church of Christ: But now his quarell being vniust, and the cause of Luther being most iust and godly, what is to be said or thought of such a Prelate, who forbearing the Turke, whom in a time so dangerous he ought cheefly to haue resisted, persecuted the truth, which he should specially haue maintained? But Christ for his mercy stãd for his church and stir vp zealous princes and prelats, if not to recouer that that is lost, yet at least to retaine that little which is left.

True compassiõ lacking in the Pope.

Solyman therefore taking his occasion, and using the commoditie of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselues, without any resistance or interruption, brought his armie vnto Belgrade, in the yeare of our Lord, 1521. Which citie being but slenderly defenced, the Turke through his vnderminers, guns and other engines of warre, without great difficultie, and with little losse of his souldiours, soone subdued and ouercame.

The citie of Belgrade won of the Turke.

After this victorie, Solyman resting himselfe a whole yeere, and casting in his mind how to make all sure behinde him, for feare of enemies to come vpon his backe, thought it expedient for his purpose if he might obtaine the Iland of Rhodes: for that only remained yet Christian betwixt him and Asia: wherefore the next yeere following, he brought his armie of 450. ships, and 300. M. men, to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mightie and strong Iland, within the sea called Mare mediterraneum. The inhabitans whereof at the first did manfully resist the Turke, sparing no labour nor paines for the defence of themselues and of all Christendome: But afterward being brought to extremitie, and pinched with penurie, seeing also no aide to come from the Christians, some what began to languish in themselues. The Turks in the meane time casting vp two great mountaines with strength of hand, two miles off from the citie, like rolling trenches caried them before them neere vnto the citie, in the tops whereof they planted their ordinance and artillerie, to batter the citie. The master of the knights of the Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the citie. The Rhodians likewise so valiantlie behaued themselues vpon the wals, that with their shot all the ditches about the citie were filled with the carcases of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease of the bloudie flixe raigned in the Turks campe, that 30. M. of them died thereof: and yet for all this, Solyman would not cease from his siege begun: who at length by vnderminers casting downe the bamures and vttermost parts of the citie, wan ground still more and more vpon the Rhodians, and with mortarie peeces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the citie. And thus continued the siege for the space of fiue or sixe moneths, and yet all this while came no helpe vnto them from the Christians. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the aduice of Villadamus yeelded themselues vnto the Turke, vpon condition that he would spare them with life and goods: which conuention the Turke kept with them faithfullie and truelie.

Rhodes besieged.

Thus Solyman with his great glorie and vtter shame to all Christian princes and also ruine of all Christendome, got the noble Ile of Rhodes, although not without great losse and detriment of his armie: insomuch that at one assault 20. thousand Turkes about the walles, were slaine with fire, sword, stones, and other engines. Whereby it may be coniectured what these Rhodians might or would haue done, if succor had come to them from other Christian princes as they looked for. This citie was won vpon Christmas day, An. 1522.

Christian princes negligent in helping their fellowes.

Rhodes won of the Turke.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solyman the 4. yeare after bringeth backe his armie againe into Hungarie, where he found none to resist him but onely Ludouicke the young k. who being accompanied with a small armie, and nothing able to match with the Turke, yet of a hastie rashnesse and vaine hope of victorie, would needes set vpon him: who if he had staid but a little, had prospered the better. For Joannes Waiuoda being a captaine well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not farre off, comming with a sufficient power of able souldiours. But Paulus the archbishop Colosl. a Franciscane Frier, a man more bold then wise, with his temeritie and rashnesse troubled all their doings: For the whole summe of the armie of the Hungarians, contained in all but onely foure and twentie thousand horsemen and footmen, who at length comming vnto the battel, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turkes armie, were brought into great distresse. The Turks twice shot off their peeces against the Christian armie: yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof: which was thought to be done of purpose, because they were Christians which had the ordering of the guns, for then the speciall gunners of the Turkes were Christians, whom for the same cause they spared. Then the Turkes horsemen comming vpon the backe of the Christian armie, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude, ouercharged their horsemen. Amongst whom was slaine the same time the archbishop frier aboue said, with the bishops of Strigone and Varadine and many other nobles beside. Also the king himselfe being destitute of his necessaris aide and succour, was compelled to flie into a marish, where he falling from his horse, being heauie laden with his harnesse, was not able to rise againe, but there miserablie perished.

Christian warres against the Turke neuer speed well vnder the guiding of popish prelats.

Christians were the special gunners to the Turke.

The rash archbishop slaine.

King Ludouicke perished in warre.

Solyman the Turke maruelled at the foolishnesse of Ludouicke the king, who with so small an armie would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battell in Hungarie was fought, An. 1526.

After the decease of Ludouicke, Ferdinandus succeded in the

Ferdinandus of Hungarie.

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the kingdome, being duke of Auſtria and king of Hungarie. Then Solyman ſetting contention betwixt Joannes Vaiuoda and Ferdinandus for the kingdome of Hungarie, ſped his voyage to the citie of Buda, which alſo in ſhort time hee made to be yelded vnto him, vpon condition that they ſhould eſcape with their liues and goods: which condition ſome ſay he kept, and ſome ſay he did not. Beſides Buda diuers places and munitions the ſaid Turke, contrarie to his league made before, did ſpoile and waſte, as Varadinum, Quinque Eccleſias, and other forts and munitions moe, bordering about the coaſts of Hungarie.

Buda, Varadinum, and the citie called *Quinque eccleſiæ* taken of the Turk.

Contention betweene Ferdinandus, and Vaiuoda.

Vaiuoda flieth to the Turkes.

In the yeare of our Lord 1529. Ferdinandus king of Hungarie aforeſaid, recouered diuers holds gotten of the Turke before, and alſo warring againſt Joannes Vaiuoda his enemie, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) erpulſed him out of his kingdome. Whereupon Vaiuoda flying to the Turke, deſired his aide. The Turke glad to take that occaſion, with great preparation addreſſed himſelfe to returne into Hungarie, where he recouering again the citie of Buda, which Ferdinandus had gotten from him a little before, remoued his armie into Auſtria, ſpoiling and deſtroying by the way all that came to his hands, ſhewing many examples of great crueltie and tyranny moſt lamentable to heare & vnderſtand.

Horrible examples of ỹ Turks cruelty.

For of ſome he put out their eyes, of ſom he cut off their hands, of ſome their eares and noſes, and of their children he cut off their prime membres. The maydens he corrupted, the matrones had their breaſts cut off, and ſuch as were with childe, were ript and their children caſt into the fire. And theſe examples of horrible and barbarous tyrannie, this wretched Turke perpetrated by the way comming toward Vienna a noble citie in Auſtria, beſides the captiues which he tooke by the way and led into ſeruitude moſt miſerable, mounting to the number of thirtie thouſand.

Among other holds by the way as the Turke came, there was a caſtle called Altenburch, ſtrongly by nature ſituated, and by art defenced; which caſtle the Turke intending not to ouerpaſſe, becauſe he would make all things ſure behind him, began to make his aſſault, and lay his ordinance againſt it. The warders and keepers of the caſtle, ſo ſone as the Turke began to lay ſiege againſt them, making no reſiſtance, of a womanlie cowardlines, ſent their meſſengers to the Turke, to yéeld themſelues readie to doe his commandement, and further him with their victuall. Amongſt whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the hoſt, that the Turke by them might learne what ſtrength was in the citie of Vienna: alſo where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

The effeminate cowardlineſſe of the ſouldiors in Altenburch.

The caſtle of Altenburch yeelded to the Turke.

Of whom when the Turke had vnderſtanding how al things ſtood, and how that there were but twentie thouſand men in Vienna able to beare armor, and that other cities of Auſtria would ſone yéeld if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two monethes, and that the king was of late in Boheme; thus the Turke of all things being certified, hauing no doubt in his minde of victorie, made ſpéed toward Vienna: and firſt comming to Neapolis, a citie but 8. miles diſtant from Vienna, he required them to yéeld themſelues: who notwithſtanding withſtood them, and repulſed them valiantlie. Then the Turkes aſſigned a place for the pitching of their tents; which becauſe it ſeemed ſomething too little for ſuch a great multitude, they tooke in more ground to the compaſſe of ſeuen miles circuit. The multitude of his armie, which he there planed, is accounted of ſome to extend to 250 thouſand ſouldiours. The Turke thus being planted, made dailie ercourſes ouer all the countrey of Auſtria, ſpecially about the citie of Vienna, walking & ſpoiling with great crueltie and murther amongſt the poore Chriſtians.

Neapolis beſieged of the Turke.

The Turks armie of 250. thouſand ſouldiors.

Moreouer, to make all things more ſure toward the preparation of the ſiege, ſcoutes were ſent abroad, & ambuſhments were laid about the riuer ſide of Danubius, to prouide that no aide nor victuall ſhould be brought to Vienna. So it pleaſed the prouidence of the Lord (who diſpoſeth all things) that three dates before the comming of the Turke, Fridericus the Earle Palatine, which was then aſſigned by the Empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come downe by the riuer of Danubius with 14. M. and with a certaine troope of horſemen well appointed and picked for the purpoſe. After the comming of this Fridericke, prouiſion alſo of victuall was appointed to follow ſhortlie after, by the ſaid riuer of Danubius.

Vienna beſieged of the Turke.

Fridericus earle Palatine captaine of Vienna.

In the meane time, they wich had the cariage and tranſporting thereof, hearing how the wayes were laid, and all the paſſages 10. miles about Vienna, ſtopped by the Turkes, although they knew the citie to ſtand in great néede of victuall, yet ſéeing there was no other remedie, rather then it ſhould come to the enemies hand, thought it beſt to ſinke their boats with their cariage, & ſo they did. Whereby albeit the Chriſtians wanted their releéſe, yet were the Turks diſappointed of their pray & purpoſe. The captains which had the kéeping of the citie, which were chéefly Fridericus ỹ earle Palatine, Gulielmus Rogendorffius, & Nicolaus earle of Salme, ſéeing themſelues ſo trained contrarie to their expectation, although they had great cauſes to be diſcouraged, yet calling their courage vnto them, they conſulted together for the beſt way to be taken:

Fridericus earle Palatine, William Rogendorffius, Nicolaus earle of Salme, captains of Vienna.

& ſéeing that the little citie Neapolis (aboue mentioned) being eight miles diſtant from them, ſo valiantlie withſtood ỹ Turks, that in one day they ſuſtained ſeuen greeuous aſſaults againſt all the maine force of the Turkiſh armie: by their example and manfull ſtanding, being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the vttermoſt before they would giue ouer; and firſt plucking downe all the ſuburbs, and buildings without the walles, whereby the enemie might haue any ſuccour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitans about the citie to ſaue themſelues; and to bring in their goods within the walles. Such places as were weake within the wals, they made ſtrong. About the towers and munition of the walles, they prouided rampiers and bulwarks diſtant 80. foote one from another, to keepe off the ſhot; and euery man had his place and ſtanding awarded to him vpon the wall, and his office appointed what to doe: but eſpecially that ſide of the citie which lieth to the riuer of Danubius, they fortified after the beſt wiſe: for that way only now remained for victuall to bee tranſported from the Bohemians vnto them. Wherefore 8. enſignes were aſſigned to the keéping of the bridge; and in the plaine, which was like an Iland incloſed within the riuer, a ſufficient garriſon of horſmen were placed, lying within the gunſhot of the citie, to the intent that if any graine or victuall were ſent from the Bohemians, they might prouide the ſame ſafelie to be brought into the citie.

Prouiſion made for victualling the citie.

These things thus being diſpoſed and ſet in order, L. William Rogendorffe, to allay the ſtrength of the Turks, made diuers rodes out with his horſemen, albeit much againſt the minds of the Auſtrians: who knowing the maner of the Turks, thought it better to ſuffer them, while either with time they might be ouerwearied, or for lacke of victuals conſumed. Among many and ſundry ſkirmiſhes which the Chriſtians had with the Turkes, one eſpeciallie was to our men vnproſperous: in which certaine of the horſemen eſpying a ſmall troope of the Turkes ſcattering abroad from their company, made out after them, who ſuddenly and guilefullie were incloſed and circumuented by the Turks, before they could recouer the gates of the citie, and ſo were all taken aliue: Of whom three were ſent from the Turkes into the citie, to declare to the Viennians what ſtrength they had ſéene in the campe of their aduerſaries, and to ſolicite them to yéeld their citie for feare of puniſhment which would follow: The reſidue they reſerued to torments and puniſhment, whom in the ſight of the whole armie, and of the Chriſtians (which ſhould tell the ſame to the citizens) they cauſed euery man to be drawne with foure horſes a peece, and ſo to be diſmembred and plucked aſunder.

Good counſell and experience refuſed.

Rath hardineſſe of our Chriſtians in ſkirmiſhing with the Turke.

The wretched cruelty of the Turks againſt the Chriſtian captiues.

After this done, the barbarous Turke immediatlie ſent his Herald to talke with the captaines of the citie, whether they would yéeld the citie vpon honeſt conditions, or elſe would abide the arbitrement of warre. If they would gentlie ſubmit themſelues, they ſhould haue all gentleneſſe to them ſhewed: If they would be ſtubborne, and ſtand to their defence, hee would alſo ſtand to his ſiege begun, ſo that he neither would ſpare man, woman, or child. To this the captaines anſwered againe, that they were contented, Solyman to ſtand to his ſiege begun, and to doe his vttermoſt, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at appoint to defend themſelues and their citie ſo long as they might: the euent and fall of victorie to be doubtfull, and many times ſo to happen, that they which begin the warre are wearied ſoner then they which be prouoked: neither againe, that they were ſo vnmindfull either of themſelues, or of their countrey, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germaines: who vſe alwaies firſt to aſſay the aduerſarie, what he is able to do, and not rathlie to commit themſelues into their enemies hands.

The meſſage of the Turke to the Viennians.

The anſwere of the Viennians to the Turke.

Solymannus not a little diſdaining at this anſwer, firſt burning and conſuming all the villages, houſes, and places round about the citie, infecting alſo the ſpringes and fountains which gaue water into the citie, and ſo ſtopping all paſſages, that no releéſe ſhould haue way vnto them, began with angrie mood to approch more nére to the citie, with three great camps; ſending them word in ſcorne and contumelie, by one of his captiues, that if they ſtood in néed of help of ſouldiors, he would ſend vnto them the 300. Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aide them in their defence. To whom the Palatine directed anſwere againe, that they had more ſouldiours in the citie then they néeded. As for the Bohemians which had yeelded themſelues, he might doe with them what he would, for Vienna ſtood in no great néed of them.

Solymannus approcheth Vienna with 3. great armies.

In the meane time a meſſenger comming from Ferdinandus, was priuilie let in by night into the citie, which brought word that they ſhould play the men in keéping out the enimie a while: for it would not be long, but both Ferdinandus and Carolus his brother, with the ſtrength of all Germanie, would bee readie to reſcue them. At which meſſage the hearts of the ſouldiors began ſomewhat to be cheared, and to contemne the huge multitude of the aduerſaries, being ſo great as they neuer did behold, nor did euer almoſt heare of before. The largeneſſe of whose armie, extended to no leſſe in compaſſe (as is aboue ſaid) then of ſeuen miles rounde about the citie walles.

A meſſenger ſent from Ferdinandus to Vienna.

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The ſiege of Vienna begineth.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible ſiege, with all the partes and circumſtances thereof. Briefly to touch ſo much as ſhall ſuffice for this hiſtorie, with fewer words then were ſtripes giuen at the ſiege thereof: this is to be iudged and confeſſed, whoſoeuer beholdeth the number and fiercenesſe of the Turkes, the abſence of king Ferdinandus, the lacke of prouiſion and victuall within the citie, the noiſe of the guns, the violence of the ſhot, the terror of the fight, and yet no ſuccour ſent vnto them: that the cuſtodie of that citie was no mans doing, but the arme only of the Lord God of hoſts, according to the true ſaying of the Pſalme: Vnleſſe the Lord doe keepe the citie, the watchmen watch in vaine, which watch to ſaue it: Vnleſſe the Lord doe build the houſe, the builder ſtriueth in vaine, which taketh vpon him to builde it. Experience whereof in keeping this citie may well appeare.

The Lords power and prouidence in keeping the city of Vienna.

First Solymannus bending his ſhot and ordinance againſt the citie, beat downe to the ground the vamures with all the vttermoſt ſuburbs of the citie, and that in ſuch a ſhort moment of time, that the harts of the Viennians a little before refreſhed, were now as much appalled againe with feare, miſdoubting whith themſelues, leſt the Turke with the ſame celeritie and violence, would haue preuailed againſt the inward walles, as he did in beating downe the outward vamures. And no doubt the ſame time the Turke had put the city in great hazard, had not night comming on, broken off the ſiege for that day.

The ſlaughter of the Turkes about the wales of Vienna.

In the meane time the citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreſhing the walles, to make all things ſure againſt the next aſſault. The next day early in the morning, ỹ Turkes approching the citie againe with a new aſſault, thinking to ſcale the wals, were ſo repulſed and manfully reſiſted by the Germaines, that vneth any ditches about the walles could be ſeene for the bodies of the dead Turks, wherwith they were replenished: ſo that the Turkes were faine to fight ſtanding vpon the bodies of them which were ſlaine. By the which calamitie the force of the enemie was not a little abated.

The manlineſſe of captaine Rogendorffius againſt the Turkes.

It happened the ſame time, that a company of the Turkes being eſpied out of the citie wandering out of order, the captaine Rogendorffius with two legions of horſmen iſſuing out of the citie gate called Salmatia, and ſo paſſing cloſelie vnder the hils ſide, did ſo ſet vpon them, that they ſlewa great number of them: the reſt being driuen to take the riuer, whom with ſtones and ſhot likewiſe they deſtroyed, and ſo retired backe into the citie againe. By this victorie the captaine Rogendorffius began to be terrible to the Turks. For in the ſame ſkirmiſh (as after was knowne) were ſlaine of them ſo many, that of 5000. and three hundred horſmen and footmen, ſcarſe 140. eſcaped aliue.

Another aſſault of the Turkes againſt Vienna.

Solyman diſdaining at this repulſe, thought to proue another way, and ſo bringing his power toward the gate called the kings gate, there making his trenches and bulwarkes, planted his ordinance, with the violence whereof the walles were ſo battered and ſhaken, that no man was able there to ſtand. Wherfore the Turk ſeeing 2. great breaches made in the wall, commanded his ſoldiors couertlie in the darke ſmoke of the gunpouder to preaſe into the citie. The like alſo was done at the Scotiſh tower, whereby the citie was inuaded in 2. ſundry places at one time. The Viennians at the firſt, freſhly began to withſtand them, new ſoldiors ſtill comming in the place of them that were ſlaine and hurt: and ſo this aſſault continuing more then ſix houres together, our men began at length to languiſh and faint, not only in ſtrength but alſo in courage: whereby the citie had been in great danger of loſing, had not the two aforeſaid captaines Rogendorffius in the one place, and the Earle of Salme in the other place, manfullie encouraged the ſouldiors to abide the brunt, and to beare out a while the violence of the Turkes, promiſing that immediatlie they ſhould haue aide from Ferdinandus.

Another repulſe of the Turks.

In the meane time the Turks came ſo thick for the greedines of the victorie, ſcaling, climing, and fighting vpon the walles, that had it not bin for the preaſe and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, comming ſo thicke that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that ſame day had bin taken and vtterlie loſt: But by the policie of the captains giuing a ſigne within the citie, as though new ſouldiors were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks hearts to be diſcomfited.

Vienna vndermined by the Turkes.

When Solymannus ſaw his armie the ſecond time repulſed, he began to attempt a new way, purpoſing by vndermining to ouerthrowe the citie: in the which worke ſpeciallie he vſed the helpe of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kind of feat. Theſe Illyrians beginning to breake the earth at the gate Carinthia, and comming neere to the foundations of the Tower, which they by ſtrength of hand attempted to break, could not worke ſo cloſely vnder the ground, but they were perceiued by certain men aboue, which were ſkilfull and expert in that kinde of matter: who contrariwiſe vndermining againſt them, and filling their trenches as they went, with gunnepouder, ſo conueied their traine, that when fire ſhould be ſet vnto it, the violence thereof ſhould braſt out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, ſuddenly the ground beneath made a great ſhaking, ſo that the tower did cleaue aſunder, and all the vnderminers of the Turks working in their trenches, were ſmothered and deſtroyed; which came to the number (as it was ſuppoſed afterward) of 8000. perſons: inſomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead mens ſculs are found in the ground.

Another aſſault of the Turkes againſt Vienna.

When Solyman ſaw that this way alſo would not ſerue, & had priuie intelligence that the walles about the gates of Stubarium were negligentlie kept, and that he might haue there more eaſie entrance: ſecretlie he conueyeth about 10. garriſons of freſh ſouldiors, in ſuch ſort as the townesmen ſhould not perceiue them: who came ſo ſuddenly vpon them, that they had filled the ditches, and were vpon the top of the fortreſſes & munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themſelues readie to reſiſt them. For although there was no lacke of ſouldiors within the citie, yet forſomuch as the whole brunt of the ſiege did lie, ſpeciallie at the 2. gates aforeſaid, from whence the ſouldiors which were there warding, could not bee well remoued, for a ſhift the reſcuers (which within the citie were readie for all ſudden aduentures) were ſent to the wals: by whoſe comming, thoſe few which kept the enemies off before, being ſore hurt and wounded, were ſuccoured and ſent to ſurgerie: and thus the ſaid aſſault continued terrible and doubtfull vntill (the darke night comming vpon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turkes to be ſlaine, more then fiue thouſand.

The Turkes againe repulſed.

Then the captaine Rogendorffius commending the valiant ſtanding of his ſouldiors, miſdoubting with himſelfe (as it happened indeed) that the Turks would not ſo giue ouer, but would ſet vpon him the next day with a freſh aſſault, prouiding with all diligence for the purpoſe, made vp the breaches of the walles, and prepared all things neceſſarie for reſiſtance. The next morning following, which was ſomething darke and miſtie, the Turkes thinking to preuent our men with their ſudden comming, began againe buſilie to bicker vpon the toppe of the walles.

It would require a long tractation here to deſcribe the great diſtreſſe and danger that the citie thoſe three dayes following was in. During all the which time, there was no reſt, no intermiſſion, nor diligence lacking, either in the enimies, fighting againſt the citie, either in our men in defending the ſame. For the Turkes beſides the multitude of the great ordinance, wherewith (as with a great tempeſt of gunſhot) they neuer ceaſed, ſtill battering the walles and beating the munitions of the citie, ſent alſo ſuch heaps and multitudes of the Turkes, to the ſcaling and climing of the walles, that vneth with all the ordinance & ſhot of the citie, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminiſhed: till at the laſt the ſouldiors of the Turkes, perceiuing themſelues able by no meanes to preuaile, but only to run in danger of life, & to do no good, began to wrangle among themſelues, grudging and repining againſt their dukes and captaines, imputing the whole cauſe only to them, that the citie was yet vntaken, ſeeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking: and ſo ceaſed the ſiege for that time.

Another aſſault of the Turkes repulſed.

The Turkes at variance among themſelues.

After this, when Solymannus had purpoſed in himſelfe with his laſt and ſtrongeſt ſiege, to try againſt the citie the vtermoſt that he was able to doe, and had encouraged his ſouldiors to prepare themſelues in moſt forcible wiſe thereunto: the ſouldiors ſhewed themſelues much vnwilling to returne againe from whence they were ſo often repulſed before: by reaſon whereof great commotion began to riſe in the Turks camp. The rumor whereof when it came to Solymans eares, hee ſendeth his grand captaine, to keepe all the ſouldiors in order and obedience; or if they would be ſtubborne, to compell them whether they would or not, to accompliſh his commandement. Who comming to the ſoldiors, ſhewed to them the great Turks meſſage; and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunitie of the time preſent was not to bee neglected, neither could they now without great ſhame giue ouer, after ſo many aſſaults attempted: Who if they would ſuſteine but one brunt more, the victorie were in their owne hands. The townesmen he ſaid were waſted, and their victuals ſpent: and the more to enflame their minds, he promiſed them not onelie great thanks and reward of their Emperour, but alſo the whole ſpoile of the citie, in recompence of their trauell.

The Turke and his ſouldiors could not agree.

The Turke entreateth his ſoldiors.

Compulſion of men ſerueth not where the Lord defendeth.

But when all this could not ſtir vp the ſturdie ſtomacks of the tired Turks, vſing compulſion where perſwaſion would not ſerue, he appointed a number of horſemen to be ſet at their backes, whereby to inforce them, either to goe forward, or if they denied, with guns & ſpeares to deſtroy them. The Turks ſeeing themſelues in ſuch a ſtrait, that whether they went or taried, it was to them like perill, yet would they not ſet forward except the captaine would take ỹ venture before them. Who warding forward in his arraie, thus ſpake vnto his fellowes, ſaying: Doe you forſake your faith and allegiance, and betray the Emperour of Conſtantinople vnto the Chriſtians if you will: but I will diſcharge my dutie towards the cõmon wealth and my Emperour, and with that word aduanced his enſigne, making toward the citie walles. Whom when other followed and ſtill mo and mo preſſed after, ſo it came to paſſe that whole routs of them were ouerthrowne and ſlaine of our men vpon the walles, before it was knowen what they meant.

The ſlaughter of the Turkes at Vienna.

Other

Other terrified by their example, gaue backe and left their arraie, and winding themselues by by-waies and vnder couert of hils, returned againe into their tentes, and so came it to passe, that the strength of the enemies daille more and more decreasing, they had lesse hope euerie day more then other of obtaining the citie. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turkes vpon the walles, the townesmen also watching the forragers and purueyers of the Turkes, as they ranged about for victuall for the campe, euer as occasion serued them, did compasse them about, & so encountred with them by that way, that of a whole Legion, scarsly the tenth part returned againe to their fellowes aliue, by meanes whereof the courage of the enemies began greatlie to faint. Whereby such a maruellous alteration happened, that as our men began to receiue more hope and courage, so the Turkes began still more to droope and to languish with despaire, so that at length scarce durst they appeare without the bounds, where they were entrenched, but onely in light skirmishes, when they were prouoked by our men to come out, and to shew themselues.

The Turkes slaine.

The Turke beginneth to take counsell to retire.

Solymannus perceiuing his souldiors thus daillie to go to wracke, of whom he had lost alreadie more then eightie thousand, and that with long tarying he could do no good, being also in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about him was wasted: beginneth to consult with his captaines and counsellors, what remained best to be done. Of whom the most part aduised him to raise his siege, and betime to prouide for himselfe. Which to doe, many causes there were that moued him.

First, the losse of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his camp wounded, or sicke, or famished. Secondlie, lacke of purueiance. Thirdly, the approching neere of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederike Palatine aboue mentioned, comming with a great army at Ratisbone towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turkes forragers, whom by the way hee preuented and so enclosed in the woods, that he slew them. Whereof when Soliman had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the comming of the Palatine, made hast with bagge and baggage to remoue his campe and to retire: and first sending away his cariage before him, made speed himselfe with his armie, to follow shortlie after.

Soliman remoueth and raiseth his siege from Vienna.

The Viennians, when they heard of the remouing away of the Turkes, although at the first they scarsly beleeued it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their remouing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the citie after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his armie, if he had beene there present, might haue stood them in great stead, yet notwithstanding they tooke the opportunitie of the time present, and issuing out of the citie, in most speedie wise, set after them with their horsemen: and first ouerpassing the tents (where the Turks had pitched their stations or pauillions) for haste of the way: they made such pursute after them, that within little time they ouertooke the rereward or latter end of the armie, whereof they made such hauocke and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was neuer a shot of the pursuers, nor weapon drawne, nor stroke stricken, which light in vaine. Which was no hard thing for our men to doe: For as the Turkes in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore rank (being so farre off from leopardie) returne backe to helpe their fellowes, it was easie for our men, without resistance, to come vpon their backs as they would. Yet notwithstanding in long pursute, when our men could not see the cariage of the Turkes, which was wont in armies to come alway behind after the host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in priuie waite behind them, to come betwixt them and home: called themselues to retrait, and consulted vpon the matter, thinking good, first to send out certaine scoutes, to espie and bring them word, where the enemies laie, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was giuen them, that the remnant of the Turkes armie was remaining in the tents behinde, word was sent to their fellowes in Vienna, to issue out, and to ioyne also with them against the taile of the Turkes, which had entrenched themselues within the campe. Other were appointed to follow the chase, lest peraduenture the Turkes seeing our men to recule back, might returne againe vpon them and helpe their fellowes. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the meane time, while part of the Viennians were houering after the maine army, the rest encountred with them that were left in the campe. Who seeing themselues ouermatched, first defenced their campe with a deepe Ditch and bulwarke, to delay the time, vntill some helpe might come to them from the armie. Secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to entreat for peace. Thirdly, they conueyed their priuie letters vnto Solyman for spedie aide and rescue. But all the waies and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted, and so the miserable Turkes being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedie, made out of their campe, to hazard and proue the vttermost for their defence: but in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were enclosed about by our men on euery side, and there put to the sword and slaine, a few onelie excepted, who escaping out very hardlie by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellowes, as well as they could. Their cariage and other furniture left behind them in their tents, was distributed amongst the souldiors, onelie such things reserued as might serue for the publike vse and commoditie of the Citie.

The Turkes campe pursued in their flight.

The priuie purpole of the Turkes preuented.

The rest of the Turks slaine the campe.

Thus through the mercifull protection and benefit of almightie God, Austria was deliuered from the fierce and barbarous hostilitie of the cruell Turkes: notwithstanding that neither Ferdinandus the king, nor the Emperor his brother were there present, but onlie the power of God, through the valiantnesse of the worthie Germaines, defended that citie, in defence whereof consisted the safetie and deliuerance (no doubt) of all these west parts of Christendome. For the which immortall praise and thankes be vnto our immortall GOD in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of vs most gratiously and worthlie deserued. Wherein by the way take this for a note (gentle Reader) how and after what manner Gods blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turkes in so many battels and sieges heretofore, were neuer so repulsed and foiled, as at this present time in incountring with the protestants and defenders of sincere religion. This citie of Vienna was besieged and deliuered the yeare of our Lord 1529. The assaults of the Turke against the citie, are numbred to be 20. and his repulses as many. The number of his armie which he first brought, was 250000. whereof were reckoned to be slaine 80. thousand & aboue. During the time of his siege, he led away out of the countrey about many captiues, virgins & matrones he quelled, and cast them out naked, the children he stucke vpon stakes.

The mercifull protection of God ouer Christendome.

Gods blessing goeth with the maintainers of his true worship and religion.

Solymannus thus put from the hope of victorie of Vienna, after he had breated himselfe a while at home, the second yeare after, which was an. 1531. repairing his host, returned againe into Hungary, with no lesse multitude then before: where first he got the towne called Gunza, being but slenderlie kept with a small Garrison. By reason whereof the townesmen and Souldiors yelding themselues vnto the Turke, were constrained to agree vpon vnreasonable conditions. Ex Ioanne Ramo.

Melchior Soiterus in his second booke writing De bello Pannonico, touching the foresaid towne of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Ramus, declaring how this Gunza, being a small towne in Hungarie, and hauing in it but onelie a hundred souldiors (or as Wolfegangus Drechslerus in his chronicle reporteth, at the most but 200. souldiors) vnder the valiant captaine Nicolas Iureschitz, defended themselues so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of 200. thousand Turks, that they being notwithstanding distressed with lack and penurie of purueiance, and suddenly of the Turks inuaded, yet with pure courage and promptnesse of hart, sustained the vttermost force and violence of xiij. assaults of that great multitude, for the space of 25. dayes together.

Ex Melc. Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.

Nicolaus Iureschitz a valiant captaine.

Although the narration of the author may seeme to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what time the great Ordinance and battering peeces of the Turkes were planted vpon two mountaines much higher then the towne, whereby the within the towne were oppressed both before and behinde, insomuch that eight Ensignes of the Turks were alreadie within the towne, yet by the reason of women and children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the towne were congregate in an house together, such a noise and clamor went vp to heauen, praying and crying to God for helpe that the Turkes within the walles, supposing a new army of fresh souldiors to be sent into the towne, for sudden feare, voided they towne and leaped downe from the walles againe (which before they had got) whom no man either pursued or resisted: for neuer a souldior almost was left on the walles, which was not either slaine or else wounded with the Turkes ordinance. At what time through the Lords prouidence it so happened, that one Ibrahimus Balla, neere about the Turke, seeing both the towne to be small, and the great destruction of the Turkes in the siege thereof, and that the captaine in no case would yeeld, perswaded so the Turke, declaring how the towne being so little, was not worth the losse of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glorie, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow: whereby the Turke being perswaded, did followe his counsell, which was this: that Nicolaus the Christian captaine being called vnto him, vnder pledges and safe conduct, should receiue the towne as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should doe no violence to his souldiors left behind and wounded, but should procure such meanes as he could for the recuring of them: and so her raising his siege, departed. Another cause might be also, which moued him so suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him, and therefore taking his flight by the mountaines of the Noritians, he returned with much spoile of Christian mens goods vnto Constantinople. Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.

A miraculous example of the Lords protection & prouidence.

The Turke raiseth his siege from Gunza.

For so it was prouided the same time in Germany, after the counsell of August and of Ratisbon (at what time the con-

The Emperour Charles and Ferdinandus begin at length to stir against the Turke.

trouersie of Religion betweene the Protestants and the Papists, was deferred and set off to the next generall Councell) that Charles the 5. and Ferdinandus his brother, hauing vnderstanding of the Turke, thus ranging in Hungarie, should collect of the Germaines, Hungarians, and Spaniards, and others, an able armie of eightie thousand footmen, and fiftie thousand horsemen to repulse the inuasions of the Turke. But Solymannus hauing intelligence of this preparation of the Christian power comming toward him, whether for feare, or whether to espie further opportunitie of time, for his more aduantage and our detriment, refused at that time to take their comming, and so speeding his returne vnto Constantinople, retired with much spoile and pray sent before him, as is aboue premised: which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1532.

The Turke refuseth to tary ỹ Christian army.

Not long after, being the yeare of our saluation, 1534. Solymannus intending two wars at once, first sent Corradinus Barbarossa the Admirall of his Nauies into Africke, to warre against the king of Tunece: whom the Barbarossa also dispossessed and depriued of his kingdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next yeare following, ann. 1535. restored the said king againe into his kingdome, and deliuered in the same voiage 20. thousand captiues out of seruitude.

The Turk warreth against the king of Tunece. Tunece won of the Turks. Tunece recouered againe by Charles ỹ Emperour.

The same time the Turke also sent another captaine into Hungarie, to warre against Uaiuoda, while he himselfe taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the citie Taurus, which he in short space subdued and erpugned. Albeit he long enioyed not the same: For Tahames king of the Persians, suddenly comming vpon the Turkes vnprepared, slew of them twentie thousand, and toke his concubines, to the great spoile and reproch of the Turke.

Taurus a citie of Persia taken of the Turkes. 20. thousand Turks slaine of the Persians.

Two yeare after this, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1537. Solymannus, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning againe out of Asia into Europe with 270. ships, great and little, set vpon Corcyra, another Iland belonging to the Uenetians, which he besieged ten dayes, wasting & burning the Townes and fields as hee went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partlie he slew, partly led away captiues. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus and Cythara, another Iland not far off from Corcyra, bordering neere to the coastes of Cyprus and Grecia. Where he suddenly by night inuading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harme, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaues: burning moreouer their houses, and carying away all the goods and cattell being without the said cities of Zazinthus and Cythara. Ex Ioan. Crispo.

Corcyra the Iland wasted and spoiled by the Turkes.

The Ile of Zazinchus and Cythara spoiled by the Turkes.

From thence these helhoundes turned their course to the siege and spoile of Egina, a rich and populous Iland, lying between Grecia and Asia. Where first the Eginians did manfully in battaile resist them, and were like to haue preuailed: but being wearied at length and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turkes, which still were sent in, to rescue the other which were ouercome before, were compelled to flie into the city of Egina. Which city the cruell Turkes (or rather Diuels on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great ordinance set out of their ships, subdued and cast downe to the ground: the Citizens & inhabitants whereof, the Turke after hee had burned their houses, and ransackt their goods, commanded to bee slaine and killed euery one. The women both noble and vnnoble, with their infants, were giuen to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped vnto Constantinople, were led away to perpetuall misery and slauery, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1537.

Captiues of the Christians. Warre betweene the Egyptens and the Turkes. Egina taken of the Turke.

The citizens of Egina slaine of the Turkes.

The women of Egina miserably intreated & captiued of the Turkes.

In the same iourney Solyman also toke the Ile in the said sea of Eugeum, called Parum: also the Ile adioyning to the same named Naxus, and made them to him tributaries. The Duke whereof was he which wrote the story both of these Ilands aforesaid, and also of the other Ilands called Cyclades, and other dukes. Ex Ioanne Crispo, Duce Naxi, &c.

The Ile Parū and Naxus. Cyclades subdued of the Turkes. Ex Ioan. Crispo.

This done Solymannus directed his Nauy vnto Apulia, where he set on land 15. thousand footmen, and 2000. horsemen, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parts while the Emperour, the Pope, and the Uenetians, were together in war and dissension. Furthermore, the next yeare following, ann. 1538. great attempts began in Stiria; but by the resistance of the inhabitants, the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoiles of men and cattell were caried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In the which yeare also the Turke turning into Hungary, gaue battaile vnto the Christians in Sauia: where through the fraudulent falshood of the captaine Cassianerus (Wolfegangus nameth him Calcianus, beeing (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, an. 1538.

Note what hurt commeth by the dissension of Christian Princes. Stiria is a country or prouince neare adioyning to Austria.

The falshood of the Turke with the Uenetians.

After that the Turkes had inuaded the Iland of Corcyra aboue said, the Uenetians with Solyman the Turke had ioyned truce for a certaine time, for the which they gaue the Turk 300. thousand crownes, with the citie Neapolis, and Maluasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within 4. or 5. yeares, the Turke to get a new stipend of the Uenetians, brake his league, and inuaded their dominions: whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions againe with him.

In the yeare of our Lord, 1540. the restles Turke making his returne toward Hungarie, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the towne called Newcastle, being defended by the Spaniards. In the which towne because they refused to yeeld themselues, all the inhabitants and souldiors were put to the sword and slaine euery one. This Nouum Castellum, or Newcastle, was a strong fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turkes power, he had great aduantage ouer all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence hee proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungarie, where he planted his power against the citie of Buda.

Nouū Castellum in Dalmatia, ouerthrowne by the Turke, and the people slaine.

This Buda was a principall citie in Hungarie, about which great contention had beene (as ye haue heard before) betweene Joannes Uaiuoda, and Ferdinandus. By reason whereof the Turke occasioned by Uaiuoda, came into Hungarie and deliuered the citie to Uaiuoda. This Uaiuoda liuing not long after, left behind him a sonne, whom beeing an infant, he committed to the gouernance of one Georgius Monachus, who being left tutor vnto the infant, reduced all Transiluania, Buda, Pesta, with other parts of Hungarie, which belonged to Uaiuoda before, to the subiection of the child. Ferdinandus hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger, leuied an armie to recouer his lands in Hungarie, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus seeing his part weake, first sent his Legat to Ferdinandus, desiring him to talke and conferre with him vpon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to ỹ behoofe of them both. Whereupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their conuention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties (according to the agreement) conuenting together with their armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entred in communication, suddenlie among Ferdinandus men, happened a dag to be heard, which by the heate of the day (as is thought) losing of his owne accord, gaue a cracke. The sound whereof comming to the eares of Monachus, he supposing the same to haue beene discharged against him, in great anger drew out his sworde, bidding Ferdinandus auaunt with his doubling dissimulation, saying that he would neuer any more trust the promises of Christians, and immediatlie vpon the same sent to Solymannus the Turke, for aide against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungarie, if hee would come and banquish the armie of Ferdinandus lying about the siege of Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mightie power, flieth into Hungarie, and ekstones discharging the host of Ferdinandus, and putting them off from the siege of Buda, getteth the city into his owne hands, commanding the son of Uaiuoda with his mother, to follow after his campe.

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The contention in Hungary betweene Ferdinandus & Uaiuoda and his successors.

The communication betweene Monachus and Ferdinandus. What hurt may come of rash suspition.

The Turk called again into Hungary by the dissension betweene Monachus and Ferdinandus.

In the historie of Joannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turke had thus preuailed against the citie of Buda aforesaid, and against other parts more of Hungary, by the assent of the Empire, one Joachimus Duke of Brandenburg, Prince Elector, was assigned with a puissant armie of chosen souldiors of all nations collected, to recouer the Citie of Buda from the Turke, and to deliuer the other parts of Christendome from the feare of the Turke, Anno 1542. Which Joachimus at his first setting forth, appeared so courragious and valiant, as thought he would haue conquered the whole world: but this great heate was so slaked in short time by the Turke, that before any great iopardie was offered vnto him, hee was glad to bee discharged of the voiage, and with shame enough, returned home againe. And would God he had left behinde him in the fields, no more but his owne shame. For the enemies hauing intelligence before of his cowardlie departure, thinking to worke some point of mastrie or victorie before his going, did set vpon the right wing of his armie (which chieflie consisted of Dutchmen of low Germany) out of the which they toke away with them aboue 500. strong and valiant souldiors, not killing them, but carying them away aliue. For whom it had beene much better to haue stood to their weapon and to haue died manfullie vpon the Turkes, then by yeelding themselues to hee disgarnished of weapon and armour, and so to be left to the cursed courtesie of the foule Turkes. To whom what curtesie was shewed, by the sequele did appeare. For after the Turkes had led them out of Hungarie into their owne Dominion, after a most horrible and beastlie sort they disfigured and mangled them, and so sent them abroad through all Grecia to be witnesses of ỹ Turks victorie. Their kinde of punishment was thus: First they had their right arme thrust thorough with an yron red hot, whereby they should be vnable and vnmeet to all labour and warrefare. Secondly, their heads were shauen to the verie sculles, after the manner of our Friers and Monkes, when they are newly shauen. Thirdlie, they had all their priuie members cut off from their bodies, to the intent to make them vnfruitfull for propagation; which wound was so greeuous vnto them, that the greatest part of them died therupon, the few that recouered the torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miserable then death it selfe. And this kind of cruelty was executed in order vpō them al: In much like sorte did cruell Pharao exercise his tyrannie against the people of God in Egypt: who to destroy the

The cowardlie voiage of Joachimus duke of Brandenburg against the Turke.

500. Christian souldiors taken & carried away of the Turkes.

The horrible punishments practised of the Turkes against the Christians.

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generation of them, caused all the male children to bee drowned in the riuer. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the tyranny of this Turkish Pharao is come to such an extremity, the mercifull goodnesse of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other vnto vs for our speedy deliuerance.

Ex Ioan. Ramo, de rebus Turcicis lib. 2.

This was by the cruell Turkes done, An. 1542. witnessed by Ioannes Ramus, which not only writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his owne eyes recordeth the same to bee true, beholding with his eyes one of the same number in the city of Vienna, who hauing wife and children in Bzurelles, either for shame or sorrow had no mind to returne home to his owne house. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

The falsenesse of the Turkes in keeping no promise with the Christians.

But to returne againe to the city of Buda, from whence we haue digressed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falshood and what cruelty the Turkes vsed toward the Christians there, after their victorie. For after that Solyman the Turke vpon yeelding and submission of the men of Buda, had giuen to them his promise of safety and life, within short time, the said Turke picking a quarrell with them for selling Dren vnto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slue all the Magistrates of the said city of Buda: like as in all other cities, wheresoeuer the Christians yeelded vnto him, he neuer, or very rarely kept his promise with them, neither did euer any Christians speede better with the Turke, then they which most constantly did resist him.

An horrible example of the beastly cruelty of the false Turkes.

And as his promise with the Magistrates of Buda was false and wretched: so his cruelty with the souldiers thereof was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda amongst the rest which were slaine, two Cohorts or bands of Christian souldiers came aliue to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armour againe, and to dispose themselues in order and battell array after the warlike maner of the Christians. Which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandement, and hee riding about the rankes of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certaine space, at length hee commanded them to put off their armour againe. Which done, certaine of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out, the residue he commanded by his souldiers comming behind them, with swords to bee cut in peeces and slaine. Of the other, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for markes and buts to be shot at: some he appointed to his two sons, for them to flash with their swords and trie their strength, which of them could giue the deeper wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their Christian bodies. Ex Mart. Stella. de successibus Turcarum.

Ex epist. Mart. Stellæ, de successibus Turcarum, &c.

After the winning of Buda, the Turke purposing not so to cease before he had subdued and brought vnder his obedience all Hungarie, proceeding further with his armie first brought vnder a strong hold of ỹ Christians named Pestũ or Pesta, where a great number of Christian souldiers partly were slaine, partly were led away to more cruell affliction.

The castle of Walpo won of the Turkes.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo situate in the confines of Bosna, Croatia, and Hungarie. Which fort or castle he besieged three monthes, while no rescue or aid was sent vnto them, neither from Ferdinandus king of Hungarie, nor from any other Christian prince or princes. Whereupon at length the fort was giuen vp to the Turke, but more through the false treacherie or cowardly heart of the souldiers then of the captaine. Wherein is to be noted an example not vnworthie of memorie. For when the cowardly souldiers, either for feare or flatterie, would needs surrender themselues and the piece vnto the Turke, contrarie to the mind of the captaine, which in no case would agree to their yeelding: they thinking to find fauour with the Turke, apprehended their captaine, and gaue him to Solyman. But see how the iustice of God sometimes by the hands of the enemie, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of vertue, and punishing of vice. For where they thought to saue themselues by the danger of the faithfull captaine, the euent turned cleane contrarie, so that the Turke was to the captaine bountifull and verie liberall: and the souldiers notwithstanding that they had all yeelded themselues, yet were all put to death, and commanded pitiously to be slaine. Ex Ioan. Martino Stella De Turcarum in Hungaria successibus, &c.

A notable example of Gods iudgements lighting vpon themselues, which meane falshood toward the innocent.

The city of fiue churches yeelded to the Turkes.

There is in Hungarie another towne bearing the name of Fiue-churches, called Quinquecclesiensis, partly spoiled before, as is aboue mentioned, page 687. but now through the losse of Walpo, and by the hugenesse of the Turks armie (containing in it two hundred and twentie thousand fighting men) was so discouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the bishop and chiefe nobles of the towne fled before the ieopardie: the rest of the commons, which were partly preuented by the sudden comming of the Turkes, partly for pouertie could not auoid, sent their messengers to the Turke, to yeeld and surrender the towne, vpon promise of life, vnto his hands. Whose promise how firme it stood, the story leaueth it vncertaine. This is affirmed, that three dates after the yeelding of this Quinquecclesiensis, neuer a Turke durst enter the citie, an. 1543. Ex Ioan. Mart. Stella, & alijs.

The bishop leaueth his flocke in the briers.

The next fort or hold gotten by the Turkes in Hungarie, was Socolsia. The towne at the first inuasion of the Turks, was won, sackt, and fiered. The castle within the towne, did something hold out for a time, and first requiring truce for 14. daies, to see what aid should be sent vnto them, to deliberate vpon the conditions that should bee proposed vnto them, after the 14. daies expired, they (trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong) began for a certaine space stoutly to put backe the enemie: But afterward seeing their walles to be battered, their foundations to shake (for ỹ Turk had set xij. thousand vnderminers vnder the ditches of the castle) and their strength to diminish, and misdoubting themselues not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yeeld themselues, vpon condition to escape with life and goods. Which condition of sauing their goods, was the losing of their liues, especially of the richer sort. For the Turks perceiuing by that condition, that they were of wealth and substance; omitting the inferiour or baser sort, fell vpon the wealthy men for their riches, and slue them euery one, an. 1543. ibid.

Socolsia a towne in Hungary subdued of the Turkes.

Couetousnesse of worldly goods is the destruction of many a man.

The Turke keepeth no promise.

In the which his history this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Socolsia was besieged, the villages and pages round about the same, came of their owne accord, submitting and yeelding themselues vnto the Turke, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kind of victuall and forage, into the Turks campe. Which done, Solyman the Turke commanded all the head men of the pages to appeare before him: which humblie obeyed and came. Then the Turke warned them to returne againe the next day after, euerie one bringing with him his inferiour retinue, and houshold seruants. Which when they had with like diligence also, according to his commandement accomplished, the Turke immediatly commanded them euery one, in the face of his whole armie, to be slaine, and so was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the bloudie crueltie of the Turke: the more incourage it may minister to our men, the more constantlie to withstand him. Ex Martino Stella.

Example what commeth by Christian mens yeelding to the Turke.

Another strong towne there is in Hungarie named Strigonium, distant from Buda aboue said, the space of fiue Dutch miles, against the which the Turks made great preparation of ordinance, and all other instruments of artillerie necessarie for the siege thereof. Which citie in like manner began also to be compassed and inclosed by the Turks, before it could be sufficientlie prepared and garnished of our men, but that the archbishop onely of Strigon priuily conueied vnto them 200. men. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinandus king of Hungary, which so slenderlie looked vnto the necessarie defence of his townes and cities. Moreouer, such was the discord then of Christian kings and princes, which in their ciuill dissension and warres were so occupied and hot in needlesse quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance, to helpe in time there, where true need required. Which slender care, and cold zeale of the christian rulers, not in tendring the publicke cause, while they contended in priuate trifles, hath caused the Turke to come so far as he hath, and yet farther is like, vnlesse the mercie of the Lord doe helpe more, then our diligence. One of the chiefe captaines within the citie, was Martinus Lascanus, a Spaniard.

Strigonium a citie in Hungarie besieged of the Turkes.

Negligence of Christian princes in publicke defence.

The Turkes in the beginning of the siege began first to attempt the citizens with faire wordes, and accustomed promises, to yeeld and gently to submit themselues. But they not ignorant of the Turkes promises wisely refused, and manfullie stood so long as they could to the defence of their city: now and then skirmishing with them in out corners, and killing certain numbers of them: sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheeles of their gunnes, &c.

Three speciall helpes of the Turkes in winning townes and cities.

Three speciall meanes the Turkes vse in winning great forts and cities: great multitude of souldiours: great ordinance and mortary peeces: the third is by vndermining. All which here in the siege of this citie lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certaine space: in which the Strigonians had borne out foure strong assaultes, and slue many thousands of the Turkes, till at length the Turkes either departing away, or els seeming to depart vnto Buda, the people at last being so perswaded and made to beleeue of some chiefe rulers of the citie (peraduenture not the truest men) the citizens being erected with hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though the citie had bene free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsell it is vnknowne) conueied themselues all out of the citie. 300. horsemen also passed ouer the riuer and departed. The Italians which were vnder Franciscus Salamanca a Spanish captaine hardly could be perswaded by him to abide, which were in all scarse 600.

The Citizens of Strigonium flie the citie.

Within three dates after, 300. Germaine souldiours, with two ships laden with shot, pouder, and artillery, were priuilie let into the towne: So that of our men all there were scarse 1300. souldiors. Who seeing the small quantitie of their number, burning and casting downe the towne and suburbes, tooke them to the castle: from whence they beat off the Turks valiantlie with their ordinance, a good space, and with wilde fire destroied great companies of them, till at last they seeing their walles to faile them, and the whole castle to shake by vndermining, but especiallie by the working of a certaine Italian

The towne of Strigonium destroyed after the flying of the citizens, and the castle defended.

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lian surnamed Presbyter, they gaue ouer. This Italian whether for feare or falshood, secretly vnknowing to the rest of the souldiers, accompanied with two other conueied himselfe downe from the walles, and being brought into the tents of the next captaine or Balla of the Turkes, there in the name of all his fellowes, conuented with the Turkes, to giue vp to them the Castle: whereupon the Turkes were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after with two other Turkes was sent backe to Salamanca his captain, with the Turkes message. The going out of this Italian being priuie to the residue of his fellowes, contrarie to the lawes and discipline of warre, although it seemed to come of his owne head; yet forsomuch as the other souldiers were not sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians his countriemen had beene in some part of consent therein, and would take his part: neither durst offer him any harme for that his doing, nor yet could well aduise with themselues what was best to doe, for feare of priuie confederacie within themselues.

An Italian feare in yeelding the Castle of Strigonium to the Turke.

Thus while Lascanus the chiefe captaine of the Christians aforesaid, with his fellow souldiers, were in a maze what to do or not to doe: in the meane time came one running, who giuing a signe both to the Christians and to the Turkes, to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all law of warre to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward Tower. The Turkes in the meane time, had got into the Castle, and occupied all the vtter parts. Then was Salamanca by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turke, who there being staied that night, the next morrow the Turkes bull or warrant was sent into the Castle, permitting free libertie to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage. Who now being ready to depart, first were commanded by the Turkes compalling them round about, to cast from them their dagges, launces, and battell axes, into the trench. Then comming to the gate to goe out, their swordes were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

A Turkish truce taken with the Christians, they not knowing thereof.

The false Turkes neuer true in promise.

At last when they were come a little further, other were sent to them to discharge them of their helmets, their tergats, currets, and whatsoeuer piece of harnesse was about them. Whereupon great feare came vpon them, lest some great cruelty should be shewed vpon them. Solyman after he had long deliberated with himselfe, whether to kill them or not, at last contrary to all expectation granted their liues: but before they should be dismissed, hee first caused them, in derision of Christianitie, to be bayted with scornes and mockes throughout all the Turkish armie, and so the next day commanded them being stript out of their coats and apparell, to be reduced againe into the castle by companies, setting ouer them certaine Turkes with cudgels and bats to lay vpon their backes and sides, causing them to burie the dead carcases, and to gather vp the rubbish broken downe from the castle walles, and to scoure the ditches. Which done, the next day following he demanded of them by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horse and armour to serue him in his warres: Which condition diuers for feare were contented to take, seeing no other remedie to auoid present death. Some neither by menacing words, nor for anie feare of death, could be compelled thereunto, of whom certaine which stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slaine, whom I may worthily recite in the number and catalogue of holie martyrs.

The miserable affliction of our Christian souldiours taken at Strigonium.

Holy souldiers and martyrs slaine of the Turkes for their faithfull religion.

Of the foresaid Christians, part were carried ouer the riuer of Danubius, not without great villanie, and contumelie most despitefull: For some had their wiues taken from them and carried away, some had their wiues rauished before their face: and such as made or shewed any resistance thereat, had their wiues before them cast into the riuer and drowned: also their infants and yong children, being appointed by the Turks to the abominable order of the Janizarites, mentioned before pag. 681. their parents not consenting thereunto, were precipitate and throwen into the riuer and drowned. All which things are testified by Iohn Martinus Stella, in his epistles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael, &c. Which Martin Stella moreouer this addeth and affirmeth, that he himselfe being the same time at Vienna, did see one of the foresaid wiues, who being holden fast by the haire of the head, yet notwithstanding hauing her haire pluckt off, cast her selfe into the riuer Danubius, for the singular loue to her husband, and so swamme to the ship where he was. And thus this miserable companie of Germaines, Spaniards and Italians mixt together, macerate with labours, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours, and sorrow consumed, came at length to Schinda.

Ex Ioan. Mart. Stella in epist. ad fratres.

Diuers opinions of the Viennans touching these miserable afflicted souldiers.

When the tidings thereof was noised at Vienna, partlie with feare and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hearts were moued and vered diuerslie. Some thought them not worthie to be received into their citie, shewing themselues so dastardly and cowardlie. Others thought againe that mercie was to be shewed vnto them, and commended their fact, for that they being so few, and vnfurnished of aid, neither able to match by any meanes with such an innumerable multitude of the Turkes, kept themselues till better time might serue them. But howsoeuer the matter was to bee thought of, the captaines brought the poore remnant of that rufull company, vnto Possidonium, where the said captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter, how it was wrought and handled. And thus haue yee the lamentable storie of Strigonium.

The Turke proceeding in his victories, conducted his armie next vnto Tath, and to the pares lying neere about Comaron. This Tath was also a strong hold in Hungarie, wherein were placed certaine garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chieftain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, constitute by Philippus Tornelius. This Tasso was a man well expert in prowesse of war: but of a filthie corrupt life, and also a foule swearer, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the storie short, this fort of Tath, before any siege was laid vnto it, was yeelded and giuen vp to the turks: vpon what conditions, or by whose meanes, the author sheweth not: Thus much he sheweth, that the said Annibal shortly vpon the same, returning into Italie, was commanded by Tornelius aforesaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Tath subdued of the Turks.

Mercie hath neuer succeeded vnder a wicked captaine and swearer.

After the turks had subuerted and destroyed the fort of Tath, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary haue been alwaies wont there to bee crowned and buried. This Alba is a little well compacted citie in Hungary, hauing on the one side a marish somewhat foggie or fennie, which made the towne lesse assautable. But neere to the same was a wood, from the which the Turks euery day with vj. C. carts, brought such matter of wood and trees felled for the same purpose, into the marish, that within lesse then 12. daies they made it apt, and hard to their feet, which the townes men thought neuer could bee gone vpon, but only in the hard frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the siege, there stood a little without the munitions in the front of the citie, a certaine Church or Monasterie, which the citizens pretending to maintaine and keepe against the turkes, had priuilie conueighed light matter easily to take flame, with pouder, in secret places thereof, and had bid also fire withall. Which done, they (as against their willes being driuen backe) withdrew themselues within the munitions, watting the occasions, when this fire would take. Thus the turkes hauing the possession of the Church, suddenlie the fire comming to the pouder, raised vp the church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous turks. This was not so soone espied of them within the towne, but they issued out vpon them in this disturbance, and slue of them a great number: Among whom diuers of their nobles also the same time were slaine, and one Balla an Eunuch, which was of great estimation with the turks. Moreouer, in the same skirmish was taken one of those gunners which the French king is said to haue sent to the Turke a little before. Which if it be true, let the christian reader iudge what is to be thought of those christian princes, which not onelie forsaking the common cause of Christes Church ioyned league with the turke, but also sent him gunners to set forward his warres to the destruction of Christs people, and to the shedding of their blood, for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I shewe mine author: If it be, then let the pope see and marke well how his title of Christianissimus, can well agree with such doings.

Alba Regalis besieged of the Turke.

The Turkes deuice in filling vp the marish.

A stratagem of the Christians against the Turks.

A note touching the French king that then was.

Ex epist. Ioan. Marii Stella. ad fratres De Tovcar. in Hungaria successibus.

But to let this matter slepe, although the Turkes (as yee heard) had wonne the fenne, with their policie and industrie, against the citie of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothing inferiour to their enemies, through the valiant helpe and courageous indeuour of Octauianus Setruzatus, a captaine of Millane. By whose prudent counsell and constant standing, the busie enterprises of the Turkes did little preuaile a long time, till at length, suddenly arose a thick fogge or mist vpon the citie, where as round about besides, the sunne did shine bright. Some said it came by Art Magicall, but rather it may appeare to rise out of the fenne or marish, being so pressed downe with mens feete and other matter laid vpon it.

The Turkes vsing the occasion of this misty darkenesse in secret wise approching the walles, had got vp to a certaine fortresse, where the Germaines were, before our men could well perceiue them: where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the christian souldiors standing strongly to the defence of their liues, did what valiant men in cases of such extremitie were able to doe: yet being ouermatched with the multitude of the Turkes, and the suddennesse of their comming, gaue backe, seeking to retire into the inward walles. Which when their other fellowes did see to recule, then was there flying of all hands euerie man striuing to get into the citie. There was betweene the outward walles or damures, and inward gate of the citie, a streit or narrow passage, cast vp in maner of a bancke or causey, ditched on both sides: which passage or ingresse happened the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poore souldiors were forced to cast themselues into the ditch, thinking to swimme as well as they could, into the citie: where many of them sticking in the mud, were drowned; one pressing vpon another: many were slaine of their enemies comming behind them.

The outward walles got by the turkes.

A miserable slaughter of christian souldiors.

them, they hauing neither hart, nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were receiued into the city: but the chiefe captaines and warders of the towne were there slaine.

The citizens being destitute of their principall captaines and warriers, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselues, what to doe, some thinking good to yeeld, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the citizens were distract in diuers and doubtfull sentences, the magistrats minding to stand to the Turkes gentlenesse, sent out one of their heads vnto the Turke, who in the name of them all, should surrender to him the city, and become vnto him tributaries, vpon condition they might enioy libertie of life and goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance, first the souldiers which were left within the city, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away. Who being but only 300. left of 4. ensignes of Italians, & of a thousand Germaines, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians, for hope of their spoile: so that they scattering asunder one one way, an other an other to saue themselues as well as they could, fled euery one what way hee thought best. Of whom some wandering in woods and marishes fainted for famine: some were taken and slaine by the Hungarians, a few with bare and emptie, and withered bodies, more like ghostes the men, escaped and came to Vienna. And this befell vpon the souldiers.

Let neuer good Christians stand to the Turkes gentlenesse.

Now vnderstand what happened to the yéelding citizens. So in story it followeth, that when the Turke had entred the towne, and had visited the sepulchre of the kings, for three or foure daies he pretended much clemencie toward the citizens, as though he came not to oppresse them but to bee reuenged of Ferdinandus their king, and to deliuer them from the seruitude of the Germaines. On the fourth day all the chiefe & head men of the city were commanded to appeare before the Turke in a plaine, not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to sweare vnto the Turke. At this commandement of the Turke, when the citizens in great number, and in their best attire were assembled, the Turke contrary to his faith and promise, commanded suddenly a generall slaughter be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba.

The crueltie of the Turkes against the Christians. What it is to yeeld to the Turke and to sticke to his promise. The citizens of Alba destroyed of the Turkes.

In the meane time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, which were sent out to stop their victuals from the citie, slew of them at one bickering three thousand Turkes. In which storie is also reported and mentioned of mine author, an horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certaine captiue (a Christian belike) who comming into Vienna, was found to haue in his scrip or satchell the halfe of a yong child of two yéeres old, which remained yet vneaten, the other halfe being eaten before, an. 1543. Ibid.

Halfe of a yong child found in the satchell of a captiue comming from the Turkes.

Next after this was erpugned the castle of Pappa, by the Turkes. Let the castle now of Papa take heed, lest one day it follow after.

The castle of Pappa wonne of the Turkes.

The like fidelitie the Turkes also kept, with the fort of Wizigradum and the souldiers thereof. This Wizigradum is situate in the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium. Of the which fort or castle, the highest tower so mounteth vpon the hill, that vnlesse it be for famine and lacke of watter, they haue not to dread any enemie. Notwithstanding so it happened, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher tower abiding foure daies without drinke, were compelled with libertie granted of life and goods, to yéeld themselues. But the diuelish Turks keeping no faith nor promise, slew them euery one, only Petrus Amandus the captaine of the piece, excepted: who priuily was conueyed by the captaine of the Turkes, out of the slaughter, an. 1544.

Wizigradum got and surprised of the Turkes. The false dealing and cruelty of the Turkes against the Christians.

To these moreouer may be added the winning of Nouum Castellum in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both souldiers and other, for that they did not yéeld themselues in time. Thus the Turke, whether they yéelded to him or not, neuer spared the people and flocke of Christ.

Nouum Castellum in Dalmatia wonne by the Turkes.

As the false and cruell Turke was thus raging in Hungarie, and intended further to rage without all mercie and pitie of the Christians, and easily might then haue preuailed and gone whither he would, for that Charles the emperour and Franciscus the French king were the same time in warre and hostilitie, and also other Christian princes, as Henrie duke of Brunswike, against Iohn Fredericke duke of Saxonie, also princes and rulers were contending among themselues: behold the gratious prouidence of our Lord and God toward vs, who seeing the miserie, and hauing pitie of his poore Christians, suddenly as with a snaffle reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Europe into his owne countrie againe, by occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turkes, and had inuaded his dominion. By reason whereof the Turkes were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which warres at length being atchieued and finished, (wherin the said Turke lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turkes) he was not only prouoked by the instigation of certaine euill disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian princes, to returne againe into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof vnto his dominion. Whereunto when hee had leuied an armie incredible of such a multitude of Turkes, as the like hath not lightly bin heard of, see againe the mercifull prouidence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turke was thus intending to set forward with this innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a pestilence through all the Turks armie and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thracia, to Macedonia and also to Hungarie, that all the Turks possessions almost seemed nothing els, but as an heape of dead corses, whereby his voiage for that time was stopped, and hee almost compelled to seeke a new armie.

The discord of Christian princes within themselues. The Turke occasioned to returne out of Europe into Asia.

The prouidence of God for his Christians.

Another example of Gods prouidence for his.

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them then any warre, other lets also and domesticall calamities through Gods prouidence happened vnto Solymannus, the great rouer and robber of the world, which staied him at home from vexing the Christians, especiallie touching his eldest sonne Mustapha.

This Mustapha being hated and partlie feared of Rustanus the chiefe counsellour about the Turke, and of Rosa the Turkes concubine, and after his wife, was diuers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspition and displeasure of the Turke, by them aforesaid; that in conclusion his father caused him to bee sent for to his pauilion, where 6. Turks with visours were appointed to put him to death: who comming vpon him, put (after their manner) a small cord or bow-string full of knots about his necke, and so throwing him downe vpon the ground, not suffering him to speake one word to his father, with the twitch thereof throtled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrate, afterward when the Turke would haue giuen to another sonne of his and of Rosa, called Gianger, the treasures, horse, armour, ornaments, and the prouince of Mustapha his brother; Gianger crying out for sorrow of his brothers death: Fie of thee, saith hee to his father, thou impious and wretched dogge, traitour, murderer, I cannot call thée father, take the treasures, the horse and armour of Mustapha to thy selfe: and with that taking out his dagger, thrust it thorow his owne bodie. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his owne sonnes: which was in the yéere of our Lord 1552.

Solyman the Turke murdereth Mustapha his owne sonne.

Wherein notwithstanding is to be noted the singular prouidence and loue of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this Mustapha as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practise of warre: so had he a cruell heart, maliciously set to shed the bloud of Christians: Wherefore great cause haue we to congratulate, and to giue thankes to God, for the happy taking away of this Mustapha. And no lesse hope also and good comfort wée may conceiue of our louing Lord, hereby ministred vnto vs, to thinke that our mercifull God after these sore afflictions of his Christians vnder these 12. Turkes afore recited: now after this Solyman, intendeth some gratious good worke to Christendome, to reduce and release vs out of this so long and miserable Turkish captiuitie: as may be hoped now by taking away these yong impes of this impious generation, before they should come to worke their conceiued malice against vs: the Lord therefore be glorified and praised: Amen.

The louing prouidence of our Lord for his Christians.

Good hope at Gods hand to be conceiued of the Christians.

Moreouer, as I was in writing hereof, opportunelie came to my hands a certaine writing out of Germanie, certifying vs of such newes and victorie of late atchieued against the Turke, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort vs, touching the decay and ruine of the Turkes power and tyrannie against vs. Which newes are these: that after the Turkish tyrant had besieged with an armie of 30000. men, the famous and strong towne and castle of Iula in Hungary lying 40. dutch miles beyond the riuer Danubius, which citie had, by the space of fiue weekes sustained many grieuous assaults: God through his great mercie and goodnesse so comforted the said towne of Iula and the poore Christians therein, at their earnest praiers, that the Turke with all his host was driuen backe, by the handes of the Generall called Karetshim Laslaw and his valiant companie: who not onely defended the said towne, but also constrained the Turkes to retire, to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rable: For the which the euerlasting God be praised for euer.

Good newes of the Turks lately repulsed by the Christians.

The maner of the ouerthrow was this. As the foresaid generall did see his aduantage with captaine George, and other horsmen of the Sclesians and Hungarians, they set on the rereward of the Turkes and killed about 8000. of them, & toke also some of their artillarie and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to flie vnto a marish ground, and to breake the wheeles of the rest of their artillary, to saue themselues, and therewith they got a very rich bootie, rescuing besides and taking from the Turkes a great number of Christian prisoners. Like thankes also are to be giuen to God, for the prosperous successe giuen to Magotschie the valiant Captaine of Erla, who making toward the Turkes, and encountring

8000. Turkes slaine.

Christian captiues rescued & taken from the Turkes.

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800. Turkes slaine.

encountring with the Tartarians, slue of them about 8. hundred.

A great captain of the Turkes slaine, and his treasure taken.

Not long after this, it happened through the like prouidence of our God, a Turkish captaine called Begen, accompanied with a thousand freshe horsemen came newly out of Turkie, to goe toward the city named Quinque Ecclesiæ, or Finffenkyrchen: with whom the earle of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night setting vpon him, killed the captaine and tooke eight Camels, and eight Moyles laden with treasure, and also got two red Guidons, with a whole great peece of rich cloth of gold, and with another faire and strange iewell. The horse of this foresaid Turkish captaine, was betrapped and decked most richly. The saddle whereof had the pommell and the back part couered ouer with plate of fine Arabicke gold, and the rest of the saddle, beside the sitting place, was plated with siluer very faire gilded. The seat of the saddle was couered with purple veluet: the trappers and bridle beset with little Turkeies and Rubies: which horse was sent to Vienna vnto the emperour Maximilian for a present.

Although the earle would very faine haue saued the captaine, not knowing what he was, yet the Janizarites labouring to carrie away their captaine, so stiffely defended themselues, that the earle with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captaine. From whom the said earle of Serin the same time got 15. thousand Turkish and Hungarish Ducates: which money was brought for the paiment of the Turkish souldiers in the towne aforesaid of Finffenkyrchen, &c. All which be good beginnings of greater goodnesse to bee hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Christ our Lord; especially if our Christian rulers and potentates, first the churchmen and prelates for their parts: then the ciuill powers and princes for their parts, withholding their affections a little, will turne their brawles and variance, into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of peace put in their minds to doe, Amen. Or otherwise if it will so please the Lord, that the Turke come further vpon vs, so as he hath begun, for our punishment and castigation, his grace then giue to the flocke of his poore Christians constancie of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life: For so I vnderstand by publike fame, although vncertainly rumored by the voice of some, that the Turkes power of late, this present yeere of our Lord 1566. hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italie, wasting and burning the space of an hundred miles toward Naples. Which if it be certaine, it is to be feared, that the Turke hauing thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetnesse of Italie, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into Italie, that he will display his banners within the walles of Rome, and do with old Rome the like as Mahumet his great grandfather did with new Rome, the citie of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

The Turke piercing into Italie.

Coniectures why it is to be feared that the Turke shall get Rome.

The causes why we haue so to iudge, be diuers: first, that the see of Rome hath been defended hitherto, and maintained with much blood; and therfore it may seeme not vncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood againe, according to the verdict of the Gospell: He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword, &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalyps: where is written, that great Babylon shall fall and be made an habitation of diuels, and a den of vncleane spirits, and a cage of filthie and vncleane birds: the fall whereof shall be like a millstone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise againe. And this to come before the day of iudgement, the text of the said chapter doth apertly declare: where the words do follow, shewing that the kings of the earth, and the merchants which had to do with the whorish citie, standing a far off for feare of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said citie flaming and burning with fire, shall bewaile and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What citie this is, called great Babylon, which like a millstone shall fall and burne, and be made an habitation of vncleane spirits, and beasts, let the Reader cõstrue. This is certaine and plaine by these her kings and merchants standing a far off for feare, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this citie (what citie soeuer it be) shall be seene heere in earth before the comming of the Lords iudgement, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding, and bewailing of her merchants. By the which merchants and kings of the earth, peraduenture may be signified, the pope, the rich cardinals, the great prelats and fat doctors, and other obediencIaries of the Romish see: who at the comming of the Turkes, will not aduenture their liues for their church, but will flie the citie (no doubt) and stand a far off from danger: and when they shall see with their eyes, and heare with their eares the citie of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruell Turkes, the sight thereof shall seeme to them pitious and lamentable, to behold the great and faire citie of Rome, the tall castle of Saint Angell, the popes mightie see (where they were wont to fill out such riches, dignities, treasures, and pleasure) so to burne before their eyes, and to come to such vtter desolation, which shall neuer be reedified againe, but shall bee made an habitation of diuels and vncleane spirits, that is, of Turkes, and heathen Sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c.

The prophecie of the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalyps expounded.

This (I say) peraduenture may be the meaning of that prophetical place of the Apocalyps: not that I haue here any thing to pronounce, but only giue my gesse, what may probably be coniectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plaine and manifest. For mysticall prophecies lightly are neuer so well vnderstood, as when the euent of them is past and accomplished.

The third cause. Ex Paulo Iouio.

Another cause concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Iouius, who writing of the subuersion of Rhodes, which was, as yee heard, an. 1522. vpon Christmas day, saith, that it chanced suddenly the same day in Rome, that as pope Hadrian the vi. was entring into the Church to his seruice, suddenly ouer his head the vpper frontier or top of the chapell doore, which was of marble, immediatlie as the pope was entring, fell downe and slue certaine of his guard waiting vpon him. Whereby peraduenture may bee meant, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to follow the losse of Rhodes.

The fourth cause. Ex Ioan. Auentino Annal. lib. 3. fol. 30.

The fourth cause I borrow out of Ioannes Auentinus, who in his third booke alleaging the names, but not the words of Hildegardis, Brigit, and other prophetical men hath these words; Si vera sunt carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ, Sibyllarum Germaniæ, & Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea quæ nostro æuo completa vidimus, longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt: Agrippinensis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarum caput erit, &c. That is, If the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Brigit, and of other prophetical persons bee true, which being foretold long before, wee haue seene now in these our daies accomplished: the towne of Colen will wee, nill wee, must needs bee the head citie of the Turks, &c.

A prophecie.

And this I write not as one pronouncing against the citie of Rome, what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to passe (as I pray God it doe not) then shall the pope well vnderstand, whither his wrong vnderstanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glosers vpon the same, haue brought him.

A counsel to the bishop of Rome, if he be wise.

Wherefore my counsell is to the pope, and all his popish maintainers and vpholders, to humble themselues, and to agree with their brethren betime, letting all contention fall: lest that while the bishop of Rome shall striue to be the highest of all other bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other bishops, or peraduenture no bishop at all.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

Whereunto also another cause may bee added, taken out of Hieronymus Sauonarola, who prophecieth, that one shall come ouer the Alpes like vnto Cyrus, and destroy Italy. Whereof see more pag. 672.

This Solymanus, if he be yet aliue, hath now raigned 46. yeares, who began the same yeare, in the which the Emperour Charles the v. was crowned, which was an. 1520. and so hath continued by Gods permission, for a scourge to the Christians, vnto this yeare now present 1566. This Solyman by one of his Concubines, had his eldest sonne called Mustapha. By another Concubine called Rosa, he had foure sonnes, Mahumet, Baiazetes, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of the which sonnes, Mustapha and Gianger were slaine (as yee heard before) by the meanes of their owne father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyrannie of the Turkes out of the authors hereunder written.

¶ The Authors of the Turkes stories.

Authors of the Turkes stories.

- Laonicus Chalcondila
- Nicolaus Eboicus Episc. Saguntinus.
- Ioannes Ramus.
- Andræas a Lacuna.
- VVolfangus Drechslerus.
- Ioan. Crispus.
- Ioan. Faber.
- Ludouicus Viues.
- Bernardus de Breydenbach.
- Mityleneus Archiepisc. Sabellicus.
- Isidorus Rutherus.
- Marinus Barletus,
- Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio,
- Melchior Solterus.
- Paulus Iouius.
- Ioan. Martinus Stella.
- Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
- Nicolaus a Moffen Burgundus.
- Sebast. Munsterus.
- Baptista Egnatius.
- Barthol. Peregrinus.

¶ A notice touching the miserable persecution, slaughter, and captiuitie of the Christians vnder the Turkes.

Persecution vnder the Turkes.

HItherto thou hast heard (Christian Reader) the lamentable persecutions of these latter daies, wrought by the Turkes against the people and seruants of Christ. In the reading whereof, such as sit quietlie at home, and be farre from ieopardie, may see what miserie there is abroad: the knowledge and reading whereof, shall not be vnprofitable for all Christians earnestlie to waighe consider, for that manie there be, which fallly deceiuing themselues, imagine that Christiantie is a quiet and restfull state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world, when indeede it is nothing lesse, testified by the mouth of our Sauiour himselfe, who rightly defining his

his kingdome, teacheth vs that his kingdome is not of this world, premonishing vs also before, that in this world wee must looke for affliction, but in him wee shall haue peace. Examples hereof in all parts of this history thorough all ages are plenteous and euident to be seene, whether wee turne our eyes to the first tenne persecutions in the primitiue church, during the first three hundred yeeres after Christ: or whether we consider the latter three hundred yeeres in this last age of the church, wherein the poore flocke of Christ hath beene so afflicted, oppressed and deuoured, that it is hard to say whether haue been more cruell against the Christians, the infidell Emperors of Rome in the primitiue age of the church, or else these barbarous Turkes in these our latter times of the church now present.

Comparison betweene the persecutions of the primitiue church and of the latter church.

Thus from time to time the church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this earth, what for the heathen emperours on the one side, what for the proud pope on the other side, on the third side what for the barbarous Turke: for these are and haue beene from the beginning the three principall and capitall enemies of the church of Christ, signified in the Apocalyps by the beast, the false lambe, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foule spirits like frogges, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battell of the day of the Lord God almightie: Apocalyps 16. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christs people hath been such, that to iudge which of them did most exceede in cruelty of persecution, it is hard to say: but that it may bee thought that the bloodie and beastly tyrannie of the Turkes especially aboue the rest, incomparablie surmounteth all the afflictions and cruell slaughters that euer were seene in any age, or read of in any story: Insomuch that there is neither historie so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable tyranny of the Turkes, is able to expresse or comprehend the horrible examples of their vnspeakeable cruelty and slaughter exercised by these 12. Turkish tyrants, vpon poore Christian mens bodies, within the compasse of these latter three hundred yeeres. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed: yet to giue to the reader some generall gesse or view thereof; let vs first perpend and consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, strong holds and forts, these Turkes haue surprised and wonne from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place, which y Turks euer came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such captiuitie and slauerie, that they continued not long after alme, or else so liued, that death almost had been to them more tollerable.

Apoc. 16. The cruelty of the furious Turkes described.

Two things to be noted in the Turkes: how many victories they haue got, and how cruelly they haue vsed their victories.

Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Romane emperours, the saying was, that no man could step with his foot in all Rome, but should tread vpon a martyr: so here may be said, that almost there is not a towne, citie, or village in all Asia, Grecia, also in a great part of Europa, and Aphrica, whose streets haue not flowed with blood of the Christians, whom the cruell Turkes haue murthered. Of whom are to be seene in histories, heapes of souldiers slaine, of men and women cut in pieces, of children sticked vpon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turkes most spitefully (and that in the sight of their parents) vse to gore to death: some they drag at their horse tailes and famish to death: some they teare in pieces, tying their armes and legs to foure horses: other some they make markes to shot at: vpon some they trie their swords, how deepe they can cut and slash, as ye before haue read, page 691. The aged and feeble they treade vnder their horses: women with child they spare not, but rip their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yeeld to them, or yeeld not, all is a matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercie in them, but they make hauocke of all.

Ex Marino Barletio de Scodr. expugnat. lib. 2.

So the citizens of Troia, after they had yeelded and were all promised their liues, were all destroyed and that horrible. In Mysia, after the king had giuen himselfe to the Turkes hand, hauing promise of life, Mahumet the Turke slew him with his owne hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out with basens red hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turke, hauing the like assurance of life and safetie: and yet contrarie to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slaine. At the winning and yeelding of Lesbos, what a number of yong men and children were put vpon sharpe stakes and poles, and so thrust thorow? At the winning of the citie of Buda, what tyrannie was shewed and exercised against the poore Christians, which had yeelded themselues, and against the two dukes, Christopher Billerer and Joannes Tranbinger, contrarie to the promise and handwriting of the Turke, is to be seene in the storie of Melchior Soiterus, de bello Pannonico.

Ex Michael. Soitero, lib. 1. de Bello Pannonico, fol. 515.

The like also is to be read in the storie of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a citie in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter of the young men there slaine, of old men troden vnder the horse feet, of matrons and virgins rauished, of women with child cut and rent in peeces, of the priests in the Churches slaine, and of the archbishop of that citie, who being an aged man and holding the crosse in his hands, was cut asunder with a wodden saw, &c. The same Bernardus also writing of the ouerthrow of Nigropontus, otherwise called Chalcides, an. 1471. describeth the like terrible slaughter, which there was exercised: where the Turke, after his promise giuen before to the contrarie, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italie to be pricked vpon sharpe stakes: some to be dashed against the hard stones, othersome to be cut in sunder in the middest, and other more with other kinds of torments to be put to death: insomuch that all the streetes and waies of Chalcides did flow with the blood of them, which were there slaine. In which historie the foresaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastitie, worthie of all Christians to bee noted and commended. The story is told of the Prætors daughter of that Citie, who being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beautie, was saued out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahumet the Turke, to be his concubine: But she denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthinesse, was commanded therewith to be slaine and murthered, and so died she a martyr, keeping both her faith and her bodie vndefiled vnto Christ her spouse. ibid.

Vide supra, pag. 683. Ex Bernardo Breydenb.

A notable example of maidenly chastitie.

Vid supra, pag. 684.

The like crueltie also was shewed vpon them which kept the castle, and afterward yeelding themselues vpon hope of the Turks promise, were slaine euery one. What should I speake of the miserable slaughter of Methone, and the cittizens thereof dwelling in Peloponesus: who seeing no other remedie but needs to come into the Turkes hands, set the barne on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children: some women also with child voluntarilie cast themselues into the sea, rather then they would sustaine the Turks captiuitie. Vide pag. 684.

The miserable spilling of Christian mens bloud by the wretched Turks.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to beleeue all the cruell parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants, against the Christians, through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especiallie in Europa. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turks sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epyrus, and all Peloponesus: besides the Iland of Rhodes and other Ilands and Cyclades adiacent in the sea about, numbred to 52. of the which also Pathmos was one, where Saint John being banished, wrote his Reuelations. Where did euer the Turks set any foot, but the bloud of Christians there, without pitie or measure, went to wracke: and what place or prouince is there almost thorough the world, where the Turks either haue not pierced, or are not like shortly to enter? In Thracia, and thorough all the coastes of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Seruia, Transiluania, Bosna, in Hungaria, also in Austria, what hauocke hath beene made by them, of Christian mens bodies, it will rue any christian heart to remember. At the siege of Moldauia, at the winning of Buda, of Pesta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Soeclosia, Tathe, Wizigradum, Nouum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Varadinum, Quinque-ecclesiae: also at the battell of Varna, where Ladislaus king of Polony with all his armie almost, through the rashnesse of the popes cardinall were slaine: at the winning moreouer of Fabiacchus, Lyssus, Dynastrum: at the siege of Guntza, and of the faithfull towne Scorad, where the number of the shotte against their walles, at the siege thereof, were reckoned to 2539. likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian captiues were brought before the whole armie and slaine, and diuers drawen in peeces with horses: but especiallie at the winning of Constantinople, aboue mentioned, pag. 651. also at Troia and Methone, what beastly cruelties was shewed, it is vnspeakable. For as in Constantinople, Mahumet the drunken Turke neuer rose from dinner, but he caused euerie day, for his disport 200. Christian captiues of the nobles of that citie to be slaine before his face: so in Methone, after that his captaine Omares had sent vnto him at Constantinople 500. prisoners of the Christians, the cruell tyrant commanded them all to be cut and diuided in sunder by the middle, and so being slaine, to be throwen out into the fields.

A diuerse recital of Christian townes and forts wonne of the Turke in Europe.

The crueltie of the Turke against the Citizens of Constantinople. Vide supra, pag. 651.

The crueltie of the Turke against the prisoners of Methone. Ex Leonico Chalcondyla de rebus Turcicis, l. b. 10.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the same storie, addeth moreouer a prodigious narration (if it be true) of a brute Ore; which being in the fieldes, and seeing the carcases of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kinde and nature: and afterward comming to the quatters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, first tooke vp the one halfe, and then comming againe, tooke vp likewise the other halfe, and so (as hee could) ioyned them both together. Which being espied of them which saw the doing of the brute Ore, and marueilling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahumet, he commanded the quatters again to be brought, where they were before, to proue whether the beast would come againe: who failed not (as the author recordeth) but in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpes, laid them againe together. It followeth more in the author, how

A strange and prodigious wonder of a brute beast toward a dead christian body.

how that Mahumet being astonied at the strange wonder of the Ore, commanded the quarters of the Christian mans body to be interred, and the Ore to be brought to his house, and was much made of. Some said it to bee the body of a Venetian: some affirmed, that hee was an Illyrian: but whatsoeuer hee was, certaine it is, that the Turke himselfe was much more bestiall then was the very brute Ore: which being a beast shewed more sense of humanity, to a dead man, then one man did to another. Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.

The bishop with the Citizens of Methone slaine of the Turke. *Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & alijs.*

To this cruelty adde moreouer, that beside these 500. Methonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Methone, all the townesmen also were slaine by the foresaid captaine Omares, and among them their bishop likewise was put to death. Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & ex Wolfgango & alijs.

Ex Ioanne Fabro, in oratione ad regem Hen. 8.

John Faber in his oration made before king Henry the eighth, at the appointment of king Ferdinandus, declaring therein the miserable crueltie of the Turkes toward all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the Church, testifieth how that in Mytilene, in Constantinople, and Trapezunda, what bishops and archbishops, or other ecclesiasticall and religious persons the Turks could find, they brought them out of the cities into the fields, there to be slaine like Oxen and Calues. The same Faber also writing of the battell of Solyman in Hungarie, where Ludouicus the king of Hungarie was ouerthrowne, declareth that 8. bishops in the same field were slaine. And moreouer, when the archbishop of Strigon, and Paulus the archbishop Colossensis were found dead, Solyman caused them to bee taken vp, and to bee beheaded and chopt in small pieces, An. 1526.

The cruelty of the Turke in Euboia.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turkes in Euboia, where as the said Faber testifieth that innumerable people were sticked and gored vpon stakes, diuers were thrust thorough with a hote iron, children and infants not yet wained from the mother were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the middest. Ex Iohan. Fabro & alijs.

The prince of Seruia slaine and slaine of the Turke.

But neuer did countrie taste and feele more the bitter and deadly tyrannie of the Turkes, then did Rasia, called Mysia inferiour, and now Seruia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreschlerus) the prince of the said countrey being sent for, vnder faire pretence of words and promises, to come and speake with the Turke, after he was come of his owne gentlenes, thinking no harme, was apprehended and wretchedly and falsly put to death, and his skin slaine off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his countrie (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c.

Let neuer Christian prince trust the Turke.

The Turkes stirred vp of the Diuell to fight against Christ.

The Turkes are butchers of the Christians.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitifes, it may seeme that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them vp to be the butchers of all christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and crueltie against the name and religion of Christ, that they degenerating from the nature of men to diuels, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitiue age of the church, and in the time of Diocletian and Maximian, when the diuell saw that he could not preuaile against the person of Christ which was risen againe, he turned all his furie vpon his silly seruants, thinking by the Romaine emperours, vtterly to extinct the name and profession of Christ, out from the earth: So in this latter age of the world Satan being let lose againe rageth by the Turkes, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he haue brought (as he intendeth) the whole church of Christ, with all the professors therof, vnder foot. But the Lord (I trust) will once send a Constantinus to banquish proud Marentus: Moses to drowne indur at Pharao: Cyrus to subdue the stout Babylonian.

The miserable state of the Christian captiues vnder the Turke.

And thus much hitherto touching our Christian brethren, which were slaine & destroyed by these blasphemous Turkes. Now for so much as besides these aforesaid, many other were pluckt away violently from their countrey, from their wiues and children, from libertie, and from all their possessions, into wretched captiuitie and extreame penurie, it remaineth likewise to intreat somewhat also concerning the cruell manor of the Turks handling of the said Christian captiues. And first here is to be noted that the Turke neuer commeth into Europe to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his army, a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell againe, bringing with them long chaines in hope of great cheats: In the which chaines they linke them by fiftie and sixtie together, such as remaine vndestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoiles of them that rob and spoile the Christian countries: which is lawful for any of the Turkes armie to do, so that the tenth of their spoile or pray (what soeuer it be) be reserued to the head Turke, that is, to the great master thiefe.

The buying and selling of Christian captiues vnder the Turkes.

Christian captiues tithed of the Turke.

Of such as remaine for tithe, if they be aged (of whom verie few be reserued aliue, because little profit commeth of that age) they be sold to the vse of husbandrie or keeping of beasts. If they be yong men or women, they be sent to certaine places, there to be instructed in their language and Arts, as shall be most profitable for their aduantage, and such are called in their tongue Sarai; and the first care of the Turkes is this, to make them denie the Christian religion, and to be circumcised: and after that they are appointed euery one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their lawes, or else to learne the feates of war. Their first rudiment of warre is to handle the bow, first beginning with a weake bow, and so as they grow in strength, comming to a stronger bow, and if they misse the marke, they are sharpely beaten: and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day till they come and take wages to serue in war. Some are brought vp for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizarites, that is, the order of the Turkes champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these Janizarites, see before pag. 681. And if any of the foresaid yong men or children shall appeare to excell in any beautie, him they so cut, that no part of that which nature giueth to man, remaineth to be seene in all his body, whereby while the freshnesse of age continueth he is compelled to serue their abominable abomination: and when age commeth, then they serue in stead of Eunuches to watt vpon Matrones, or to keepe horses and mules, or else to be scullians and drudges in their kitchins.

O wickednesse passing all miseries!

O miserie aboue all miseries!

The seruitude of yong women captiues.

Such as be yong maidens and beautifull, are deputed for concubines. They which bee of meane beautie serue for matrones to their drudgerie worke in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning and such other labors, but so that it is not lawful for them either to professe their Christian religion, or euer to hope for any libertie. And thus much of them which fall to the Turke by tithe.

The other which are bought and sold amongst priuate subiects, first are allured with faire words and promises to take circumcision. Which if they will doe, they are more fauourably entreated, but all hope is taken from them of returning againe into their countrie, which if they attempt, the paine thereof is burning. And if such comming at length to libertie, will marrie, they may: but then their children remaine bond to the Lord, for him to sell at his pleasure: and therefore such as are wise amongst them will not marrie. They which refuse to be circumcised, are miserablie handled: for example whereof, the author (which giueth testimony hereof) doth inferre his owne experience.

Ex Bartholom. Georgionix Peregrina lib. de afflictionibus Christianorum sub Turca.

Such captiues as be expert in any manuall art or occupation can better shift for themselues: but contrariewise, they which haue no handicraft to liue vpon, are in worse case. And therefore such as haue beene brought vp in learning, or bee priests or noble men, and such other, whose tender education can abide no hardnesse, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth lesse profit to rise of them, then of the other; and therefore no cost of raiment is bestowed vpon them, but they are caried about barehead, and barefoote, both summer and winter in frost and snow. And if any faint & be sicke in the way, there is no resting for him in any Inne, but first he is driuen forward with whips, & if that will not serue, hee is set perauenture vpon some horse: or if his weakenesse be such, that he cannot sit, then is he laid ouerthwart the horse vpon his belly like a calfe; and if he chance to die, they take off his garment such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

In the way moreouer, beside the common chaine, which doth inclose them all, the hands also of euery one are manicled, which is because they should not harme their leaders; for many times it happened that ten persons had the leading of 50. captiues: and when night came, their feete also were fettered, so that they lodged in no house, but lay vpon the ground all night.

The miserable calamity of Christian women being in captiuity vnder the Turkes.

The yong women had a little more gentlenesse shewed, being carried in paniers in the day time. But when night came, pitie it was to heare the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the filthie iniuries which they suffered by their carriers, insomuch that the yong tender age of 7. or 8. yeres, as well of the one sere as of the other could not saue them from the most filthie villanie of the bestiall Turkes.

The maner of christian captiues, how they are brought to markets and sold.

When the morning commeth, they are brought forth to the market, to sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments, vieweth all the bones and ioynts of their body: and if he like them, he giueth his price, and carieth them away into miserable seruitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to pasture their cattell, or some other strange kind of misery incredible to speake of: Insomuch that the author reporteth, that he hath seene himselfe certaine of such christian captiues yoked together like horse and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid seruants likewise are kept in perpetuall toile and worke in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to haue any talke with their fellow seruants, &c. Such as are committed to keepe beasts, lie abrode day and night in the wild fieldes, without house and harbor, and so changing their pasture, go from mountaine to mountaine: of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handie labour is exacted at spare houres, such as pleaseth their maisters to put vnto them.

Christians in their captiuitie, put to draw in the plough like horses.

The great danger of Christian captiues which flie out of Turkie.

Out of this miserie there is no way for them to flie, especially for them that are caried into Asia beyond the seas: Or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about haruest, when he may hide himselfe all the day time in the corne, or in woods, or marishes, and finde food: and in the night onely, he flieth

flieth, and had rather be deuoured of wolues and other wild beasts, then to returne againe to his master. In their flying, they vse to take with them an hatchet and coards, that when they come to the sea side, they may cut downe trees, and binde together the ends of them, and so, where the Sea of Hellespontus is narrowest, about the Sestos and Abidos, they take the sea, sitting vpon trees, where, if the winde and tide do serue lurkily, they may cut ouer in foure or fiue houres: But the most part either perish in the flouds, or are driuen backe againe vpon the coastes of Asia, or else be deuoured of wilde beasts in woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape ouer the seas aliue into Europe, by the way they enter into no town, but wander vpon the mountaines, following onely the North starre for their guide.

The maner and shift of our men in getting ouer the sea.

The manifolde dangers by the way in flying.

As touching such Townes and Prouinces, which are won by the Turke, and wherein the Christians are suffered to liue vnder tribute: First all the Nobilitie there they kill and make away, the Churchmen & Clergy hardly they spare. The churches with the belles and all the furniture thereof, either they cast downe, or else they conuert to the vse of their owne blasphemous religion, leauing to the Christians certaine olde and blinde Chappels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repaire them againe for a great summe of money giuen to the Turke: Neither be they permitted to vse any open preaching or ministration, but onely in silence and by stealth, to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Christian to beare office within the citie or Prouince, nor to beare weapon, nor to weare any garment like to the Turkes. And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it neuer so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou beare it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speake one word against their religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumcised: And then if thou speake one word against Mahumet, thy punishment is fire and burning. And if it chaunce, a Christian being on horsebacke, to meete or passe by a Mulsulman, that is, a Turkish Priest, he must light from his horse, and with a lowly loke, deoutly reuerence and adore the Mulsulman: or if he do not, he is beaten downe from his horse with clubs and staues.

The vse of Christians in their seruice.

If Christians may not goe like Turkes, why should our Gospellers goe like Papists? The Turkes haue their fire and fagots, as well as our papists.

The Christians must light from their horse, meeting a Turkish priest, and adore him.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gaine to the Turke: beside the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for euery polle within his family, a ducket vnto the Turke: which if the parents cannot doe, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go cheined in fetters from doore to doore begging, to make vp their payment, or els must lye in perpetuall prison:

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians haue discharged all duties: it remaineth free for the Turkes to take vp among the Christians children, whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away being yong from the sight of their parents, to farre places, to be brought vp, for the Turkes warres, so that they may not returne to them againe: but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents: so that if they come againe amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolkes and parents.

An other miserie most lamentable in taking away Christian mens children from their parents, to serue the Turke.

This miserie passing all other miseries, no man is able with toung to vtter, or with words to expresse. What weeping and teares, what sorrow and lamentation, what groning, sighes, and deepe dolor, doth teare and rent asunder the woefull harts of the seely parents, at the plucking away of their babes and children: to see their sonnes and their owne children, whom they haue borne and bred vp to the seruice of Christ Iesus the Sonne of God, now to be drawne away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ: to see their babes borne of Christian bloud, of Christians to be made Turkes, and so to be pluckt out of their armes, and out of their sight, without hope euer to returne to them againe: to liue perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turkes, and so to become of the number of them which are called fatherlesse, and motherlesse?

O miseries.

This is with teares rather then with words to be expressed.

Albeit the same children afterward do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them haue priuily about them the Gospell written of S. John, In principio erat verbum, &c. Which for a token or remembrance of their Christian faith, they cary vnder their arme hole, written in Greeke and Araby. Who greatly desire, and long loke for the reuenging sword of the Christians to come, and deliuer them out of their dolorous thraldome and captiuity, according as the Turks themselues haue a prophecy, and greatly stand in feare of the same. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the chapter following.

Many Gospellers in Turkie.

An old Prophecie of the Turkes touching the sword of the Christians.

¶ And thus haue ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian brethren vnder the cruell tyranny and captiuity of the Turkes, passing all other captiuities that euer haue beene to Gods people, either vnder Pharao in Egypt, or vnder Nabuchodonosor in Babylon, or vnder Antiochus in the time of the Machabees. Vnder the which captiuity, if it so please the Lord to haue his spouse the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian guides and leaders, then haue we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to giue better harts to our guiders and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flocke.

And these troubles and afflictions of our Christian brethren suffered by the Turkes, I thought good and profitable for our countrey people here of England to know, for so much as by the ignorance of these, and such like histories worthie of consideration, I see much inconuenience doth follow. Whereby it commeth to passe, that because we Englishmen being farre off from these countreyes, and little knowing what misery is abroade, are the lesse moued with zeale & compassion, to tender their greeuances, and to pray for them, whose troubles we know not. Whereupon also followeth, that we not considering the miserable state of other, are the lesse gratefull to God, when any tranquillity by him to vs is graunted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise vpon vs, be it neuer so little, as pouertie, losse of liuing, or a little banishment out of our countrey for the Lords cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we going no further then our owne countrey, and onely feeling our owne crosse, do not compare that which we feele, with the great crosses, whereunto the Churches of Christ commonly in other places abroade are subiect. Which if we did rightly vnderstand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessiuely forget our selues in time of our prosperitie giuen vs of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our aduersitie, and all because either we heare not, or else we ponder not the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth vpon our other brethren abroade in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appeare.

Necessary for many causes that the troubles of the Church be knowne.

NOw consequently remaineth, as I haue shewed hitherto, what tyrannie hath been vsed of the Turks against Christs people, so to declare likewise, how farre this tyrannie of the Turkes hath extended and spread it selfe, describing as in a table, to the Christian Reader, what lands, countries and kingdomes the Turkes haue wonne, and got from Christendome; to the intent, that when Christian Princes shall behold the greatnesse of the Turkes dominions spread almost thorough all the world, and how little a part of Christianitie remaineth behind, they may thereby vnderstand the better, how it is time now for them to bestirre them, if euer they thinke to doe any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a compendious draught as in a briefe table, of such Countries, Kingdomes, and Dominions, got from vs by the Turkes, wee will first begin with Asia, describing what Tracts, Countries, Cities and Churches, the Turke hath surprised, and violentlie pluckt away from the societie of Christian Dominions, taking onelie such as bee most principall, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were too long to discourse all and singular such places by name, as the Turke hath vnder his subiection.

The largenes of the Turkes dominions declared.

The world being diuided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europa, Asia is counted to be the greatest in compasse, containing as much as both the other, and is diuided into two portions, the one called Asia Maior: the other called Asia Minor. And although the Empire of the Turke extendeth vnto them both: yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coasts of Europa, vnto Armenia Maior, beyond the riuer Euphrates, and comprehendeth these Regions and Cities following.

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¶ The diuision of Asia Minor, called Cheronesus, with the particular Countreyes and Cities belonging to the same.

Countreyes.		Cities	
Pontus.	Act.2.	Nicea.	
		Chalcedon.	
		Heraclea.	
Bithinia.	Act.16	Prusa or Bursa.	
		Nicomedia.	
		Apamea.	

Apamea, is a citie in Bithinia, also another in Mesopotamia. Apamea Cybotus also a citie in great Phrygia, and another also in Parthia.

¶ Natolia, or Anatolia, conteineth diuers countreys, with their Cities, as followeth.

Mysia Minor.	Act.16	Cizicus.	
		Parium.	
		Lampsacus.	
		Dardanum.	
		Callipolis.	
Phrygia Minor.	Act.2	Abydus.	
		Alexandria, or Troias.	Act.16
Troas.	Act.20	Ilium.	
		Assus.	Act.20
Mysia Maior.	Act.16	Scepsis.	
		Adramitium.	Act.27
Phrygia Maior.	Act.2	Hierapolis.	Col.4
		Pitane.	
		Apollonia.	
		Myrina.	
Lydia.	Esay.66	Phocœa.	
		Smyrna.	Apoc.2
		Erythræ.	
Aeolis.		Laodicea.	Apoc.3
		Carura.	
		Thyatira.	Apoc.2.
Ionia.		Philadelphia.	Apoc.3
		Pergamus.	Apoc.2
		Cuma.	
Caria.	1.Mach.15	Ephesus.	Apoc.2
		Sardis.	Apoc.3
		Halicarnassus.	Mach.15
Doris.		Miletus.	Act.20

Phrygia Minor, (as Ptolomy is called) Troas.

At Catura, a certaine bande with a company of harlots, being there lodged, sodeinly hapned an earthquake in the citie, wherein the saide bande with all his trumpets were swallowed vp. Pius 2. papa lib. de Descriptione. cap. 16.

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Natolia.

Lycia.	Act.27	Colossæ.	Col.1
		Patara.	Act.21.
		Pinara.	
		Zanthus.	
		Andriaca.	
		Myra.	Act.13
Galatia vel Gallogrecia.	Act.16	Ancyra.	
		Gordium.	
		Tharma.	
		Pessenus.	
Paphlagonia.		Amisus.	
		Sinope.	
		Corambis.	
Pamphilia.	Act.2	Perga.	Act.13
		Attalia.	Act.14
		Aspendus.	
		Phaselis.	Mach.15
Pisidia.	Act.	Trapesius	
		Temiscyra.	
Cappadocia.		Comana a Pontica.	
		Amasia vel Eupatoria.	
		Masa, vel Cæsarea.	
		Naziantium.	
		Here Gregorius Nazianzenus was Bishop.	
Armenia Minor.		Comana Cappadocia	
		Miletena.	
		Nicopolis.	
		Leandis.	
		Claudiopolis.	
		Iuliopolis.	
Cilicia.		Tharsius.	Act.22
		a Coricus.	
		Solimuntis, vel Traionopolis.	
		Issus, vel Iaiassa.	
Laconia.		Augusta.	Act.27
		Iconium.	Act.14
		Lystra.	Act.16
		Derbe.	Act.14
		Antiochia Pisidiæ.	Act.11

Here Basilius Magnus was Bishop.

The countrey where S. Paul was borne. a Another Coricus is also in the Ile of Creta.

¶ Syria comprehendeth in it diuers particular prouinces, with their cities, as followeth.

Syria.	Act.15	Ierosolyma.	Act.1
		Cæsarea Stratonis.	Act.8
		Bethleem.	Math.2.

Countreyes.		Cities.	
Palestina Iudea.		Emaus.	Mark.1
		Ierico.	Math.20
		Toppe or Ioppe.	Ios.15
		Iapheth.	Act.9
		Tyberias	Iohn 6
		Accaron.	Iosua.13
		Azotus.	Act.8.
Chanaan.		Ascalon.	Iudic.2
		Gaza.	Act.8
		Bersabee.	Iosu.19
		Antipatris.	Act.23
		Assaron.	Act.9
Samari.	Act.	Bethania.	Mark.11
		Lydda.	Act.9
Galilæa.	Matth.3	Nazareth.	Math.4
		Capernaum.	Math.4
		Cana.	Ioan.2
Phœnicea.	Act.11	Tyrus.	Luc.6
		Sydon vel Sichem.	Luc.6
		Ptolomais.	Act.21
		Cæsarea Philippi.	Math.16
Damascene.		Damascus.	Gal.1
		Philadelphia.	Apoc.1
Cœlesyria.		Buthis vel Pella.	
Cassiotis.		a Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theopholis.	Act.11
Comagena.		Samosata.	
		Antiochia sub. Tauro.	
		Alexandria apud Issum	
		b Nicopolis.	
Seleucis.		Gephyra.	
		Gindarus.	
		c Seleucia.	Act.13
		Imma.	
Laodicene.		d Laodicæa.	Colos.2
		Paradisus.	
		Iabruda,	
Apamene		Nazamma.	
		Apamia.	
Idumæa	Marc.3	Besamma, vel Bersabee.	
		Euleusa.	
		Massa.	

a Antiochia, apud Orontem, chiefe citie in Syria, where the disciples of Christ were first named Christians. Acts 11.

b Nicopolis, is a citie also in Macedonia, mentioned in the Epistle of S. Paule to Titus. cap. 3.

c Seleucia, is a citie in Syria. Also another in Pamphilia, another in Cilicia Pisidiæ, another in Cœlysiria, and in Mesopotamia another.

d In this Laodicea was the Councell kept, which is called Concilium Laodicense. There is another Laodicea in Lydia neere to Colossæ, in Asia minor, Colos. 4. Laodicea also is the chiefe citie in Phrygia Pacatiana, neere to Galatia. Act. 18. 1. Tim. 6.

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Syria.

Arabia.	Gal.1.4	Petræa, or Nabatæa.	
		Felix.	Panchaia.
			Sabæa.
		Deserta.	
Mesopotamia.		Carra, or Charan, where Abraham dwelt.	Act.7
		Seleucia.	
Psalme 59.		Edessa, which is now called Orpha, and in the story of Tobias called Rages.	
Babylonia.	Dan.3	Bible.	
In the countrey of Babilonia, is also certain regiõ apointed for philosophers & astronom. called Chaldea. Ier. 50.		Babylon, vel Baldach.	Act.7
		Orchoe, vel Vrchoa.	
		vel Hurchaldæorum, where Abraham was borne.	Gen.11.15

In Edessa raigned king Abgarus, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 11. to whom Christ wrote, promising to send vnto him after his death. Babylon in Chaldea, where Nabuchodonosor raigned, and was after destroyed, and translated by Seleucus Nicanor. Another is in Egypt called Alcayrus.

Sarmatia.		Pataræ	
		Azara.	
		Gerusa. S. Georgius.	
		Sinda.	
Colchis.		Dioscuria vel Sebastia, which is now called Suias.	
		Phasis.	
Iberia.		Lubium.	
		Artanissa.	
		Armachica.	
Albania.		Getara, vel Gangara.	
		Chabala.	
Armenia.	Gen.8	Armenia maior is diuided from Armenia minor, by the River Euphrates.	
		This Armenia maior and minor, this day be both vnder the Turkes.	

¶ And thus farre reacheth the compasse of Asia Minor, with the Countreys and Prouinces, to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the faith of Christ, are now in a maner, all subdued to the Turkes.

¶ The

¶ The Ilands belonging to the Regions of Asia Minor aforesaid, gotten by the Turkes.

Countreyes.			Cities.
Thinias.		to	Bythinia.
Tenedos.		to	Troas.
Chios.	Act.20	to	Lydia.
Pathmos.	Apoc.1		
Possidium.		to	Æolis.
Samos.	Act.20	to	Ionia.
Trogolium.	Act.20		
Cnidus.	Act.27	to	Doris.
Coos. Coun.	Act.21	to	Doris.
Carpathus.		to	Doris.
Rhodus.	Act.21	to	Lycia.
Cyprus.	Act.11		

Ilands belonging to Asia Minor.

This Cyprus, King Richard the first did once subdue, fighting against the Saracens: Ex Aene. Syl. lib. De Orbis Descrip. cap. 74.

¶ Æneas Syluius, otherwise Pope Pius the 2. in describing of Asia Minor, cap. 74. reciteth a certaine fact of a worthy Virgin: who at what time the Turkes were besieging a certaine towne in Lesbos, and had cast downe a great part of the walles, so that all the townesmen had giuen ouer, putting on mans harnesse, stepped forth into the breach, where not onely she kept the Turkes from entring in, but also slew of them a great sort. The Citizens seeing the rare courage, and good successe of the Maiden, tooke to them againe their harts and harnesse, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turkes were slaine. The rest being repulsed from the land, reculed into their Ships: who beeing then pursued by a Nauy of Calisa, were worthily discomfited likewise vpon the Sea. And thus was the Ile of Lesbos at that time, by a poore Virgin, that is, by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weake creature, preserued from the Turkes. *Ex Æne. Syl. Et Seb. Munst. Lib. 5.*

A memorable fact of a Virgin, in defence of her countrey.

Besides these Regions and Countries of Asia Minor, aboue described, *Sebast. Munster* in the fift booke of his Cosmography, declareth moreouer, that the Turkes and Sultanes haue vnder their subiection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior, wherein is Calecute. The which Persia, although it be vnder the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turke, yet it is to be thought, that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkish and Mahometish Religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christs Gospell, as may appeare by the Primitiue Church, page 87. And thus haue you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all christened, do now serue vnder the Turke.

Ex Sebast. Munst. Cosmo. lib. 5. in præfat.

Vide supra, pag. 87. 88.

After the description of Asia, let vs next consider the parts and countreyes of Aphrike: Where although the greatest part either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed with Prester John, which professeth Christ and his Gospell: yet the Turke hath there also no little portion vnder his dominion, as,

Countries.		Cities.
Ægyptus.	Matth.2.	Alexandria. Memphis. Arsinoe.
Regnum Tunece.		
Africa Minor.		Charlago. Aphordisum. Hippon. Heere S. Augustine was Bishop.
Cyrene.	Act.2.	
Mauritania.		

¶ A description of Countries and Cities in Europe, which were before christened, and now are subdued and subiect to the Turke.

Europa.

Countreyes.		Cities.	
Thracia.		Constantinopolis, or Bizantium. Pera. Adrianopolis.	
Samothracia.	Act.16	Traianopolis. Caliopis. Sestus. Apollonia.	
Græcia.	Act.20	Thessalonica.	Act.17
		Philippi.	Act 16
		Demetrias.	
Macedonia.	Rom.15	Neapolis.	Act.16
		Amphipolis.	Act. 17
		Apollonia mygdoniæ.	Act.17
		Berrhæa.	Act.17

Ccountreyes.		Cities.	
Thessalia.			
Epirus.		Ambracia. Actium.	
Chaonia.		Torona. Azelia.	
Thresprotia.		Acarnanon.	
Amphilochia.		Argos. Astacus.	
Ambrachia.		Omphalium.	
Achaia.	Rom.15	Athenæ. Megaris.	
Attiça.			
Bœotia.		Thebæ.	
Phocis.		Delphos.	
Ætolia.		Egris. Chalidon. Locris. Naupactus.	
Peloponesus		Corinthus.	Act.17
Corinthia.		Mesena. Tegea. Argos.	
Argia.		Lacedemon, or Sparta.	2.Mach.5.
Laconia.		Epidaurus. Helice. Lerna. Leuctrum.	
Messenia.		Methone. Mycenæ.	
Elis.		Megalipolis. Nemea.	
Sicyona.		Nauplea. Olympia.	
Arcadia.		Sicyon. Ægyra.	

Argos, is a citie in Amphilochia, and an other also in Peloponesus.

Of Corinthus Strabo writeth, that more then a thousand virgins there in the temple of Venus, vsed yearely to be set out to be made commons: and therefore not without cause Saint Paule writeth, Fratres scitis quoniam, Idololatræ, &c. 1. Cor. 6.

¶ Ilands bordering about Græcia, wone likewise by the Turke, from the Christians.

Eubœa, or Nigropontus.		Chalcis. Charistus. Cerinthus. Gerestus.	
Creta.	Act.17	Pulchri portus.	Act.27
		Lasæa.	Act.27
		Phœnice.	17
Salmone.	Act.27		
Clauda.	Act.27		
Cyclades,	Insulæ 53	Salamis. Delus. 1.	Mach.15.
Cephalenia.			
Zacynthus, or Zanthus.		Vide supra,	pag.689
Lemnos.			
Ithaca.			
Samos.	Act.20		
Corcyra.		Vide supra,	pag.689
Corcica			

The Ilands about Græcia. Vide supra. pag. 683.

In Creta, S. Paul ordained Titus to be Bishop & ouerseer.

¶ After the Turke had subdued Thracia and Græcia, proceeding further into Europe, he inuaded other regions and cities, which also he added to his diction, as

Mysia Superior.	Rhætiaria. Nessus. Vlpianum. Scupi. Sigindunum, or Singet.	
Mysia Inferior.	Triballorum. Oescus. Tirista. Axium, or Chilia.	
Dalmatia.	2.Tim.4	Labacus, Metropolis.
Carinthia.		Epidaurus, or Ragusium.
Coruatia.		Milea, or Meleda. Senia, or Segna. Enona, or Hona.
Croatia.		Iadra, or Zara. Sebenica.
Istria.		Stridon, where S. Hierome was borne.
Bosna.		Quinque ecclesiæ. Iaitza, Metropolis.
Bulgaria.		Bulgaria, was wone of Bajazetes the Turke frō the crowne of Hungary, through ỹ vnprosperous warre of Sigismundus, at the fielde of Nicopolis. an. 1395. This Sigismundus, was the burner of John Hus, and the persecutor of his doctrine.

Corcica, is an Iland beyond Italy, which the Turkes haue, ioining with the French, did ouercame, an. 1553.

The Region of Mysia is diuided into two parts: whereof the one is in Asia, and is diuided into Mysia, maior, and Mysia minor. The other is in Europa, and is diuided into Mysia, or Mœsia superior, and Mysia inferior.

Epidaurus is a citie in Illyria, and also another in Peloponesus.

These regions were in the former time called by the name of Illyria, or Illyricum. And afterward, by reason of certaine Scythians cōming thither they were also called Sclauonia.

Stephanus King of Bosna and afterward of Rascia, and Mysia, was by subtill traine allured to come and speake with Mahumet the Turke, who being come, was taken, and his skinne flaine off.

All this tract of Bulgaria, Walachia, Transyluania, Struia, Rascia, & Moldauia, was wont to be called Dacia, but afterward was seuered into diuers lands and dominions.

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Wallachia.	Tergouistus, or Teruis.	
	Huniad; where Ioannes Huniades was borne.	
Transyluania or Septem castra.	Hermenstat.	
	Cronestat.	
	Saltzburg.	
	Alba Iulia, or Weissenburge.	
	Gyula.	
Seruia.	Samandria.	
	Columberz.	
Rascia.	Walpo. Vid. sup. pag. 661.	
	Nouigradum.	
Moldauia.	Varna.	
Hungaria.	Buda or Osen.	
	Alba regalis.	
	Belgradum or Taurinum.	
Austria.	Stigonium.	
	Varadinum.	
	Neapolis. Maior. Minor.	
	Pestuum.	

Of Ioannes Huniades, reade before, pag. 662. and 680.

At Columberz, Sigismund lost the field, fighting against the Turkes, Vide supra, pag. 661.

At Varna, a Citie in Rascia, Ladislaus King of Hungary fought with the Turke, and had ouercome: An. 1444. Vide infra, pag. 682

¶ As I was writing hereof, a certaine sound of lamentable newes was brought vnto vs, how the Turke, whom wee had hoped before to haue been repulsed by the emperor Maximilian out of Christendome, hath now of late this present yeere 1566. got the towne of Gyula about Transyluania, after they had sustained fifteene of his most forcible assaults, destroying in the same most cruelly, many thousand of our christian brethren, men, women, and children: but because wee haue no full certainty, we will referre the story thereof to further information.

The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures considered, touching the comming vp and *finall ruine and destruction of this wicked kingdome of the Turkes, with the Reuelations* and foreshewings also of other authors concerning the same.

Prophecies considered for the beginning and falling of the Turkes kingdome.

FOr so much as you haue hitherto sufficiently heard, to what quantity and largenes the dominion of the Turkes hath increased, and do vnderstand what cruell tyranny these wretched miscreants haue and doe dayly practise most haynously wheresoeuer they come against the seruants and professors of Christ: it shall not be vnprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophecies the holy spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned vs before, of these heauy persecutions to come vpon his people by this horrible Antichrist. For as the gouernment and constitution of times and states of monarchies & policies fall not to vs by blind chance, but be administred and alotted vnto vs from aboue: so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of kingdomes, such a terrible and generall persecution of Gods people, almost thorough all Christendome, and such a terrour of the whole earth, as is now moued and gendred by these Turkes, commeth without the knowledge, sufferance, and determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purposes, as his diuine wisedome doth best know. For the better euidence and testimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction, and declaration, whereby we may plainly see to our great comfort, how these grieuous afflictions and troubles of the Church, though they be sharpe and heauy vnto vs, yet they come not by chance or by mans working onely, but euen as the Lord himselfe hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

Two things to be considered in the time and order of the old Testament. The Scriptures, and the people.

And first to begin with the time of the old Testament, let vs seriously aduise and ponder, not only the Scriptures and Prophecies therein conteined, but also let vs consider the whole state, order and regiment of that people: the Church I meane of the Israelites. For although the Scriptures and Prophets of the old Testament, were properly sent to that people, and haue their relation properly to things done, or that should be done in that common wealth, of which Prophets Iohn Baptist was the last and made an end, as our Sauiour himselfe witnesseth, saying: The law and Prophets be vnto the time of Iohn, &c. Yet notwithstanding the said people of that old Testament, beareth a liuely image and resemblance of the vniuersall Church which should follow, planted by the Sonne of God thorow the whole earth: So that as the Prophets of God speaking to them from the mouth and word of God prophecied what should come to passe in that people: so likewise the whole course and history of those Israelites, exemplifieth and beareth a prophetical image to vs declaring what is to be looked for in the vniuersall Church of God dispersed thorow the world, planted in Christ Iesus his Sonne, according as Phil. Melanchon grauely gathering vpon the same, testifieth in diuers places, in his commentary vpon the Prophet Daniel.

Philip. Melanct. in Dan. Prophe.

As first the history of godly Abel slaine by wicked Cain, what doth it import or prophecie, but the condition of the people and seruants of God, which commonly go to wracke in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

Gen. 4.

The like may be said also of Isaac, and Ismael: of Iacob and Esau. Of whom, those two which were the children of promise, and belonged to the election of God, were persecuted in this world, of the other which were reiected. Where moreouer is to be noted concerning Ismael, that of his stocke after the flesh, came the Saracens: whose sect the Turkes do now professe and maintaine. And as Ismael had xii. sonnes: so it were to be wished of God; that this Solyman, which is the twelfth of the Turkish generation, may be the last. But of this, better occasion shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The Saracens come of Ismael. Resemblance betweene the 12. sonnes of Ismael, and the 12. Ottomane Turkes. 4. Reg. 17.

Furthermore, of the xii. tribes of Israel, the sacrate history so reporteth, that after they had a long season continued together, by the space of 8. or 9. C. yeares, at length, for their idolatrie, and transgression of their forefathers, x. tribes of them were cut off, and dispersed among the Gentiles 130. yeeres before the captiuitie of Babylon: so that but two tribes onely remained free, and they also at last, after 130. yeeres, were captiued vnder the Babylonians, for a certaine time. No otherwise hath it hapned with the Church of Christ almost in the vniuersall world, of which Church, the greatest part both in Asia, in Africa, and almost in Europe (where the holy Apostles so laboured and trauailed (we see now to be dispersed among the Turkes, and their candlesticks remoued (the Lord of his great grace, reduce them againe; Amen:) So that of xii. parts of Christendome, which was once planted in Christ, scarse two parts remaine cleare, & they how long they shall so continue, the Lord knoweth: And albeit thorough the mercy of the Lord they escape the danger of the Turkes, yet haue they bene so beaten with the Pope, that they had beene better almost to haue beene in the Turkes hands.

The old church of the Israelites beareth a representation or image, of the publicke church of Christ Iesus.

Againe, after the said Israelits returned being restored of Cyrus, let vs consider well their story, the continuance of time, the maner of their regiments, and what afflictions they sustained in the time of the Machabees: and we shall see a liuely representation of these our daies expressed in that prophetical people, according as S. Paul writing of them, sheweth how all things hapned to them in figures: that is, the actions and doings of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater maters, what shall happen in these latter times of the whole Church vniuersally in Christ collected. 1. Cor. 10.

So the transmigration and deliuerance againe of those two tribes, declareth to vs the affliction of Christs Church for sinne: and yet that God will not vtterly reiect his people for his Sonnes sake, as by manifold examples of the Church hitherto may well appeare.

The Church of the Iewes a figure of Christs Church.

Againe, the continuance of the law first giuen by Moses, vnto the destruction of the said people by Titus, amounteth to 1564. yeares: So we counting the age of the new Testament, and reckoning from the day of our redemption vnto this present, be come now to the yeare 1534. lacking but only 33. yeares of the full number.

Ex Phil. Melanct. in Daniel. cap. 9.

Likewise, in counting the yeares from their deliuerance out of captiuitie, to the end of their dissolution, we finde 564. years, during which yeares as the Church of the Iewes was not gouerned vnder the authoritie of Kings, but the high Priests tooke all the power and authoritie to themselues: so we Christians, for the space especially of these latter 564. yeares, what haue we seene and felt, but only the iurisdiction & domination of the Pope and high Priests playing the Rex in all countries, and ruling the whole: whereby, by the count of the yeares, it is to be thought, the day of the Lords comming not to be farre off.

The times and yeares of the old church, compared with the new.

The rule and dominion of the high Priests in the Iewes common wealth, and of our prelates, compared.

Furthermore, in those latter yeres of the Iewes kingdome, that troubles and afflictions that people sustained 300. yeares together, but chiefly, the last 166. yeares before the comming of Christ, by Antiochus and his fellowes, the history of the Machabees can report. Wherein we haue also notoriously to vnderstand the miserable vexations & persecutions of Christ an Churches in these latter ends of the world by Antichrist. For by Antiochus, Antichrist (no doubt) is figured and represented. This Antiochus surnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes his sonne, came of the stocke of Seleucus Nicanor; much like as the Mahumets, the Turke, and Solymannus, came of the stocke of Ottomannius. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that like as of the said Seleucus issued twelue Syrian kings one after another of that generation, which reigned ouer the Israelites with much seueritie and tyranny: so of this diuelish generation of Ottomannus, haue come twelue Turkish tyrants, whereof this Solyman is now the twelfth; God grant he may be the last. And as the two last Antiochi, being sonnes of the two brethren, did fight together for the kingdome, and in fighting were both slaine, and shortly after the kingdome fell to the Romanes; so the Lord grant for Christs sake, that the bloudie broode of this

Antiochus betokeneth a figure of Antichrist.

The family of Antiochus.

The family of the Turkes.

this old Solyman, (which had reigned now 46. yeates) may ſo fight together, and periſh in their owne bloud, that the bloudy tyranny of theirs may come to a finall end for euer. Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appeare to ſuch as be diſpoſed to meditate more vpon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to ſet before his eyes, in table-wiſe, the Catalogue of both theſe Antichriſtian families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the twelue Syrian Kings, then of the twelue Ottomans, in like number and order.

A compariſon betweene the Syrians and the Turkes.

	¶ The Syrians.		¶ The Turkes.	
1	Seleucus.	32	Ottomannus.	28
2	Antiochus Soter.	19	Orchanes. He ſlue his two brethren.	22
3	Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice his mother in law and his yong brother.	15	Amurates. He put out the eyes of Sauces his owne ſonne.	23
4	Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hietax his brother, which two brethren warred one againſt the other.	20	Baiazetes. He ſlew Solymannus his brother.	
5	Antiochus Magnus.	36	Calepinus. The Greeke ſtories make no mention of this Calepinus, the Latin ſtories ſay that Calepinus and Orchanes were both one, and that he was ſlayne by Mahumetes his brother.	6
6	Seleucus Philopator.	12	Orchanes. Whome Moſes his vncle did ſlay.	
7	Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes		Mahumetes. 1. He ſlue Muſtaphas his brother.	14
8	Antiochus Eupator.	2	Amurathes 2. He ſlue Muſtaphas his brother.	34
9	Demetrius brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupator his coſin.		Mahumetes. 2. He ſlue his two brethren Turcinus an infant, and Calepinus.	37
10	Demetrius Nicanor, whom Antiochus Sedetes his brother erpulſed from his kingdome.		Baiazetes 2. He warred againſt his brother Demes, which Demes was afterward poyſoned by Pope Alexander 6.	33
11	Antiochus Sedetes. Theſe two laſt being brethren, had two ſones.		Zelymus. He poyſoned Baiazetes his father, and his two brethren Acomates and Corcutus, with all their children his owne coſins.	7
12	Antiochus Griphus, and Antiochus Cizicenus. Theſe two ſtriuing together for the kingdome, were both ſlaine: and ſo not long after, the kingdome of Syria came to the hands of Tigranes King of Armenia, and ſo being taken from him, came to the Romains in the time of Pompeius.		Solymannus. He ſlue Muſtaphas his owne ſonne, and was alſo the death of Gianger his ſecond ſonne.	46

Reſemblance betweene the Syrian Kings, and the Turks.

These two peſtilent families and generations, riſing out (doubtles) from the bottomles pit, to plague the people of God, as in number of ſucceſſion they do not much differ: ſo in manner of their doings and wicked abominations, they be as nere agreeing, being both enemies alike to the people and Church of Chriſt, both murtherers and parricides of their owne brethren and kindred, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole world. Where in we haue all to learne and note by the way, the terrible anger of almightie God againſt ſinne, and wickednes of men.

The time of Antichriſt examined by prophecies.

Further more, who ſo is diſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of times, and to marke how things be diſpoſed by the maruellous operation of Gods prouidence, ſhall finde the times alſo of theſe two aduerſaries, in much like ſort to concurre and agree. For in conſidering with our ſelues both the

One Antichriſt prefigureth another.

Teſtaments and Churches of God, the firſt of the Iewes, the ſecond of the Chriſtians, loke what time had the Syrian Kings to rage then in Hieruſalem, the ſame proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the Turkes to murther the Chriſtians: ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the booke of Machabees may appeare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the 191. yeare before the paſſion of our Sauiour, and day of our redemption: ſo now caſting the ſame number from this preſent yeare backward, we ſhall finde it to be about the ſame yeare and time, when Baiazetes the fourth Turke after Ottoman, began to remoue his Imperiall ſeate from Burſa in Bithynia, to Adrianople in Europe, which is a City of Thracia. In which yeare and time began all the miſchiefe in Europe, as is to be ſeene before, pag. 678. and this was the yeare of our Lord 1375. Vnto the which yeare, if we adde 691. it maketh 1566. according to the prophecie of the Apocalypſe, chapter 20. where it is prophecied of Gog and Magog, that they ſhall compaſſe about the tents of the Saints, and the well beloued Citie, by the which wellbeloued Citie, is meant (no doubt) Europa: and this was in the yeare aboueſaid, 1375. Although touching the preciſe points of yeares and times, it is not for vs greatly to be exquiſite therein, but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may helpe to knowledge, I would not with negligende to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his fellowes.

Apoc. cap. 20.

Now what cruelty this Antiochus exerciſed againſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the hiſtory of the Machabees: where we reade, that this Antiochus in the eight yeare of his reigne, in his ſecond comming to Hieruſalem, firſt gaue forth in commandement, that all the Iewes ſhould relinquiſh the law of Moſes, and worſhip the Idoll of Iupiter Olympius, which he ſet vp in the temple of Hieruſalem. The bookes of Moſes and of the Prophets he burned. He ſet garriſons of ſouldiors to warde the Idoll. In the Citie of Hieruſalem he cauſed the feaſts and reuels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filth and wickednes. Old men, women, and virgins, ſuch as would not leaue the law of Moſes, with cruell torments he murthered. The mothers that would not circumciſe their children, he ſlue. The children that were circumciſed, he hanged vp by the neckes. The temple he ſpoiled and waſted. The Aultar of God, and candleſticke of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, partly he caſt out, partly he carried away. Contrary to the law of God, he cauſed them to offer, and to eate Swines fleſh. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them either to leaue their law, or to loſe their liues. Among whom, beſides many other, with cruell tormentes, he put to death a godly mother with her ſeauen ſonnes, ſending his cruell proclamations through all the land, that whoſoeuer kept the obſeruancies of the Sabboth, and other rites of the law, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof, the Citie of Hieruſalem was left voide and deſolate of all good men, but there was a great number, that were contented to follow and obey his Idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the king, became enemies vnto their brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of miſerie could be ſhewed in any place, which was not there ſeene. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus it is hiſtoriſed at large in the booke of Machabees: And Daniell prophecying before of the ſame, declareth that the people of the Iewes deſerued no leſſe for their ſinnes and tranſgreſſions.

Machab. lib. & cap. 1.

The furious cruelties of Antiochus againſt Gods people.

1. Machab. cap. 1. Dan. 9.

Antiochus a figure of the Turke.

By conſent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, which was to follow in the later end of the world, & is alreadie come, and worketh what he can againſt vs: Although as S. Iohn ſaith, there haue beene, and be many Antichriſts, as parts and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are forerunners: yet to ſpeake of the head and principall Antichriſt, and great enemy of Chriſts Churche, he is to come in the later end of the world, at what time ſhall be ſuch tribulation, as neuer was ſeene before: whereby is meant (no doubt) the Turke, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichriſt, I do alſo meane all ſuch, which following the ſame doctrine of the Turkes, thinke to be ſaued by their workes and demerits, and not by their faith onely in the Sonne of God, of what title and profeſſion els ſoeuer they be: eſpecially if they vſe the like force and violence for the ſame, as he doth, &c.

Ex Lyra in Gloſa ordin. cap. 1. Machab.

The name of Antichriſt what it contayneth.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforeſaid, and of the tribulations of the Church in the later times both of the Iewes Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let vs heare and conſider the words of Daniell in the 11. chapter, and alſo in his viij. chapter, prophecying of the ſame as followeth.

He ſhall returne and freat againſt the holy couenant: ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall euen returne and haue intelligence with them that forſake the holy couenant. And armes ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall ſet vp the abominable deſolation. And ſuch as wickedly breake the couenant, ſhall flatter with him deceitfully: but the people that do know their God, ſhall preuaile and proſper. And they that vnderſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame, by captiuitie, and by ſpoile many dayes.

Dan. cap. 11.

Now when they ſhall fall they ſhall be holpen with a little helpe: but many ſhall cleaue vnto them faineedly. And ſome of them of vnderſtanding ſhall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out: for there is a time appointed. And the King ſhall do what him liſt: he ſhall exalt himſelfe, and magnifie himſelfe againſt all that is God,

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and ſhal ſpeake marueilous things againſt the God of Gods, and ſhal proſper, till the wrath be accompliſhed: for the determination is made. Neither ſhal he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the deſires of women, nor care for any God: for he ſhal magnifie himſelfe aboue all. But in his place ſhal he honour the god Mauzzim, and the god whom his fathers knew not, ſhal he honour with gold and with ſiluer, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſant things.

Thus ſhall he doe in the holds of Mauzzim with a ſtrange god, whom he ſhal acknowledge: he ſhall increaſe his glory, and ſhal cauſe them to rule ouer many, and ſhal diuide the land for gaine. And at the end of time, ſhal the king of the South puſh at him, and the king of the North ſhall come againſt him like a whirle wind, with chariots, and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and he ſhall enter into the countreyes, and ſhall ouerflow and paſſe thorough. He ſhall enter alſo into a pleaſant land, and many countreyes ſhall be ouerthrowne: but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, euen Edom and Moab, and the chiefe of the children of Ammon. He ſhall ſtretch forth his hands alſo vpon the countreyes, and the land of Egypt ſhal not eſcape. But he ſhall haue power ouer the treaſures of gold and of ſiluer, and ouer all the precious things of Egypt, and of the Lybians, and of the blacke Moores where he ſhall paſſe. But the tidings out of the East and the North, ſhall trouble him, therefore he ſhall go forth with great wrath to deſtroy and roote out many: And hee ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace betweene the Seas, in the glorious and holy mountaine, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall helpe him.

To this place of Daniel aboue preſired, might alſo be added the Propheſie of the ſaid Daniel written in the ſeuenth chapter, and much tending to the like effect: where he entreating of his viſion of foure beaſts which ſignifie the foure Monarchies) and ſpeaking now of the fourth Monarchie, hath theſe words.

Dan. cap. 7. After this, I ſaw in the viſions by night, and behold, the fourth beaſt was grimme and horrible, and maruellous ſtrong. It had great yron teeth: it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue vnder his feete: and it was vnlike the other beaſts that were before it, for it had ten hornes. As I conſidered the hornes, behold, there came vp among them another little horne, before whom, there were three of the firſt hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne, were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking preſumptuous things, and ſeemed more ſtout then the other. Which horne alſo (when I looked on) made battraile with the Saints, and preuailed againſt them: vntill the old aged came, and iudgement was giuen to the Saints of the higheſt, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints ſhould haue the kingdome.

Thus haue ye heard the plaine words of Daniel. In the which, as he doth manifeſtly deſcribe the comming of Antiochus the great aduerſary, toward the later end of the Iewes: ſo by the ſame Antiochus is figured alſo to vs the great aduerſary of Chriſt, which is the Turke.

Vide Rodulphum Gualt. de Antichriſto. Although ſome there be notwithſtanding, which with great learning and iudgement, do apply this place of Daniel aboue recited, not to the Turke, but rather to the Pope, and that for vij. or viij. ſpeciall cauſes herein touched and noted.

The firſt note. The firſt is this, that the wicked tranſgreſſours of the couenant ſhall ioyne with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which ſhall pollute the Tabernacle of ſtrength, and take away the perpetuall ſacrifice, and bring in the abomination of deſolation.

The ſecond note. The ſecond note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among the people ſhall teach many, and that they ſhall fall vpon the ſword, into fire, and captiuitie, and ſhall be baniſhed, whereby they ſhall be tried, choſen, and made bright and pure, &c. All which (ſay they) is not among the Turkes to be ſeene, but onely in the Popes Church: where the faithfull preachers and teachers of the people are ſlaine and burned, and go to wracke, &c. Where likewiſe it followeth, that they ſhall be holpen againſt Antichriſt, and that many falſe brethren ſhall ioyne vnto them diſſemblingly, &c. To this they alledge, that the Chriſtians haue no ſuch helpe againſt the Turke, whereunto ſuch falſe brethren ſhould ioyne themſelues, as is and hath bene commonly ſeene among the Chriſtians againſt the Pope, from time to time, almoſt in all Countreyes: as in Germany by the Protеſtants, and free Cities: In England in king Henries time by the Lord Cromwell, and afterward by King Edward, and now by Queene Elizabeth: in Scotland, by the godly Nobilitie: In France, by the Queene of Nauarre and her ſonne: and alſo by the Prince of Condy and the worthy Admirall, and his two brethren, and many others: In Flaunders, by them whome the Regent calleth Beggers: ſo as was in the time of the Machabees, againſt Antiochus.

Helpe of the Chriſtians againſt the Pope.

The third note. Thirdly, that the king ſhall eralt himſelfe aboue all that hath the name of God, and ſhall lift vp his mouth to ſpeake preſumptuouſly againſt God.

The fourth note. Fourthly, that he careth not for the deſires of women: which may ſeeme to note how the Popes doctrine ſhall forbid the honeſt and lawfull mariage in Churchmen.

The fift note. The fift ſpecialtie which they apply to the Pope, is that which followeth in the Prophet, ſaying: Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any God: but in ſtead of him, ſhall ſet vp his God Mauzzim, and ſhall worſhip him with ſiluer and gold, and pretious ſtone, &c. which they do apply to the Pope, ſetting vp his god of bread, and worſhipping him with gliſtering golden ornaments, and moſt ſolemne ſeruice. Mauzzim the Popes god.

The firſt note. Sirtly, it followeth: and he ſhall increaſe them with much glory and riches, and ſhall diuide vnto them lands and poſſeſſions, &c. meaning, that the Pope hauing dominion ouer treaſures of gold and ſiluer, and all precious things of the land, ſhall indue his Cardinals, Prelats, his flattering doctours, with Friers, Monkes and Prieſts, and all ſuch as ſhall take his part, with great priuileges, liberties, reuenues, and poſſeſſions. And thus I ſay, ſome there be, which apply this propheſie of the viij. and ix. chapters of Daniel, vnto the Biſhop of Rome. Whom although I take to be an extreame perſecutor of Chriſts Church: yet I iudge rather thoſe two chapters of Daniel concerning the little horne in the middle of the ten hornes, and the great deſtroier of the pleaſant land and glorious holy mountaine, to meane firſt Antiochus, and by him ſecondly to meane the great Antichriſt, the Turke: who hath now ſet already the tabernacles of his palace betweene the Seas, according to the Propheſies of Daniel, as is aboueſaid. The 7. and 11. chapt. of Daniel meaneth the great Antichriſt, the Turke.

Ezechiel cap. 38, 39. Gog and Magog. Ouer and beſides theſe Propheſies aboue alledged, may be added alſo the Propheſie of Ezechiel chapter 39. ſpeaking of Gog and Magog: which as it may be applied to the oppreſſion of the Iewes vnder the heathen multitude, which ſtopped the building of the Citie, and vnder the Syrian kings, &c. yet in the ſame alſo is expreſſed the calamities and afflictions of Chriſtes Churche in theſe later times, vnder the Saracens and the Turkes, &c.

The Propheſies of the new Teſtament concerning the Turke. 2. Theſ. 2. Proceeding further in this matter, let vs come now to the Propheſies of the new Teſtament, and marke the words of Saint Paul, writing to the Theſſalonians, which then were Chriſtened, and now either are Turkiſh, or vnder the Turke, which words be theſe: Be ye not ſodainly moued in your mind, nor troubled, neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter as ſent from vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing firſt, and that wicked man be reuealed, the ſonne of perdition, which is an aduerſary, and is extolled aboue all power, and that which is called god: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, boaſting himſelfe to be god, &c. Although this defection and departing may haue a double vnderſtanding, as well of the Popes ſect which is gone and departed from the free iuſtification by faith onely in Chriſt, through the promiſe of grace) as of the Turkes: yet leaning a while to ſpeake of the Pope, becauſe it appeareth more notoriouſly in the Turke, wee will chiefly apply it to him: in whom ſo aptly it doth agree, that vnleſſe this great defection from faith in ſo many Churches, had hapned by the Turke, it had bene hard to vnderſtand the Apoſtles minde, which now by the hiſtory of theſe Turkes is eaſie and euident to be known, conſidering what a ruine hath happened to the Church of Chriſt by theſe miſerable Turkes, that Emperies, Nations, Kingdomes, Countreyes, Colonies, and Cities, be remoued from the name and profeſſion of Chriſt, how many thouſands and infinite multitudes of Chriſten men and children, in Aſia, in Africke, and in Europe, are caried away from Chriſts Church, to Mahumetes Religion, ſome to ſeruis for the Turkes guard among the Janizarites, ſome for ſouldiours, ſome for miners, ſome for gunners, to fight and warre againſt the Chriſtians: ſo that the moſt part of all the Churches planted once by the Apoſtles, are now degenerated into Turkes, only a ſmall handfull of Chriſtians reſerued yet in theſe Weſt parts of Europe, of the which ſmall reſidue, what ſhall alſo become ſhortly, except Chriſt himſelfe doe helpe, Chriſt onely himſelfe doth know. The defection of the Pope. How great this defection hath bin, ſpoken of by Saint Paul, thou mayſt ſee (gentle Reader) in the table aboue deſcribed, pag. 698. Vide ſupra pag. 676.

The place of Saint Paul. 2. Theſ. 2. applied to the Pope. Notwithſtanding, this text of the holy Apoſtle (as I afore ſaid) may be verified alſo with no leſſe reaſon, vpon the Biſhop of Rome, then vpon the Turke, both for that he is a man of ſinne, that is, his ſeate and Citie is a great maintainer of wickedneſſe, and alſo for that he is an aduerſary, that is, contrary in all his doings and proceedings to Chriſt.

Thirdly, for that he ſitteth in the temple of God, and ſo did not Mahumet.

Fourthly, becauſe he is an eralter of himſelfe, & ſitteth more like a god then a man in Rome, whereof ſee more in the booke ſet forth in Engliſh, called The Conteſtations of the Popes.

Fiftly, for that he ſeduceth, and hath ſeduced by his apoſtaſie, the moſt part of all Chriſtendome from the doctrine and free promiſes of God, into a wrong and ſtrange way of ſaluation, which is not to be iuſtified freely before God, onely by our faith in Chriſt his welbeloued Sonne (vnto the which faith, the promiſe of God freely and graciouſly hath annexed all our ſaluation onely, & to no other thing) but hath taught vs to worke our ſaluation by an infinite nũber of other things: In ſo much that he bindeth the neceſſitie of our ſaluation alſo to this, that we muſt beleeue (if we will be ſaued) & receiue him to be the Vicar of Chriſt in earth, &c. Ex Bonifacio Extrauag.

But to returne againe vnto the Turkes, among all the propheſies

prophecies both of the old Teſtament and of the new, there is none that painteth out the Antichriſtian kingdome of the Turkes, better then doth the Reuelation of S. Iohn, whoſe words let vs weigh and conſider. Who in the Apocalypſe 9. where he ſpeaketh of opening the ſeuenth and laſt ſeale, (which ſignifieth the laſt age of the world) and there writting of the vij. trumpets of the vij. Angels, at the ſounding of the vj. Angell ſaith, Looſe the iiij. Angels, which are bound in the great riuer Euphrates, And ỹ foure Angels were looſed, which were ready both day and houre, and moneth, and yeare, to ſlay the third part of men. And the number of horſemen were twenty thouſand times ten thouſand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I ſaw in a viſion, horſes, and them that ſate on them, hauing fiery habergions, and of Iacinth ſtone, and of brimſtone, and the heads of the horſes were as the heads of Lyons, and out of their mouthes went foorth fire, and ſmoke, and brimſtone, of theſe three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, ſmoke, and brimſtone, which proceeded out of their mouthes, &c.

Apoc. 9.

The 7. trumpets of the 7. Angels in the Apoc. expounded.

By the ſeuenth ſeale is meant the ſeuenth and laſt age of the world, which laſt age of the world, is from Chriſt, to the iudgement and reſurrection of the dead.

By the ſeuen Angels with their ſeuen Trumpets, is ſignified the ſeuen plagues that come in this ſeuenth and laſt age of the world.

The ſixth trumpet.

By the firſt Trumpet of the firſt Angell, is meant the firſt plague comming laſt and nert before the plague of the great iudgement day, which firſt plague is heere deſcribed to come by the Eaſt Kings, that is, by the Turkes, as followeth to be ſeene.

Looſing of the angels vpon the riuer Euphrates.

By looſing the Angels which had rule of the great riuer Euphrates, is ſignified the letting out of the Eaſt Kings, that is, the Turkes, out of Scythia, Tartaria, Perſia, and Arabia, by whome the third part of Chriſtendome ſhall be deſtroyed, as we ſee it this day hath come to paſſe.

Apoc. 9.

It followeth in the propheſie, Their power ſhall be in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles be like Serpents, hauing heads, and with them they hurt, &c. Meaning that theſe Turkes with the words of their mouthes, ſhall threaten great deſtruction of fire and ſword, to them that will not yéeld vnto them, and in the end, when the Chriſtians ſhall yéeld vnto them, truſting to their promiſes, they like Serpents ſhall deceiue them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the ſtory of the Turkes aboue paſt, pag. 682. 683. 692.

Apoc. ca. 16.

The like prophecy alſo after the like words and ſence, is to be ſéene and read in the 16. chapter of the Apocalypſe, where S. Iohn entreating of ſeuen cups, filled with the wrath of the liuing God, giuen to the hands of ſeuen Angels, by one of the foure beaſts (that is in the time of one of the foure Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of Rome) ſpeaketh likewiſe of the firſt Angell, which poured his viall of Gods wrath vpon the great riuer Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried vp, that the way of the kings of the Eaſt ſhould be prepared, &c.

The 4. beaſts in the Apoc. meant the 4. Monarchies.

By the firſt Angell with the firſt viall, is meant as before, the laſt plague ſaue one that ſhall come vpon the Chriſtians. By the kings of the Eaſt are meant the Saracens, and 12. Ottoman Turkes. By drying vp the riuer of Euphrates, is ſignified the way of theſe Turkes to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the Eaſt to the Weſt parts of the world, to moleſt and afflict the Chriſtians. It followeth more in the text. And I ſaw three vncleane ſpirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe Prophet, for they are the ſpirits of diuels, doing wonders, to goe vnto the Kings of the whole earth, to aſſemble and gather them together to the battell againſt the day of the great God omnipotent, &c. And it followeth ſhortly after, And he aſſembled them together into a place which is called in hebreue Armagedon, that is, a trap or traine of deſtruction. And immediatly it followeth in the ſame place, And the ſeuenth Angell poured out his viall in the ayre, and a mightie voice came from heauen, out of the Throne, ſaying, *factum eſt*, It is done, or finiſhed, &c. Whereby it is to be vnderſtoode, that toward the laſt conſummation of the world, great force ſhall be ſéene, and a mighty army of the enemies ſhall be collected and gathered againſt the people, and Saints of the higheſt, and then commeth the conſummation, with *factum eſt*, &c.

The Kings of the Eaſt. Drying vp of Euphrates. *Ibidem.*

Wherefore it is not for naught that the holy Spirit of God in the ſame place, a little before the firſt Angell doth poure out his viall, doth exhort all the faithfull, ſaying: Behold, I come like a theefe in the night, Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, leaſt he walke naked, and men ſee his filthines, &c.

Ibidem. An exhortation of the holy ghoſt to the faithfull

Nicol. de Lyra, and Paulus Biſhop of Burdens, and Matthias Dorinke writting vpon the 13. chapter of the Apocal. and expounding the myſtery of the ſecond beaſt, riſing out of the earth, hauing the hornes of a Lambe, &c. doe apply the ſame to Mahumet and the Turkes, with a ſolemne declaration made vpon the ſame. Which interpretation of theirs, although in ſome points it may ſéeme to haue ſome appearance of probabilitie, neither can it be denied but that Mahumet and the Turke be peſtilent and wicked enemies of Chriſt our Lord, and moſt bitter perſecutors of his Church, yet as touching the proper and naturall meaning of the Apoſtle in that place, ſpeaking of the falſe lamb, &c. if we conſider well all the circumſtances of that beaſt, and marke the conſequence of the text, both of that which goeth before, and followeth after, we muſt néeds grant, that Nicol. de Lyra, with his fellowes, and with all ſuch like of the popes ſchoole, that follow that ſchoole be deceiued, and that the deſcription and interpretation of that falſe horned lambe, muſt neceſſarily bee applied only to the biſhop of Rome, and none other, which is to be proued by three principall cauſes or arguments.

Apoc. ca. 13.

The beaſt hauing hornes like the lambe, muſt needs meane the pope.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt is, for that this beaſt is deſcribed to beare the hornes of a lambe. By the which lambe, no doubt, is meant Chriſt. By the hornes of the lambe is ſignified the outward ſhew or reſemblance of Chriſt our Sauior, which ſhew or reſemblance can haue no relation to Mahumet, for that he taketh himſelfe to be aboue Chriſt, and Chriſt as an excellent Prophet of God, ſitting at his feet. Wherefore ſéeing Mahumet commeth neither as equall to Chriſt, nor as vicar vnder Chriſt, this propheſie cannot agrée in him, but onely in him which openlie in plaine words proteſteth, that all Chriſts lambs and ſheepe not ſingularly, but vniuerſally through the whole world, are committed to him, as vicar of Chriſt, and ſucceſſor of Peter, and that all men muſt confeſſe the ſame of neceſſitie, or els they are none of Chriſts ſheepe, &c. wherein it is eaſie to ſee where the pretenced hornes of the lamb doe grow.

Ex Boniface. 8. Extrau. de Maiorit. & obed.

The ſecond reaſon.

The ſecond argument, And he ſpake like the dragon, &c. A Lambes hornes and the mouth of a dragon, doe not agrée together. And as they doe not agrée together in nature, ſo neither can they be found in any one perſon, either Turke, or other (if we will iudge truly) ſo liuely, as in the biſhop of Rome. When thou heareſt him call himſelfe the apoſtolicall biſhop, the Vicar of Chriſt, the ſucceſſour of Peter, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, &c. thou ſéeſt in him the two hornes of a lambe, and wouldeſt thinke him to be a lambe in déede, and ſuch a one as would waſh your feet for humilitie: but heare him ſpeake, and you ſhall find him a dragon. Sée and reade the epiſtle of pope Martine the fift aboue mentioned, pag. 597. charging, commanding, and threatning emperours, kings, dukes, princes, marqueſſes, earles, barons, knights, rectors, conſuls, proconſuls, with their ſhires, counties, and vniuerſities of their kingdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, caſtles, villages, and other places. Sée the anſwere of pope Urban the ſecond, and his meſſage to king William Rufus, page 168. Behold the workes and doings of pope Innocent againſt king John.

Vide ſupra. pag. 596.

Anno 1553.

Note alſo the anſwere of another pope to the king of England, which for the price of the kings head, would not grant vnto him the inueſting of his biſhops. Marke well the words and doings of Pope Hildebrand againſt the Emperour Henrie the fourth, page 161. Alſo of Pope Alexander the 2. treading vpon the necke of Fredericus Barbarolla, not like a lambe treading vpon a dragon, but like a dragon treading vpon a lambe: ſo that his owne verſe might be turned vpon himſelfe: *Tanquam aſpis & baſiliſcus ſuper ouiculam ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco conculcans agnum.* Conſider moreouer the behauiour, manner, condition, and propertie almoſt of all the Popes which haue béene theſe 600. yéeres, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous, then their owne doings and words can ſpeake, and giue teſtimonie againſt themſelues.

The pope hath the hornes of a Lambe, but the mouth of a Dragon.

It followeth moreouer in the ſame propheſie of the Apocalypſe for the third argument. And he doth all the power of the firſt beaſt, preſently before his face, and cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein to honour the firſt beaſt, the ſtripe of whoſe deadly wound was cured, &c.

The third reaſon.

In this propheſy two things are to be noted: firſt, what the firſt beaſt is, whoſe power the ſecond beaſt doth execute. Secondly, what this ſecond beaſt is, which ſo doth exercile his power in his ſight. The firſt of theſe beaſts here in the Apocal. deſcribed, hauing ſeuen heads and ten hornes, muſt needs ſignifie the citie of Rome, which may eaſily be proued by two demonſtrations. Firſt, by the expoſition of the 17. chapter of the ſame Apocalyps, where is declared and deſcribed the ſaid beaſt to ſtand of 7. hils, and to containe 10. kings, hauing the whole power of the dragon giuen: and alſo the ſame citie to bee named the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of Saints. All which properties ioyned together, can agrée in no wiſe but onely to the heathen Empire of Rome, which Citie at that time of writing theſe propheſies, had the gouernment of the whole world. The ſecond demonſtration or euidence, may be deduced out of the number of the monethes aſſigned to this beaſt, Apoc. 13. For ſo it is written, that this beaſt had power to make, that is, to worke his malice againſt Chriſtes people 42. moneths, which monethes counted by ſabbathes of yeeres (that is, euery moneth for ſeuen yeeres) maketh vp the iuſt number of thoſe yeeres, in which the primitiue Church was vnder the terrible perſecutions of the heathen Emperors of Rome, as is afore ſpecified, pag. 265.

The two beaſts in the 13. chapter of the Apocalypſe expounded.

A deſcription of the City and Monarchy of Rome.

Which thing thus ſtanding, proued and confeſſed, that the firſt beaſt muſt needs ſignifie the Empire and City of Rome, then muſt it neceſſarily follow that the ſecond beaſt with the

The propheſie of the Apocal. cap. 13. diſcuſſed.

The deſcription of the beaſt with the two hornes of the lambe. Apoc. 13.

lambes hornes muſt ſignifie the biſhop and pope of the ſame city of Rome. The reaſon whereof is euident, and apparent by that which followeth in the prophecie, where it is declared, that the ſecond beaſt hauing two hornes of a lambe, receiued and exerciſed all the power of the firſt beaſt, before or in the ſight of the ſaid beaſt, which cannot bee verified neither in the Turke, nor in any other, but onely in the pope of Rome, who (as you ſée) receiueth, vſurpeth, and deriueth to himſelfe all the power of that city and Monarchie of Rome: Inſomuch that he ſaith, that when Conſtantine or Ludouicus yeelded vnto him the rule and kingdome of that city, he gaue him but his owne, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

The pope hauing all the rule and power of Rome.

And this authority or power ouer all the empire of Rome, he worketh not in Aſia, or in Conſtantinople as the Turke doth, but in the ſight of the beaſt which gaue him the power, that is, in the city of Rome it ſelfe, which is the firſt beaſt here in this prophecie of the Apocalyps deſcribed.

Fourthly, it followeth more, And he cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worſhip and honour the firſt beaſt, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c. The interpretation of this part, as alſo of all the other parts of the ſame chapter, ſtandeth vpon the definition of the firſt beaſt, for being granted, as cannot be denied, that the firſt beaſt, ſignifieth the city and empire of Rome, it muſt conſequently follow, that the biſhop (whom we call the pope) of the ſame city of Rome, muſt be vnderſtood by the ſecond beaſt, forſomuch as neither Turke nor any other, but only the biſhop of Rome, hath holden vp the eſtimation and dignity of that city, which began to be in ruine and decay by the Vandalians, Gothes, Herulians, and Lombards, about the yéere of our Lord, 456. but afterward by the biſhop of Rome, the priſtine ſtate and honour of that city reuiued againe, and flouriſhed in as great veneration, as euer it did before. And that is it which the holy Ghoſt ſéemeth here to meane of the firſt beaſt, ſaying: That he had a wound of the ſword, and was cured. For ſo it followeth.

Apoc. 13. The fourth reaſon.

The fifth reaſon.

Fifthly, And he cauſed all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beaſt, which had the ſtripe of the ſword and liued. And it was giuen to him to giue life to the image of the beaſt, and to make the image thereof to ſpeake, and to cauſe all them that worſhipped not the image of the beaſt, to be killed: forcing all perſons both little and great, rich and poore, bond and free, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand, or in their foreheads, and that none might buy or ſell but they which had the marke, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name, &c.

Rome almoſt dead.

By giuing life to the image of the beaſt, and making it to ſpeake is to be preſuppoſed that the beaſt was at a neere point of death, and lay ſpeechles before, inſomuch that the Citie of Rome began to looſe and change his name, and was called a while Odacria, of Odacer King of the Herulians: which by dint of ſword ſurpriſed the Romaines: and yet not withſtanding, by the meanes of this Romaine Prelate, the ſaid Citie of Rome, which was then ready to giue vp the ghoſt, ſo recouered his maieſtie and ſtrength againe, that it is hard to ſay, whether Rome did euer ruffle & rage in his tyrannie before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian, and other Emperors, more tragically, then it hath done vnder the Pope: or whether that Rome had all Kings, Quéenes, Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all ſubiects more vnder obedience and ſubiection, when the Emperors raigned, or now in the raigne of the pope. And therefore it is ſaid not without cauſe of the holy Ghoſt: That it is giuen to him, to giue life and ſpeech to the image of the beaſt, cauſing all them to be ſlaine which will not worſhip the image of the beaſt, &c. As for example hereof, who ſeeth not what numbers and multitudes of Chriſtian men, women and children in all Countreyes, haue bene put to the fire and ſword: Stories of all times will declare, what hauocke hath bene made of Chriſtian bloud, about the prehemintence and maiority of the ſea of Rome: what Churches and Countreyes both Greekes and Latin, haue bene excommunicated: what Kings haue bene depoſed, and Emperours ſtripped from their Imperiall ſeate, and all becauſe they would not ſtoope and bend to the Image of the beaſt, that is, to the maieſty and title of Rome, aduanced vp ſo highly now by the Biſhop thereof, as it was neuer higher before in the raigne of Nero or Diocleſian. Wherefore taking the firſt beaſt to ſignifie the Empyre of Rome, which cannot be denyed, it is plaine, that the ſecond beaſt muſt neceſſarily be applied to the pope, and not to the Turke, for as much as the Turke ſéeketh nothing leſſe then the aduancement of that Empire, but rather ſtriueth againſt it, to plucke it downe.

Rome called Odacria.

To giue life to the image of the beaſt.

The Image of Rome ſpeaketh againe as cruelly as euer it did.

Et facies eorum occidi, qui non adorauerint imaginem beſtiæ. Apoc 13.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt and laſt argument is grounded vpon the number of the name of the beaſt, expreſſed by the holy Ghoſt in the ſame Prophecie, by the letters χξϛ. In which letters, although there lieth great darkeneſſe and difficultie to be vnderſtood, yet certaine auncient Fathers which were diſciples and hearers of them which heard S. Iohn himſelfe, as Irenæus and other, do expound the ſaid letters coniecturally to containe the name of the beaſt, and to be the name of a man, vnder this word λατεινος: Where as elſe no other name lightly of any perſon either in Greéke or Latine, will agrée to the ſame, ſaue onely the foreſaid name λατεινος. Although ſome later writers giuing their coniectures vpon the ſame, do find the name of Lateranus in Hebrew letters, to anſwere to the ſame number. Some faine other names, as ωιπμος or νικαν. made words, which ſignifie nothing, as Diclux, or Luduuic, by Romane letters, &c. But of all names properly ſignifying any man, none commeth ſo néere to the number of this myſtery (if it goe by order of letters) as doth the word λατεινος afore ſaid. And thus much by the way, and occaſion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Doringus, the author of Fortalilium fidei, and other Commentaries moe of the ſame faction: who writing vpon this thirteenth Chapter of the Apocalips, and not conſidering the circumſtances thereof, both are deceiued themſelues, and deceiue many other, applying that to the Turke, which cannot otherwiſe be verified but onely vpon the pope, as may appeare ſufficiently by the premiſſes: Not that I write this of any mood or malice either to the citie of Rome, or to the perſon of the biſhop, as being Gods creature: but being occaſioned here to entreat of the prophecies againſt the Turkes, would wiſh the Readers not to bee deceiued, but rightly to vnderſtand the ſimple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof being bolted out, it may be the better knowne what prophecies directly make againſt theſe Turkes, what otherwiſe.

λ The number of theſe letters in Greeke, made words, which ſignifie nothing, as Diclux, or Luduuic, by Romane letters, &c. But of all names properly ſignifying any man, none commeth ſo néere to the number of this myſtery (if it goe by order of letters) as doth the word λατεινος afore ſaid. And thus much by the way, and occaſion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Doringus, the author of Fortalilium fidei, and other Commentaries moe of the ſame faction: who writing vpon this thirteenth Chapter of the Apocalips, and not conſidering the circumſtances thereof, both are deceiued themſelues, and deceiue many other, applying that to the Turke, which cannot otherwiſe be verified but onely vpon the pope, as may appeare ſufficiently by the premiſſes: Not that I write this of any mood or malice either to the citie of Rome, or to the perſon of the biſhop, as being Gods creature: but being occaſioned here to entreat of the prophecies againſt the Turkes, would wiſh the Readers not to bee deceiued, but rightly to vnderſtand the ſimple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof being bolted out, it may be the better knowne what prophecies directly make againſt theſe Turkes, what otherwiſe.

Nicol. de Lyra, and other papiſh writers, deceiued in the 13. chapter of the Apocalyps.

In the which prophecies againſt the Turkes, now to proceed, let vs come to the 20. Chapter of the Apocalyps, wherein the holy Scripture ſeemeth plainelie and directlie to notifie the ſaid Turkes. The words of the prophecie be theſe.

Apoc. cap. 20.

And I ſaw an angell deſcending from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomleſſe pit, and a great chaine in his hand: and hee tooke the dragon, the old Serpent, which is the diuell and Satanas, and bound him vp for a thouſand yeeres, and caſt him in the pit, and ſealed him vp, that he ſhould not ſeduce the people any more, till the thouſand yeeres were expired: and after that hee muſt bee let looſe for a little while, &c.

And it followeth after: And when the thouſand yeeres ſhall be complete, Satanas ſhall be let out of his dungeon, and ſhall goe abroad to ſeduce the people, which are on the foure corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to aſſemble them to battel, whoſe number is like to the ſands of the ſea. And they went vp vpon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compaſſed about the tents of the Saints, and the welbeloued cities, &c.

The binding and looſing out of Satan examined.

Three things to be noted in this prophecie.

To the perfect vnderſtanding of this prophecie, three things are neceſſarie to be knowne. Firſt, what is meant by binding vp, and looſing out of Satanas the old dragon. Secondly, at what time and yéere firſt he was chained vp and ſealed for a thouſand yéeres. Thirdly, at what yéere and time theſe thouſand yeeres did end, when as hee ſhould be looſed out againe for a little ſeaſon. Which three points being well examined and marked, the Prophecie may eaſily be vnderſtood directly to be meant of the Turke. Albeit Anagogically ſome part thereof may alſo be referred not vnproperly vnto the Pope, as is aboue notified.

What is meant by binding vp of Sathan.

Firſt, by binding and looſing of Satanas, ſéemeth to be meant the ceaſing and ſtaying of the cruell and horrible perſecution of the heathen Emperours of Rome, againſt the true Chriſtians, as is to be ſéene in the ten firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Church aboue deſcribed in the former part of theſe Actes and Monuments: in the which moſt bloody perſecutions, Satanas the diuell then raged without all meaſure, till the time it pleaſed almightie God to ſtop this old Serpent, and to tye him shorter. And thus haue you to vnderſtand what is meant by the binding vp of Sathan for a thouſand yéeres: whereby is ſignified, that the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians ſtirred vp by the beaſt (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the inſtigation of Sathan) ſhall not alwayes continue, but ſhall breake vp after certaine time, and ſhall ceaſe for a thouſand yeeres, &c.

The time of binding vp of Sathan.

Now at what time and yeere this perſecution, that is, the furie and rage of Sathan ſhould ceaſe, is alſo declared in the Apocalypſe before: where in the 11. and. 13. chapters we read, that the beaſt afore mentioned, ſhall haue power to worke his malice and miſchiefe, the ſpace of 42. moneths, and no more, and then that Sathan ſhould be locked vp for a thouſand yeeres. The computation of which moneths being counted by Sabbathes of yeeres (after the example of the 69. weekes of Daniell, cap. 11.) it doth bring vs to the iuſt yeere and time, when that terrible perſecution in the primitiue Church ſhould end, and ſo it did. For giue to euery moneth a Sabbath of yeeres, that is, reckon euery moneth for ſeuen yeeres, and that maketh 294. yeeres, which was the full time betweene the 18. yeere of Tiberius, (vnder whom Chriſt ſuffered) and the death of Marentius the laſt perſecutor of the primitiue Church in Europe, ſubdued by Conſtantinus, as may appeare by calculating the yeeres, moneths, and dayes betweene the ſaid yeere of the raigne of Tiberius, and the latter end of Marentius: and ſo haue you the ſupputation of the yeere and time, when Satan was firſt bound vp, after hee had raged in the primitiue Church 42. moneths.

Apoc. 11. 13. 42. moneths in the Apoc. declared.

Which

Supputation of yeeres betweene the beginning and ceaſing of the perſecutions in the primitiue Church.

The number of the name of the beaſt diſcuſſed 666.

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Which maketh, as is said, being counted by Sabbaths of yeeres, after the vsuall maner of the Scripture, mounteth to 294. yeeres: and so much was the full time betweene the passion of our Lord, which was in the 18. yeere of Tiberius, vnto the last yeere of Maxentius.

Vide supra pag. 365.

The pope proued to be the second beast mentioned in the Apocal. 13.

And here by the way commeth a note to be obserued, that forasmuch as by the number of these 42. moneths, specified in the Apocalyps the Empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast: therefore it must by like necessitie follow, the Bishop of Rome to be the second beast, with the two hornes of the Lambe, for that he onely hath and doth cause the said Empire of Rome to reuiue and to be magnified, and so doth not the Turke, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherfore let euery Christian man be wise and beware betime how he taketh the marke of the beast, least peraduenture it follow vpon him, that he drinke of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned, Apocal. chap. 14.

Et hic bibet de vino iræ Dei. Apoc. 14.

The third part of the prophesie for the louing out of Sathan.

Thirdly, it remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this foresaid prophecie, that as we haue found out (through the helpe of Christ) the yeere and time of Satans binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his louing out, which by the testimonie of Scripture, was appointed to be a thousand yeeres after his binding vp, and rightly according to the time appointed, it came to passe. For if we number well by the Scripture the yeere of his binding vp, which was from the passion of our Lord 294. yeeres and adde therto a thousand yeares, it mounteth to 1294. which was the very yeere when Ottomannus the first Turke began his raigne: which was the first spring and welhead of all these woefull calamities that the Church of Christ hath felt both in Asia, Affrica, and Europe, almost these three hundreth yeeres past. For so we finde in Chronicles, that the kingdome of the Turkes being first deuided into foure families, an. 1280. at length the familie of Ottomannus preuailed, and thereupon came these, whom now we call Turkes: which was about the same time, when pope Boniface the eight was bishop of Rome.

The beginning of the Turkes Progenie.

The time of Transubstantiation.

The time of the Turkes.

Where by the way this is againe to be noted, that after the decree of transubstantiation was enacted in the councel of Laterane by pope Innocent the 3. the yere of our Lord 1215. not long after, about the yeere of our Lord 1260. was stirred vp the power and armes of the Oguzians, and of Othogules father of Ottomannus: who about the yeere of our Lord 1294. began first to vexe the Christians about Pontus and Bithinia, and so beginning his kingdome an. 1300. reigned 28. yeeres, as is afore mentioned.

Ex Leonico Chalcondyla lib. 1.

The prophecie of Ezech. 38.

Mention was made before of Ezechiell prophecying against Gog, whose words diuers expositours do applie against the Turke, and are these: Thou shalt come from thy place, out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding vpon horses, a great and a mighty army, and thou shalt come vp against my people of Israel as a cloud, to couer the land: Thou shalt be in the latter dayes, and I will bring thee vpon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eies. Thus saith the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whom I haue spoken in the old time, by the hand of my seruants the Prophets of Israel, that prophecied in those dayes and yeeres, that I would bring thee vpon them? At the same time also, when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger. For in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I spoken it: Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the foules of the heauen, the beasts of the field, and all that moue and creepe vpon the earth, and all the men that are vpon the earth shall tremble at my presence: the mountaines shall bee ouerthrowen: the starres shall fall, and euery wall shall fall to the ground, &c.

The prophecies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other, concerning the raigne and ruine of the Turkes.

Methodius prophecies.

Vnto these testimonies aboue excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let vs adde also the prophetical reuelations of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sybilla, and others. This Methodius is thought of some to be the same Methodius, of whom Hierome, and Suidas make mention: which was bishop first of Olympus in Lycia, then of Tyrus, and suffered martyrdome in the last persecution of the primitiue Church, vnder Diocletian. Vnto whom also Trithemius attributeth the booke intituled: De Quatuor nouissimis temporibus. But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said Methodius doth cite and alleadge the Maister of Sentences, namely, in his second booke, and first distinction, which maister of Sentences, followed more then a thousand yeere after Christ: besides certaine other fabulous matter contained in the same booke. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things concerning the state of the Church vnder Antichrist, and the reformation of religion, as seemeth rightly to come to passe, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraud the Reader therof, leauing the credite of the Author to his arbitrement, to esteeme and iudge of him as he seeth cause. Among diuers other places of Methodius, prophecying of the latter time, These words doe follow.

The booke of Methodius mistaken.

The prophecies of Methodius, concerning the Turkes.

After that the children of Ishmael haue had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the desert aforesaid, they came out of the wildernes of Arabie, and entred into the habitable land, and fought with the kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promise, and the land was filled with them. And after 70. weekes, and halfe of their power wherewith they haue subdued all the kingdomes of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted, seeing themselues so to haue preuailed, and to haue conquered all things, &c. And afterward it followeth of the same matter in this wise.

It shall come to passe that the said seed of Ishmaell, shall issue out and obtaine the whole world, with the regions thereof, in the entring of peace, from the land of Aegypt, vnto Ethiopia: and from the floud Euphrates, vnto India: and from the riuer Tygris, to the entring of Nabaot, the kingdome of Ionithus, the son of Noe, & from the North, vnto Rome & Illyricu Aegypt, and Thessalonica, and Albania, and so forth to the sea Ponticum, which diuideth the said kingdomes from Germany and France; and their yoke shall be double vpon the neckes of all nations, and Gentiles: neither shall there bee nation or kingdome vnder heauen, which shall be able to stand against them in battaile, vntill the number of 8. weekes of yeeres, &c.

Eight weekes of yeeres, counting euery weeke for a sabbath of yeeres, that is, euery day for a yeere, commeth to 56. yeeres.

The first state or alteration of times concerning the coming of the Saracens.

Briefly, as in a grosse summe, this shall suffice, to admonish the reader, touching the meaning and methode of Methodius Prophecies, which Methodius first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christs Church, maketh mention of the seede of Ishmaell, which comming out of the parts and deserts of Arabie, shall destroy (saith he) and banquith the whole earth. So that the Christians shall be giuen of God, to the hands of the filthy Barbarians, to be slaine, polluted, & captiued: Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Aegypt, the East parts, Asia, Spaine, all Grecia, France, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia. The Romanes also shall be slaine and put to flight: also the Ilands of the Seas shall be brought to desolation, and to captiuity, and put to the sword. The which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure: the raunsome of gold and siluer and other exactions, intollerable, but especially the dwellers of Aegypt and Syria shall be most in the affliction of those times: And Hierusalem shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captiuitie, from the foure windes which are vnder heauen. So that beasts also, and foules and fish in the water, and the waters of the sea, shall be to them obedient. Cities and Townes, which were before full of people, shall be laid wast. Women with child shall be ript: their children sticked: infants taken from their mothers, and cast in the streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and sage of the people shall be slaine, and throwen out to the beasts. Churches shall be spoiled: the priests destroied: virgins defloured, and men compelled to sell their children, and the comming of them shall be chastisement without mercy, and with them shall goe their foure plagues: captiuity, destruction, perdition, and desolation, with much more, which for breuitie I ouerpasse. And this affliction, saith he, shall last eight weekes, or Sabbaths of yeeres, which I take to signifie eight hundreth yeeres, &c.

Christians plagued by the Saracens.

Secondly after these terrible plagues thus described by Methodius vpon the Christians, which he saith shall fall vpon them for their wicked abhominations recited in the first and second chapter of S. Paule to the Romanes: the said Methodius afterward, in this great distresse of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of relefe, declareth and speaketh of a certaine king of the Greekes or Romanes, which shall restore peace againe to the Christians. In which peace they shall reedifie their cities and mansions againe: the priests shalbe deliuered from their grieuances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations, and then shall the king of the Romanes dwell in the citie of Hierusalem a weeke or sabbath, and a halfe of times, &c.

The second state or alteration of the Christians relieued of their plagues and tribulations.

Christians abusing Gods benefites.

Thirdly, during the time of this peace, the said Methodius saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and careleslife: and then according to the words of the Apostle, saying: When they shall say, peace, peace, sodaine destruction shall fall vpon them: then (saith he) shall be opened the gates of the North, and the beastly people shall breake in, which king Alexander the great did close vp within 2. mountaines, making his prayer vnto the Lord God, that he would bind vp that beastiall and execrable people, least with their filthy and detestable pollutions, they should come out & pollute the holy land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commaunded them to be inclosed within two mountaines in the North parts, to the deepenesse of 12. cubits (which signifieth peraduenture 12. hundred yeeres) so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means they could get out, or any might come vnto them, vntill the time of the Lord appointed, which are (saith he) the latter times: and then according to the prophecie of Ezechiel in the latter time of the consummation of the world, Gog and Magog out from the North, shal come forth into the land of Israel, & shal worke all this mischiefe against Christians, aboue recited. And then (saith Method. proceeding in his Prophecies) shal the K. of Romanes, after he hath reigned in Ierusalem a Sabbath of times, and a halfe, that is, saith Met. x. yeeres and a halfe, take the crowne from his head, and yeeld it vp to the crosse in Golgotha where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the Crosse with

The third alteration by the comming of the Turkes.

The raigne of christians kings in Hierusalem lasted 88. yeres an. 1187.

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By this reigning vp the crowne to the crucifix in Golgotha, is signified, the ceasing of the raigne of the Christians in Hierusalem till the comming of Christ.

By this tribe of Dan, and the cities Chorosaim, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, is signified Gods great malediction vpon Antichrist.

with the crowne shall be taken into heauen, which shal not appeare againe before the comming of the Lord.

Fourthly, it followeth then moreouer in the Prophecies of Method, which declareth, that when the weeke or Sabbath and halfe weeke of times shall end, & when the K. of Romanes shall giue vp his crowne in Ierusalem, and die: Then immediatly shall Antichrist the sonne of perdition begin to appeare, and be borne in Iewry, of the tribe of Dan, whereof also came Iudas Iscariot, and he shall be borne (saith Methodius) in Chorosaim and shall be bred in Bethsaida, & shall raigne in Capernaum: to the which 3. cities, Christ the Lord gaue his 3. Væ. And when great tribulation shall increase and multiplie in the dayes of this Antichrist, and all lordship and dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithfull and deere seruants, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and detect the false seducing, and lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all men: so that the people seeing themselues fallsly beguiled, and seduced by this son of perdition, comming out of the temple dissemblingly, to the destruction of many, shall leaue and flie from him, and ioyne themselues to the said two holy Prophets. Which sonne of perdition and Antichrist seeing his proceedings so to be reproued, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two Prophets of God. And then shall appeare (saith Methodius) the signe of the comming of the sonne of man, and he shall come in the clouds of heauenly glory, and shall destroy the enemie with the spirit of his mouth, &c.

The destruction of Antichrist.

✻ Interpretation.

The interpretation.

TO these prophecies and testimonies of Methodius, what credite is to be giuen, I leaue it to the Reader. But if the meaning of his prophecies goe by such order of times, as is set and disposed in his booke: he seemeth to describe vnto vs foure principall states and alterations of times to come.

The comming of the Saracens.

The first state and alteration is by Mahumete and the Saracens, which be the offspring and sonnes of Ismaell, comming out of Arabie in the time of Heraclius Emperor of Constantinople, An. 630. which rebelling against Heraclius, increased and prevailed still more and more against the Christians, both in Asia, and Africa, and also in many places in Europe, especially in Spaine and Italy.

The comming of the Turkes.

The second state and alteration he prophecisth to come by the Turke, which first comming out of the farre parts of Scythia, that is, out of the North, first ouercame the Saracens, subdued the Persians, & afterward ioyning together with the Saracens, conquered the kingdome of Hierusalem about the yeere of our Lord 1187. then subdued Syria and most part of Asia. &c. And these be they, which Methodius seemeth to meane of, speaking of the vile and miserable people closed vp of the Lord God, at the intercession of Alexander the great captaine in the North, betweene two mountaines the deepenesse of 12. cubits, least that filthy corrupt nation should pollute the earth with their wickednes. Whereby are meant these Turks, which comming out from the vttermost parts of the North, that is, out of Scythia and the mountaines of Caucasus or else Iemaus, were withholden and kept backe of almightie God, for Christs cause, that they might not harme his Church a long space, during the time of 11. C. yeeres: yea, and then, the sinnes of the Christians so deserning, they were permitted of almightie God to breake out, and to inuade the Church: who now ioyning together with the Saracens, haue wrought and daily doe worke, all these greeuances against our Christian brethren: as we see this day is come to passe, & more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

Scythia iuxta Caucasum.

Victory of the Christians got against the Saracens. *Ex Paulo Iouio.*

The city of Hierusalem recouered by the Christians from the Sararens.

Hierusalem possessed of the Christians 88. yeeres

Hierusalem won from the Christians by the Turkes, an. 1187.

Moreouer, in the meane space, betweene the raigne of the Saracens and the Turkes, where Methodius speaketh of the K. of Romanes, which should restore quietnes to the Church, and should raigne in Hierusalem, a Sabbath of times and halfe a Sabbath: therby seemeth to be vnderstood the voiage of Christian princes out of the West parts of Europe, vnder Gotfridus Duke of Lotharing and his two brethren, and many other Christian princes, with 300. M. footmen, and 100. M. horsemen: who fighting against the Saracens, recouered againe from them, the citie of Hierusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1099. which citie before had bin in their possession, the terme of 490. yeers. After which victorie got, first Gotfridus, then Baldwinus his brother, and other after them, to the number of 9. Christian kings, reigned in Hierusalem the space of 88. yeeres, and after that through the discord of the christians not agreeing amongst themselues both Hierusalem and Syria, with other parts of Asia besides, were subdued and won of the Turkes, which to this day they keepe yet still. And this was in the yeere of our Lord. 1187.

The comming and markes of Antichrist described.

About which yeere and time (as followeth in Methodius) when the citie of Hierusalem shall be won of the Turkes, then shall Antichrist begin to be borne of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Iudas Iscariot, and shall be borne in Chorosaim and bred in Bethsaida, and raigne in Capernaum: Meaning, that this Antichrist or sonne of perdition, shall be full of Gods malediction, noted by Judas Iscariot, and these three cities against whom were spoken three Væ of the Lord.

And here is moreouer to be noted, that Methodius saith, not that Antichrist shall bee borne among the Saracens or Turkes, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Israell. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichrist shall not come of the Saracens, nor Turkes, but shall spring vp among the Christians, and (saith Methodius) shall seeme to come out of the Temple, to deceiue many, &c. Whereby the pope may seeme rather then the Saracen or the Turke, to bee described, for so much as the pope, being elected, nourished and raigning in the midst of Gods people, at Rome, sitteth in the temple, and very place of Christ: and (no doubt) deceiueth many, &c.

The time of Antichrist. Petrus Lombardus. Gratianus. Innocentius. 3.

And now to come to the time assigned of Methodius, here is to be added also, that which we read in Antoninus. Par. 3. that about this said present time, a certaine Bishop of Florence preached that Antichrist was then comming. But the Pope commanded him to keepe silence, and to speake no more therof. How why the pope so did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichrist, I referre it to them, which list to muse more vpon the matter. This is certaine, that about this time here assigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lombardus, Gratianus, and pope Innocent the third, the first authors and patrons of transubstantiation. At which time also began the first persecution by the Church of Rome, against the Albingenses or Waldenses, about Tolous, Bitures, and Auinion. Of whom 17. M. the same time were slaine, by the popes crossed souldiers. Among whom frier Dominicke was then the chiefest doer. About which time also was Frier Frances, of which two came the two orders of begging Friers: all which began much about one time together. an. 1215. which were nere, within 20. yeeres after the kingdom of the Christians was taken of the Turks, according to the prophesie aboue said.

Transubstantiation.

The first persecution by the Church of Rome Dominicke. Frier Francis. *Ex Antonino part. 3. tit. 19. c. 1.*

The orders of Friers began.

It followeth moreouer in Methodius, That in his time all Lordship and domination shall cease and giue ouer, &c. The verity whereof we see now accomplished in the pope. For where the pope with his double sword, and triple crowne doth come, there all secular power must giue place, both Emperours, kings, and princes must stoupe.

The pope exalting himselfe aboue kings and Emperors.

So king John yelded vp his crowne to Pandulphus the popes Legate, and was in his hand fiue dayes. an. 1217.

Notes of Antichrist.

Childericke the French king had his crowne taken from him, and giuen to Pipine an. 747.

Henricus 4. Emperor was forced to submit himselfe and his scepter to pope Hildebrand. an. 1077.

Fredericus Barbarossa Emperor, in S. Markes Church in Venice, was faine to lay downe his neeke vnder the pope Alexanders feet. an. 1177. Which Fredericke also before, was faine to hold the stirrop to pope Adrian, &c.

What should I speake of the Ambassadour of Venice, named Franciscus Vandulus: who being sent to pope Clement the 5. was made to lie vnder the popes table like a dog, and gather vp the crums, mentioned in Sabel. Aenn. 9. li. 7.

Henrie the 3. being Emperor, had his diademe first set on with the feete of the pope, and afterward stroken off from his head with the popes foote againe.

And what shall I speake more hereof: when as Carolus Magnus submitted himselfe so lowe to kisse the feete of Pope Leo. An. 800.

Enoch and Hely.

It followeth then in the prophecie of Methodius: That in the tribulation of those dayes, shall be sent from God two speciall Prophets, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and disclose the fraudulent falsehood of Antichrist, and that many seeing his delusion, shall forsake him and follow them: Whereat Antichrist being grieued shall kill them, &c.

John Hus and Hierome of Prage. *Vid. in prima Tom. operum Ioan. Hus. De Anatomia.*

Hierome of Prage a prophet and Martyr.

We neuer read yet in story, of any such two prophets to be sent either to the Saracens, or to the Turkes: Whereas against the pope, we read John Hus and Hierome of Prage two learned Martyrs and Prophets of God to haue beene sent, and to haue reproued and described the Anatomie of Antichrist, and at last to haue beene burned for their labour. And what Prophet can speake more plainly, either Enoch or Hely, then did Hierome of Prage, prophecying of the comming of Martin Luther, an hundred yeeres after him: when the pope and his fellowes should answere to God and to him. The time we see came iust. Now let the pope see with his fellowes, what answere they can make.

The true plate of Hus and Hierome, among the Bohemians.

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The negruesse of the Lords iudgement.

It followeth further in Methodius concluding his prophecie. And then (ſaith he) ſhall appeare the comming of the ſonne of man in the cloudes of heauen, with celeſtiall glorie, &c.

Wherefore after the burning of theſe two notable Prophets, with many other thouſands burned alſo ſince their time by the Biſhop of Rome, it is to be thought, that the comming of Chriſts iudgement in the cloudes, is not farre of. Veni cito Domine, Amen.

And thus much touching Methodius, of whoſe propheſies how much or how little is to be eſteemed, I leaue it indifferent vnto the Reader. For me it ſhall ſuffice ſimply to haue recited his words, as I find them in his booke contained: noting this by the way, that of this booke of Methodius, De nouiſſimis temporibus, neither Hicrome in his Catalogue, nor Suidas, nor yet Auentinus in the place where he intreateth purpoſely of ſuch prophecies, maketh any mention. As touching Hildegardis and Brigit, and other whom the French call Bardi for their ſongs and prophetical verſes, ſufficient hath beene alleadged before out of Auentinus: Who in his third booke of Chronicles, writing of the teſtimonies of Hildegard, Brigit, and Bardi, ſeemeth to ground vpon them, that the Turks, whether we will or not, ſhall haue their imperiall ſeat at Colen: And I pray God, that it come not to paſſe, that the Turke doe giue ſome attempt againſt England by the ſeas, before that he come to Colen by land, &c.

The propheſie of Hildegardis & Brigit of the Turkes.

Ex Auentino lib. 3. Annalium. A caueat to England.

Ex Brigitta, lib. 4. cap. 57.

Brieuity cauſeth me to cut off many teſtimonies and reuelations of theſe aboue ſaid, or elſe I could here rehearſe the prophetical words of Brigit, lib. 4. cap. 57. concerning the citty and Church of Rome, which as the ſaith, muſt be purged and ſcoured with three things: to wit, with ſharpe ſword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will doe with that citie, as one that remoueth plants out of one place vnto another: and finally that the citie of Rome ſhall ſuſteine the ſentence, as if a Iudge ſhould commaund the skin to be flaine off, the blood to be drawen from the fleſh, and the fleſh to be cut in ſmall peeces, and the bones thereof to be broken, ſo that all the marrow may be quiſed out from the ſame, &c. But for Brieuitie I let Brigit paſſe, and ſome thing will declare out of Erythræa Sybilla, in her booke of prophecies found in S. Georges Church in Venice: Where ſhe propheſying many things of the birth of Chriſt vnder Auguſtus, and of the birth of Iohn Baptiſt, and of baptiſme, of the Apoſtles, of the conuerſion of the Gentiles, and of Conſtantinus, &c. hath theſe words: After that the peaceable bull ſhall conclude all the climes of the world vnder tribute, in thoſe dayes a heauenly lambe ſhall come: and the dayes ſhall come, when the power of the flowing ſtreame ſhall bee magnified in water, and the Lyon the Monarch ſhall bee conuerted to the lambe, which ſhall ſhine to all men, and ſubuert kingdomes.

Prophecies of Brigit, against Rome.

The Propheties of Erithræa Sybilla named Erythilla.

Ex Erithræa Sybilla in ſuo Nazilographo, i. imperiali ſcripto.

Moreouer ſaith Sybilla, In the latter age God ſhall bee humbled, and the diuine ofspring ſhall be abaſed, and Deitie ſhall bee ioyned with humanitie, the lambe ſhall lie in hay, and God and man ſhall bee bred vp vnder a maidens attendance, ſignes and wonders ſhall goe before amongſt the circumciſed, &c. Alſo, an aged woman ſhall conceiue a child hauing knowledge of things to come. The world ſhall maruell at Bootes (the ſtar) which ſhall be a leader to his birth. He hauing 32. feete and 6. thumbes ſhall chuſe himſelfe out of fiſhers and abiects, the number of 12. and one diuell, not with ſword nor with battell, &c. afterward this followeth moreouer in Sybilla, ſaying: The health of the lambe lying ſhall bee clothed with a few ſpoiles of the Lyon. Blacke ſhall be turned into red. He ſhall ſubdue the citie of Aeneas, and kings, but in the booke of the fiſher, In deiection and pouerty he ſhall conquere riches and ſhall tread downe pride with his owne death. In the night he ſhall riſe vp, and be changed, he ſhall liue and raigne, and all theſe things ſhall be conſummated, and regeneration (or new things) be made: at laſt he ſhall iudge both good and euill, &c. And thus much briefly collected out of Sybilla Erythræa concerning Chriſt our Lord.

Prophecies of Sybilla of Chriſt.

By his feete is ſuppoſed to be meant the yeres of his age.

* The lambe lying, &c. that is, the church without trauell ſhall be maintained with ſome liuing or poſſeſſions of the chiefe rulers.

Furthermore, touching the ſtate and courſe of the Church and of Antichriſt, it followeth in the ſaide Sybilla, ſaying: Then ſhall foure winged beaſts riſe vp in teſtimonie, they ſhall ſound out with trumpets the name of the lambe, ſowing righteouſneſſe, and the law irreprehenſible. Againſt which law, the beaſt ſhall gainſtand, and the abhomination and froth of the Dragon. But a marueilous ſtar ſhall riſe, hauing the image of the foure beaſts, and ſhall be in a maruellous multitude, he ſhall bring light to the Greekes, and ſhall illuſtrate the world. The lake of the fiſher ſhall bring the name of the lambe with power, into the citie of Aeneas, vnto the end of the world (or time.) Then in the citie of Aeneas, the ſtarre ioyned, ſhall looſe ſuch as were bound of the deuill, and thereof he ſhall reioyce and glory, and glorious ſhall be his end, &c.

By theſe foure beaſts is meant the 4. Monarchies of the world, that is the multitude of all the kingdomes of the Gentiles as in the Apocal.

By the citie of Aeneas is meant Rome.

After this, Sybilla writing (as it ſeemeth) of Antichriſt, inporteth theſe words. And it ſhall come to paſſe, that an horrible beaſt ſhall come out of the Eaſt, whoſe roaring ſhall bee heard to Aphrike, to the people of Carthage, which hath ſeuen heads and ſcepters innumerable, feete. 663. He ſhall gainſtand the lambe, to blaſpheme his teſtament, encreaſing the waters of the dragon. The kings and princes of the world he ſhal burne in intollerable ſwear, and they ſhall not diminiſh his feet. And

The propheſies of Sybilla of Antichriſt.

The 663. feete doe meane the yeeres of his raigne.

then two ſtars like to the firſt ſtarre, ſhall ariſe againſt the beaſt, and ſhall not preuaile, till the abhomination ſhall be come, and the will of the Lord ſhalbe conſummate. And againe ſpeaking of the ſame matter, he inſerreth theſe words of the foreſaid two ſtarres aboue mentioned. And toward the latter dayes, two bright ſtars ſhall ariſe, rayſing vp men lying dead in their ſins, being like to the firſt ſtarre, hauing the face of the foure beaſts which ſhall reſiſt the beaſt, and the waters of the dragon, teſtifying (or preaching) the name and lawe of the lambe, the deſtruction of abhomination and iudgement, and ſhall diminiſh his waters, but they ſhal be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they ſhall riſe againe in ſtronger force, &c.

These two ſtars ſeeme to meane Iohn Hus, and Hierom, who being put to death by the P. their doctrine roſe againe more ſtrongly then before.

And it followeth moreouer. After the abhomination, then ſhall truth be reueiled, and the lambe ſhall be known, to whom regions and countries ſhall ſubmit their necks, and all earthly men ſhall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled vnder one diſcipline, and after this ſhall be but a ſmall time, &c.

And ſhortly after, the ſaid Sybilla ſpeaking of the latter iudgement to come, declareth how all the abhominations of ſinnes ſhall come before the lambe: and that terrible fire ſhall fall from heauen, which ſhall conſume all earthly things created vnto the top of heauen, &c.

And thus much out of Sybilla, touching her propheſies of Chriſt and Antichriſt, according as I found them alleadged of a certaine Catholicke Romiſh writer, in his booke intituled Onus Eccleſiæ, excerpted, as he ſaith, out of the library of Saint George in the citie of Venice.

Ex libro cui titulus, onus Eccleſiæ.

Philip Melanthon in his preface vpon Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus, writing of the Origine and manners of the Turkes, alleadged a certaine propheſie of Hilterus, mentioned hereafter, which foreſaid, that the Turkes ſhould beare rule in Italy and in Germany. an. 1600.

Now it remaineth in concluſion of theſe propheſies of the Turkes, ſomething to ſay of the Turks owne propheſies concerning the enduring & ending of their owne kingdome, whoſe propheticall prognoſtication, being taken out of their owne language, and their owne bookes, I thought here to inſert, as I find it alleadged in the booke of the foreſaid Bartholomæus Georgienitz, as followeth.

A Turkiſh propheſie in the Perſian tongue of the raigne and ruine of the Turkes.

PAtiſſahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler, iediy ladegh Gyaur keleci ciſkmaſſe, on ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: eufi iapar, baghi diker baheſai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldenſora Hriſtianon Keleci ciſchar, ol Turchi gereſtine tus churc.

The ſame in Latin.

IMperator noſter veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in ſuâ poteſtatem rediget: quod ſi ſeptimum vſque annum Chriſtianorum gladius non inſurrexit, vſque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos ſepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, & poſt duodecimum annum, apparebit Chriſtianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaquâ verſum in fugam aget.

By the prince of the Gentiles the Turks do here meane the kingdomes and dominions of the Chriſtians, whom they call Gentiles, becauſe they are not circumciſed after their maner.

The ſame in Engliſh.

OUr Emperor ſhall come: he ſhall get the kingdome of the Gentiles prince: alſo he ſhall take the red apple and ſhall bring it vnder his ſubiection: and if the ſword of the Chriſtians ſhall not riſe vnto the vij. yeere, he ſhall haue dominion ouer them vnto the xij. yeere. He ſhall build houſes, plant vineyards, ſhall hedge about his orchards, ſhall procreate children: and after the xij. yeere ſhall appeare the ſworde of the Chriſtians, which ſhall put the Turke to flight euery where.

They which make declaration of this Turkiſh prophecy do erpound this xij. yeere to ſignifie the xij. yeere after the winning of Conſtantinople: which Conſtantinople, ſay they, is meant by the red apple: and after that xij. yeere, ſay they, ſhall riſe the ſword of the Chriſtians, &c. and this prophecie being written and tranſlated out of the Perſian tongue, with this erpoſition vpon the ſame, it is to be found in the booke of Bartholomeus Georgienitz. Albett, concerning the erpoſition thereof, it ſeemeth not to be true which is there ſpoken of the xij. yeere, after the winning of Conſtantinople, being now 100. yeeres ſince the winning thereof.

The erpoſition of the Turkiſh prophecie.

Ex Bartbol. Georgienitz.

Wherefore it may rather ſeeme probable, that by the vij. and xij. yeere of the Turkes, this to be the meaning, that if the vij. of the Ottoman Turkes do ſcape the ſword of the Chriſtians, they ſhall continue, build and plant, &c. vntill the xij. Turke, which is this Solymannus, and then after that ſhall riſe the Chriſtians ſword, which ſhall put them to flight, and banquith them in all quarters. And this erpoſition may ſeeme to accord with the place of Geneſis, Wherein is written of Iſmaell, that he had xij. ſonnes, and no mo: So that this Solymannus being the xij. Turke after Ottomannus, may (by the grace of Chriſt) be the laſt, whom we heard credibly to be reported at the printing hereof, to be dead. But howſoeuer this propheſie is to be taken, it appeareth by their owne Oracles, that at length they ſhall be ouercome by the Chriſtians.

Another erpoſition.

Gen. 25.

A

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A Table describing the times and yeeres of the Saracens Turkes, and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the story aboue prefixed.

The Saracens begin their reigne.

AN.632. Began the kingdome of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of Mahumet the first ringleader of the mischiefe, which Saracens reigning in Babylon ouer Persia and Asia, continued about — 198. yeers

An.667. Jerusalem was taken of the Saracens. These Saracens after they had subdued Dzinisda king of Persia, set vp to themselues a new kingdome, calling their chiefe prince Calipha, which signifieth a generall lord: and vnder him Seriphes, that is, an vnder prince: And againe vnder him their Soldan: which is, a ruler or captaine: vnder the which Soldans all the prouinces were diuided. And thus ruled they the space aboue said of — 198. yeers

The Egyptian Saracens or Sultans.

An.703. The Egyptians being wearie of their subiection vnder the Romaines, called for helpe of the Saracen Calipha: and so casting off the Romaines, submitted themselues to the law of the Saracens, and had also their Calipha and their Babylon called Cairus, where their Calipha continued vnto Saraco or Syracinus. — 447. yeers

The Saracens kingdome ceaseth.

An.810. Mauginetus or muchumetus the chiefe Sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbraell the Sultane of Babylon, sent for the aide of the Turkes out of Scythia: by whom, when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turkes shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their countrey within the space of — 20. yeers

The Turkes kingdome beginneth.

An.830. The Saracens being expulsed out of Asia by the Turkes, wandred about Affricke, Spaine, and Italy, and were in diuers places dispersed and so remaine.

An.830. The Turkes after they had expulsed the Saracens out of Asia, began to raigne in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia, and there raigned without interruption, till the comming of the Tartarians, the space of — 192. yeers

An.1009. The Turkes wan the citie of Hierusalem from the Saracens: which citie the Sultan of Egypt wan again from the Turks shortly after, and possessed the same til the comming of Gotfridus.

An.1051. Began the first king of the Turkes called Zaduke, to raigne in Asia, and ioyned league with Calipha of Egypt, and there raigned till the conquest of Gotfridus and the Christians, the space of — 46. yeers

An.1078. Solymanus nephew to Aspasalem the Turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Turquinia, subdued Capadocia, which hath continued now since, the space of — 500. yeers

An.1099. Gotfridus Bulion duke of Lotharing a Christian prince, taking his voiage into Asia, with 700000. Christian souldiers, first got the city of Nicea against the Sultane of the Turkes: then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Syria, afterward Mesopotamia, and Comagena, then Antiochia, An.1098. and the next yeere recouered Jerusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they a little before had won from the Turkes, as is aforesaid. After this Gotfridus succeeded eight Christian kings, which kept the kingdome of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turkes and Saracens the space of — 88. yeers

An.1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquished the Turkes out of the kingdome of Persia, after they had cut their king in peeces. Whereby the Turks flying to Cappadocia, there remained vnder Solyman, and ioyned themselues to the Soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in Asia minor, called now Turquinia.

An.1170. When Almericus the seuenth king of Hierusalem after Gotfridus, had ouercome the Calipha, or Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan being ouercome, called for the helpe of Saracone the Sultane of Syria. This Saracon after hee had expulsed the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the Sultane of Egypt, and vanquished him, tooke to himselfe the kingdome of Egypt: Which kingdome hee with his posteritie did hold till the comming of the Tartarians and the Mamaluches about the space of — 88. yeers

An.1187. Saladinus the nephew of Saracon the Sultane of Egypt, perceiuing the dissention among the Christian states of Palestina, got Antioch, where hee slew Raymundus the prince with his owne hands: Then got Tiberias: From thence went to Accon, where he tooke Guido king of Jerusalem and master of the Templares prisonners: for whose ransome, the Turke had Ascalon yeelded vp to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued Hierusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of — 88. yeers

An.1189. Frederick emperor, Philip French king, Richard king of England, made their voiage into Asia, where Fredericke washing in a riuer at Cilicia died. In this voiage at the siege of Accon, Saladinus wan the field of our men, of whom 2000. were slaine in the chase. Accon at length was got of the Christians. King Richard got Cyprus. The two kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vaine, and so returning homeward, was taken neere to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the Soldane, vpon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the popes, sending out against the Turks.

An.1215. There was another councell holden at Rome by pope Innocent 3. where was enacted a new article of our faith for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to bee turned into the body and bloud of our Sauior. In this councell also great excitation was made by the pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom, to set forward for recouery of the holy land. A mighty army was collected of dukes, lords, knights, bishops and prelats, that if Gods blessing had gone with them, they might haue gone throughout all Asia and India. — Transubstantiation.

An.1219. The Christians after 18. moneths siege, got a certaine towne in Egypt, called Damiata or Elipolis, with much adoe, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian army of the popes sending, went about to besiege the citie Cairus or Babylon, the Sultane through his subtill traine so intrapped and inclosed them within the danger of Nilus, that they were constrained to render againe the city of Damiata, with their prisoners and all the furniture therof as they found it, into the Souldanes hand, and glad so with their liues to passe forward to Tyrus. An.1221.

In the meane time the Egyptian Turke caused the citie of Jerusalem to be rased, that it should serue to no vse to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voiage, it doth not greatly appeare in stories. Albeit Fredericus the 2. emperour was not vnfruitfully there occupied, and much more might haue done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the bish. of Rome against him: whereby he was enforced to take truce with the Sultan for 10. yeeres, and so returned. After which things done, not many yeeres after, at length the last citie of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais or Akers, was also taken from them by the Sultane, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all Asia. — *Vide supra, pag. 271.*

An.1230. Thus the Christians being driuen out of Asia by the Sultanes and Turkes, yet the said Turkes and Sultans did not long enioy their victorie: For eftsoones the Lord stirred vp against them the Tartarians, who breaking into Asia by the ports of Caspius subdued diuers parts of Asia, namely, about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. These Tartarians as they had got many captiues in their warres: so for gaine vsed to shippe them ouer customable to Alexandria in Egypt to bee sold: which seruants and captiues Melechsala the great Sultane was glad to buy to serue him in his warres. Which captiues and seruants after they had continued a certaine space in Egypt, and through their — 100. yeers — Tartarians. — Porta Caspiæ.

valiant

valiant seruice grew in fauor and estimation with the said Melechsala, and began more to increase in number and strength: at length they slue him, and tooke to themselues the name and kingdome of the Sultane. And thus ceased the stocke of Saracon and Saladinus afore mentioned, which continued in Egypt, about the space as is said of.

Saladinus stocke in Egypt ceaseth.

100. yeers

An. 1240. After the death of Melechsala, the army of these foresaid rascals and captines, set vp to themselues a king of their owne companie, whom they called Turquemenius. Who to fill vp the number of their company that it should not diminish, deuised this order, to get or to buy christian mens children, taken yong from their parents, and the mothers lap: whom they vsed so to bring vp to make them to deny Christ and to bee circumcised, and instructed in Mahumets law, and afterward to bee trained in the feats of war, and these were called Mamaluchi. Among whom this was their order, that none might bee aduanced to bee king, but out of their owne number, or else chosen by them: neither that any should bee made knights or horsemen, but onely the children of christians which should denie Christ before, called Mamaluchi. Also it was among them prouided, that to this dignitie neither Saracens nor Iewes, should bee admitted. Item, that the succession thereof should not descend to the children and offspring of these Mamaluchi. Also that the succession of the crowne should not descend to the Children of the foresaid Sultanes, but should goe by voice and election. The Tartarians with Turquemenius their king, about this time obtained Turquia, that is, Asia minor, from the Turks, and within 2. yeares after, preuailing against the Turks, expelled them from their kingdome, and so continued these Mamaluchi raigning ouer Egypt, and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tomumbeius their last king, which was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Zelymus the Turke, father to this Solymannus, as in his historie is declared, pag. 685. These Mamaluchi continued the space of:

Mamaluchi in Egypt.

260. yeers

Vide supra, pag. 685.

An. 1245. These Tartarians ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and al Armenia, came as far as Iconium, which was then the imperiall citie of the Turkes.

An. 1289. The Soldane of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians Tripolis, Tyrus, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.

An. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Akers, was surprised by the said Soldan, raced and cast downe to the ground, and all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slaine. And this was the last citie which the Christians had in Asia. So that now the Christians haue not one foot (as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian Soldanes, and the Tartarians raigned and ranged ouer the most part of Asia aboue the Turkes, till the raigne of Ottomannus the great Turk, about the space of

80. yeers

¶ And thus haue yee the whole discourse of the Turkish storie, with their names, countries, townes, dominions, also with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order described, and in yeares distinct: Which otherwise in most authors and writers bee so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is betweene the Saracens, Turks Tartarians, the Sultans or Soldans, Mamaluches, or Janizarres: what is their Calipha, their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Balla, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of yeeres they raigned. All which in this present table manifestly to thine eie may appeare.

¶ Wherein this thou hast moreouer (gentle reader) to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turks raigne, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling vpon Christian princes and subiects, to take the crosse, and to war against the Turkes: wherevpon so many great voiages haue been made to the holie land, and so many battels fought against the Turke and Soldan for winning the holy crosse: and yet no luckie successe hath followed thereof hitherto, nor euer came it prosperously forward, what soeuer through the exciting of that bishop, hath been attempted against that great enemie of the Lord: Insomuch that the Christians haue lost not onelie all that they had in Asia, but also vnneath are able to defend that little they haue in Europe, against his violence. What the cause is of this hard lucke of the bishops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and as the Gospell saith, hee that hath eies to see let him see. This is certaine, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the bishop of Rome, to stir men vp to that busines: so on the princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or abillement of warre: onely the blessing of God seemeth to haue lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would it were so easie to be reformed, as it may bee quickly construed. For what man beholding the life of vs Christians, will greatlie maruell, why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turkes? And if my verdit might here haue place, for mee to adde my censure, there appeareth to mee another cause in this matter, yet greater then this aforesaid: which to make plaine and eudent in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceiue, my opinion is this: that if the sincere doctrine of Christian faith deliuered and left vnto vs in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the Church of Rome, or if the bishop of Rome would yet reclame his impure idolatry, & prophanations, and admit Christ the Lambe of God to stand alone, without our vnpure additions, to be our onely Iustification, according to the free promise of Gods grace: I nothing doubt but the power of this faith grounding only vpon Christ the sonne of God, had both framed our liues into a better disposition; and also soone would or yet will bring downe the pride of that proud Holofernes. But otherwise, if the B. of Rome will not gently giue place to the milde voyce of Gods word, I thinke not contrary; but he shalbe compelled at last to giue place & roome to the Turk, whether we will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the Turke and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods testament shall fructifie and increase by such meanes as the Lord shall worke, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come gratiously and luckily forward in most places.

Why the pope cannot preuaile against the Turkes.

God offended with Idolatry and wrong faith of the Christians.

A prayer against the Turkes.

A praier against the Turkes.

O Eternall Lord God, Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, iust, gratious, and wise only, in the name and reuerence of thy Sonne Iesus, we prostrate our selues, desiring thine omnipotent Maiestie, to looke downe vpon these afflicted times of thy poore creatures and seruants: relieue thy church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast giuen thine onely begotten Sonne vnto vs, promising with him life to all that shall beleeue vpon his name: so incline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may bee farre off from all other sinfull additions and prophane inuentions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded vpon thy will and promise. And grant (we beseech thee) to thy church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set vp any other meanes or helpe of saluation, but onely in him whom thou onely hast sent, and sealed. Reforme thy church with perfect doctrine and faithfull teachers, that wee seeing our owne weakenesse, may put off our selues, and put on him without whom wee can doe nothing. So shall wee stand strong, when nothing standeth in vs, but thy Sonne alone, in whom thou art onely pleased. Renue in this thy church againe the decayed faith of thy Sonne Iesus, which may plentifullie bring forth in vs, not leaues onely, but fruits of christian life: And forgiue our wretched Idolatrie and blind phantasies past, wherewith wee haue prouoked manifold waies thy deserued indignation against vs: For our hearts haue bin full of Idols, our temples full of Images, our waies full of hypocrisie: thy Sacraments prophaned, and thy religion turned to superstition; because the lanterne of thy word went not before vs, therefore wee haue stumbled. Miserably wee haue walked hitherto, like sonnes not of Sara, but of Agar, and therefore these Turkish Agarens haue risen vp against vs. Many hard and strait waies wee haue passed, but the waies of the Lord we haue not found. Much cost we haue bestowed on bread that swageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and commeth freely, we haue not tasted. We haue sailed far and neere in barkes of our owne building, but haue not kept within the Arke onely of thy promise, and therefore these flouds haue taken vs. We haue praied much, but not in thine appointed temple, and therefore haue not bin heard. We haue plowed and tilled, but without thy heifer, and therfore this vntidy ground of ours, bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace and that al night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boate, in our fishing we catch neuer a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions & great deuotions, but because the ground worke is not surely laid vpon the rocke of thy promise, the East wind riseth and shaketh them all to shiuers. We walke and haue walked long after the precepts & doctrines of men, hauing a shew of wisedom, but not as holding the head, where lieth al our strength, and therfore these Philistian Turks haue hitherto so preuailed against vs. Briefly, all the parts and

Psalm. 119. Galath. 4. Wisd. 5. Esai. 55. Genes. 6.

Iudic. 14. Ioan. 22. Luke. 6. Coloss. 2.

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and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherfore we beseech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right ioynt againe. And finally, reduce this same thy misticall body againe, to his perfect and naturall head, which is thine only son Iesus Christ, and none other. For him onely hast thou anointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head, that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone: forasmuch as all other heads be sinneful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse then better. Only this thy welbeloued and perfect sonne is he, in whom onely dwelleth all our strength and fulnesse: him onely we confesse and knowledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech the (O Lord God of hosts) grant to thy church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turkes, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy sonne Iesus our Lord and Sauiour. Preuent their deuices, ouerthrow their power, and dissolue their kingdome, that the kingdom of thy sonne so long oppressed, may recoue and flourish ouer all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced againe into the fold of thy saluation, through Iesus Christ our onely mediatour and most mercifull aduocate. Amen.

Anno 1500

IN this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath beene described the grieuous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians, thou hast to vnderstand (good reader) & behold the Image of a terrible Antichrist euidently appearing both by his owne doings, and also by the scriptures, prophecied and declared to vs before. Now in comparing the Turke with the pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easie to see and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath bin the more bloudy and pernitious aduersary to Christ and his members: or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian bloud, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discusse, which doe onely write the history, and the Acts of them both. Wherefore after the story of the Turkes thus finished, now to reenter againe there where as we left, in describing the domesticall troubles and persecutions here at home vnder the Bishop of Rome: after the burning of Babram in Norfolke aboue declared, pag. 671. I signified also of another certaine aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the tower, intituled Polychron, (although I find not his name in the said chronicle expressed) which suffered the paines of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1500. Ex Polychron.

A question whether is the greater Antichrist the Turke or the Pope.

Babram and an old man martyrs. *Vide supra, pag. 671.*

Ex scripto Polychronico.

This aged father, I suppose, be he of whom I find mention made in certaine old papers and records of William Cary citizen (albeit the day of the month doth a little differ) wherein is thus testified, that on the 20. day of July, an. 1500. vpon the day of S. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for an heretike, & the same person vpon the 10. day before he was burned, would haue stollen out of ỳ Lollards tower, & so falling out of the tower, did foully hurt himself: wherupon he was caried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foresaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared how in the yeere aboue prefixed, which was an. 1499. in the time of one Perseuel, many were taken for heretikes in Kent, and at Pauls crosse they bare fagots and were abiured, and shortly after the same yeere, there went thirteene Lollards afore the procession in Pauls, and there were of them eight women and a yong lad, and the lads mother was one of the eight, and all the 13. bare fagots on their necks afore the procession.

Diuers Kentish men bearing fagots.

William Tilsworth martyr.

FOr so much as the world is come now to such a morositie and peeuish insensibilitie in these contentious and cauilling daies of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and storied, but shall lie in danger of one sycophant or another, which neuer will credit there, where they list not to like: neither will they euer like that, which seemeth prejudiciall to their faction, or not to serue the humor wherewith their fantasies be infected: therefore to stop the mouths of such carping cauillers with as much possibilitie as I may, be it knowne to all and singuler such persons, who by euidence of truth and witnes will be satisfied, that in the towne of Amersham be yet aliue both men and women, which can and do beare witnes of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet aliue, witnes to the same. Also another named Agnes Wetherley widow, being about the age of an hundred yeeres, yet liuing and witnes hereof: that in the daies of king Henrie the seuenth, anno 1506. in the diocesse of Lincolne in Buckingham shire (William Smith being bishop of the same diocesse) one Willia Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Standley about sixtie yeeres agoe. At which time one Ioane Clerke, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth and a faithfull woman, was compelled with her owne hands to set fire to her deare father: and at the same time her husband John Clerke did penance at her fathers burning, and bare a fa fagot, as did also

William Tylsworth martyr.

The daughter compelled to set fire to her father.

Robert Bartlet.	John Mumbe and his wife.
Richard Bartlet.	Richard Bennet.
John Bartlet.	Rog. Bennet. Iohn Fip.
Tho. Harding & his wife.	William Grinder.
Henry Harding.	Thomas Homes.
Richard Harding.	Yomand Dorman.
Robert Harding.	William Scriuener.
Io. Milsent and his wife.	John Scriuener.
William White.	Th. Chase. Iohn Cracher.

All these bare fagots, and afterward were compelled to weare certaine badges, and went abroad to certaine townes to doe penance, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other townes mee: And also diuers of these men were afterward burned in the cheeke, as William Page, which at this present

Amersham men bearing fagots.

The burning of Thomas Bernard, and Iames Mordon.

Tho. Bernard, Iames Mordon martyrs.

is aliue, and likewise did beare a fagot with the aforesaid. Furthermore the foresaid Agnes Wetherley testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tylsworth, were lx. and aboue that were put to beare fagots for their penance, of whom diuers were inioyned to beare and weare fagots at Lincolns the space of 7. yeeres, some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet a rich man, who for his professions sake was put out of his farme and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Alhyge, where he ware on his right sleeue a square peece of cloth, the space of 7. yeeres together.

It followeth moreouer in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth (as the Amersham men do say) or the next day after, as recordeth the foresaid Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Missenden: and at his burning there were aboue 20. persons that were compelled to beare fagots, and to doe such penance as the wicked Pharisies did compell them. After that by the space of 2. or 3. yeeres, was burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard a husband man, and Iames Mordon, a labourer, they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Litlepage (who is yet aliue) compelled to be burned in the right cheeke, and father Rogers, and father Reuer, alias Reiue, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the Bishops prison 14. weekes together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and yrons, that after his comming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his backe that he could neuer go vpright as long as he liued, as can testifie diuers honest men that be now liuing. Also there were 30. mo burned in the right cheeke, and bare fagots the same time. The cause was that they would talke against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to heare and reade the holy scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheeke was this: their neckes were tied fast to a post or stay, with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stirre, and so the yron being hot, was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Iesus about them.

Father Roberts Martyr.

Father Reiue, Martyr.

Men of Amersham burnt in the cheeke for Gods word.

The

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¶ The cruell handling of Thomas Chase of *Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in the bishops prison at Wooburne, vnder W. Smith bishop of Lincolne.*

Anno 1506

Thomas Chase martyr.

AMong these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the Gospell and word of Christ, one Thomas Chase of Amersham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled. Which Thomas Chase by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober and honest behauior (whose vertuous doings do yet remaine in memory) and could not abide idolatrie and superstition, but many times would speake against it: Wherefore the vngodly and wicked did the more hate and dispise him, and take him, and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time at Wooburne in the countie of Buckingham, and as it is written Acts 12. that wicked Herode did vexe certaine of the congregation, and killed Iames the brother of John with the sword, and because hee saw that it pleased the Iewes, &c. hee proceeded farther, and had this same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checkes, and rebukes, but what answere this godly man Thomas Chase made them, it is vnknowne. Howbeit it is to bee supposed, that his answere was most zealous and godly in professing Christs true religion and Gospell, and to the extirpation of idolatrie and superstition and hypocrisie, for that the said Thomas Chase was commanded to be put in the bishops prison called little ease, in the bishops house at Wooburne, which prison had not beene ministred vnto him, had not his answeres beene sound and vpright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painefully with chaines, gyues, manicles and irons, oft times sore pined with hunger, where the bishops almes was daily brought vnto him by his chaplaines: Which almes was nothing else but checkes, taunts, rebukes and threatnings, floutings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr tooke most quietly and patiently, remembring and hauing respect to Christs promises. Matth. 5. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen, and as followeth: Blessed are ye when men reuile you and persecute you, &c. When the bishop with his bond of shauelings, perceiued that by their daily practises of cruelty they could not preuaile against him, but rather that he was the more feruent and earnest in professing Christs true religion: and that he did tollerate and beare most patiently all their wickednesse and crueltie ministred vnto him: they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an vprore among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollards tower, about the yere of our Lord 1514. euen so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and prest to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, which most heartily called vpon God to receiue his spirit: as witnesseth a certaine woman, that kept him in prison.

Thomas Chase brought before the bishop.

Thom. Chase condemned to the bishops prison at Wooburne called little ease.

A worthie almes of a bishop.

The perfect patience and constancie of Thom. Chase.

Thomas Chase cruelly murthered in the bishops prison.

After that these stinging vipers being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murthered this faithfull Christian, they were at their wits end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shamefull murther withall, at last to blind the ignorant sillie people, these bloodie butchers most slanderously caused by their ministers to be bruted abroad, that the foresaid Thomas Chase had hanged himselfe in prison; which was a most shamefull and abominable lie, for the prison was such, that a man could not stand vpright, nor lie at ease, but stouping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manicles and irons vpon him, that he could not well moue neither hand nor foot, as the woman did declare that saw him dead, in so much that they confessed that his blood bulke was broken by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him: And yet these holy catholikes had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr, but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland wood, in the high way betwixt Wooburne and little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken vp againe to be seene: And thus commonly are innocent men laid vp by these clerkly clergie men. But he that is effectually true of himselfe, hath promised at one time or at another, to cleare his true seruants, not with lies and fables, but by his owne true word. No secret, saith he, is so close, but once shall be opened, neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be knowne clearely. Such a sweet Lord is God alwaies to those that are his true seruants. Blessed be his holy name therefore, for euer and euer, Amen.

Thomas Chase falsely slandered to hang himselfe.

God bringeth to light the secret murthers of the papists. Matth. 10. Luke 12.

Thomas Harding being one of this companie, thus molested and troubled as is aforesaid, in the townes of Auersham for the truth of the Gospell, after his abiuration and penance done, was againe sought for, and brought to the fire, in the daies of king Henrie the eight, and vnder doctor Langlond then bishop of Lincolne, succeeding after cardinall Wolsey. Of whose death and martyrdome, we shall likewise record (Christ willing and granting) in order when we shall come to the time and yere of his suffering.

After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one Thomas Norice, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christs Gospell, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March. an. 1507.

Thomas Norice martyr. Anno 1507

In the next yere following, which was an. 1508. in the consistorie of London, was conuented Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, vpon certaine articles, and specially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at Willsdon, at Stantings at Crome, at Walsingham, and the image of saint Sauior, of Barmondsey, and against the Sacrament of the altar, and for that shee had spoken these or like words: that our Lady of Willsdon was but a burnt arse elfe, and a burnt arse stocke, and if shee might haue holpen men and women which go to her on pilgrimage, she would not haue suffered her taile to haue been burnt: and what should folke worship our Lady of Willsdone, or our Ladie of Crome, for the one is but a burnt arse stocke, and the other is but a puppit: and better it were for the people to giue their almes at home to poore people, then to goe on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of S. Sauiour, Sim Sauiour with kit lips, and that shee said shee could make as good bread, as that which the priest occupied, and that it was not the bodie of Christ but bread, for that Christ could not bee both in heauen and in earth at one time. For these and certaine other articles, she was compelled to abiure, before master William Horsey, chancellor, the day and yere aboue written. Ex Regist. Lond.

Elizabeth Sampson. Anno 1508

¶ Laurence Ghest.

LAmentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinit to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which haue been slaine by the rigour of the popes clergie, for the true maintaining of Christs cause, and of his Sacraments. Whose memorie being registred in the booke of life, albeit, it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not vnprofitable the suffering and martyrdome of them to be notified, which innocently haue giuen their blood to be shed in Christs quarrell.

Laurence Ghest martyr.

In the Catalogue of whom next in order commeth the memoriall of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the daies of king Henry the 7. he was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not vnfriended, for the which the bishop and the close were the more loth to burne him: but kept him in prison the space of two yeeres. This Laurence had a wife and vii. children. Wherefore they thinking to expugne and perswade his mind by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his foresaid vii. children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to worke in other, yet in him religion ouercomming nature, made his constancie to remaine vnmooueable, in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to fauor himselfe, he againe desired her to be content, & not to be a blocke to his way, for he was in a good course, running forward the mark of his saluation: and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himselfe to follow Christ: As he was in burning, one of the bishops men threw a firebrand at his face: Wherat the brother of Laurence standing by, ranne at him with his dagger, and would haue slaine him, had he not beene otherwise staid.

Laurence Ghest two yeeres in prison at Salisbury.

Laurence would not be turned for wife nor children.

Laurence died a Martyr.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russell, an aged man dwelling of late in Colmanstreete, who was there present the same time at the burning of Laurence, and was also himselfe burned in the cheeke, and one of the persecuted flocke in those daies, whose daughter is yet liuing: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one Richard Web seruant sometime to M. Latymer, who soiourning in the house of the said William Russell, heard him many times declare the same.

Witnesse to the story.

A faithfull woman burned.

BVt amongst al the examples of them, whereof so many haue suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I can not tel if euer were any martyrdome more notable and admirable wherein the plaine demonstration of Gods mighty power and iudgement hath at any time bin more euident against the persecutors of his flocke, then at the burning of a certaine godly woman, put to death in Cheaping sadbery, about the same time, vnder the raigne of K. Henry the seuenth.

A notable storie of a faithfull woman burned in Cheaping. sadbery.

The constancie of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold: so against the example of the bishops Chauncellour, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eies of all papisticall persecutours to consider, and to take example: which the liuing God grant they may, Amen. The name of the towne where she was martyred, was, as is said, Cheaping sadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge The name of the Chancellor, who condemned her, was called D. Whittington. The time of her burning was in the raigne and time of K. Henry the 7. orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherin is to be noted moreouer the opportunitie

D. Whittington Chancellour & persecutor.

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tunity of this present history brought to my hands, and that in such conuenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the foresaid kings reigne: so that it may appeare to them, which behold ẏ opportunity of things, not to be without Gods holy will and prouidence, that this foresaid example should not lie hid and vnremembred, but should come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

After this godly woman and manly martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched chancellour aboue named D. Whittington, for the faithfull profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresie, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and paines of her martyrdome, a great concourse of all the multitude both in the towne and countrie about (as the maner is in such times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the foresaid Doctor Whittington the chancellor, there present to see the execution done. Thus this faithfull woman, and true seruant of God constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gaue ouer her life to the fire, refusing no paines nor torments to keepe her conscience cleere and vnreprooueable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to returne homeward, comming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the meanetime, that as the catholike executioners were busie in slaying this sillie lambe at the townes side, a certaine Butcher within the towne was as busie in slaying of a bull, which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knocke him on the head. But the Butcher (belike not so skilfull in his art of killing beasts, as the papists be in murthering Christians) as hee was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smit a little too low, or else how hee smit, I know not: this was certaine, that the bull, although somewhat grieued at the stroke, but yet not stricken downe, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the streete, the very same time as the people were comming in great preasse from the burning. Who seeing the bull comming towards them, and supposing him to bee wild (as was no other like) gaue way for the beast, euery man shifting for himselfe, as well as he might. Thus the people giuing backe, and making a lane for the bull, he passed thorough the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till hee came where as the chancellour was. Against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemencie, ran full butte with his hornes, and taking him vpon the paunch, gored him thorow and thorow, and so killed him immediatly, carying his guts, and trailing them with his hornes all the street ouer, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

A faithfull Christian woman and martyr burned at Chippingsadbery.

A comparison betweene Butchers, and the popes murthering ministers.

A rare and speciall example of the iust punishment of God vpon a persecutour. D. Whittington slaine of a bull.

Although the carnall sense of man be blind in considering the workes of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertaine to Gods only praise and prouidence: yet in this so strange and so euident example, that man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plaine miracle of Gods mightie power and iudgement both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abstaine from the like crueltie?

Now for the credit of this storie, lest I be said vpon mine owne head to commit to storie things rashly, which I cannot iustifie, therefore to stop such cauilling mouthes, I will discharge my selfe with authoritie I trust sufficient: that is, with the witnesse of him which both was a papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webbe: which Rowland dwelling then in Chippingsadbery, had a son named Richard Webbe, seruant sometime to maister Latimer, who also induring with him in time of his trouble sir yeeres together, was himselfe imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Vnto the which Richard Webbe, being now aged, then yong, the foresaid Rowland his father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of heresie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the storie of the bull aforesaid, which he himselfe did see and testifie. This Richard Webbe is yet liuing, a witnesse of his owne fathers words and testimonie, which I trust may satisfie all indifferent Readers, except only such as thinke no truth to be beleeued, but that only which is in their Portues.

Witnesse to the storie.

Verses touching the same Tho. *Hatcherus.*

MIra legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi
Exitus, vt pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicunque potentia nota est,
Vt delinquentes ira seuera premat.
Sæpè fit vt fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,
Sæpè fit vt pœnis obruat ira nouis.
Omnia sunt Domini dextræ subiecta potenti,
Qui ciet arbitrio bruta, hominesque suo.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus
Euitans, fracto fune repentè fugit.
Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat antè,
Fœminea vt cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus ijt, fertur quâ confertissima turba;
Læsus at ex tanta solus & vnus erat:
Solus & vnus erat, rapidos qui misit in ignes,
Et miserè paruum sparsit ouile Dei.
Et quasi consultò ferretur, præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,
Ille iacet, madido fœdatur sanguine corpus,
Eruta perque vias viscera sparsa iacent.
Quis non à Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri? non repetendo tremat?
Vltio terribiles comitatur iusta procellas,
Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit.

And thus much concerning the state of the Church. Wherein is to be vnderstood, what stormes and persecutions haue been raised vp in all quarters against the flocke and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within our selues, by the bishop of Rome, and his retinue. Where also is to be noted in the daies and raigne of this king Henry the viij. how mightily the working of Gods Gospell hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women haue suffered for the same, with vs in England, as by these stories aboue past, may be appparent.

Now these things declared, which to the Church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to intreat of the state likewise of the commonwealth, which commonlie doth follow the state of the Church. Where the church is quietlie and moderatelie gouerned, and the flocke of Christ defended by godly Princes in peace and safetie, from deuouring and violence of bloudie Wolues: the successe of ciuill estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the princes long continue through Gods preseruation, in prosperous rest and tranquillitie. Contrariwise, where the Church of Christ, either through the negligence of princes, or through their setting on, the poore members of Christ be persecuted and deuoured: shortly after ensueth some iust recompence of the Lord vpon those princes, that either their liues do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the common wealth, which they looke for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countries farre off, or else of our owne countrie nere at home.

The state of the commonwealth, commonly followeth the state of the Church.

The dutie of princes to defend their subiects from the slaughter of the Church of Rome.

And here not to wander in our story, farther then to France only, let vs a little behold the example of king Charles the viij. who liuing in this kings time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Cominæus, to bee a moderate, valiant and victorious prince, adorned with many speciall vertues to a prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was slacke and remisse in defence of Christs church, neither did vse his authority, nor take his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reforme the state of the bishop and clergy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himselfe punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appeare. For so it is of him recorded, that being maruellously excited and prouoked, of his owne minde (contrary to the counsell of most of his Nobles) he take his voiage into Italie, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the yeare being conuenient thereunto. And that this may appeare the better to procéede of the Lords doing, to the intent he would haue the church and clergy of Rome reformed by the princes sword, which so vexed all Christendome at that time, we shall heare what is testified in the Commentaries of the foresaid Philip Cominæus Lib. 3. De bello Neapolit. writing in this wise.

Ex commentarijs Phil. Cominæi De bello Neapolitano, lib. 3.

There was (saith he) in the city of Florence the same time a Dominicke Frier, named Hieronymus Sauonarola (of whom mention was made before, pag. 672.) a man of a right godly and approoued life: who in the said city of Florence preached and prophecied long before, that the French King should come with an army into Italy, being stirred vp of God to suppresse the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the city of Pisæ, and the state of Florence should be altered: al which happened true. He affirmed moreouer to be signified to him of the Lord, that the Ecclesiasticall state of the church must be redressed *Per vim armorum*. i. by the sword, or force of armes. Many things also he prophecied of the Venetians, and of the French king, saying that the king with some danger and difficulty, should passe that iourney, yet notwithstanding should ouercome it and escape, albeit his strength were neuer so slender: for God would safely conduct him in that iourney, and safely bring him home againe. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the church, and in defending his people from iniurie, and from deuouring, therefore it should come to passe (said he) and that shortly, that some incommoditie or detriment should happen to the king: or if he should escape that danger of his sickneese and recouer health, then if hee did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poore and miserable, God would shew mercy vnto him, &c. And this the said Hieronymus declared before to Cominæus one of the kings counsellours, which was the writer of the story, and required him

Vide supra, pag. 672.

The prophecye of Hierome Sauonarola.

to

to signifie the same vnto the king, which so did, and hee moreouer himselfe comming to the presence of the king, declared no lesse.

All which things, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the king being but easily accompanied with a small power, entred into Italie, where first he came to Asta, then to Genua, and to Pisæ, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Petrus Medicies the duke, who had vsed great tyrannie vpon the subiectes. From thence he remooued toward Rome, where a great part of the citie wall at the comming of the French king, fell downe.

Vide Phil. Cominæum de bello Neapol. lib. 5.

Afterward when the king was entred into the citie and the pope (who then toke part with Alphonsus king of Neapolis against the French king) had immured himselfe within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the Castell fell downe of it selfe, whereby, when the king was both occasioned, and erhorted also by his Captaines to inuade the Pope, and to depose him, and to reforme the Church of Rome, (which he might then easily haue done, as it hath pleased him) yet all these occasions offered so oportunely of God mooued not the king to doe his dutie, and to helpe the poore Church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Neapolis, either the same yeare or the nert yeare following, he was stroken with a sodaine sickenesse at Amboise, as he was looking on them that plaied at tennis, & that in the stinckingest place in all the Castle, where he fell downe and died within 12. houres, according to the forewarning of Hieronimus, who wrote vnto him a little before, both of his sonnes death and of his owne, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1498. Ex Philip. Cominæo. Lib. 5.

De bello Neopol. lib. 5.

Like examples we haue many here also in this our realme of England. So long as king John kept out of the realme the popes authoritie and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles: but so soone as he brought the realme vnder tribute and subiection to that forreine Bishop, God stirred vp his nobles against him, whereby hee had much disquiet and trouble, and soone thereupon deceased.

Of all the kings of England, from William Conquerour, to this king Henry 7. were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, then king Henry the second, king Henry the third, king Edward the first, king Edward the third, of whom the first, how stout hee was in withstanding Thomas Becket and pope Alexander the 3. is sufficiently before comprehended, pag. 201.

Examples of kings of England, which were blessed of God with long prosperitie being enemies to the bishops of Rome.

The second, which was sonne of king John, albeit through the wretchednesse of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the popes vsurped iurisdiction out of the realme, yet his will was good: at least he so defended and prouided for his subiects, that they tooke no great wrong at the popes hands: who reigned one yeare longer then Augustus Cæsar, which hath not commonly beene seene in any Prince.

Augustus reigned 55. yeares.

The third, which was king Edward the first, so vigilantly behaued himselfe for the publicke commoditie and safetie of his people, that hee defended them from all forraine power and hostilitie both of the Scottes (then our enemies, now our friendes) and also from the bishop of Rome, taking part with them against vs, as may appeare aboue, pag. 311. Furthermore of the same king, and of his worthy nobles and house of Parliament, how valiantly they stood in deniall of the popes subsidies, and also how the said king secluded out of his protection the Bishops, and especiallie the Archbishop Pecham for standing with the pope, reade pag. 320.

Vide supra pag. 311.

Vide supra pag. 320.

Now as touching king Edward the third, how little he regarded, how princely he with his nobles likewise resisted the popes reseruations and prouisions, how he bridled the Archbishop John Stratford, and reiected the vaine authoritie of the bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subiectes, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the realme of France, reade pag. 346.

Vide supra pag. 346.

Not that I doe here affirme or define, as in a general rule, that worldlie successe and prosperitie of life alwaies followeth the godlie, which we see rather to be giuen more often to the wicked sort: but speaking of the dutie of Princes, I note and obserue by examples of histories, that such Princes as haue most defended the church of Christ committed to their gouernance, from iniurie & violence of the Bishop of Rome, haue not lacked at Gods hand great blessing and felicitie: whereas contrariwise) they which either themselues haue been persecutors of Christes members, or haue not shielded them by their protection from forraine tyrannie and iniuries, haue lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appeare by king Edward the second, Richard the third, king Henry the fourth, king Henrie the fift, king Henry the first, &c. who because either negligently they haue suffered, or cruelly caused such persecuting lawes to be made, and so much Christian bloud iniuriously to be deuoured: therefore haue they been the lesse prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or if they flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not halfe the time of the other kinges before named.

What difference betweene moderate princes and them that were persecutors.

And therefore, as the state of the common wealth doth commonly follow the state of the Church, as ye heard before: so it had been to be wished, that this king Henry the vij. being otherwise a prudent and temperate Prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the popes clergie so much to haue their willes ouer the poore flocke of Christ, as then they had: according as by these persecutions aboue mentioned may appeare. The which king Henry vij. albeit he had a prudent continuance, who had now raigned 24. yeares, yet notwithstanding here commeth the same thing to be noted, whereof I spake before: that when the Church of Christ beginneth to be inured with violence, and to goe to wracke through misorder and negligence, the state of the common wealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of Gods correction. But howsoeuer this marke is to be taken, thus lieth the storie: that after the burning and dieing of these poore seruants of Christ aboue recited, when the persecution began now in the Church to be hote, God calleth away the king, the same yeare aboue mentioned, which was 1509. after he had raigned the terme of yeares, 24. Who if he had adioyned a little more pitifull respect, in protecting Christes poore members, from the fire of the popes tyranny, to his other great vertues of singular wisedome, excellent temperance, and moderate frugalitie: so much had hee been comparable with the best of those Princes aboue comprehended, as he had been inferiour but to a fewe: but this defect which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord) by his posteritie succeeding after him. Of whom in the nert volume following (Christ thereunto assisting vs) wee haue to speake more at large.

The death of K. Henry 7.

Among manie other things incident in the reigne of this king Henry 7. I haue ouerpassed the historie of certaine godly persons persecuted in the Diocelle of Couentry and Lichfield, as we finde them in the registers of the Diocesse recorded, here following.

Couentry men persecuted.

The yeare of our Lord 1485. March 9. amongst diuers and sundry other good men in Couentry, these xr. hereunder named were examined before John Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, in S. Michaels Church, vpon these articles, following in order.

FIrst, John Blomkon was openly and publikely infamed, accused, reported, and appeached, that he was a very hereticke, because hee had preached, taught, holden and affirmed, that the power attributed to S. Peter in the Church of God, by our Sauiour Jesus Christ immediatly did not flit, or passe from him, to remaine with his successors.

J. Blomkins.

The power of Peter flitteth not to his successors.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe as in the Image of the virgin Marie.

Item, that prayer and almes auaile not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heauen or hell, whereupon he concludeth, there is no purgatorie.

Purgatorie denied.

Item, that it was foolishnesse to goe on pilgrimage to the image of our Ladie of Dancaster, Wallsingham, or of the tower of the citie of Couentrie: for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire side in the kitchen, as in the foresaid places, and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin, when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visiting the images, because they be no more but dead stocks and stones.

Images not to be worshipped.

Item, that hee said in English with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: a vengeance on all such horson priests, for they haue great enuie that a poore man should get his liuing among them.

RIchard Hegham of the same citie was accused, &c. to be a very hereticke, because he did hold that a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his owne works good and ill, and submit him to the mercie of God.

Richard Hegham. Merites condemned.

Item, that it was fondnesse to worship the Images of our Ladie of tower in the foresaid citie, or of other Saints, for they are but stockes and stones.

Item, that if the image of our Ladie of tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Images serue rather to be burned, then be worshipped.

Item, that it were better to deale monie vnto poore folks then to offer to the images of Christ and other Saints, which are but dead stockes and stones.

RObert Crowther of the same citie was accused, that hee was an hereticke, because he did hold, that who so receiueth the Sacrament of the altar in deadly sinne, or out of charitie, receiueth nothing but bread and wine.

Robert Crowther.

Item, that neither bishop, nor priests or curats of Churches, haue power in the market of penance to bind and lose.

Item, that pilgrimage to the image of our Ladie of tower is foolishnesse, for it is but a stocke or a stone.

Against Pilgrimage.

IOhn Smith was accused to bee a very hereticke, because he did hold that euery man is bound to know the Lords prayer, and the Creed in English, if he might for these false priests.

John Smith.

Item, that who so beleeued as the Church then did beleeue, beleeued ill: and that a man had need to frequent the schooles a good while, ere that he can attaine to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

The Lordes prayer to be in English.

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Item, that no Priest hath power to assoile a man in the market of penance, from his sinnes.

Roger Browne. ROger Brown of the same citie, was also accused to be an hereticke, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the Image of our Ladie of Walsingham, nor the bloud of Christ at Hailes, but rather God almightie, who would giue him whatsoeuer he would aske.

Against Pilgrimage. Item, that he held not vp his handes, nor looked vp, at the elecuation of the Eucharist.

Item, that he promised one to shew him certaine bookes of heresie, if he would sweare that hee would not vtter them, and if he would credite them.

Flesh eating in Lent. Item, that he did eate flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

Item, if anie man were not shriuen his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confessed, and coulde not, if he had no more but contrition onlie, hee should passe to ioy without Purgatorie: And if hee were confessed of any sinne, and were enioyned onlie to say for Penance one Pater noster, if he thought he should haue any punishment in Purgatorie for that sinne, he would neuer be confessed for any sinne.

Against Purgatorie and confession auricular.

Against confession and satisfaction. Item, because hee said all is lost that is giuen to Priestes.

Item, that there was no Purgatorie, that would pardon all sinnes without confession and satisfaction.

Tho. Butler. THomas Butler of the same citie, was likewise openlie accused to be a very hereticke, because he did hold that there were but two waies, that is to say, to heauen, and to Hell.

Against Purgatorie. Item, that no faithfull man shoulde abide any paine after the death of Christ, for any sinne, because Christ died for our sinnes.

Item, that there was no purgatorie, for euery man immediatly after death passeth either to heauen, or hell.

Against merites. Item, that whosoeuer departeth in the faith of Christ and the church, howsoeuer he hath liued, shall be saued.

Item, that praiers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and auaile not to purchase heauen.

John Falkes. IOhn Falkes was accused to be a very hereticke, because he did affirme that it was a foolish thing to offer to the Image of our Lady, saying, her head shall be hoare or I offer to her, what is it but a blocke? If it could speake to me, I would giue it an halfepenny worth of ale.

Against Images. Item, that when the Priest carrieth to the sicke the bodie of Christ, why carrieth he not also the bloud of Christ?

Item, that he did eate cow milke vpon the first Sunday of Lent.

Item, that as concerning the Sacrament of penance and absolution, no Priest hath power to assoile any man from his sinnes, when as he cannot make one haire of his head.

It is heresie to say a stone is a stone, and a blocke is a blocke. Item, that the Image of our Ladie was but a stone or a blocke.

Rich Hilmin. RIchard Hilmin was accused that hee was a verie hereticke, because he did say and maintaine that it was better to depart with money to the poore, then to giue tithes to Priestes, or to offer to the images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, then to the Images of God painted.

Scripture in English. Item, that he had the Lords praier and the Salutation of the Angell and the Creed in English, and another booke did he see and had, which conteined the Epistles and Gospels in English, and according to them would he liue, and thereby beleeued to be saued.

Item, that no Priest speaketh better in the Pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the Sacrament of the aultar is but bread, and that the Priestes make it to blinde the people.

Item, that a Priest whiles he is at Masse, is a Priest, and after one masse done, till the beginning of another Masse, he is no more then a lay man, and hath no more power then a meere lay man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were assoiled and put to penance.

Margery Goyt. IN the yeare of our Lord 1488. the third of Aprill, Margery Goyt, wife of James Goyt of Asburne, was brought before the foresaid John Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, who was there accused that the saide, that that which the Priests lift ouer their heades at Masse, was not the true and very bodie of Christ: For if it were so, the Priestes could not breake it so lightly into foure partes, and swallow it as they doe: for the Lordes bodie hath flesh and bones, so hath not that which the Priestes receiue.

Against the Sacrament of the aultar.

Item, that Priestes buying rl. cakes for a halfepenny, and shewing them to the people and saying, that of euery of them they make the body of Christ, doe nothing but deceiue the people and enrich themselues.

Item, seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

¶ This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she assoiled and did penance.

Thus much I thought here good to insert, touching these foresaid men of Couentry, especiallie for this purpose, because our cauilling aduersaries be wont to obiect against vs the newnesse of Christes old and ancient religion. To the intent therefore they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here obiected against these foresaid persons, as is aboue premised.

Picus Mirandula Earle. I should also in the same reigne of king Henry 7. haue introduced that historie of Ioannes Picus Earle of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before, pag. 660. This Picus Earle of Mirandula being but a yong man, was so excellently witted, & so singularly learned in all sciences and in all tongues, both Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, Chaldey, and Araby, that comming to Rome booted & spurred, he set vp 90. conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendome, whosoeuer would come against him. Of which conclusions diuers were touching the matter of the Sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, priuily and in corners certaine of the Popes Cleargie, Prelates, Lawyers and Friers, by the Pope appointed, consulted togither to enquire vpon his conclusions, whereupon they did articulate against him for suspition of heresie. And thus the vnlearned clergie of Rome priuily circumuented & intangled this learned Earle in their snares of heresie, against whom they neuer durst openly dispute. He died being of the age of 32. yeeres, of such wit and towardnesse, as is hard to say whether euer Italie bredde vp a better. In his sickenesse Charles the viij. the French king moued with the fame of his learning, came to visite him. The furniture of his bookes cost him 7000. florens. A little before his death his mind was to giue all away, and to take a coule, to go about and preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His storie requireth a long tractation, which if place doe serue, we will not peraduenture forget. With two Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander vj. hee had much veration.

¶ The names of the archbishops of Canturburie in this sixt booke conteined.

62	Iohn Stratford.	8
63	Iohn Kempe.	3
64	Thomas Bourchier.	33
65	Iohn Morton.	14
66	Thomas Langhton.	
67	Henry Dene.	2
	Guliel. Warham.	28

This Thomas Langhton was elected archbishop, but died before he was confirmed.

Here endeth the sixth Booke, and the first Tome.

A briefe note of Ecclesiasticall lawes ordained *by ancient kings in this realme.*

Ecclesiasticall lawes ordained by auncient kings of this Realme. FOrsomuch as it is, and hath bene a perswasion long gendered in the heades of many that the bishops of Rome be the vniuersall heades of the whole militant Church of Christ in earth, and haue alwaies so continued from the beginning of the primitiue time: And that no Prince, King, nor Emperour in his owne realme hath any interest to intermeddle with matters and lawes Ecclesiasticall, but onlie the said bishops of Rome: to refell and remoue that opinion out of the heades of all Englishmen, as a thing most false, and contrary both to histories of time, and examples of ancient kinges and gouernors of this realme, I thought to fill vp a little end of paper here left, with some such briefe rehearsall of lawes deuised and appointed by kinges and rulers of this land, for the ordering of the Church, and causes Ecclesiasticall, to the intent that all the world may see the gouernment of Christes Church here in earth vnder Christ, hath not depended onely of the Pope from ancient time, but hath beene rather directed by such kinges and princes as God here had placed vnder him to gouerne the people of this Realme of England, as followeth here in this present table to be noted.

A briefe recapitulation of ancient Ecclesiastical lawes, by sundrie kings of this Realme ordained, for gouernement of the Church, before the Conquest.

¶ *Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Inas, or Ina.*

Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Ina. 1. FIrst king Inas who reigned in this land the yere of our Lord, DCCvij. commanded the ministers should frame their conuersation of life according to the forme in lawes prescribed.

2. That infants should be baptised within 30. daies.

3. Item, that no man lay or spirituall, free or bond, should labor vpon the Sunday.

4. Item, he established immunitie of churches & Sanctuary. Also he toke order for the true paiment of ꝑ church duties, and of

of the firſt fruites of all that was ſowne to be paid at the day of S. Martin.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king *Alured, or Alfred.*

King Alueredes lawes.

1. KIng Alured, after he had ordeined diuers iudiciall puniſhments for violating the holie precepts of God commanded by Moſes, hee alſo confirmed and enlarged the priuiledge of Sanctuarie: he laid double paine vpon ſuch as committed offences in the ſolemnities of certaine feaſtes: alſo againſt them that committed ſacrilege.
2. He made a law againſt prieſtes committing murther.
3. Alſo he made a law againſt whoredome, adulterie, and fornication.
4. He appointed daies of faſting and ceaſing from labour.
5. Item, he ſet order for making and keeping bowes.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Edward the elder *and Gythrum the Dane king.*

King Edwards lawes.

1. FIrſt, they agreed vpon the Sanctuary: they forbad Gentiliſme and Paganiſme: they laid puniſhment vpon the clergie committing theft, periurie, or murther, fornication, or anie capitall crime.
2. They puniſhed prieſtes, that pretermitted their office in pronouncing feaſtuall, or faſting daies.
3. They made a lawe againſt all labour, buying and ſelling vpon the Sabbath: alſo for keeping of feaſtes. Item, for no execution to be done on the Sunday. Alſo againſt witches and ſorcerers, &c.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Ethelſtane.

King Ethelſtanes lawes.

1. KIng Ethelſtan, who raigned the yeere of our Lord, 924 commanded that euery village of his owne, ſhould giue a monethly corrodie to a poore perſon.
2. That 50. Pſalmes ſhould be ſung dayly in the Church, for the king, &c.
3. He alſo ordeined puniſhment for witches, and ſorcerers, &c.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Edmund.

K. Edmundes lawes.

1. AFter king Ethelſtane followed king Edmund about the yeare of our Lord, 940. who eſtabliſhed and prouided lawes againſt the vnchaſt liuing of churchmen.
2. Item, he made lawes concerning tithes, with firſt fruits of euerie mans crop, and almes money duely to be paid.
3. Item, he enacted that biſhops of their owne proper charges ſhould repaire Churches, and ſhould alſo admoniſh the king for the furniſhing of the ſame.
4. For periury alſo, and for fighting within the Church, hee ſet lawes and paines.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Edgar.

King Edgars lawes.

1. KIng Edgar, who began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord, 959. amongſt other conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, ordeined, that the Sunday ſhould be kept holie from Saturday at noone till Munday in the morning.
2. Item, he ordeined and decreed concerning liberties and freedomes of the church, for tithes alſo, and firſt fruites of corne, and paying of Peterpence.
3. Item, for holy daies and faſting daies.
4. Item, that aſſemblies or Synodes ſhould be kept twiſe euery yeare, whereat as well the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe ſhould be preſent, as the ciuill Magiſtrate.

King Ethelrede, Anno 979.

K. Ethelredes lawes.

KIng Ethelrede alſo which ſucceeded after Edgar and Edward, appointed diuers lawes for publicke regiment, whereof we finde but fewe touching matters Eccleſiaſticall, for tithes, lightes, feaſtes and nothing els, and therefore we paſſe further to the lawes of Canutus.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of King Canutus.

King Canutus lawes.

CAnutus the Dane king began to reigne in this land in the yeare of our Lord 1016. The ſaide Canutus (as Ethelrede had done before) diuided his lawes into Eccleſiaſticall and temporall.

1. That eccleſiaſticall perſons being accuſed of fighting, murder, or anie other offence; ſhould purge themſelues thereof.
2. That Prieſts ſhould be degraded for periury, and put in ſureties of good behauiour.
3. He praieth prieſtes, that they will liue chaſt, and commanded other Religious.
4. He limited the degrees of mariage.
5. Item, he commanded celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noone till Munday morning, as Edgar had done before, forbidding markets, huntings, labours, and Court keepings during the ſaid ſpace.
6. He ordained eche chriſtian man to come to the houſell thriſe yearelie at the leaſt: That they ſearch and inquire after Gods law, and his commandements.
7. That euery chriſtian man vnderſtand the pointes of his faith, and that at the leaſt he learne perfectly the Lordes praier, and the Creede, and that whoſoeuer cannot the ſame, ſhall be excluded from the Euchariſt, and ſhall not be receiued to vndertake for others in Baptiſme.
8. That Biſhops and Prieſtes ſhould do their duties: that they cry out and warne their flocks, when the wolfe commeth.
9. That at the court of euerie ſhire, the biſhop of the Dioces ſhall be preſent with the ſheriffe, and that the one ſhal teach them Gods law, and the other mans lawe, as ye heard in king Edgars lawes before.

Many other lawes both Eccleſiaſticall and temporall beſides theſe were enacted by theſe and other kinges here in England before the Conqueſt: but theſe be ſufficient to giue the vnderſtanding reader to conſider, how the authoritie of the Biſhops of Rome, all this while, extended not ſo farre to preſcribe lawes for gouernment of the Church, but that kings and princes of the Realme, as they be now, ſo were then full gouernours here vnder Chriſt, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, as temporall, both in directing orders, inſtituting lawes, in calling of Synodes, and alſo in conferring Biſhoprickes and benefices, without any leaue of the Romiſh Biſhops. Thus Odo, Dunſtane, Oſwold, Ethelwold, Adelmus, and Lanckrancus, although they ſet their palles afterward from Rome, yet were they made biſhops and archbiſhops by kings onlie, not by popes.

Kings of England before the Conqueſt gouernours as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as temporall.

When kinges of England came firſt vnder the popes ſubiection.

And thus ſtoode the gouernment of this Realme of England all the time before the conqueſt, til Pope Hildebrand through the ſetting on of the Saxons, began firſt to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4.) vnder foot. Then followed the ſubduing of other Emperours, kings, and ſubiects after that, as namely here in England, when Lanckrancus, Anſelmus, and Becket, went to complaine of their kinges, and gouernours, then brought they the popes iudiciall authoritie firſt from Rome, ouer this land, both ouer kings and ſubiects: which euer ſince hath continued, till theſe latter yeares. Albeit the ſaid kings of this Realme of England being prudent Princes, and ſeeing right well the ambitious preſumption of thoſe Romiſh Biſhops, did what they coulde to ſhake off the yoke of their ſupremacie, as appeareth by the lawes and actes of their parliaments, both in K. Edward the thirds time, king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. aboue in their parliament notes ſpecified: yet for feare of other forreine princes, and the blinde opinion of their ſubiects, ſuch was then the calamitie of that time, that neither they could nor durſt compaſſe that, which faine they would: till at laſt, the time of their iniquitie being complete, through the Lords wonderfull working, their pride had a fall, as in the volume enſuing (the Lord ſo graunting) ſhall by proceſſe of hiſtorie be declared.

The

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The proud primacie of Popes painted out in Tables, in order of their rising vp by little and little, from faithfull Bishops and Martyrs, to become Lords and gouernours ouer kings and kingdomes, exalting themselues in the Temple of God, aboue all that is called god, &c.

2. Thessal. 2.

The martyrdome of good bishops vnder wicked Emperours in the primitive Church.

IN the Table of the primitiue Church aboue described, hath beene (gentle Reader) set forth and exhibited before thine eies the greeuous afflictions and sorrowfull torments, which through Gods secret sufferance, fell vpon the true Saints and members of Christs Church in that time, especially vpon the good Bishops, Ministers, and Teachers of the flocke: of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eies put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which dayes of wofull calamitie continued (as is foreshewed) neere the space of CCC. yeares. During which time, the deare spouse and elect Church of God, being sharply assaulted on euery side, had small rest, no ioy, nor outward saftie in this present world, but in much bitternesse of heart, in continuall teares and mourning vnder the crosse passed ouer their dayes, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reuiled, famished, tormented and martyred euerie where, who neither durst well tarrie at home for feare & dread, and much lesse durst come abroad for the enemies, but onelie by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing Psalmes and Hymmes together. In all which their dreadfull dangers, and sorrowfull afflictions, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the Lord left them not desolate: but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound: and the farther off they seemed from the ioyes of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude, to confirme and reioyce their soules. And though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heauenly gifts and treasures from aboue an hundreth fold. Then was true religion truely felt in heart. Then was Christianitie not in outward appearance shewed, but in inward affection receiued, and the true image of the Church not in outward shewe pretensed, but in her perfect state effectuall. Then was the name and feare of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was feruent, zeale ardent, praier not swimming in the lips but groned out to God from the bottome of the spirit. Then was no pride in the Church, nor leisure to seeke riches, nor time to keepe them. Contention for trifles was then so farre from Christians, that well were they when they could meete to praie together against the diuell, author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole church of Christ Jesus, with all the members therof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this world, the neerer it was to the blessed respect of Gods fauour and supportation.

The true riches of the church described.

¶ The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

The first rising of the bishops of Rome.

AFter this long time of trouble, it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to looke vpon the Saints and seruants of his sonne, to release their captiuitie, to release their miserie, and to bind vp the old Dragon the Diuell, which so long vexed them, whereby the church began to aspire to some more libertie: and the Bishops, which before were as abiects, vtterly contemned of Emperours, through the prouidence of God (which disposeth all things in his time after his owne will) began now of Emperours to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperours grew more in deuotion, so the Bishops more and more were exalted, not onely in fauour, but also preferred vnto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter masters, but rather halfe Emperours with Emperours.

The spirituall riches of the Church turned to worldly riches. *Ex libro Serm. Discipuli.*

After this in processe of time, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergie, and that the diuell had poured his venome into the Church (as the voice was heard the same time ouer Constantinople) so true humilitie began to decay, and pride to set in his foote, till at last they plaied as the Ivy doth with the Oke tree, which first beginning with a goodly greene shewe, imbraceth him so long, till at length it ouergroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his roote fast in his barke, till at last it both stifleth the stocke and killeth the branches, and so commeth to be a nest for Owles and all vncleane birds. Not vntruely therefore it was said of Augustine: Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem. i. Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath deuoured the mother. The veritie whereof notoriously may appeare aboue all other in the church of Rome, and the Bishops of the same. For after that the church of Rome, through fauour of Emperours, was indued with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, so that the Bishops thereof feeling the smacke of wealth, ease, and prosperitie, began to swell in pompe and pride: the more they florished in this world, the more Gods holy spirit forsooke them, till at last the said Bishops, who at the first were poore, creeping low vpon the ground, and were persecuted long time, euery man treading vpon them in this world: now of persecuted people, beganne to be persecutors of others, and to treade vpon the necks euen of Emperours, and to bring the heads of kings and princes vnder their girdle. And not onely that, but furthermore through pride and

Looke Tyndall in his booke of the practise of Prelats.

and riches, they were so farre gone from all religion, that in the very end they became the great aduersary of God (whom we call Antichrist) prophecied of so long before by the spirit of God to come, sitting in the temple of God, &c. Of whom thus we reade in the Epistle of Paul, 2. Thess. 2. where he saith: We beseech you brethren, by the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, & by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moued in your minde, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word nor letter, as it were from vs, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceiue you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sinne be reuealed, euen the sonne of perdition, that aduersarie which exalteth himselfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the temple of God, as God, and set forth himselfe as hee were God, &c.

The great aduersarie called Antichrist described by S. Paul, 2. Thess. 2.

By which words of S. Paul we haue diuers things to vnderstand. First that the day of the Lords comming was not then neere at hand. Secondly, the Apostle giuing vs a token before, to know when that day shall approch, biddeth vs looke for an aduersarie first to be reuealed. Thirdly, to shew what aduersary this shalbe, he expresseth him not to be as a common aduersarie, such as were then in his time: For although Herode, Annas and Caiphas, the high Priests and Pharises, Tertullus, Alexander the Coppersmith, Elymas and Simon Magus, and Nero the Emperour in Pauls time were great aduersaries: yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater then all the rest, not such a one as should be like to Priest, King or Emperour, but such as farre exceeding the state of all kings, priests and emperours, should be the prince of priests, should make kings to stoope, and should tread vpon the necke of Emperours, and make them to kisse his feete. Moreouer, where the Apostle saith, that he shall sit in the temple of God, thereby is meant, not the personall sitting of the Pope in the citie onlie of Rome, but the authoritie and iurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole vniuersall Church, equall with God himselfe. For let men giue to the pope that which he in his lawes, decrees, and in his pontifficall requireth, and what difference is there betweene God and the pope? If God set lawes and ordinances, so doth he. If God haue his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of Gods commandements be punished, much more be his. God hath his Religion, the pope also hath his, yea for Gods one religion, he hath an hundred. God hath set vp one Aduocate, hee hath an hundred. God hath instituted but a few holydaies: for Gods one, he hath instituted xl. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be simplex, the feast that the pope appointeth is duplex & triplex. Christ is the head of the Church: so is the pope. Christ forgiueth sinne, the pope his bodie: so doth the pope. Christ expelleth euill spirits by his power: so doth no lesse. Christ expelleth the deuil by his power: so pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot vpon the bare ground: hee with his golden shoes is carried on mens shoulders. And where Christ was called Sanctus Sanctorum: he is called Sanctorum Sanctissimus. Christ neuer practise but only the spirituall sword: hee claimeth both spirituall and temporall. Christ bought the Church: he both buieth and selleth the Church. And if it be necessarie to beleeue Christ to be the Sauiour of the world: so is it necessarie to beleeue the pope to be the head of the Church. Christ paied tribute vnto Cæsar: hee maketh Cæsar pay tribute vnto him. Finally, the crowne of Christ was of sharpe thorne: the pope hath three crownes of golde vpon his head, so farre exceeding Christ the sonne of God in glorie of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glorie of heauen. The image and paterne of whose intollerable pride and exaltation, according as S. Paul doth describe him in his Epistle aforesaid, we haue here set forth, not onely in these tables to be seene, and by his owne facts to be noted, but also in his owne words and Registers, Clementines, Extrauagants, and Pontificals, expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

A declaration of S. Pauls words.

The pope matching himselfe euen with God.

¶ The exaltation of popes aboue kings and emperours out of histories.

First, after that Italie and the Citie of Rome were ouerrunne by the Gothes and Vandales, so that the seate of the Empire was remoued to Constantinople, then began Joannes Patriarch of Constantinople, to put forth himselfe and would needes be called vniuersall Bishop of the world: but the Bishop of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the Emperours deputie, and exarch of Rauenna to rule Italie; but the Bishop of Rome through aide of the king of Lombards soone quailed him.

John Patriarch of Constantinople subdued by the bishop of Rome.

The Emperors lieutenant of Rauenna subdued by the Lombards and Romane Bishops.

Not long after, about the yeare of our Lord 500. came Phocas the murderer, who slue the Emperour of Constantinople his maister Mauritius and his children. By which Phocas the bishops of old Rome aspired first to their preheminence, to be counted the headbishops ouer the whole Church, and so together with the Lombards began to rule the citie of Rome. Afterwards when the Lombards would not yeeld vnto him, in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needes require of the bishop the said citie of Rome; he stirred vp Pipinus, but first deposed Childericus the king of France, and so thrusting him into an Abbay, set vp his in place. Pipinus and his son Carolus Magnus to put downe the said king of Lombards called Aistulphus. And so translated the Empire from Constantinople into France, diuiding the spoile betweene him and them: so that the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receiue of them the quiet possessiō of the citie of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge vn-

Boniface 3. obtained of Phocas to be called vniuersall bishop.

Pope Zacharie putteth downe Childericus the French king and setteth Pipinus in his place.

Pipinus and Carolus Magnus set vp by Pope Zacharie.

How the Bishops of Rome came first to be the head-bishops of the Church.

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Donation of Constantine a thing falſe and forged.

to them vnder the name of S. Peters patrimonie, which they falſly aſcribe to that donation of Conſtantinus the great.

It followeth then in proces of time, after the daies of Pipinus, Carolus and Ludouicus (who had indured theſe biſhops of Rome, called now popes, with large poſſeſſions) when the kings of France were not ſo appliable to their becke, to aid and maintaine them againſt the Princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the ſaid biſhops for their wrongfull vſurped goods, they practiſed with the Germaines to reduce the Empire to Otho firſt of that name Duke of Spaine, referring the election thereof to 7. princes Electours of Germanie, which was about an 1002. notwithſtanding reſeruing ſtill in his hands the negatitiue voyce, thinking thereby to enioy that they had, in quietneſſe and ſecuritie, and ſo did for a good ſpace.

Pope Gregorie 5. practiſeth with the Germaines to reduce the Empire to Germanie, an. 1002.

At length when ſome of theſe Germaine Emperours alſo after Otho began a little to ſpurne againſt the ſaid biſhops and popes of Rome, ſome of them they accurſed, ſome they ſubdued and brought to the kiſſing of their feet, ſome they depoſed, and placed other in their poſſeſſions.

Otho firſt Germaine Emperour.

So was Henricus 4. by theſe biſhops accurſed, the Emperour himſelfe forced with his wife and childe to wait attendance vpon the popes pleaſure three daies and three nights in winter at the gates of Canoſſus. Reade before pag. 162. Beſides all this the ſaid pope raiſed vp Rodulphus to be Emperour againſt him: who being ſlaine in warre, then the ſaid pope Gregorie 7. not reſting thus, ſtirred vp his owne ſonne Henricus 5. to fight againſt his owne naturall father and to depoſe him, which Henricus the 5. was alſo himſelfe afterward accurſed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at laſt ſet vp by the biſhops to fight againſt him.

Emperours brought to kiſſe the popes feete. Henricus 4. accurſed, waiteth at the popes gate 3. daies. Rodulphus, and at laſt his owne ſonne ſet vp to fight againſt him. Reade before pag. 162.

After this the Emperours began to be ſomewhat calmed and more quiet, ſuffering the biſhops to reigne as they liked: till Fredericke the firſt called Barbaroſſa came, and began to ſtirre coales againſt them. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his ſonne Henry in ſuch ſort, that they brought firſt the necke of Fredericke, in the church of Venice, vnder their feete to tread vpon: and after the ſaid biſhops crowning Henricus his ſonne in the Church of S. Peter, ſet his crowne on his head with their feete, and with their feete ſpurned it off againe, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crowne Emperours, and depoſe them againe. Whereof read before pag. 000.

Pope Alexander 3. treadeth vpon the necke of Fredericke the Emperour. Pope Celeſtine crowneth Henrie 5. Emperor with his foote, and with his foote ſpurneth the crowne from his head againe.

Then followed Philippus brother to Henry aforeſaid, whom alſo the popes accurſed, about the yeare of our Lord 1198. and ſet vp Otho Duke of Saxonie. But when the ſaid Otho began to be ſo ſaucie to diſpoſſeſſe the biſhops of their cities and lands which they had incroched into their hands, they could not beare that, but incontinent they put him beſides the cuſhion. The like alſo fell vpon Otho the 4. that followed after Philip, who was ſuffered no longer then foure yeares to raigne, about the yeare of our Lord 1209.

At this time Fredericus 2. the ſonne of Fredericus Barbaroſſa aboue mentioned, was but young, whom the biſhops of Rome ſuppoſing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, aduanced to be Emperour after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiuing the immoderate pompe and pride of the Romane biſhops, which he could in no caſe abide, ſo netled them and cut their combs, and waxed ſo ſtout againſt them, intending to extirpe their tyrannie and to reduce their pompous riches to the ſtate and condition of the primitiue Church againe, putting ſome of them to flight, and priſoning ſome of their cardinals, that of three popes, one after another he was accurſed, circumuented by treaſon, at laſt depoſed, and after that poiſoned, and at laſt forſaken and died.

Honorius 3. Gregorie 9. Innocent 4. againſt Fredericus 2. Emperour.

After this Fredericke followed his ſonne Conradus, whom the aforeſaid biſhops for his diſobedience ſoone diſpatched, exciting againſt him in mortall warre the Lantgraue of Thuring, whereby he was at length driuen into his kingdome of Naples, and there deceaſed.

Warre raiſed againſt Conradus, by the Biſhops of Rome.

This Conradus had a ſonne called Conradinus duke and prince of Sueuia. When this Conradinus after the deceaſe of his father came to enioy his kingdome of Naples, the ſaid biſhops ſtirred vp againſt him Charles the French kings brother, in ſuch ſort, that through craftie conueiance, both Conradinus which deſcended of the bloud of ſo many Emperors, and alſo Fredericke Duke of Auſtria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miſerable indurance vnſeeming to their ſtate, at length were both brought vnder the axe by the popes procurement, and ſo both beheaded. And thus ended the imperiall ſtocke of Fredericke the firſt, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa.

Ex Auentino.

The like as happened to Fredericke the Emperor, had almoſt alſo fallen vpon Philip the French king, by pope Boniface the 8. who becauſe he could not haue his commodities and reuenewes out of France after his will, ſent out his Bulles and letters patents to diſplace king Philip aforeſaid, and to poſſeſſe Albertus king of Romanes in his roome.

The inſolency of Pope Boniface 8. againſt Philip the French king.

And thus hitherto in forreins ſtories. Now touching our countrey Princes here in England, to ſpeake ſomewhat likewiſe of them: did not pope Alexander the third preſumptuouſly taking vpon him where he had nothing to doe to intermeddle with the kings ſubiects, for the death of Becket there-bell, albeit the king ſufficiently cleared himſelfe thereof; yet notwithſtanding did hee not wrongfully bring the ſaid king Henry 2. to ſuch penance as it pleaſed him to enioyne, and alſo violently conſtrained him to ſweare obedience to the ſee of Rome? pag. 206. The like alſo was ſhewed before in this ſtorie to happen to king John his ſonne. For when the ſaid king like a valiant prince had held out the tyrannie of thoſe Biſhops ſeuen yeares together, were not all the Churches in England barred vp, and his inheritance with all his do-

The tyrannous iniuries of biſhops of Rome againſt kings of England.

Pope Alexander 3. againſt king Henry 2. Pope Innocent 3. againſt king John.

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minions giuen away by pope Innocent the third, to Ludouicus the French king, and he afterward compelled to submit both himselfe, and to make his whole realme fedotarie to the bishops of Rome, and moreouer the king himselfe driuen also to surrender his crowne to Pandulphus the popes Legat, and so continued as a priuate person fiue daies, standing at the popes courtesie whether to receiue it againe at his hands or no. And when the nobles of the realme rose afterward against the king for the same, was not he then faine to seeke and sue to the foresaid pope for succour, as by his owne letter, taken out of the publike rolles, may appeare.

King Iohns supplication to pope Innocent the third.

Ex Rotulo patent. De an. Regni Reg. Ioannis 8.

King Iohns supplication to pope Innocent 3.

REuerendiſ. Domino ſuo & Patri ſanctiſ. Innocentio Dei gratia, Ioan. eadem gratia R. Angliæ, &c. Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis deuoti eſſent, antequam nos & noſtram terram Dominio veſtro ſubiacere curaſſemus, ex tunc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgunt. Nos verò præter Deum, vos ſpecialem dominum & patronum habentes, defenſionem noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos quantum in nobis eſt, curam & ſolicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus dominationi, deuotius ſupplicantes quatenus in negotijs noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, conſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire, latores præſentium, &c. Teſte meipſo apud Dour. 18. Septemb. 6.

And yet all this notwithstanding that the said king John did so yeld to the pope, he was both pursued by his nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subiect of the popes owne religion, a monke of Swinked: As I haue sufficiently to proue, not only by William Caxton aboue in my story alleaged, pag. 233. but also haue testimonie of the most part of chronicles for the same (a few only excepted:) as of Thomas Gray in his French chronicle: Also of another French chronicle in meeter, of Ranulphus Cestrensis: Thomas Rudburne also doth witnesse the same: So doth Richard Rede in nouo Chronico ad tempora Henr. 6. The like also doth the chronicle called Eulogium Monachi Cant. The words of Walter Gisborne an ancient historiographer be plaine. No lesse is to be found in Ioan. Maior, De gestis Scotorum: Libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56. where he not only maketh mention of the monke and of the poyson, but also of the abbat, of his absolution, and of the three monkes euerie day singing for the said monkes soule. To these I could also annex diuers other writers both English and Latin, without name, which witnesse that king John was poysoned; one beginning thus: Heere beginneth a booke in the English tongue, called Brute, &c. another beginneth: Because this book is made to tell what time any thing notable, &c. The third in English beginneth: The reigne of Britaine that now is called England, &c. Of Latine bookes which haue no name, one beginneth thus: Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, à Bruto nomen est sortita, &c. another hath this beginning: Adam pater generis humani, &c.

William Caxton. Thomas Gray. French chronicle in meeter. Ranulph. Cestrensis. Tho. Rudburn. Rich. Redus. Eulogium. Walterus Gisburne. Ioan. Maior. Writers in English and Latine without name.

Besides this king Henrie the second, and king John his sonne, what kings haue here raigned in England since their time, vntill the raigne of king Henrie the eight; who although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in prouiding against the proud domination of these bishops, were forced at length sore against their wils, for feare to subiect themselues together with their subiects vnder their vsurped authoritie, in so much as some of them (as Matth. Paris. writeth by king Henrie the third) were faine to stoope and kisse their Legats knee.

King Henrie the third kissing the knee of the popes Legat.

¶ The Image of Antichrist, exalting himselfe in the Temple of God, aboue all that is named God, out of his owne Decrees, Decretals, Extrauagants, Pontificals, &c. word for word as it is out of the said bookes heere alleaged and quoted.

Ex D. Paulo 2. Thess. 2.

1. FOr as much as it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation, for euery humane creature to be subiect vnto me the pope of Rome, it shall be therefore requisit and necessarie for all men that will be saued, to learne and know the dignitie of my see, and excellencie of my domination, as heere is set forth according to the truth and very words of mine owne lawes, in stile as followeth. 2. First my institution began in the old Testament, and was consummate and finished in the new, in that my priesthood was prefigured by Aaron: And other bishops vnder me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron that were vnder him. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath bin preferred by any generall councell, but obtained the primacie only by the voice of the Gospell, and the mouth of the Sauiour. 4. And hath in it neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing. 5. Wherefore as other seats be all inferiour to me, and as they cannot absolue me: so haue they no power to bind me or to stand against me, no more then the are hath power to stand or presume aboue him that heweth with it, or the law to presume aboue him that ruleth it. 6. This is the holy and Apostolike mother church of all other churches of Christ. 7. From whose rules it is not meet that any person or persons should decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the wil of his Father, so must you do the will of your mother the church, the head whereof is the Church of Rome. 8. And if any other person or persons shall erre from the said church, either let them be admonished, or else their names taken, to be knowne who they be as much as the holy Church of Rome, whereof I am gouernour, is set vp to the whole world for a glasse or example, reason would what thing soeuer the said Church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be receiued of all men for a generall

1. Pope Bonifacius 8. Extrauag. de Maiorit. & obed. c. Vnam.
2. Distinct. 12. cap. Decretis.
3. Pope Pelagius. Distinct. 21. c. Quamuis.
4. Pelagius ibidem.
5. Pope Nicolaus. Dist. 21. cap. Inferior.
6. Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. c. 2. Reta.
7. Pope Calistus. Dist. 12. cg. Non decet.
8. Pope Innocentius. 11. cap. Quis.
9. Pope Stephan. Dist. 19. cap Enimuero.

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nerall and a perpetuall rule for euer. 10. Whereupon we see it now verified in this church, that was foreprophecied by Jeremie, saying: Behold I haue set thee vp ouer nations and kingdomes to plucke vp and to breake downe, to build and to plant, &c. 11. Who so vnderstandeth not the prerogatiue of this my priesthood, let him loke vp to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the Sunne and the Moone: one ruling ouer the day, the other ouer the night. So in the firmament of the vniuersall church, 12. God hath set two great dignities, the authoritie of the Pope, and of the Emperour. Of the which two this our dignitie is so much more waighter, as we haue the greater charge to giue account to God for kings of the earth, and the lawes of men. 13. Wherefore be it knowne to you Emperours, which know it also right well, that you depend vpon the iudgement of vs: wee must not bee brought and reduced to your will. 14. For (as I said) looke what difference there is betwixt the Sunne and the Moone, so great is the power of the pope ruling ouer the day, that is, ouer the spiritualtie, aboue emperours and kings ruling ouer the night, that is, ouer the lattie. 15. Now seeing then the Earth is seuen times bigger then the Moone, and the Sunne eight times greater then the Earth, it followeth that the popes dignitie fiftie sir times doth surmount the estate of the emperours. 16. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce that Constantine the emperour did naught in setting the Patriarch of Constantinople at his feete on his left hand. 17. And although the said emperour wrote to mee, alleaging the words of Saint Peter, commanding vs to submit our selues to euerie humane creature, as to kings, dukes, and other for the cause of God, &c. 1. Peter 2. yet in answering againe in my Decretall, I expounded the mind and the words of Saint Peter to pertaine to his subiects, and not his successors, willing the said emperour to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make vs vnderlings to euerie humane creature, then euerie Jacke might haue dominion ouer prelats: which maketh against the example of Christ, setting vp the order of priesthood to beare dominion ouer kings, according to the saying of Jeremie: Behold I haue set thee vp ouer kings and nations, &c. 18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly vnto Constantine, so now I say to all other emperours, that they receiuing of me their approbation, vnction, consecration, and crowne imperiall, must not disdaine to submit their heads vnder me, and sweare vnto me their alleageance. 19. For so you read in the Decree of Pope John, how that princes heretofore haue been wont to bow and submit their heads vnto bishops, and not to proceed in iudgement against the heads of bishops. 20. If this reuerence and submission was wont to be giuen to bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me being superiour, not onely to kings, but

10. Pope Boniface. 8. Extrauag. c. vnam sanctam.
Item pope Ioannes 22. Extrauag. cap. Super gentes.
11. Pope Innocent. 3. art. de maior. & obe. c. Solitæ.
12. Pope Gelasius. Dist. 96. cap. Duo.
13. Ibidem.
14. Innocentius De Maior. & obed. c. Solitæ.
15. Glossa, Ibidem.
16. Ibidem.
17. Innocentius, ibidem.
18. Pope Clement 5. Clement de iure iurando, c. Romani.
19. Pope Ioannes, dist. 96. c. Nunquam.
20. Pope Clement 5. Clement de Sentent. & de reiudi. pastoralis.

Emperours: and that for two causes: First for my title of succession that I Pope of Rome haue to the Empire, the roome standing vacant: also for the fulnesse of power that Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords hath giuen to me though vnworthie in the person of Peter. 21. By reason whereof, seeing my power is not of man but of God, who by his celestiall prouidence hath set me ouer his whole vniuersall Church master and gouernour, it belongeth therefore to my office to looke vpon euerie mortall sinne of euerie Christian man: 22. Whereby all criminall offences as well of kings as all other, be subiect to my censure, 23. in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any maner of person at any time either before the sentence giuen or after shall appeale to me, it shall be lawfull for him so to do. 24. Neither must kings and princes thinke it much to submit themselues to my iudgement: for so did Valentinianus the worthie emperour, so did Theodosius, and also Carolus. 25. Thus you see all must be iudged by me, and I of no man. Yea and though I pope of Rome, by my negligence or euill demeanour be found vnprofitable, or hurtfull, either to my selfe or others: yea if I should draw with me innumerable soules by heapes to hell, yet no mortall man be so hardie, so bold, or so presumptuous to reproue me, 26. or to say to me: Domine cur ita facis: that is, Sir why do you so? 27. For although you reade that Balaam was rebuked of his asse, by the which asse our subiects, by Balaam we prelats are signified: yet that ought to be no example to our subiects to rebuke vs. 28 And though we reade in the Scripture, that Peter, who receiued power of the kingdome, and being chiefe of the Apostles, might by vertue of his office controll all other, was content to come and giue answere before his inferiours, obiecting to him his going to the Gentiles, yet other inferiours must not learne by this example to be checkmate with their prelats, because that Peter so tooke it at their hands, shewing thereby rather a dispensation of humilitie, then the power of his office: by the which power he might haue said to them againe in this wise: It becommeth not sheep, nor belongeth to their office to accuse their shepheard, &c. 29. For else why was Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedone? not for any cause of his faith, but only for that he durst stand against pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the bishop of Rome: for who is he that hath authoritie to accuse the seate of Saint Peter? 30 Albeit I am not ignorant what Saint Jerome writeth, that Paul would not haue reprehended Peter, vnlesse hee had thought himselfe equall vnto him. 31. Yet Hierome must thus bee expounded by my interpretation, that this equalitie betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in like office of dignitie, but in pureneſſe of conuersation. 32. For who gaue Paul his license to preach but Peter, and that by the authoritie of God, saying: Separate to me Paul and Barnabas? &c. 33. Wherefore be it knowen to all men, y my church of Rome is

21. Pope Innocent 3. De iudicijs, c. Nouit.
22. Ibidem.
23. Pope Marcellus causa. 2. q. 6. c. ad Romanam.
24. Innocent. Nouit ille.
25. Bonifacius martyr. dist. 40. cap. Si papa.
26. Glossa Extrauag. de sede vacant. Ad apostolatus.
27. Pope Leo, caus. 2. q. 7. c. Nos.
28. Gregor. 2. q. 7. c. Petrus.
29. Pope Nicolaus. dist. c. 21. In tantum.
30. Hier. caus. 2. q. 7. ca. Paulus.
31. Glossa Gratiani ibidem.
32. Glossa in dist. 11. cap. Quis.
33. Caus. 2. q. 7. cap. beati.

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is prince and head of all nations, 34. the mother of the faith, 35. the foundation cardinall: whereupon all Churches do depend as the doore doth depend by the hinges, 36. the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish, 37. Ladie, mistresse and instructour of all Churches, 38. a glasse and spectacle vnto all men, to bee followed in all whatsoeuer she obserueth, 39. Which was neuer found yet to slide or decline from the path of apostolicke tradition, or to bee intangled with any newnesse of heresie. 40. Against which Church of Rome whosoeuer speaketh any euill, is forthwith an heretike, 41. yea, a very Pagan, a witch, and an Idolater or Infidell. 42. hauing fulnesse of power onelie in her owne hands in ruling, 43. deciding, absoluing, condemning, casting out, or receiuing in, 44. albeit I denie not but other Churches be partakers with her in laboring & carying. 45. To the which Church of Rome it is lawfull to appeale for remedie, from all other Churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the generall councell of Milleuitane, that no man should appeale ouer the sea vnder paine of excommunication, yet my glosse commeth in here with an exception: Nisi fortè Romanam sedem appellauerint: i. Except the appeale be to the sea of Rome, &c. 46. By the authoritie of which church of Rome, all synods, and decrees of councels stand confirmed. 47. And hath alwaies full authoritie in her hands to make new lawes and decreements: And to alter statutes, priuiledges, rights or documents of churches: To separate things ioyned, and to ioyne things separated vpon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally, or generally, 48. Of the which church of Rome, I am head as a king is ouer his iudges, 49. the vicar of S. Peter, 50. yea not the vicar of Peter properlie, but the vicar of Christ properly, and successour of Peter. 51. Vicar of Iesus Christ, 52. Rector of the vniuersall church: director of the Lords vniuersall flocke. 53. Chiefe magistrate of the whole world, 54. Cephas. i. caput, the head and chiefe of the apostolicke church, 55. vniuersall pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as euery bishop is in places not exempt, 56. most mightie priest, 57. Lex animata in terris. i. 58. a liuing law in the earth iudged to haue al lawes in the chest of my breast, 59. bearing the rowne of no pure man, 60. being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both, 61. Hauing both swords in my power, both of the spirituall and temporall iurisdiction, 62. so farre surmounting the authoritie of the emperour, that I of mine owne power alone without a councell haue authoritie to depose him, or to transferre his kingdome and to giue a new election, as I did to Fredericke and diuers other, 63. What power then or potestate in all the world is comparable to me: who haue authoritie to bind and lose both in heauen and earth? 64. That is, who haue power both of heauenly things, and also of temporall things, 65. To whom emperors and kings be more inferior, then lead is inferiour to gold, 66. For doe you not see the necks of great kings and princes bend vnder our knees, yea and thinke themselues happie and well defenced, if they may kisse our hands? 67. Wherefore the saucinesse of Hongrius the emperour is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his lattie would take vpon him to intermeddle, not onlie with the temporall order, but also with matters ecclesiasticall and election of the pope, 68. But here perchance some will obiect the examples and words of Christ, saying, that his kingdome is not of this world, and where hee being required to diuide betwixt two brethren their heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power, 69. For if Peter, and I in Peter, if we I say, haue power to bind and lose in heauen, how much more then is it to bee thought, that wee haue power in earth to lose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else so euer mortall men may haue, and to giue them where wee will? 70. And if wee haue authoritie ouer Angels, which bee the gouernors of princes, what then may we doe vpon their inferiors and seruants? 71. And for that you shall not maruell that I say, Angels be subiect to vs, you shall heare what my blessed clerke Antoninus writeth of the matter, saying, that our power, of Peter and me, is greater then the angels in foure things: In iurisdiction, 2. in administration of sacraments, 3. in knowledge, 4. and in reward, &c. 72. And againe in Bulla Clementis, doe I not there command in my bull, the Angels of Paradise to absolue the soule of man out of Purgatorie, and to bring it into the glorie of Paradise? 73. And now besides my heauenly power, to speake of mine earthlie iurisdiction, who did first translate the empire from the Greekes to the Almaines, but I? 74. And not onelie in the empire am I emperor, the place being emptie, but in all Ecclesiasticall benefices haue full right and power to giue, to translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement, 75. Did not I Zacharias put downe Childerick the old king of France, and set vp Pipinus? 76. Did not I Gregorius the 7. set vp Robert Wylard, and make him king of Sicilia and duke of Capua? &c. 77. Did not I the same Gregorius also set vp Rodulphus against Henry the 4. Emperour? 78. And though this Henricus was an emperour of most stout courage, who stood 62. times in open field against his enemies, 79. yet did not I Gregorius bring him coram nobis, and made him stand at my gate 3. daies and three nights barefoot and bareleg with his wife and child, in the deepe of winter, both in frost and snow, intreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice excommunicated in my daies? 80. Againe, did not I Paschalis after Gregorie, set vp the sonne of the said Henricus, against his father in warre, to possesse the empire, and to put downe his father, and so he did? 81. Item, did not I pope Alexander bring vnder Henrie the second king of England, for the

34. Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. omnes.
35. Pope Anacletus, Dist. 22. c. Sacrosancta.
36. Pope Pelagius, Dist. 21. quamuis.
37. Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 21. cap. Denique.
38. Pope Step. Dist. 19. Enimuero.
39. Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. A rect.
40. pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. omnes.
41. Pope Gregorius, dist. 81. cap. Si qui.
42. Pope Leo Caus. 3. q. 6. cap. Multum.
43. Dist. 20. Decretales.
44. Pope Iulius, Caus. 2. q. 6. qui se.
45. Caus. 2. q. 6. Argutia Item. c. Ad Romanam. Caus. 2. q. 6. cap. placuit. Glossa. Gratiani. Nisi.
46. Pope Gelas. 25. q. 1. cap. confidimus.
47. Pope Vrbanus 25. q. 1. cap. Sunt. Pope Pelagius 25. q. 2. cap. postea quam.
48. Bulla Donationis, dist. 96. c. Constant.
49. Pope Paschalis, dist. 63. c. Ego.
50. Pope Clement 5. Clement 6. Romani Glossa.
51. Pope Bonifacius 8. Sext. Decretal. ea. vbi.
52. Ibidem.
53. Pope Bonifac. prohem. Sext. Decretal. ib. Sacrosancta.
54. Anacletus. dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta.
55. Pope Bonifacius 4. Sext. Decret. de pœnit. & remiss. cap. 5. Glossa. Item Alexander 4. Sext. Decret. c. 4. in Glossa.
56. Pope Hilarius 25. q. 1. Nulli.
57. Sixt. Decret. cap. Ab arbitris, Glossa.
58. pope Bonifac. Sext. Decret. de constit. cap. licet.
59. pope Innocentius 3. De transl. c. Quanto.
60. Prohem. Clement. Glossa. Papa Stupor mundi, &c. Nec Deus es nec homo, quasi neuter es inter vtrumque.
61. Pope Bonifacius Extrauag. de Maiorit. & obed. cap. vnam. Item dist. 22. cap. Omnes 62. Sext. Decret De sentent. & re. c. Ad apostolic. Item in Glossa. Ibid.
63. Pope Nicolaus. Dist. 22. cap. Omnes.
64. Glossa. Ibidem.
65. Pope Gelasius. Dist. 96. & Duo.
66. Pope Gelasius, Ibidem.
67. dist. 96. c. Illud.
68. Excitatione Hiero. Marij.
69. Pope Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius 7. Platina, in vita Gregorij.
70. Hildebrandus ibidem.
71. Antoninus, in tertia parte Summæ maioris.
73. Bulla Clementis.
72. Pope Innocent de electione c. Venerabilem.
74. Extrau. de præbend. & dig. c. Execrabilis.
75. pope Zacharias. Caus. 15. q. 6. c. Alius.
76. pope Hildebrand, alias Gregor. 7. Clement. c. pastoralis.
77. Ex Gestis Hildebrandi.
78. Baptista Egnatius.
79. Platina, Benno, Nauclerus.
80. Platina, Egnatius, Benno.
81. Polydor. Virgil. Historia Iornalensis de rebus Anglorum.

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the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to goe barefoot to his tombe at Canturburie with bleeding feet? 82. Did not I Innocentius the third, cause king John to kneele downe at the feet of Pandolphus my legat, and offer vp his crowne to his hands: also to kisse the feet of Stephen Langton bishop of Canturburie, and besides mearsed him in a thousand marks by yeere? 83. Did not I Urbanus the second, put downe Hugo earle in Italie, discharging his subiects from their oth and obedience to him? 84. Did not I Paschalis excommunicate also his sonne Henry 5. and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of spirituall promottons? Did not I Gelasius 2. bring the captaine Cintius vnder, vnto the kissing of my feet? And after Gelasius, did not I Calixtus 2. quaile the foresaid emperour Henricus 5. and also bring in subiection Gregorie, whom the said emperour had set vp against mee to be pope, bringing him into Rome vpon a Camell, his face to the horse taile, making him to hold the horse taile in his hand in stead of a bridle? 85. Further, did not I Innocentius 2. set vp and make Lotharius to bee emperour for driuing out pope Anacletus out of Rome? 86. Did not I the said Innocentius take the dukedome of Sicile from the empire, and make Roger to bee king thereof, whereby afterward the kingdome became the patrimonie of S. Peter? 87. Did not I Alexander 3. suspend all the realme and churches of England for the kings marriage? an. 1159. 88. But what doe I speake of kings? did not I the said Alexander bring the valiant emperour Fredericke the first to Venice, by reason of his sonne Otho there taken prisoner, and there in S. Marks Church made him fall downe flat vpon the ground while I set my foot vpon his necke, saying the verse of the Psalme; Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis? &c. 89. Did not I Adrianus pope, an Englishman borne, excommunicate W. king of Sicile, and refuse his peace, which he offered? and had not hee ouercome me in plaine field, I would haue shaken him out of his kingdome of Sicile, and dukedome of Apulia. 90. Also did not I the said Adrianus, controle and correct the foresaid Fredericus emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse when he should haue holden the right? 91. and afterward did not I excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucie to set his owne name in writing afore mine? 92. And although a poore flie afterward ouercame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoope. 93. Did not I Innocentius 3. deiect Philippus, brother to Fredericus, from the Imperiall crowne, being elected without my leaue, and after set him vp againe? & also set vp Otho of Brunswicke, and after did excommunicate and also depose the same 4. yeeres, setting vp the French king to war against him. 94. Then was Fredericus 2. by me set vp and raigned 37. yeeres; and yet 5. yeeres before he died, 95. Did not I Honorius interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? 96. Whom also Gregorius 9. did excommunicate twice together, and raiset vp the Venetians against him. 97. And at length Innocentius spoiled him of his Empire: after that he caused him to bee poisoned, at length to be strangled by one Manfredus, and did excommunicate his sonne Conradus after him, not onely depriuing him of his right inheritance, but also caused him with Fredericke duke of Austria to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I excommunicate and depose all these emperours in order? Henricus 4. Henricus 5. Fredericus 1. Philippus Otho 4. Fredericus 2. and Conradus his son? 99. Did not I interdict king Henry the 8. 100. and all his kingdom of England? 101. And had not his prudence and power preuented my practise, I had displaced him from his kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatnesse of my power and of my seat? 102. For by me onely generall councels take their force and confirmation, 103. and the interpretation of the said councels, and of all other causes hard and doubtfull, ought to be referred and stand to my determination; 104. By me the workes of all writers, whatsoeuer they bee, either bee reproued or allowed: 105. Then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. Insomuch that my letters and epistles decretall be equiualent with generall councels: 107. And where as God hath ordained all causes of men, to be iudged by men, he hath only reserued me, that is, the pope of Rome, without all question of men, vnto his owne iudgement: 108. And therefore where all other creatures be vnder their Judge, onely I which in earth am the iudge of all, can bee iudged of none, either of emperour, nor the whole clergie, nor of kings, nor of the people. 109. For who hath power to iudge vpon his iudge? 110. This iudge am I, and that alone, without any other assistance of any councel ioyned to mee. For I haue power vpon councels, councels haue no power vpon me. But if the councell determine amisse, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I list without any councell: 111. And all for the preheminence of my predecessour blessed Saint Peter, which by the voice of the Lord, hee received, and euer shall retaine. 112. Furthermore, and whereas all other sentences and iudgements both of councels, person or persons, may and ought to bee examined, 113. for that they may be corrupted foure waies, by feare, by gifts, by hatred, by fauour: onely my sentence and iudgement must stand, 114. as giuen out of heauen by the mouth of Peter himselfe, which no man must, 115. breake, nor retract, 116. No man must dispute or doubt of, 117. Yea, if my iudgement, statute, or yoke seeme scarsely tollerable, yet for remembrance of S. Peter it must be humbly obaied, 118. Yea and moreouer obedience is to be giuen, not onely to such decrees set forth by me in time of my popedome, but also to such as I doe foresee and commit to writing before I be pope, 119. And although it be thought by some writers, to be giuen to all men to erre, and to be deceiued, 120. yet neither am I a pure man, 121. and again, the sentence of my apostolicke seat is alwaies conceiued

82. Chronica vernacula.

83. Pope Vrbanus Caus. 15 q. 6 ca. Iuratos.

84. Pope Paschalis Cursulanus. Platina, Vincentius, Stella, Antoninus, Matthæus Parisiensis, pope Gelasius 2. pope Calixtus 2. Plati. de vitis pontificum.

85. Pope Innocentius 2.

86. Nauclerus.

87. Pope Alexander 3. De sponsal. & matr. c. Non est.

88. Nauclerus. Acta Rom. pontificum.

89. Pope Adrian. vit. Rom. pontificum.

90. Ex Auentino.

91. Bulla Adriani contra Cæsarem.

92. Acta Ro. pont.

93. Pope Innocentius 3. Ex vitis & Actis Rom. poncificum. Ex Ab. Vrspergēs.

94. Ex eodem.

95. Pope Honor. 3 Ex Mario.

96. Pope Gregor. 9. Ex eodem.

97. Pope Innocent 4. Hieronymus Marius. Petrus de Vineis.

98. Ex Chronicis Carionis.

99. Hist. Anglor.

100. Ibidem.

101. Ibidem.

102. Pope Marcellus, Dist. 17. c. Synodum.

103. Dist. 20. Decretales.

104. Pope Nicolaus, dist. 19. Si Romanorum.

105. Ibidem.

108. Dist. 20. Decretales.

107. Symmachus Pope 9. q. 3. Aliorum.

108. Pope Innocentius 6. q. 3. ca. Nemo.

109. Ibidem.

110. Pope Gelasius 9. q. 3. cap. Cuncta.

111. Ibidem.

112. Anastasius Patriarch. D. q. 3 cap. antiquis.

113. Pope Greg. 2. q. 3 c. Quatuor.

114. Pope Agatho, Dist. 19. cap. Sic omnes.

115. P. Nicolas. 9. q. 3. Patet.

116. Pope Innocent. 3. Art. 17. q. 4 Si quis.

117. Dist. 19. ca. In memoriam.

118. Sext. Decret. Tit. 7. De renunc. Quoniam Glossa.

119 Offic. l. 1.

120. Glossa. Extra De verb. signif. cap. Ad.

121. Pope Gregor. Caus. 15 q. 2. Apostolica.

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conceiued with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and ripenesse, and deliuered out with such grauitie of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessarie to be altered or detracted, 122. Wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holie bishops, that the dignitie of this my seat is to be reuerenced thorough the whole world, in that all the faithfull submit themselues to it as to the head of the whole bodie, 123. Whereof it is spoken to mee by the Prophet, speaking of the arke: If this be humbled, whither shal you run for succour, and where shall your glorie become? Seeing then this is so, that so holy bishops and scriptures doe witnesse with me, what shall we say then to such as will take vpon them to iudge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of mee to whom all other are subiect? 124. Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh, Deut. Thou oughtest not to put thy sithe into another mans corne. thing to attempt against me, what is it but plaine sacrilege? Which 125. According to my canonists, which thus define sacrilege to consist in three things, either when a mã iudgeth of his princes iudgement: or when the holy day is prophaned, or when reuerence is not giuen to lawes and canons, 126. Against the second sort maketh the place of the booke of Kings, where we read the arke of God was brought from Gaba to Hierusalem, and in the way the arke inclining by reason of the vnrulie Oxen, Ozias the Leuit put to his hand to helpe, and therefore was strucken of the Lord. By this arke is signified the prelates: by the inclination thereof, the fall of prelats, 127. which also bee signified by the angels that Jacob did see going vp and comming downe the ladder: 128. Also by the Prophet where he saith: Hee bowed downe the heauens and came downe, &c. By Ozias, and by the vnrulie Oxen are meant our subiects, 129. Then like as Ozias was stricken for putting his hand to the arke inclining, no more must subiects rebuke their prelats going awry, 130. Albeit heere may be answered againe, that all be not prelates which so be called: for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life, 131. Against the third sort of such as would bring vs vnder the tribute and exactions of secular men, maketh the new Testament, where Peter was bid to giue the groate in the fishes mouth, but not the head nor the bodie of the fish: No more is the head or bodie of the Church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe things of the Church. And yet not they neither, 132. For so wee read in the book of Gen. that Pharao in time of dearth subdued all the land of the Egyptians, but yet he ministred to the priests, so that he tooke neither their possessions from them, nor their libertie. If then the prelats of the Church must be neither iudged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same? 133. which am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelats, 134. For it is not to bee thought that the case betwixt mee and other prelates: betwixt my sea and other Churches, be-

like, 135. Although the whole catholicke and apostolike church make one bride chamber of Christ: yet the catholike and apostolike Church of Rome, had the preheminence giuen ouer all other by the mouth of the lord himselfe saying to Peter: Thou art Peter, &c. 136. Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the Church as it was betwixt Aaron and his children, 137. betwixt the 72. disciples and the 12. Apostles: betwixt the other Apostles and Peter, 138. Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the Church betwixt powers, superiour and inferiour: without which order, the vniuersitie of the whole cannot consist, 139. For as amongst the Angelicall creatures aboue in heauen, there is set a difference and inequalitie of powers and orders, some be angels, some archangels, some cherubins and seraphines, 140: So in the ecclesiasticall Hierarchie of the Church militant in the earth, priests must not be equall with bishops, bishops must not bee like in order with archbishops, with patriarches or primats, 141. Who containe vnder them 3. archbishops, as a king containeth three dukes vnder him. In the which number of patriarches, commeth in the state also of 142. cardinals or principals, so called, because as the doore turneth by his hinges, so the vniuersall church ought to bee ruled by them, 143. The next and highest order aboue these is mine, which am pope, differing in power and maiority, and honour reuerentiall, from these and all other degrees of men, 144. For the better declaration whereof, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth: Immediata, which is mine immediatly from God: Deriuata, which belongeth to other inferior prelates from me, 145. Ministralis, belonging to emperours and princes to minister for me. For the which cause the annointing of princes, and my consecration doth differ: for they are annointed onely in the armes or shoulders, and I in the head, to signifie the difference of power betwixt princes and me, 146. This order therefore of priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarches and other, as a thing most conuenient, my Church of Rome hath set and instituted through all Churches, following therein, not only the example of the Angelical army in heauen, but also of the Apostles, 147. For amongst them also there was not an vniforme equalitie or institution of one degree, 148. but a diuersitie or distinction of authoritie and power. Albeit they were all Apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter (themselues also agreeing to the same) that he should beare dominion and superioritie ouer all the other Apostles, 149. And therefore had his name giuen him Cephas, that is, head or beginning of the apostlehood 150. whereupon the order of priesthood first in the new Testament began in Peter, to whom it was said: Thou art Peter, and vpon thee I will build my Church, 151. And I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen. And thou being conuerted confirme thy brethren, 152. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not faile. Wherefore seeing such power

is

122. Pope Symmachus. Caus. 9. q 3. Aliorum.

123. Ibidem.

124. Pope Greg. 6. q. 3. Scriptũ est.

126. Caus. 17. q. 4. Sacrileg. Glossa.

125. 2. q. 7. cap. Plærumque Glossema Gratiani. ¶ Item.

127. Ibidem.

128. Ibidem.

129. Ibidem.

130. Ibidem. ¶ His ita.

131. Pope Vbanus 23. q. Tributum.

132. Ibidem. ¶ Quamuis.

133. Pope Benedict. Extr. De aut. & vsu pallij. c. Sancti.

134. Pope Stephanus Dist. 19. Enimuero.

135. Pope Pelagius. Dist. 21. Quamuis.

136. Dist. 21. Decretis.

137. Pope Anacletus. Dist. 21. In nouo.

138. Pope Bonifacius & Greg. Dist. 89. Ad hoc.

139. Ibidem.

140. Dist. 89 cap. Singula.

141. Ex citatione bul. decre. 5. liter. 3.

142. De officio Archipresbyt. in Glossa.

143

144. Ex. 3. parte Summæ maioris b. Antonini.

145. Pope Innocent. 3. De sacr. vnctione. Qui venisse.

146. P. Nicolas. Dist. 22. cap. omnes.

147. Pope Clemet dist. 80. c. In illis.

148. P. Anacletus: dist. 22. c. Sacrosancta.

149. Ibidem. Quasi vero Petrus non a Petra, sed κεφας vero τας κεφαλης ducatur.

150. Dist. 21. cap. In nouo.

151. Ibidem.

152. Dist. 21. cap. Decretis.

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153. Pope Leo. dist.19.c. Ita Dominus.
154. p.Nicolaus in tantum, dist.22
155. Pope Clemens in Bulla Viennæ. in scrinijs priuilegiorum.
156. Dist.21.cap. Decretis.
157. Pope Anacletus. Dist.22.c. Sacrosancta. Scripture wel applied and like a clerke.
158. Pope Damasus. 25.q.c. Omnia Item pope Greg. Dist.19. Null.
159. P. Nicolaus. Dist.22.cap. Omnes.
160. Ibidem.
161. Ibidem.
162 Dist.20. Decretales.
163. Ibidem.
164. Ibidem.
165. Dist.19. Si Romanorum.
166. Gabriel Biel, lib.4. Dist.19.
167. Petrus de Palude.

is giuen to Peter, 153. and to me in Peter, being his successour, 154. who is he then in all the world that ought not to bee subiect to my decrees which haue such power, in heauen, in hell, in earth, with the quicke and also the dead? 155. commanding and granting in my bull of lead sent to Vienna, vnto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the paine of hell should not touch them: And also that all such as take the holy crosse vpon them, should euery one at his request not only bee deliuered himselfe, but also deliuer three or foure soules whomsoeuer he would, out of purgatorie: 156. Againe, hauing such promise and assurance that my faith shall not faile, who then will not beleeue my doctrine? For did not Christ himselfe first pray for Peter that his faith should not faile? 157. Also haue I not a sure promise of Pauls owne mouth, writing to my Church by these words: God is my witnesse whom I serue in my spirit, in the Gospell of his sonne, that without ceasing I make mention of you alwaies in my prayers? Rom.1. 158. Wherefore as I condemne all such worthilie, which will not obay my decrees to be dispossessed of all their honour, without restitution, 159. So all they that beleeue not my doctrine, or stand against the priuiledge of the church, especially the church of Rome, I pronounce them heretickes: 160. And as the other before is to be called vniust, so this man is to bee called an hereticke: 161. For why, he goeth against the faith which goeth against her who is the mother of faith: 162. But here may rise percase a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continuall prayer of S. Paul: whether is it true, or is to be granted that any other should excell me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy scripture: 163. For looke whose knowledge is grounded on most reason, his words should seeme to be of more authoritie, 164. Wherunto I answer and grant, that many there be and haue been more abundantly indued with fuller grace of the holy Ghost, and greater excellencie of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Hierome and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of diuers popes: yet I say in determination of causes, because they haue not the vertue and height of that authoritie, which is giuen to mee; therefore in expounding of scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they stand inferiour to my authoritie. By vertue of which authoritie, 165. both they themselues bee allowed for doctors, and their workes approoued, and also al other matters be ruled, through the power of the keies which is giuen to me immediatlie of Christ. Although I denie not but the same keies bee also committed to other prelats, as they were to other apostles besides Peter, 166: yet it is one thing to haue the keies, another thing to haue the vse of the keies: 167. Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of keies, after the minde of my schoole doctors: one key which is called Clauis ordinis, hauing authoritie to bind and loose, but not ouer the persons whom they bind and loose, and this authoritie they take not immediatlie of Christ, but mediatlie by me the vicar of Christ. The other key is called Clauis iurisdictionis, which I the vicar of Christ take immediately of him, hauing not onlie authoritie to bind and loose, but also dominion ouer them on whom this key is exercised. By the iurisdiction of which key, the fulnesse of my power is so great, that whereas all other are subiects, 168. yea and emperours themselues ought to subdue their executions to me: Onelie I am subiect to no creature, 169. no not to my selfe, except I list, In foro pœnitentiæ, to my ghostlie father submitting my selfe as a sinner, but not as pope: So that my papall maiestie euer remaineth vnminished. Superiour to all men, 170. whom all persons ought to obay, 171. and follow, 172. whom no man must iudge nor accuse of any crime, either of murder, adulterie, simonie, or such like, 173. No man depose, but I my selfe, 174. No man can excommunicate me, yea though I communicat with the excommunicate, for no canon bindeth me. Whom no man must lie to, 175. For he that lieth to me is a Church robber, 176. And who obayeth not me is an heretike, and an excommunicate person, 177. For like as all the Iewes were commanded to obay the high priest of the Leuiticall order, of what state or condition so euer they were; so are all Christian men more and lesse bound to obay mee Christs lieutenant in earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom, yee haue in Deu.17.178. Where the common Glosse saith, that he who denieth to the hie priest Obedientiam, lieth vnder the sentence of condemnation, as much as hee that denieth to God his Omnipotentiam. Thus then appeareth, that the greatnes of my priesthood, 179. begun in Melchisedech, solemnised in Aaron, continued in the children of Aaron, perfectionated in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the vniuersall iurisdiction, and manifested in Siluester, &c. So that through this Preheminence of my priesthood, hauing all things subiect to me, 180. it may seeme well verified in me that was spoken of Christ, Psal.8. Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, oues & boues, & vniuersa pecora campi. Volucres cœli & pisces maris, &c.i. Thou hast subdued all things vnder his feet, sheepe and oxen, and all cattell of the field, the birds of heauen, and fish of the sea, &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Iewes and heretikes, by cattell of the field, Pagans bee signified. For although as yet they bee out of the vse of my keies of binding and losing, yet they be not out of the iurisdiction of my keies, but if they returne I may absolue them, 182. By sheep and al cattell, are meant al Christian men both great and lesse, whether they bee emperours, princes, prelats or other. By birds of the aire you may vnderstand the angels and potestates of heauen, who be all subiect to me, in that I am greater then the angels, and that in foure things as is afore declared: and haue power to bind and lose in heauen, 183. and to giue heauen to them that fight in my warres, 184. Lastlie, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the soules departed in paine

168. Dist. 95. cap. Imperator.
169. Gabriel, lib.4 Dist.19.
170 Pope Nicole Dist.19 cap Si Romanorum in Glossa.
171. Item 24.q.1. Hæc est.
172. Dist.40.cap. Si Papa.
173. 2.q.7. Nos Si. in Glossa.
174. Extrauag. De elect. Innotuit.
175. De pœnitentia, dist.1.c. Serpens in Glossa.
176. Dist.19.cap. Nulli.
177. August. de Ancho.
178. Glossa Ordinar.
179. Antoninus.
180. Antoninus Summæ maioris 3.part. Dist.22.
181. Ibidem.
182. Ibidem.
183. 23.q.5.cap. Omnium.
184. Idem Antoninus ibid.

or

or in purgatorie, as Gregorie by his prayer deliuered the ſoule of Traianus out of hell, and I haue power to deliuer out of purgatorie whom I pleaſe, 185. Laſtly, by the fiſhes of the ſea, are ſignified ſuch as be in purgatorie: inſomuch that they ſtand in need and neceſſitie of other mens helpe, and yet bee in their iourney Viatores, & de foro Papæ. i. paſſengers and belonging to the court of the pope: therefore they may be releeued out of the storehouſe of the Church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as ſome doe obiect that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was ſaid to Peter: Whatſoeuer thou ſhalt looſe vpon earth; and therefore ſeeing they are not vpon earth, they cannot bee loſed of me: Here I anſwer againe by my doctors, that this word Super terram, &c. i. vpon the earth, may be referred two manner of waies: firſt to him that is the looſer, ſo that he which ſhall looſe ſhall be vpon the earth. And ſo I grant that the pope being dead can looſe no man. Alſo it may be referred to him that is looſed, ſo that whoſoeuer is looſed muſt be vpon the earth, or about the earth. And ſo the ſoules in purgatorie may be loſed, which albeit they are not vpon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at leaſt they be not in heauen. And becauſe oftentimes one queſtion may riſe vpon another, and the heads of men now adaies are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliuer out of purgatorie, will aske here a queſtion; Whether I be able alſo to emptie all purgatorie at once, or not. To whom my Canoniſt Auguſt. de Ancho. doth anſwere by a triple diſtinction: Quantum ad abſolutam meam iuriſdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad diuinam acceptationem. Firſt, touching my abſolute iuriſdiction, he ſaith, I am able to rid out all purgatorie together, for as many as be vnder my iuriſdiction, as all be, except only infants vnbaptiſed, In Limbo, and men departed onely, Cum baptiſmo flaminis, that is, with the baptiſme of the ſpirit: and ſuch as haue no friends to doe for them that therefore pardons be giuen: theſe onely excepted. For all other beſides, the pope (he ſaith) hath power to releaſe all purgatorie at once, as touching his abſolute iuriſdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquine, part 4. denieth the ſame, forſomuch as Chriſt himſelfe (hee ſaith) when hee came downe, did not vtterly at once releaſe all purgatorie. As touching my ordinarie execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to doe it. Thirdly, as concerning the diuine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they ſay) is vnknowne vnto them, and to euery creature, yea, and to the pope himſelfe.

And to the intent I would all men to ſée and vnderſtand that I lacke not witneſſes moe beſides theſe, if I liſt to bring them out, you ſhall heare the whole quire of my diuine clergie brought out, with a full voice teſtifying in my behalfe, in their bookes, tractations, diſtinctions, titles, Gloſſes, and Summaries, as by their owne words here followeth. The pope (ſay they) being the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt thorough the whole world, in the ſtead of the liuing God, hath that dominion and Lordſhip which Chriſt here in earth would not haue, although he had it in habitu, but gaue it to Peter in actu, that is, the vniuerſall iuriſdiction both of ſpirituall things, and alſo of temporall, which double iuriſdiction was ſignified by the two ſwords in the Goſpell: And alſo by offering of the wiſe men, who offered not onely incenſe, but alſo gold, to ſignifie not onely the ſpirituall dominion, but alſo the temporall to belong to Chriſt and to his vicar. For as we reade, The earth is the Lords and the fulneſſe thereof; and as Chriſt ſaith: All power is giuen to him both in heauen and earth. So it is to be affirmed Incluſiuè, that the vicar of Chriſt hath power on things celeſtiall, terreſtriall, and infernall. Which hee tooke immediately of Chriſt: all other take it immediately by Peter and the pope. Wherefore ſuch as ſay that the pope hath dominion only on ſpirituall things in the world, and not of temporall, may be likened to the counſellors of the king of Syria 3. Reg. 20. which ſaid, That the gods of the mountaines be their gods, and therefore they haue ouercome vs; but let vs fight againſt them in the low medowes, and in vallies where they haue no power, and ſo we ſhall preuaile ouer them. So euill counſellours now a daies, through their peſtiferous flatterie deceiue kings and princes of the earth: ſaying, popes and prelats bee gods of mountaines, that is, of ſpirituall things onely, but they bee not gods of valleies, that is, they haue no dominion ouer temporall things, and therefore let vs fight with them in the vallies, that is, in the power of the temporall poſſeſſions, and ſo we ſhall preuaile ouer them. But what ſaith the ſentence of God to them, let vs heare. Becauſe (ſaith hee) the Syrians ſay that the god of mountaines is their god, and not the god of vallies, therefore I will giue all this multitude into your hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord. What can bee more effectuallie ſpoken to ſet forth the maieſtie of my iuriſdiction, which I receiued immediatlie of the Lord, of the Lord I ſay, and of no man? For whereas Conſtantine the emperour gaue to Siluester, endowing him with this poſſeſſion and patrimonie; that is ſo to be expounded and taken not ſo much for a donation, as to be counted for a reſtitution made of that which tyrannoullie was taken from him before. And againe, whereas I haue giuen at ſundrie times to Ludouicus and other emperors, of my temporall lands and poſſeſſions, yet that was done not ſo much for any recogniſing of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to emperors no due obedience that they can claime: but they owe to me as to their ſuperior. And therefore for a diuerſitie betwixt their degree and mine, in their conſecration they take ỹ vnction on their arme, I on the head. And as I am ſuperior to them, ſo am I ſuperior to all lawes, & free frõ al conſtitutions. Which am able of my ſelf, & by my interpretation, to prefer equitie being not written, before ỹ law written: hauing all lawes within the cheſt of my breſt, as is aforeſaid. And whatſoeuer

185. Ibidem.

Antoninus. Auguſt. de Ancho. 1. h. Parte 4.

Auguſt. de Ancho. An papa poſſit totum purgatorium expoliare. Ibidem. Abſoluta iuriſdictio.

Doctors agree in purgatorie. Auguſt. de Ancho. Antoninus. Ordinata executio. Diuina acceptatio.

A Antoninus in ſũmulis. Auguſtinus de Ancho in Decret. Aſteſanus Midorita.

B Baptiſta de Saluin. ſua. Baptiſtiniana. Bonauentur. i.

C Campenſis lib. Controuerſiarum. Coclæus.

D Durandus in ſpeculo.

Dreido de eccleſ. Scripturis & dogmat.

B Eduardus Peuelius, Anglus contra Luthe. Eckius in Enchirid.

F Franciſcus Fulgo.

G Gabriel Biel. Spica. Gaſpar. Gratianus in Decretis. Gerſon doctor illuminatiſſimus eccleſiaſtica poteſtate.

H Hugo Cardinalis in poſtilla. Heſtienſis. Holkot. Huſius.

I Ioannes Andreæ. Innocentius. Ioan. de Turre Cremata de eccleſia ſumma.

L Lanfrancus contra Wicleſ. Lilius Hiſtoricus Anglus. Lapus. Laurentius.

M Magiſter Sententiarum.

N Nicolaus.

O Ockam in dialogo, parte 1. lib. 3. Oytanus.

P Petrus de Palude. Petrus de Tharã. Petrus de Aliaco. Panormitanus. Alexander de Ales.

R Raymundus in ſumma de caſibus Richardus. Rabanus ſuper Matth. cap. 16. Rupertus Iuriſconſus.

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soeuer this my sée shall enact, approoue or disprooue, all men ought to approoue or reprooue the same, without either iudging, disputing, doubting or retracting. Such is the priuiledge giuen of Christ in the behalfe of Peter, to the Church of Rome, 186, that what countrie soeuer, kingdome or prouince, chusing to themselues bishops and ministers, although they agrée with all other Christs faithfull people in the name of Iesu, that is in faith and charitie, beléeuing in the same God, and in Christ his true son, and in the holy Ghost, hauing also the same Créed: the same Euangelists and Scriptures of the Apostles: yet notwithstanding vnlesse their bishops and ministers take their origine and ordination from this apostolicall seate, they are to bee counted not of the Church. So that succession of faith onlie is not sufficient to make a Church, except the ministers take their ordination by them which haue their succession from the Apostles. So their faith, supremacie, the chaire of Peter, keies of heauen, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of Rome: so that it is to be presumed, that God alwaies prouiding, and saint Peter helping the bishopricke and diocesse of Rome, shall neuer fall from the faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the bishop of that Church, is alwaies good and holy. Yea, and though he be not alwaies good, or be destitute of his owne merits, yet the merits of Saint Peter, predecessour of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetuall dowrie of merits, with inheritance of innocencie to his posteritie, 187. yea, though hee fall into homicide or adulterie, hee may sinne, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Sampson, the thefts of the Hebrues, the adulterie of Jacob, 188. And likewise, if any of his clergie should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to blesse her. Furthermore, the pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of al patriarches. In his primacie, hee is Abel: In gouernment, the arke of Noe: In patriarchdome, Abraham: In order, Melchisedech: In dignitie, Aaron: In authoritie, Moses: In seate iudiciall, Samuell: In zeale, Helias: In meekenesse, Dauid: In power, Peter: In vnction, Christ. (May thou art Antichrist) My power (they say) is greater then all the saints. For whom I confirme, no man may infirme: I may fauour and spare whom I please, 189. to take from one, and to giue to another. And if I be enemie to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarie and looke while I bid them so to do. All the earth is my diocesse, and I the Ordinarie of all men, hauing the authoritie of the king of all kings vpon subiects. I am all in all, and aboue all, 190. so that God himselfe and I the vicar of God haue both one Consistorie, 191. and am able to doe almost all that God can doe, Claue non errante, 192. Item it is said of me, that I haue an heauenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, Substantialia vnius applicando alteri, and of nothing to make things to be: and of a sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect: In all things that I list, my will to stand for reason. For I am able by the law to dispense aboue the law, and of wrong to make iustice, in correcting lawes and changing them. You haue heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall heare greater things out of mine owne decrées, 193. Reade there Dist. 96. Satis, 194. Also 12. Caus. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus, 195. Also 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Doe you not find there expressed, how Constantinus the emperour sitting in the generall councell of Nice, called vs prelats of the Church, all Gods? 196. Againe, reade my canon Decretal. De transl. Episc. cap. Quanto. Do you not sée there manifestlie expressed, how not man, but God alone separateth that which the bishop of Rome doth dissolue and separate? Wherefore if those things that I doe be said to be done not of man, but of God: What can you make me but God? Againe, if prelates of the Church be called and counted of Constantinus for gods, I then being aboue all prelats, seeme by this reason to bee aboue all Gods. Wherefore no maruell, if it bee in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate lawes, to dispense with all things, yea with the precepts of Christ. For where Christ biddeth Peter put vp his sword, monished his disciples not to vse any outward force in reuenging themselues, 197. Do not I pope Nicolaus writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to draw out their materiall swords in pursuing their enemies, and recouering their possessions, setting against the precept of Christ, the prophet saying: Dissolue colligationes impietatis, &c? Item, where Christ was present himselfe at the marriage in Cana Galilea, 198. doe not I pope Martinus in my distinction inhibite the spirituall clergie to be present at mariage feasts, and also to marry themselues? Item where matrimonie by Christ, cannot bee losed but onlie for whordome, 199. do not I pope Gregorius Iunior, writing ad Bonifacium permit the same to bee broken for impotencie or infirmitie of bodie? 200. Item, against the expresse caution of the Gospel, doth not Innocentius the fourth, permit vim vi repellere? 201. Likewise against the old testament. I doe dispense in not giuing tithes, 202. Item, against the new testament in swearing and that in these 6. causes, 203. Pax, fama, fides, reuerentia, cautio damni, Defectus veri, possunt sibi magna caueri.

Wherein two kinds of othes are to bee noted. Whereof some be promissoria, some bee assertoria, &c. 204. Item, in vowes, and that ex toto voto, whereas other prelates cannot dispense ex toto à voto, I can deliuer ex toto à voto, like God himselfe, 205. Item in periurie if I absolue, my absolution standeth, 206. Where also note, that in all swearing alwaies the authoritie of the superiour is excepted, 207. Moreouer, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gaine, doe not

S
Scotus doctor Subtilis.

T
Thomas Aquin.

V
Vlricus.

W
Waldenus confessor. & de Sacramentis.

186. Ioan Dreido. De dogmatibus variis. lib. 4.

187. Hugo. in glos. dist. 40. c. Non Not.

188. Glos. in caus. 11. q. 3. cap. Absis.

189. Glos. in c. 11. q. 3. Si inimicus.

190. Hostiensis in cap. Quanto de transl. præb.

191. Ex summa casuum fratris Baptistæ.

192. Ex Citatione Henr. Bulling. de fine Seculi. Orat. Prima.

Item, ex citatione Iacobi Andreæ, aduersus Hos. sum. lib. 1. Item ex citatione Hier. Marij. in Actis. 2. Diui.

193. P. Nicolaus Dist. 96. c. Satis.

194. 11. q. 1. Sacerdotibus.

195. 12. q. 1. futuram.

196. Decreal De Transl. episc. cap. Quanto. Thus ye may see it verified, that S. Paul prophesieth of the aduersarie sitting in the temple as God, and boasting himselfe aboue all that is named God, &c. 2. Thes. 2.

197. P. Nicolaus Causa. 15 q. 6. c. Authoritatem.

198. Pope Martin Dist 14 c. Lector.

199. Pope Greg. Iunior. 32. q. 7. c. Quod propoluisti.

200. Pope Inno. 4. Sext. Decretal. de sententia excom. cap. Dilecto.

201. Pope Alexander. 3. De decimis ca. Ex parte.

202. P. Nicolaus. 16 q. 6. Authoritatem.

203. De elect. & elect. potestate. Significasti in Glossa.

204. Baptista de Salis. in Summa casuum ex Panormitano.

205. Pope Inno. 4. De elect. Venerabilem.

206. Ext. De Iureiurando cap. Venientes. Item Dist. De Elect. Significasti in Glossa.

207. P. Martinus 5. Extra. ca. Regimini Vniuersalis ecclesiæ.

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nst Pope Martinus giue dispensation for the same: and notwithstanding the councell of Tharon enacted the contrarie, yet with two Buls I disannulled that decrement, 208. What should I speake of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicate, 209. Likewise against the law of nature, 210. Item, against the apostle, 211. Also against the Canons of the Apostles: I can and doe dispense. For where they in their canon command a priest for fornication to be deposed, I through the authoritie of Silvester doe alter the rigour of that constitution, 212. considering the minds and bodies also of men now to be weaker then they were then, 213. Briefly, against the vniuersall state of the Church I haue dispensation, scilicet quando status ecclesiæ non decoloratur: And for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and affinitie, In collateralibus æquali linea, that is, betweene the brethrens children: although not inæquali linia, so that the vncle may not marrie his neece, vnlesse for an vrgent and weightie cause. As for all such contracts betwixt partie and partie, where that matrimony is not yet consummat by carnall copulation, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withall. In summa, if yée list briefly to heare the whole nũber of al such cases as properlie do appertaine to my papall dispensation, which come to the number of one and fiftie points, that no man may meddle withall but onely I my selfe alone, I will recite them first in Latine, then in English, as they be set forth in my canonicall doctors.

208. pope Vrbanus 2. Caus. 23. q. 3. c. Excommunicatorum.
209. P. Nicolaus caus. 15. q. 6. Auctoritatem.
210. Ibidem.
211 dist. 82. 1. presbyter.
212. pope Pelagius. Dist. 34. cap. Fraternitatis.
213. Baptista de Salis. fol. 114. Ibidem.

Casus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Astesanum siue de Ast. Doctorem solemnem in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, De offic. legat. reperti & his versibus comprehensi.

SI sit Catholicus, Papam non iudicat vllus.
Erigit & subdit Cathedras: Diuidit, vnit,
i. votum terræ sanctæ. i. degradatos. i. episcopos & alios.
Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se
Maiores causæ referuntur. Legitimatque,
i. insufficientes. i. intrantes religionem.
Promouet, appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
i. defectum regi vacante regno.
Deponit, transfert, suppletque, Renunciat illi
Symônia, Iuramentum, Excommunicatio à Papa facta.
Præsul, & exemptus. Simon, Iurans, Anathema,
tam Papa quam legati.
Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex vtriusque.
i. soluitur papa.
Tum neque participans: Etsi quam sponte salutat,
Quem canon damnat, sibi soli quando reseruat,
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
Soluitur à papa nec non quem regula damnat.
scilicet addas.

Addas suspensum, Causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.
i. addas. i. pluralitatem beneficiorum.
Rescriptum, fidei dubium: Confert bona plura.
Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.
i. imperatorem.
Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, & vngit.
canonizat.
Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil. de nihilo aliquid.
Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper
Portat, Concedit, Legi non subiacet vllt.
i. immediate.
Appellatur ad hunc medio fine, Iudiciumque
De monacho non monachum facit.
Est pro lege suum. Monachum reuocat renuentem.
i. incestum, &c.
Maius adulterio soluit generaliter, Arctat
i. impedimentum matrimoniale.
Et laxat quicquid sponsis nocet. Ordinat extra
i. extra. 4. tempora.
Tempora dando sacrum, promotum promouet idem.
Ordinat atque die qua consecratur & ipse.
i. sacerdotium confert nondum vacans.
Viuentisque locum concedit, Iureque priuat.
insignia Episcopalia concedit. i. decimis. i. presbytero concedit
infantes vngere.
Insignit. Laico sacro donat; Chrisma ministro.
Summa sede sedet, plenusque vicarius extat.
Si sit catholicus papam non iudicat vllus.

Cases Papale, to the number of one and fiftie, wherein the pope hath power onelie to dispense and none else besides, except by speciall licence from him.

FIrst determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith. 24. q. 1. Quotiescunque.
Translation of a bishop elect, or confirmed: Likewise of abbats exempted. Extr. de translat. c. Inter.
Deposition of bishops.
The taking of resignation of bishops. 3. q. 6. Quamuis. 9 q. 3. Denique. 16. q. 1. Frater.
Exemptions of bishops, not to be vnder archbishops.
Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.
The iudiciall definition, or interpretation of his owne priuiledges. 2. q. 6. Ideo. Extr. De restit. ca. cum venis. 7. q. 1. temporis. 16. q. 1. Felix. 16 q. 1. Et Christi.
Changing of bishoprickes, or dimission of couents, &c.
New correction of bishops seats, or institution of new religions.
Subiection or diuision of one bishoprick vnder another. Extr. de vota, Ex multa.
Dispensation for vowing to goe to the holy land.
Dispensation for the vow of chastitie, or of Religion, or of holie orders. Extr. de statu monachi. c. cum ad.

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Extr de iuramento cap. Venientes.
Dispensation against a lawfull oth, or vow made.

Extr. de iudicio c. At si clerici.
Dispensation against diuers irregularities, as in crimes greater then adulterie, and in such as bee suspended for simonie.

Extr. de Bigamia. c. nuper.
Dispensation in receiuing into orders him that had two wiues.

Extr. de clerico non ordi. ministrante.
Dispensing with such as being within orders, doe that which is aboue their order, as if a deacon should say masse, being not yet priest.

Extr. de corpore vitiatis & dist. 55.
To receiue into orders such as be blemished or maimed in bodie.

Dist. 50. Miror.
Dispensation with murder, or with such as willingly cut off any member of mans body.

Extr. de sententia & excom. ca. cum illorum.
Dispensation to giue orders to such as haue been vnder the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.

Ibidem.
Dispensation with such as being suspended with the greater curse, doe minister in any holie order.

Extr. de filijs presbyt. c. Is qui.
Dispensation with such as being vnlawfullie borne, to receiue orders or benefices.

Extr. de prebend c. De multa.
Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.

Extr. de elect. cap. Cum nobis.
Dispensation to make a man bishop before he be thirtie yeere old.

Extr. de ætate & qualit. Generalem.
Dispensation to giue orders vnder age.

Dist. 15. per totum.
The pope onely hath power to make and call a generall councell.

9. q. 3. Per principale.
The pope onely hath power to depriue an ecclesiasticall person, and giue away his benefice being not vacant.

De elect. cap. Venerabilem.
The pope alone is able to absolue him that is excommunicat by name.

Extr. De officio legati. c. Quærenti.
The pope onelie is able to absolue him whom his Legat doth excommunicate.

9. q. 3. Aliorum.
The pope both iudgeth in the causes of them that appeale vnto him, and where he iudgeth none may appeale from him.

Extr. De templi ordine. c. Cum in distrib.
Onely hee hath authoritie to make deacon, and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either vpon sundaies, or vpon other feasts.

Extr. De vsu palij. cap. Ad honorem.
Onely the pope and none else, at all times and in all places weareth the palle.

Extr. De elect. c. Dudum.
The pope onelie dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being vnworthie to be made bishop.

Extr. De elec. c. venerabilem.
Hee onlie either confirmeth, or deposeth the emperour when he is chosen.

Tractatu. De censuris.
A man being excommunicate, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolue that man but the pope alone.

Extr de elect. c. Innocuit.
The same hath authoritie in any election, before it bee made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.

Extr. de religione & veneratione sanct. cap. 1. Extra. de prebend. cap. de multa.
He doth canonize saints, and none else but he.
Dispensation to haue many dignities and parsonages in one Church, and without charge and cure of soule, belongeth onely to the pope.

Extr. Qui si. sint. leg. cap. Tanta.
To make that effectuall which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth onely to the pope.

9. q. 3. cap. Vltimo. Extr. De Sentent. & re Iudic. c. In causis. Extr. De elect. cap. Quod sicut. Extr. De restit spo. Literas. Extrau. de præscript. c. vlt. & de Iudicio c. Nouit.
To plucke a monke out of his cloister both against his owne will and the abbats, pertaineth only to the pope.
His sentence maketh a law.
The same day in which the pope is consecrate, hee may giue orders.
He dispenseth in degrees of consanguinitie and affinitie.
Hee is able to abolish lawes, quoad vtrumque forum, that is, both ciuill and canon, where danger is of the soule.

Thomas.
It is in his dispensation to giue generall indulgences to certaine places or persons.

Extra. Qui si sint legit. c. per venerabilem. Petrus de Palude, lib. 4.
Item, to legitimate what persons soeuer he please, as touching spiritualties: in all places, as touching temporalties, as honors, inheritance, &c.
To erect new religions, to approue or reprooue rules, or ordinances, and ceremonies in the Church.

Secundum Thomam in 4. 9. q. 3. Per principalem. Dist. 40. Si Papa.
He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the Church.
Item, to dispense and to discharge any subiect from the bond of alleageance or oth made to any manner person.

No man may accuse him of any crime, vnlesse of heresie, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.
The same is also free from al lawes, so that he cannot incurre into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularitie, or into the penaltie of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well. Ibidem.
Finallie, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants: also to giue lower orders, and to hallow Churches and virgins, &c. Dist. 32 cap. præterhæc. Verum.
These be the cases wherein I only haue power to dispense, and no man else, neither bishop, nor metropolitane, nor Legat, without a licence from me.

The riches and possessions of the pope.

After that I haue now sufficiently declared my power in earth, in heauen, and in purgatorie, how great it is, and what is the fulnesse thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing, and vndoing, &c. I will intreat now a little of my riches likewise and great possessions, that euery man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my silkes, my purple miters, crownes, gold, siluer, pearles and gemmes, lands and lordships, how God here prospereth and magnifieth his vicar on the earth. For to mee pertaineth first the imperiall citie of Rome, the pallace of Laterane, the kingdome of Cicile is proper to me, Apulia and Capua, bee mine. Also the kingdome of England and Ireland, bee they not or ought to be tributaries to me? 214. To these I adioyne also, besides other prouinces and countries both in the Occident and Orient, from the North to the South, these dominions by name, 215. as Surrianum, Montembordon, & Lunæ insulam, Corficæ regnum, Paruam Mantuam, Montenselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histriæ Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Rauennæ, Fauentiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatus Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montum ferretum, Montem Capiniæ seu Olympicum, Castrum exforij. Robin, Eugubin, Vrbin, forũ Sempronij, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Cosam, Ducatum Perusij, Vrbenetam, & Tudertum, Castrum Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneuenti, Selernum, Sorrenti insulam, Cardiniam insulam, Anciæ insulam, Territorium Cutisan, Territorum prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram fundan, Terram vegetan, Terram Claudianã, Terram Camisinam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Ciuitatem Aquinensem, Ciuitatem lamentũ, & Sufforariam, Ciuitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim, with diuers other mo, 216. which Constantinus the emperour gaue vnto mee, not that they were not mine before hee did giue them, 217. For in that I toke them of him, I toke them not as a gift as is afore mentioned) but as a restitution. And that I rendered them againe to Otho, I did it not for any dutie to him, but onlie for peace sake. What should I speake here of my dailie reuenues, of my first fruits, annats, palles, indulgences, bulles, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, priuiledges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such like, which come to no small masse of money? Insomuch, that for one pall to the archbishop of Mentz, which was wont to be giuen for ten thousand 218. Florence, now it is growne to xxvij. thousand Florence, which I received of Jacobus the archbishop not long before Basill councell: Besides the fruits of other bishoprickes in Germany, comming to the number of fiftie, whereby what vantage commeth vnto my coffers, it may partly be coniectured. But what should I speak of Germany, 219. when the whole world is my diocelle, as my canonists doe say, and all men are bound to beléeue, 220. except they will imagine (as the Manichies doe) two beginnings, which is false and hereticall. For Moses saith: In the beginning God made heauen and earth, and not in the beginnings, 221. Wherefore as I begun, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand vpon necessitie of saluation, for euerie humane creature to bee subiect to me.

214. Dist. 96. Constantinus.
215. Ex Commentarijs Theodorici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo testium fol. 228.
216. Dist. 96. Constantinus.
217. Antoninus in Summa Maiore 3. Part.
218 Ex lib. Gra. nominum nationis Germanicæ. Aboue fiftie bishoprickes in Germanie. Æneas Syluius. 219. Sext Decret. De penis cap. Felicis in Glosa. Item de priuilegijs. c. Autoritatem in Glosa.
220. pope Bonifacius 8. Ext. de Maio. & obed. c. Nam sanctam.
221. Ibidem.

The end of the first Volume of the Booke of Martyrs.

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